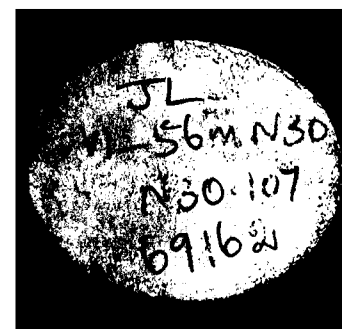




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THE
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CENTURY
AND AFTER



A MONTHLY REVIEW

FOUNDED BY JAMES KNOWLES

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NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. DCXXXV—JANUARY 1930

AN EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

THE NEED FOR INQUIRY

EDUCATION in this country would have a better chance with the general public if we could escape from the word. Its unportentiousness puts people off. Everyone who has had to write or speak on education knows the kind of misgiving that falls upon him as he approaches his subject. He knows that the very word will give check to the ordinary man and woman—certainly to the ordinary Englishman. It produces in him not so much active dislike as sheer aloofness. This is not for me, he thinks, and turns away. Thus educational discussion becomes rather a thankless business. This thanklessness is assisted by the repulsive character of the technical or professional vocabulary of education, which seems to eliminate everything that has life or soul. Pedagogy; other; school-places; elementary, primary, higher-grade, central and secondary schools; grant-earning schools; aided schools; curriculum; matriculation; school

certificates; 'higher schools,' 'general schools' (these are two examinations), educationist, and all the rest of the jargon—is it strange that everyone but the enthusiast and the professional passes by on the other side when he hears such language being used? All the more does he try not to listen for its being constantly in his ears. No people talk so much or so often about their own business as the professional teacher and the educationist. (This may seem a false dichotomy: logically, yes; but not in practice. The two may coincide, but need not.) From the august periods of the Headmasters' Conference to the lively conversation of the National Union of Teachers educational talk is always in our ears and before our eyes. It does not interest the world at all. Not that men and women of the world take actually no interest in all that the word 'education' is meant to cover—they are interested in children and human nature—but what concern for education they have is blunted altogether by the aspects of it presented to them. They do not care enough to try to get behind the setting that disgusts them and remain ignorant of almost all that is done in the educational way. Start after dinner some educational subject, and at any ordinary table it will fall dead flat. Ask anyone what is a secondary school, and it is ten to one he will not be able to tell you; it has been taken to mean a second-rate school. They have heard of board schools, which they continue to describe by that name, school boards having come to an end over twenty years ago. There is no encouragement to 'take up' education. Nobody will take much interest in your work or your hobby if you do.

Education, it must be admitted, is not a good 'line' for the ambitious person: it leads to little—an amazing conclusion, in view of the content of education rightly understood. It is significant that no aspiring politician of outstanding ability has ever chosen Education as his portfolio. He has not seen in it many possibilities. Mr. Churchill, who has nearly completed the *cursus honorum*, omitted the Board of Education. The Board of Education is regarded politically as one of the minor jobs. Yet what might not have been the prestige of a public man who, taking the Education Department, set himself to the work of abolishing once for all large classes? It would be, of course, an immense undertaking; it would mean a struggle with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and with the counties and county boroughs; the Minister might be overruled and go under. But the risk would be worth taking. That large classes could be got rid of, given the will, no one intimate with educational administration will doubt. It could not be done in a day, of course, but it could be secured that after comparatively few years there should be no class, say, of over twenty-five children. The

particular number is nothing; it is a point for experts. The essential thing is that there should be no classes too large for a teacher to deal with effectively. Everybody knows that while we have classes as large as are very many now, there can be no real education of the children affected. The teacher is faced with an impossibility. The expense would be enormous; the increase in buildings and teachers would be alarming to the country; but the case could be made out. If it is worth while having compulsory education at all, it must be worth while to make it effective. To that there is no possible answer. The public could be made to see it; and the Government or the man who carried it through would never be forgotten. But such a Government or Minister will not arise. No one is going to take risks for education. Mr. Fisher preferred to abandon compulsory continuation schools—his own child—to resigning. Mr. Lloyd George would not face immediate unpopularity for the sake of a great constructive reform. Evidently education cannot count on any sort of devotion amongst public men. Is it strange, then, that the public take no lively interest in it? They allow much to be done and much to be spent, but their interest is nearly exhausted in a grumble. We all know the squire—maybe now comparatively rare, though probably it is rather that he keeps his views more to himself—who thinks educating the working classes all a mistake; who challenges you to show that they are either happier or better for it; who assures you that the best man he has by some good luck never learnt to read; that it is education that makes it so difficult to get maidservants; that we have been going down the hill all the time we have been spending so much on schools.

But did you not go to Winchester yourself? someone says. He has to admit that he did; but offers the excuse or set-off that he learnt very little at school—the good he did get was from games, and not in the study.

This attitude is not simply to be despised: there is something in it which has to be met. The good squire never comes across the real things in education that would appeal to him: he sees only its machinery.

A more numerous type than our squire is the man who is not reactionary—who recognises the need for a certain amount of education, but cannot see that in fact it has done much good; if education is good for the masses, he can only say that at present it must be on wrong lines. It is quite useless to meet this type by telling him, as Sir Charles Trevelyan did the other day, that 'we have evolved one of the best elementary school systems in the world.' Optimism, he would say, is easy. Show me the proof. No amount of statistics will impress this man.

It is not systems he is concerned about, but boys and girls—the boys and girls he employs in his office. Are we getting value for the money spent by the State on their education?

Then there is the largest group of all, which probably includes most of the middle and professional classes as well as a great many working people. These are friendly to education and acquiesce in its being compulsory; they do not mind 'spending a bit' on it, and would be willing to spend more if they were sure it would bring more results. But they are not sure; they have doubts whether the country is getting full value for its education money. They would not say that the elementary boy and girl of to-day show no advance on the boy and girl of twenty years ago, but they do not show as much as might be expected. Especially in capacity to think for itself he finds the youth of to-day deficient; or, at least, not nearly so efficient as it ought to be. In short, he thinks the country ought to get a better and more finished 'article' for its money than it does. Unfortunately he does think and express himself in terms of manufacture, which discloses a conception of education certain to prevent him judging any educational problem justly. You cannot, happily, 'turn out' boys and girls from school as articles from a factory. But the fallacy is a natural one, in view of much that they hear, or hear of, from the professed educationist. Political speeches on education generally take a mechanical turn. The layman cannot find an answer in public speeches or official documents to the questions he is thinking of. He does not want details of machinery and methods. That is the expert's job. What he wants, in short, to know is, What are we aiming at in education? His mind might be stated in three questions: What is our port? Where are we? Whither are we tending? He wants a survey of the whole field. Able expositions of schemes and policy abound. The Board of Education is bursting with them; but the official can no more escape through the meshes of his office than the politician through the meshes of his party. Neither of them can independently survey the field. Neither public man nor official, were he convinced that compulsory education was a failure, dare say as much.

But that is just the general question on which the public want a considered view. It may be all right, but we want to know where we are. What does it all come to? Either way, a survey that has the confidence of the lay public must do good. On the one hand, it might assure the layman that education was justifying itself—that he was getting, or certainly soon would get, value for his money. Or it might conclude that the layman's suspicions were borne out—that education had not had the effect that was hoped for and was on wrong lines. That would be a

painful finding, indeed, but better in any case to have the truth out.

Would there be any extraordinary difficulty in setting up an inquiry such as we have been contemplating? What is wanted is a small committee of laymen. There must be no educationist or it, no schoolmaster or schoolmistress, no university don, no director of education or education officer; no one connected with the Board of Education, either past or present; especially no ex-President, nor any other public man who has 'taken up' education. To gain the confidence of the public the committee must be absolutely lay, otherwise it would be suspect by large numbers on the look out for faddism and professional bias. Not altogether unreasonably. It is very difficult for even the best and ablest of men to get outside their work and see it from the outside point of view, but that is just the view wanted in this case. Men of affairs, cultivated men of the world, who have seen much of men and women, are wanted for this job. It should not be very difficult to find an ex-judge of wit and wisdom to act as chairman. There should be a sailor and a soldier—it is easy to think of good men for the work from both services. Then a commercial man and a banker (Walter Leaf would have been very suitable) and, perhaps, a great railway official (some ex-general manager), and, of course, one or two women (some great lady socially with brains and perhaps a welfare worker who knows young girls well)—all these would be wanted. A Labour member would, of course, be necessary. It might be left to the Trade Union Congress to nominate a man, on the strict condition that he was not professionally or publicly connected with education. Ecclesiastics present a difficulty. Many of them—including some bishops without sees—are especially suited to serve on such an inquiry, but they are all associated with education in a semi-professional way. Also, the public might not be confident that an ecclesiastical member could approach vexed questions of religious education without prejudice. It seems that the clergy—Anglican, Roman, or Nonconformist—could serve only as witnesses. The secretary would be appointed by the committee itself, or by the chairman under the same disability as to connexion with education.

In such a committee the average man and woman should have confidence. They would feel that this was a different matter from any of the departmental committees, who were always issuing reports they could not understand. These were plain men and women, however distinguished, with whom the man in the street could be in sympathy.

As for the reference, I should be taking myself much too seriously if I produced a detailed draft of the questions to be

submitted to the committee. No one who has read this article so far will find any great difficulty in imagining the sort of questions the committee would be concerned with. Roughly the inquiry would be occupied with these points: What are we aiming at? Where are we? Whither are we tending? It would be an inquiry into the realities of education—realities permanent and underlying all policy and all machinery, but seldom appearing in speeches or reports. The proposal, for instance, to raise the school age, which we will assume the committee approve, would interest the committee, not on the side of providing room enough and enough teachers, for they would know that such matters always settle themselves; but how, they would ask, are you going to produce and recruit teachers of a higher calibre than the average elementary teacher for your senior schools? Without this higher type of teacher it is useless to expect much from the new schools. Do the Board quite know what sort of teacher is wanted? At present they are providing for the necessary tale of teachers by asking the training colleges to take so many more students. That is to say, the extra teachers will be of the same type and trained in exactly the same way as the elementary teacher of to-day, whose inability to enable his older scholars to use their time to better advantage has prompted the new policy. The committee would not need to go into any details of organisation or finance. They would be concerned rather with that which organisation has to express and finance to enable.

Their fundamental aim would be to arrive at a right conception of the process of education. Varro's phrase (if he did say it), '*educat nutrix*,' is not a bad guide. Whatever he exactly meant, it is true that the nurse's care of, or at least duty to, her charge goes nearer to true education than most processes that pass under the name. It is a mistake, as well as etymologically incorrect, to suggest that education is concerned only with drawing out. Putting in is also an essential part of the process; but what you put in must be digested, that it may be transformed and reproduced as blood and muscle. Information swallowed and not digested does actual mischief, so far from being absorbed and then given out in the form of thought. Perhaps the best analogy is the gardener's care of a plant. The plant will grow on its own lines; all the gardener can do is to *assist* the plant by giving it right food in the form of soil and water and light; by general attention based on thoughtful observation. The gardener's function is not mechanical. He cannot *make* the plant do anything. Neither can the teacher make a child this thing or that. He can assist the child's development and give him sustenance that he can assimilate and convert into thought

on his own account. The true teacher will have his mind fixed, not on the child as he is, but on what he will be ten years after he has left school. What he does may by a figure be described as sowing seed. He will not look for fruit in the time for flower nor flower in the time for leaves. The nurseryman (the use of the word is significant) analogy has been severely criticised, but I doubt if our committee will be able to find a better. One may assume that the members of the committee would make a point of visiting representative training colleges, conferring in every case with the principal and staff and conversing with the students. These colleges are fed mainly from the secondary schools, which are perhaps the greatest constructive success the Board of Education has achieved. In the secondary schools—especially, I think, in the girls' schools—one is conscious of an atmosphere of great hopefulness. Yet how many of these training college students will our committee find possessed of any thoughtful conception of education, whether on the nurseryman analogy or any other? Assume that the students—men or women—of the college visited are of an exceptionally high quality. Beyond passing the examination necessary to qualify for their profession, will they take an intellectual interest in their work? Have they mental background? Are their interests intellectual? Can they or do they desire to study by themselves? Do they read books on their own account apart from examinations? They assiduously attend lectures, scrupulously, or slavishly, taking down the precise words of the lecturer. It is less hard work to take down what someone else says and learn it by heart than to think for yourself.

Unless this view of training college students on the intellectual side is wide of the truth—and I doubt if anybody familiar with these colleges will say it is—have we not here the explanation of most of the shortcomings complained of by the public in the results of compulsory education?

Is it strange that those who are without intellectual interest, who avoid thinking for themselves, who adopt any mechanical means of shirking thought, should be unable to stir intellectual interest in the boys and girls they teach in the elementary school? Can we expect children to try to think for themselves unless their teachers do? Is it not natural that they should prefer to swallow *en bloc* and commit to memory what the teacher tells them, and reproduce it, with great *éclat*, in examination time, to labouring to understand it and make it their own?

Naturally the teacher gets his pupils to do as he did—take down from him cut-and-dried information as he took it from the lecturer at college. Read (I speak from knowledge) the essays of the 'best' scholars. They are too often such as no child

could possibly write. Happily not! Flowery, stilted stuff without a spontaneous suggestion. The prize child copies his teacher instead of thinking. No able boy or girl could spend two years in the highest standard under such teaching without deteriorating. I remember asking a boy who had for a long while been doing the Napoleonic Wars as his 'period' in history to tell me of some man of mark of that time. His mind seemed to be a blank, and it was not until my colleagues and I had assisted him with suggestions that at last he said 'Napoleon.'

Why is history nearly always a weak subject with elementary boys and girls? They dislike it. I have asked many, but so far I have not come across more than two all told whose favourite subject was history. Why? It seems most unnatural. Of all things, one would have thought history—the exciting doings of men and women—could be easily commended to the child mind. There must be something wrong somewhere. I suspect that our committee would ask some questions about the number and variety of subjects taught in the schools, especially the secondary schools. Nearly all teachers agree that too many subjects are taught; but they plead the exigencies of examinations. Their pupils *must* be got through these examinations: they cannot help themselves. I feel greatly for the teachers; theirs is a very hard case. Our committee would do good service by tackling the whole question of examinations. It is difficult to get at the truth. Too many concerned in professional education are committed to the present system. Examinations are generally described as a necessary evil. Certainly, if Sir Charles Oman is right, it is a great evil at Oxford. In the *Quarterly Review* for January 1929 Sir Charles Oman says:

Essentially speaking, the Oxford curriculum is planned purely with a view to success in examinations, not to the increase of learning. It fares ill with the undergraduate of good parts who swerves from the prescribed subjects and becomes attracted to studies which, as his tutor assures him, will not pay.

Do not blame the tutor: he has no choice. But on Sir Charles Oman's showing the examination element is plainly hurtful to Oxford education. Most teachers think the same of the first and second school examinations. I thought, when they were proposed, that these examinations, if set going, would dominate the secondary schools, and they have. Reading for its own sake becomes impossible.

There is another matter which would especially interest our committee, and on which their conclusions should be very valuable. Is a 'humane' or 'practical' education the better training for the world and for life? Is the university man

better or worse at business than other men? I remember a very interesting series of interviews with prominent men of business organised by the Education Committee of the London County Council. These men's views on education were not what, probably, most people would expect. I remember the general manager of a great railway saying he preferred men for his offices who had had a classical education. He particularly emphasised Greek. Generally they had little use for the teaching of 'business methods' or other 'practical' subjects. What they wanted was well-educated boys and girls. Give them that foundation, and they would have no difficulty in adding 'practical' knowledge.

One might hope that the committee would go deeply into the teacher problem. The teacher undoubtedly is the greatest factor in education next to the taught. It is a pity this is not more generally realised. In fact, most of us do not know very much of teachers: we are rather out of sympathy with them. We do not recognise their influence, which is greater morally and spiritually than intellectually. The elementary teacher is the only person who has touch with and knows the real mass of the people—the average boy and girl. He knows them simply because they are compelled to come before him. Where there is no compulsion you will find only a small sample. It is the clergyman's constant regret that he cannot get at the mass. The politician knows nothing of them. The trade union leader organises his men, but he does not know them face to face as the teacher knows his. Yet teachers are rather a class apart. Superior probably to most of those around them, they often lack the social recognition they consider their education warrants. Thus thrown back on themselves, teachers tend to live in a professional groove, which is bad for them and for education. Yet the teacher, if he could realise it, has the best of the argument. The possibilities in the faces he meets every day are infinite. What material can be compared with children? If teachers think they are not given their due place, as they are not, if they are often lonely, as they are, let them take heart—Christ himself did not refuse the title of teacher.

•HAROLD HODGE.

AN EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

II. THE AIM: AN EDUCATED DEMOCRACY

Human government can be no better in the end than human nature, and popular self-government will continue to be a difficult machine to work in practice, until the political education of the people has reached a very much higher level. The end of government is not merely good government, but the education of the people in good government, its self-education in running its own affairs. (GENERAL SMUTS.)

. . . in that tradition of education which I have called English I feel that we have ready to our hand the instrument that can create the educated democracy, upon which the whole future depends. . . . (DR. CYRIL NORWOOD, *The English Tradition of Education*.)

It is easy to dream of an educated democracy. It is when one meets democracy in the streets, the picture palaces, the professional football grounds, that one realises the immensity of the task of raising the general level of its education. Yet Dr. Cyril Norwood believes that the instrument is ready to our hand. The English tradition of education—a tradition based upon religion, relying largely upon team games, with a many-sided intellectual appeal, purged of Puritanism, and ‘inspired by the duty of preparing all for the service of their generation’—will achieve the task. All that is necessary, according to the headmaster of Harrow, is to implant the tradition firmly *in every type of school* (my italics), and the educated democracy will follow, as the day the night.

We need not quarrel with the tradition. It is altogether magnificent, altogether English. But where does it exist, outside a few favoured public schools? Where can it exist? Who is going to undertake the task of inculcating it elsewhere? A tradition based upon religion—while the endless dispute between secular and denominational schools lingers on interminably; relying largely upon team games—when only the smallest fraction of the public elementary schools has any decent facilities for organised games; with a many-sided intellectual appeal—with a school-leaving age for the vast majority of fourteen, shortly to be raised in the teeth of determined opposition to fifteen, just the age at which intellectual appeal may expect to receive the first fruits of response; purged of Puritanism—when

the finest elements among the masses of the people are essentially Puritan; and ‘inspired by the duty of preparing all for the service of their generation’—when the task of preparing all to earn their daily bread and butter is almost beyond the capacity of the overburdened and overdriven elementary school teacher. Yes, it is a magnificent tradition, and altogether English; it has its roots deep in our rough island story—but in present circumstances it has no connexion whatever with the great majority of the English people.

There always have been, and in pessimistic moments I am inclined to believe there always will be, two English nations. There certainly are to-day; they live apart from each other, are educated differently, think differently, are, in fact, complete strangers to each other. Each respects and admires the other, up to a point and at a distance. It is not impossible to pass from one nation to the other, but it takes at least two generations to make the transition with any completeness. Not until the educational needs of *both* these two nations are fully met shall we have an educated democracy in England. For centuries the one nation has fed, clothed, educated (or neglected to educate), governed and *thought for* the other—done everything for it, in short, except recognise it on equal terms. Now at last the other nation, that is, the great mass of the people, is struggling to achieve equality, and is being met with every kind of assistance likely to baffle its efforts, simply because the ruling or privileged classes are quite incapable of thinking in terms of any life other than their own, and consequently, whenever they venture outside that life, are either insulting (quite unconsciously, and with the utmost politeness) or utterly ludicrous.

To turn specifically to education. The one nation decided long ago the education it desired for its children, and it perverted the public schools (originally founded in most cases, it will be remembered, for *poor* scholars) to make them serve its purpose; and well indeed they have served it. The English public school boy, with all his faults, is undoubtedly the finest type of gentleman on earth, and it is not his fault if he knows nothing of life outside his own immediate circle. The English public school, with all its faults, is probably the healthiest, and often the most beautiful, environment in which a boy could spend his years of adolescence. And what of the English elementary school and its slightly more favoured brother, the English secondary school? Pause for a moment to consider this contribution of the privileged classes for the benefit of the unprivileged; for the elementary school and the secondary school have been designed, financed, and controlled throughout almost exclusively by the privileged, by those who have never entered their doors either as pupils or

as teachers, by those who, inspired by the duty of service to their generation, have never understood the generation they have served.

The English elementary school career begins at five—that is, at least three years too late. We are still talking in this country of the provision of nursery schools; and while we talk the infants play in the gutter (having nowhere else to play) and the fittest survive. The others contract all the diseases which modern civilisation has to offer; and anyone who has watched the children of the poor being carried through the streets to the infirmary in the early hours of the morning can testify how loathsome those are. The English elementary school career ends at fourteen, at an age when the public school career is just beginning. During those nine years—or at least during the first seven of them, for the English elementary school has never quite acquired the technique of teaching children over twelve—the child is as well taught as the circumstances permit. And what are those circumstances? Horrible overcrowding, incredibly large classes, almost complete lack of clean air, the meagrest provision of material, insufficiently educated and trained teachers, and regimentation from above persistent and depressing enough to chill the enthusiasm of the bravest idealist. What chance is there for our ancient tradition of education to flourish in such places? And this provision is considered good enough for the children of the masses; we are, in fact, rather proud of our elementary school system. I have heard it described as the best in the world. God help the rest, if that be true. What there is of good in it, and there is much that is good in it, is due entirely to the amazing courage and determination of those who have in their work triumphed over circumstances.

We now provide secondary schools for a few of the children who begin their career in the elementary school. A competitive examination of the utmost ferocity guards entry to these schools, and through its narrow meshes creep the super-industrious, the super-coached, and the lucky ones with the examination flair. On the rest the door of opportunity shuts for ever, unless the parents are prepared and able to pay a sort of income tax called fees. Then—strange illustration of English justice—the child will be admitted almost irrespective of the quality and quantity of his intelligence, and educated at a cost to his parents of about one-third what his education costs the school. Our secondary schools are full of these parasites; and nobody seems to mind.

The English secondary school, knowing no better, has throughout its short career set itself to play the sedulous ape to the public school. It has set out to rival it in intellectual achievement, in athletic prowess, in organisation; it is even the main ambition of

many a secondary school to be called a public school, an ambition it can realise by getting its headmaster on to what is called the Headmasters' Conference—not that the school is one whit the better for the title or is any more a public school. This attempt on the part of the English secondary school to ape the existing aristocracy is one of the most serious minor tragedies of English education to-day, for it has been provocative of more airs without graces than any other cause. Had the English secondary school in 1902 seriously faced the problem of providing higher education for the children of the masses of the people, had it realised that it was up against an entirely new set of circumstances, and struck out boldly on lines fit to meet those circumstances instead of almost slavishly copying a system that had worked well enough in other but totally different circumstances, then the tale of 1930 would have been a very different and a much happier one. Some time ago I wrote about the secondary school boy an article¹ in which I professed my admiration of and belief in him. I now admire and believe in him still more, for I appreciate more deeply his desperately adverse circumstances. He has in the main fought a good fight, and if he has gone under or failed of his ambition, the fault has been in his stars and not in himself.

As for the so-called central schools which a kindly providence has now thought fit to provide for the lesser able of the abler pupils from the elementary school, they are a sheer mockery and a delusion. The more favoured and better of them are fighting their way through to recognition as secondary schools; and good luck to them in the fight, though it is the last thing they were intended to do. But to be asked to do secondary school work, and that of an experimental nature, under elementary school conditions of service, was, indeed, a straw fit to break any camel's back. It is said that in some places the central schools are a success. Success in what? In proving that with however many difficulties you confront an English teacher he will, if he is a good specimen of the type, overcome them somehow and deliver the goods. What sort of goods, and what becomes of them after delivery, let no one inquire too closely.

Regarded as an instrument for giving the masses of the people sufficient haphazard education to make them definitely discontented with their lot without affording them any sure means of bettering it, the English State system of education is superb. Regarded as an instrument for the education of a democracy, it is ludicrously inefficient. Simply because the people in whose hands it has grown up have never understood the people for whom it was to cater. They have never entered into their life sufficiently to appreciate their needs. They have never treated them as

¹ 'The Secondary School Boy,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, February 1927

equals, but always as an inferior race to whom some measure of education ought to be given, not specifically in their own interests, but in order that they might be more efficient and capable servants. Thinking in terms of their own life, they have offered them a distinctly inferior brand of their own education, shorter in duration, infinitely cheaper and much more utilitarian. They have never touched the problem of their political education; it never occurred to them to do so, for they themselves were quite capable of doing all the government that was necessary in the good old days, and so long as they could be assured of an adequate supply of clerks to run their offices, of butchers, bakers and candlestick makers to keep their homes in comfortable order, they felt no necessity of any more specialised assistance. Hence all the clutter and clatter of recent years about vocational education. Who ever heard about vocational education in any public school, Oundle excepted? And at Oundle Sanderson was never interested in vocational education, for all that people said he was. He was interested in education, and was fumbling his way to a modern conception, having realised (what few other educationists appear yet to realise) that the Middle Ages have definitely ceased to be, and that it was time someone began to think about the meaning of education in the modern world. How he must have laughed when all men conspired to praise his work and to tell him that it was quite true that education was too academic and bookish, and how glad they were to see that boys were at last learning something that would be really useful to them! And how in his heart he must have treasured his ideal of a temple of silence, right in the heart of his school, where spiritual values could be worshipped in reverential awe!

We shall never get any approach to an educated democracy in this country until we realise clearly one or two very hard facts. First, that before you can have an educated democracy you must offer your democracy an education that is likely to make it one. And that education has got to be thought out in England from the very beginning, and right through from A to Z, without prejudice, without longing side-glances at any type of education, however good, now in existence, but quite dispassionately and solely with regard to the facts. We can start with one *a priori* assumption only, and that is that there is as good material in the sea of democracy as ever came out of any other sea. Then we can get down to the business of studying the environments, that from which our material comes and that to which its ability could carry it if it were properly nurtured and trained. In the course of that investigation we shall probably realise that any attempt to model our elementary and secondary school systems on the preparatory and public school systems is foredoomed to failure.

Secondly, we must appreciate that, as Dr. Cyril Norwood is at some pains to emphasise in *The English Tradition of Education*, no education can produce an educated democracy which does not place spiritual values first. In the public schools this has always been realised, and in most cases acted up to in practice; in the schools provided for the children of the masses, only rarely has it been realised, and still more rarely has it been possible to give evidence of the realisation in practice. Culture is a much abused word, and one to-day all too unfortunate in its connotation; but it is culture that is wanted in our State schools, culture of the Godhead that is in these children of ours. And whether that culture is to be obtained through the head or the hands or the feet matters not one whit provided it be obtained; give the children the facilities for obtaining it, and they will experiment until you or they will discover their way to it. Thirdly, if a democracy educated politically is desired—and surely it must be if democracy as a principle of human government is to persist—you must commence the process in the school. If government is to be of the people by the people for the people it must be understood of the people; and the child of the people must grow up with the idea of democratic government. It is useless to expect, as General Smuts apparently does, the universities to train the generations in leadership: that will never produce an educated democracy; it will make government the close preserve of the few. England knows a very great deal about training for leadership (though not all), and a very great deal of how to make university life impossible for all except the comparatively well-to-do; and the combined knowledge will quite certainly exclude from leadership, as it has excluded in the past, all too many of the poor but indigent, who, even if they reach the university (which they all too rarely do), will start with too great a handicap if they have not already received specific training. No, if school is an apprenticeship for life—and we are exceedingly fond of saying that it is—it must be an apprenticeship for public as well as private life; and it must be made that, not by talking about civics—a futile process—but by living civics. In educational circles we talk and talk and talk about teaching civics, and no one seems to get one step further; of course not, because one cannot teach civics. And all the time the golden opportunity lies ready to our hands; every school is a community already partly organised, and wanting only the touch of the expert to turn it into a model of governmental or local administration. Every child might, if the opportunity were seized, live his school life in his miniature State, finding within it the career open to talent, and then pass out into the greater State with a developed and sane comprehension of how the affairs of a community are managed.

School is an apprenticeship for life ; let us rest on that phrase, for it has meaning and encloses the truth. Not quite the whole truth, however, when we are considering the education of our English people. Enlarge it a little, and you get the whole truth ; school is an apprenticeship from life to life. In plain words, you want an educated democracy in England ; very well, then you must be prepared to take the children of the people and rigorously train them away from the life in which they have hitherto grown up. You must apprentice them to a higher, cleaner, broader life ; and you must start from the beginning. You must literally clothe them and feed them and wash them and teach them deportment and manners (they do all this in the infant departments of many an elementary school, without instruction or thanks) ; you must assume that they know nothing, and are likely to know nothing, but what you teach them of art, literature, music, politics, economics, ethics, morality (except a savage individualism) and religion ; that their taste is already corrupt and will grow more corrupt if you do not train it strenuously ; that their environment is all against ideas of service, courage, truth, honesty and justice ; and that all you have to rely upon is, first, a preternaturally clear and sharpened intelligence, and secondly, a devotion and love which, if fostered, will awaken all the finer elements of character. Your assumption will be unfair in many cases, but it is safer to make it. Then you must envisage life—all life, every aspect of life ; and you must work out your scheme of training for these children. You must not forget education for livelihood, nor for leisure, nor for the public life, but you must devise it in terms of the life from which these children start and in terms of the life they may achieve. No easy task this, but it has the merit of being one which has not yet been attempted in this country. All we have done so far is to try to impose upon these children a little learning (without preparing the ground for the reception of that learning), a little skill (without reference to whether that skill is really a necessity or not ; someone said recently that the problem of practical work in schools was one about which we must be prepared to do a lot of hard thinking ; it certainly is, for so far we have done too much experimenting with practical work without any really hard thought about the matter at all), a little taste (again without preparation of the ground), and a little and rather confused notion of better things, vaguely presented and rarely brought within reach. A few children have won through in spite of all obstacles ; as for the rest, well, they have just drifted into some sort of inadequate life. And most of them are too good to drift.

H. C. DENT.

AN EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

III. THE FUTURE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Is there a future ? In his book ¹ published last year Mr. Hill appears to be very doubtful whether public schools will still exist in the future scheme of things ; after more than thirty years as a schoolmaster he ' does not see that any place can be assigned to Eton or any similar foundation in English life of A.D. 2000.'

This pessimism is alarming, but there are solid grounds for it. The increase of taxation, which presses so hardly on the professional class, the development of national secondary schools with unlimited money provided by the taxpayer, the hostility of the Labour Party to what are regarded as strongholds of class prejudice—all these are factors that must be taken into account if we are to consider the future of public schools. How long will parents be able, and willing, to pay from 150*l.* to 300*l.* a year, over a period of at least nine years, for the education of their sons, when they must also, through taxes, pay their share in the provision of State schools, in some respects perhaps better equipped for the purpose ? Why should England be the only country in the world where such a state of affairs prevails to any large extent ? And is it likely that this will continue ? These questions demand an answer which it is the purpose of this article to try to supply.

First let us turn to the past. There even the smallest amount of research reveals the fact that public schools have always had critics who prophesied their extinction ; frequently they have been the target of such general abuse and criticism that it seems amazing that they have survived. For some reason, difficult to follow, opponents and supporters of public schools tend to go to extremes of criticism or praise.

In the year 1784 William Cowper wrote the poem *Tirocinium ; or, A Review of Schools*, in the form of a letter to a friend trying to persuade him not to send his sons to a public school. After describing in flowery language the splendid home training of the boy until the time when he is old enough to go to school the author proceeds :

¹ *Eton and Elsewhere*, by M. D. Hill, published by John Murray.
Vol. CVII—No. 635

Would you your son should be a sot or dunce,
 Lascivious, headstrong, or all these at once ;
 That in good time the stripling's finished taste
 For loose expense and fashionable waste
 Should prove your ruin, and his own at last ;
 Train him in public with a mob of boys,
 Childish in mischief only and in noise,
 Else of a mannish growth, and five in ten
 In infidelity and lewdness men.

After describing the bad habits that the boy may be expected to acquire, Cowper goes on to deliver a slashing attack on the teaching given at public schools, and finally, after 200 lines describing all the evils of the age, he ends up by attributing them all to the training given at these institutions :

See womanhood despised, and manhood shamed
 With infamy too nauseous to be named,
 Fops at all corners lady-like in mien,
 Civeted fellows, smelt ere they are seen ;
 Now flushed with drunkenness, now with whoredom pale,
 Their breath a sample of last night's regale ;
 All these, and more like these, were bred at schools.
 And if it chance, as sometimes chance it will,
 That though school-bred the boy be virtuous still,
 Such rare exceptions, shining in the dark,
 Prove, rather than impeach, the just remark.

In 1860 and 1861 some serious criticisms of public schools appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Review*, with the result that a Royal Commission was appointed to make a thorough investigation into the public schools of the country. The report of this Commission makes interesting reading, and the necessity for reform was in most cases thoroughly justified. *The Times* in an article which appeared on March 28, 1864, gives to its readers the following summary of the report of the Commission :

In one word we may say that the Commissioners find public school education to be a failure.

In 1897 the following occurs in a leading article in the *Athenæum* :

Life at an ordinary public school is gregarious, in our opinion to an unhealthy extent ; it is lived by the standard of a rather dull majority, much preoccupied with things of the body and hampered by very obtuse traditions.

To come to more recent times we read in the *English Review* in 1912 :

It is not an exaggeration to say that fully half of the boys who go to our public schools come away mental derelicts, incapable of concentration, their whole outlook focussed on their own personal pleasure and gratifications, looking at all serious things and at all men who work seriously with

contempt. The truth is that the public school spirit has had its day. In bygone times they were hard training places of character and mind ; they fashioned men. In their modern conditions of ease, plutocratic luxury, and emasculate laxity they no longer turn out the men that England requires ; they no longer educate the boys adequately or sensibly ; rather they mould them into vapid useless creatures who are neither men nor gentlemen.

Finally in 1919 we find an article entitled ' The Public Schools ' which sums up the matter as follows :

Sooner or later parents will realise the facts that boys do no work at school, that they are taught next to nothing, that the spiritual and intellectual life does not exist for them, that for want of something better they have made a god of games.

A damning indictment ; and yet it heralded ten years of the greatest popularity and prosperity that the public schools have ever known. The years 1919 to 1929 have seen most of the older foundations crammed beyond bursting point ; newer foundations, after many years of struggling existence, at last firmly established with the magic number of 300 boys, laid down by Thring as the ideal size of a public school ; while to meet the growing demand for accommodation several new schools have been founded.

What is the reason for it ? Will it continue ? What of the future ? Without answering these questions for the moment, I give it as my personal opinion that there is only one thing that can interfere with the continued prosperity of the public schools, and that is the establishment of State boarding schools. I believe that the educated classes in England have got the idea firmly fixed in their minds that for those important years in a boy's life it is better that the whole of his education—moral, mental and physical—should be handed over to specialists. So long, therefore, as the public schools can attract to their staffs the right type of master (and on account of their improved finances they were never better able to do so than at present), so long will the demand continue, and until some other alternative is presented I believe that the future of the public schools is assured.

What of the alternative ? Is there any chance that the State will intervene and establish boarding schools of an accepted model throughout the country ? This question has been discussed before. On the grounds of health alone various writers have suggested that though we cannot bring the country and the seaside to the overcrowded towns, yet we can take the children to the country and the seaside. Personally I am inclined to think that the task would be too difficult and too costly to be undertaken with any hope of success. It must always be remembered that the public schools are not commercial concerns ; legally they are charities, and, actually, the great majority have been built up over long periods

very largely by the generous gifts of old boys and other supporters. If the public schools had been compelled to provide out of their own resources the capital cost of all their buildings and equipment, the fees they would have to charge would be so enormous that I do not believe there would be half a dozen that could continue to exist. If the State were to enter the market it would have to satisfy the public demand for school chapels, playing fields, fives courts, swimming baths, libraries—in fact, the whole of the equipment which most public schools nowadays possess, but which in their case has been largely provided by founders and benefactors.

Turning from this side of the subject to the more general one of the future of the public schools themselves, it is interesting to observe what is going on in the United States. There we have a great democratic country with a highly-developed system of free education. In most of the States there is keen rivalry that their schools shall be the best that money can provide, and nothing is spared in order that the equipment and teaching should be up to date. It would be impertinent in an article like this to attempt any criticism of American education, and I shall not try, but for some of the results I would point to a book by Judge Ben Lindsey, recently published, entitled *The Revolt of Modern Youth*. The object of this writer is to present a picture of what is happening to the youth of America, and it is certainly illuminating. Whether as a result of the tendencies there described or whether as a natural growth, it is very striking that the last few years have seen an enormous increase in the number and importance of American private schools, or what in our absurd terminology we should describe as public schools. A few of the best known of these are—Exeter, founded in 1783 and now a great school with more than 600 boys; St. Paul's, which dates back to 1855 and now has more than 400 boys; Groton, whose first headmaster, Dr. Peabody, has a great name in American education; Laurenceville, with more than 400 boys; St. Mark's, founded by Joseph Burnett in 1865; Hill School, which in 1876 had only two masters and twenty boys, but developed in the next thirty years to a school of forty masters and 375 boys, in spite of being twice burnt down during this period; Andover, founded in 1778 by Samuel Phillips for "the promotion of true piety and virtue," which now has more than 600 boys.

These schools, whose fees vary between 200*l.* and 350*l.* a year, have shown great vitality during the last twenty years, and some idea of the enthusiasm of their old boys can be drawn from the enormous sums of money subscribed for new buildings, scholarships and other needs of the schools. In a few years St. Paul's raised 600,000*l.*, Andover 400,000*l.*, Exeter 200,000*l.*, while many others have raised sums of money which are positively staggering

when compared with what our English public schools would consider as generous support from their own old boys. At the same time, during the last twenty years, many other schools have been founded, while others have grown in importance, and there is no doubt that the private school is now a serious factor in American education.

These private schools are very much on the models of our English public schools, though, naturally, there are differences which to a superficial observer might appear important. The bedrock principles, however, are the same:

- * (1) They are boarding schools.
- (2) They are non-local, bringing together boys from all parts of the country and from the most varied social and industrial surroundings.
- (3) They take over the whole life of the boy for the greater part of his years of growth, and accept responsibility for the whole of his education—moral, mental, and physical.

Why has this come about? To suggest that it is entirely due to social or class prejudice is not a sufficient explanation, and in a country like the United States counts for much less than it does here in England.²

First, there is the fact that in most cases, if boys have money (and if they come from wealthy homes it is impossible to keep them without it), then it is not practicable for parents to exercise sufficient supervision and restraint over their sons in the hours of the day when they are away from school. Secondly, and more important, the day school fails to provide the powerful feeling of loyalty to a community that is so valuable in the development of a boy's character. Lastly, and most important of all, with the genus boy slow growth is the best growth, and the boarding school, with its interests in games and athletic contests, keeps a boy young.

This biological principle, so imperfectly understood even in English public schools, which nevertheless act on it universally, has been expressed as follows by Professor Stanley Hall in his great work on *Adolescence*:

The higher the order of the creature, the slower, as a rule, is its progress towards maturity, and any attempt to hasten adolescence is a sin against nature, often ending in mental atrophy, and even more serious physical and moral consequences.

Here in England, in our usual muddling way, years ago we stumbled unconsciously on this great truth, and I would go so far as to suggest that by the establishment of boarding schools, almost

² No doubt domestic difficulties are partly responsible, but I believe that it is mainly due to the gradual realisation, conscious or unconscious, that for sons of comparatively wealthy parents the day school is a failure.

unwittingly, we have done much to preserve the great qualities of our race.

If any illustration is necessary to show the result of ignoring this biological truth, I cannot do better than refer to that remarkable book *Mother India*. After making due allowance for the tropical climate and other exceptional factors, it is clear that the state of things there revealed is the result of the wholly abnormal age of maturity in India. All the evil results of too early assumption of manhood described by Professor Stanley Hall are in *Mother India* most clearly portrayed, and the picture is grim in its stark reality. Of course, India is an extreme example, but there are many educational authorities in France and Germany, to quote but two countries nearer home, who have come to the same conclusion as Professor Hall, and are urging the introduction of measures in their educational systems to keep the boy a boy as long as possible by methods similar to those employed in our English public schools.

It is almost universally acknowledged that the British possess a genius for government, and with our wide Empire it is essential that it should be so. Nine-tenths of the administrators of this Colonial Empire, scattered over the face of the globe, are the products, and not exceptional products, of the public schools. This is a fact which should make the Labour Party pause and reflect before they carry out their avowed intention of trying to abolish what they believe to be unwholesome nests of class prejudice and snobbery. Without admitting the truth of that premise, let us examine the possibilities of action in this direction, bearing, as it obviously does, most vitally on the future of the public schools. In this connexion it is interesting to note the result of similar action which has been attempted in recent years in the United States.

In the year 1922 the State of Oregon attempted to abolish all the private schools, *i.e.* all those which were not under State control. A law was actually passed enacting that these schools were to be closed by a certain date and that thereafter no private school should be opened within the borders of the State. Naturally enough, these schools were determined that they would not be wiped out without a struggle, and they appealed to the Federal courts for protection. Their appeal was completely successful, and in 1924 the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the action of the Government of the State of Oregon was unconstitutional. The decision of the Supreme Court contains the following words:

We think it entirely plain that the Act of 1922 unreasonably interferes with the liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control. The fundamental theory of

liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the State to standardise its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognise and prepare him for additional obligations.

In other words, it is declared as a fundamental principle that education is a function of the parent, and not of the State. By authority delegated by the parents to the State there exists the power to enact that children must be educated (and this is actually the law in England), but the parents have the right to choose the person to whom they will entrust the education of their children. The State can, and does, provide schools and teachers, but the parents cannot be forced to send their children to these schools if they prefer to have them educated elsewhere.

This is the essence of the struggle now going on between Mussolini and the Pope, the issue of which is still in doubt.

So far, in England, this battle has not yet been fought, but everything points to it as a possibility in the near future. Personally, I think that the time is past when such a conflict could possibly result in a victory for the State in this country. Public schools are too firmly established, and any attempt to sweep them into the State educational system, though it might have been successful in 1864, is now, I believe, doomed to failure.

To give some idea of the growth of public schools in recent years I give below a list of schools, showing the number of boys at each in the years 1912 and 1928. To avoid the invidious task of selection I have taken the schools given in some statistics published in *The Times Educational Supplement* of March 5, 1912. In an explanatory note *The Times* states that this list contains those public schools in which the majority of boys were boarders and whose headmasters were at that time members of the Headmasters' Conference. The numbers of boys at the schools in 1912 are taken from *The Times* article, while those for 1928 are taken from the current issue of the *Schoolmasters' Year Book*.

	1912	1928		1912	1928
Aldenham . . .	220	240	Cheltenham . . .	600	711
Beaumont . . .	230	250	Cheltenham, Dean		
Berkhamsted . .	450	550	Close . . .	220	270
Bishop's Stortford .	135	360	Chigwell . . .	103	225
Blundell's . . .	270	350	Christ's Hospital .	820	830
Bradfield . . .	275	366	Clifton . . .	650	770
Brighton . . .	250	600	Denstone . . .	292	350
Bromsgrove . . .	140	325	Dover . . .	200	320
Canterbury, King's			Durham . . .	102	285
School . . .	262	285	Eastbourne . . .	200	300
Canterbury, St. Ed-			Epsom . . .	285	390
mund's . . .	125	150	Eton . . .	1020	1131
Charterhouse . .	580	610	Felsted . . .	260	300

	1912	1928		1912	1928
Giggleswick . . .	144	210	Rugby . . .	570	633
Haileybury . . .	500	540	St. Bees . . .	280	230
Harrow . . .	537	668	St. Lawrence . . .	206	300
Holt . . .	205	250	Sedbergh . . .	220	415
Lancing . . .	228	383	Sherborne . . .	235	400
Leys . . .	160	250	Shrewsbury . . .	340	476
Malvern . . .	475	580	Stonyhurst . . .	320	400
Marlborough . . .	600	750	Tonbridge . . .	438	492
Mill Hill . . .	250	330	Trent . . .	150	220
Monkton Combe . . .	160	308	Uppingham . . .	450	480
Oakham . . .	100	230	Wellington . . .	492	600
Oundle . . .	350	565	Weymouth . . .	116	140
Oxford, Magdalen School . . .	100	160	Winchester . . .	450	450
Oxford, St. Edward's . . .	130	320	Woodbridge . . .	144	140
Radley . . .	240	320	Worcester, King's School . . .	150	215
Repton . . .	360	420			
Rossall . . .	300	530			
			Total . . .	17,089	22,373

Here we have some facts which give an indication as to the future of public schools. In the last sixteen years there has been an increase of 30 per cent. in the number of boys at the schools in the list quoted by *The Times* in 1912 as coming under the category of public schools. To the criticism that some of these schools would not now be included in such a list (owing to the fact that they are no longer independent or predominantly boarding schools), the answer is that there are at least an equal number which would now be included. A list made to-day would certainly contain the names of Downside, Cranleigh, Imperial Service College, Hurstpierpoint, etc., which have shown even greater expansion during the last sixteen years, while no account has been taken of new schools, like Stowe and Canford, which have been founded within the last few years.

During these sixteen years we have passed through a catastrophic period which has left the nation not only greatly impoverished, but more heavily burdened with taxation than ever before in English history. In spite of these factors the public schools have shown fully as great development as at any time during the last fifty years.

A further illustration of the growth in the importance of the public schools is given by the figures in the year 1866, taken from the *Public Schools Calendar* of that year, for what are now some of the best known schools.

Bradfield . . .	100	Sherborne . . .	186
Canterbury, King's School . . .	106	Shrewsbury . . .	183
Charterhouse . . .	138	Tonbridge . . .	170
Clifton . . .	260	Uppingham . . .	299
Lancing . . .	120	Wellington . . .	270
Oundle . . .	125	Winchester . . .	258
Radley . . .	134		

The total number of boys at these schools in 1866 (when the population of the United Kingdom was already about 30,000,000) was 2349, and it has now risen to 6197, an increase of over 150 per cent.

Nearly four years ago, in this Review,³ I attempted to describe the way in which public schools, in spite of their innate conservatism, had adjusted themselves to the ideas of the present age. It is safe to say now that the public schools of England are more firmly established than at any previous time in their history; signs are not lacking that troubles lie ahead, yet, provided that they can continue this process of adjustment, I firmly believe that their future is assured.

³ 'Public Schools,' February 1926.

STEPHEN H. FOOT.

AN EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

IV. ADULT EDUCATION: THE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT

THE flood of realism in recent books and plays about the war is meant to carry home to people who were not on active service at least one fact. Amidst the turmoil of fightings without and fears within the elemental forces of human nature too often escaped control. Men either found that they had no reasonable faith wherewith to meet and master this upheaval of life, or discovered that the religion which hitherto had sufficed them was a flimsy convention, in so far as it was not an uncritical acceptance of doctrines and observances now plainly seen to be outworn. As a notable and well-documented book on *The Army and Religion* made clear, much of the mischief was due to the appalling defects in the religious education that most men had received in schools of every sort and churches of all denominations. Blank ignorance was almost better than the crude and fantastic notions which many of them entertained. The natural result was that not a few found circumstances too much for them. Mentally, morally, and physically they crashed.

But that is only part of the picture. About the other outstanding fact the novelists and dramatists are strangely silent. Padres like Studdert Kennedy, P. B. Clayton, and Herbert Gray have written of the response made to straightforward talks about belief and conduct, to simple services of worship, to the administration of the sacrament. All this, of course, might have been temporary, an intelligible and legitimate reaction of the emotions.

The heart
Stood up and answered, I have felt !

Yet that was not all. The steady element in the situation was that men wanted to *know*, and not merely to feel or to act. When Christian scholars such as Dr. Reaveley Glover or Principal D. S. Cairns went out to render service in Y.M.C.A. huts they found themselves besieged by little knots of men eager to ask questions, to discuss, to be taught. The libraries at base camps

or up the line also told their tale of inquiry and study in the sphere of religion. And the distinctive feature of this development was that the religious education thus sought, though in no sense superficial, was not academic: it was a quest of truth in relation to life, and to life at its fiercest.

Readers of the article on 'Adult Education in England' which Professor Dover Wilson contributed to the issue of this Review for last September will remember that precisely the same point is made there, but in connexion with the remarkable growth since 1903 in the number of adult classes studying subjects not commonly accounted religious—economics, social and industrial history, literature, modern science and philosophy, the arts, and so forth. The adult education movement in general, says Dr. Dover Wilson, is implicitly religious, and his brief sketch of its rise and progress indicates how much, even as a 'secular' movement, it owes to specifically religious bodies and to a leadership inspired largely by the spiritual and educational tradition of the Churches. He shows, too, how much, on the other hand, it has contributed to the advancement of real religion, and how steadily its emphasis upon spiritual values increases. I am here concerned with religious education as a clearly marked, but in no sense isolated, aspect of the adult education movement to-day, and I believe that it springs from the same impulse as that to which Professor Dover Wilson ascribes the origin of the Workers' Educational Association, the Educational Settlements, and all the other activities now regarded by the Board of Education, the local education authorities, and the universities as a permanent and important part of the national educational system. Adult students in these varied organisations, says the Professor, 'go to class, as their forefathers went to chapel and their ancestors in the Middle Ages went to church, to try and understand the world, to get some kind of a working philosophy for themselves in this difficult universe.'

There are other reasons for the expansion of the adult religious education movement during the last few years and the prospect of a still more rapid and interesting extension of it in the immediate future. Among these are the approaching reconstruction of adolescent education as a corollary to the raising of the school-leaving age, the appeal made by the Archbishops in their pastoral letter for a more systematic study of religion on the part of clergy and people alike, and the stimulus imparted to the Church of England by the Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Religious Education. Parents and teachers (whether in day schools or in Sunday schools) will be faced by the questionings of boys and girls whose horizons have been widened, and whose capacity for critical and constructive thinking has been enlarged,

by the form as well as the content of post-primary education. If religion is to survive as a creative factor in the way of life which the coming generation will work out for itself, it must be re-experienced and re-expressed, not only in the homes and the churches, but also in the industry, the politics, and the international relationships of the present time. Then, too, the discoveries and deductions of scientists so different in type as Professors Einstein, Whitehead and Eddington and Sir Oliver Lodge are making impossible the materialism so popular at the end of last century. The increasing contact between East and West is raising questions as to the relative values of the religions which have moulded these contrasting cultures. Not least among the means by which thought about religion is being awakened in the minds of men and women who long ago ceased going to church, or who, though consistent church-goers, had been content with an unthinking orthodoxy, is the broadcasting of religious services and the inclusion in wireless programmes of talks and discussions directly or indirectly bearing upon religion, philosophy, and the interpretation of human experience.

No better description than Professor Dover Wilson's, however, could be given of the ground common to the two great enterprises in adult education—the 'secular' and the 'religious,' if such misleading adjectives are admissible—which demand the attention of all who take their citizenship seriously. It will indeed be patent to the attentive observer that the only sense in which the adult education movement as generally understood and the adult religious education movement can be spoken of as two is that each has certain special characteristics and claims: they are at bottom one in purpose and methods, for both seek to put into the hands of everyone in the community the key to that knowledge, insight, and service which make fullness of life possible for the individual and for society.

If this be so, why should we have begun our discussion with a reference to war-time experiences? Because what was happening just then to men on all the fighting fronts was happening also in a slightly different way to those at home. Mr. Stanley Baldwin put the situation very graphically a few weeks ago in a speech that he made at the Albert Hall on the occasion of the fourteenth birthday festival of Toc H: 'I saw the best of the generation of that time going out,' he said, 'and the death-roll soon began. My perspective altered as in a moment, and I felt that all the values we had placed upon life were wrong.' People began to ask whether the religion preached from many pulpits would bear the light of thought or stand comparison with the teaching of the New Testament. It was not only the doubt whether, after all, Christianity and war were compatible that perplexed them; there were the

sinister tendencies in the social order which partly produced and partly resulted from war: these also called for scrutiny, and, if they proved repugnant to the moral sense, for the discovery or rediscovery of a religion, or its equivalent, sufficient to overcome them and to create a more satisfactory type of personal character and social relationships. Moreover, as the troops came back and were turned once more into artisans and teachers, clerks and business men, journalists and farmers, scientists and lawyers, they brought with them the determination to *study* religion in relation to life. Clergy and ministers who had served overseas as chaplains, or as teachers under the Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee educational scheme, knew now that preaching was not enough. Dr. William Temple and Dr. Mansbridge, who had spent ten years before the war in building up the Workers' Educational Association because they realised its spiritual as well as its cultural potentialities, greatly desired to see the Church making use of so fruitful a method. It was at their instigation and amidst this intellectual and moral ferment that the first two Church Tutorial Classes were set going in South London during 1917. That year marks an epoch in the development of adult religious education, a point at which the Churches made a fresh effort to meet the emerging needs of the time, just as the foundation of the W.E.A. in 1903 proved a new starting point for adult education as a whole, a moment of vision when it became clear that the universities and organised labour must unite for the spread of liberal education among men and women of the working class.

It would be entirely misleading to suggest that nothing had been done before this. The records show that Griffith Jones' adult Sunday schools in Wales and the adult schools in England were the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century pioneers of religious education among men and women in the period which followed the Industrial Revolution. These were indeed first in the field of adult education at large, and played no small part in cultivating it throughout last century. The earliest People's Colleges also, of which the Rev. R. S. Bayley, a Congregational minister, founded the first at Sheffield in 1842, and the Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice inaugurated the second (the London Working Men's College) in 1854, definitely stood for the belief that the untrammelled study of religion was an essential element of a liberal education, and included courses on religious subjects in their curricula for such adult students as desired to pursue them. A little later the Y.M.C.A. provided lectures and classes of a similar character mainly for young shop assistants in the City. Thirty years ago John Wilhelm Rowntree stirred the Society of Friends by his reiterated plea for a fresh study and presentation of religion by the lay people who ministered at

Friends' meetings, and he had in view the attraction of thoughtful men and women outside the Churches who would respond to the opportunity of education where they distrusted mere propaganda. The result was the foundation at Selly Oak, Birmingham, in 1903, by the generosity of the late George Cadbury and under the directorship of Dr. Rendel Harris, of Woodbrooke Settlement as a centre of social, educational, international, and religious education for men and women. Six years later Fircroft College for working men was founded hard by, and Tom Bryan, inspired by experience of Christian Social Settlement work in London and the work of the People's High Schools in Denmark, became warden—a fact which meant that no old Fircrofter, going out into voluntary service of the working-class movement, ever failed to appreciate the value of religious education (largely, in most cases, through adult schools) in the creation of an educated democracy. In that same year, 1909, Father Charles Dominic Plater, feeling deeply the maladjustment of industrial and social conditions, started the Catholic Social Guild, with its study clubs, for the education of Catholic working folk in these matters as seen from the religious standpoint of the Roman Church, and his work was crowned by the establishment at Oxford, in 1923, of the Catholic Workers' College.

All these ventures, however, with the possible exception of Woodbrooke and the Catholic Social Guild, were due to the enthusiasm of individual members of the Christian Churches rather than to the action of the Churches themselves. Since 1907, however, the chief missionary societies have co-operated, through the United Council for Missionary Education, in formulating policies and producing text-books for adult students which afford the material upon which widespread study of the anthropological, historical, cultural, religious, social and political facts concerning the peoples of Africa and the East may be based—a department of education which has obviously great value in helping citizens of this country to consider with intelligence and sympathy such issues as are at the present time awaiting decision in East Africa, India, and China. It would, indeed, be difficult to discover a better example of the wide sweep taken by religious education in the true interpretation of the term than this particular piece of work supplies, for here the great world religions are studied in comparison with Christianity, and the outcome of each in a characteristic theory and practice of life is discerned. And it is estimated that at least 50,000 people each year study these books, either in the course of their private reading or as members of study groups.

This last statement raises interesting considerations as to education through books. The National Adult School Union, for

example, publishes something like 25,000 copies annually of its quite remarkable *Lesson Handbook*, containing rich and carefully wrought material for series of discussions on religion in relation to life designed to meet the weekly needs of adult schools throughout the year. The groups of topics include science, art, literature, psychology, social and political issues, international affairs, and so forth. Of the 80,000 men and women who attend the adult schools each week very many use the book as a guide to their reading and a stimulus to participation in the meeting. But a great number of people with whom the Adult School movement has no direct connexion, and of whose activities it is entirely unaware, make the book the basis of their studies, corporate or otherwise. Incidentally, I once heard a Prime Minister say, in the precincts of the House of Commons, that often when he had a non-political speech to make and was in search of ideas he found the *Handbook* invaluable for starting a train of thought! And in considering any aspect of the Adult Education movement it would be a gross omission if one ignored the work of libraries, though the subject is too large to be pursued here. A review of current statistics, however, would reveal a considerable increase during the past few years in the proportion of issues belonging to the category of religious education.

In the nature of things all voluntary educational movements, in their beginnings and at periods of rapidly growing popularity, are sporadic and uneven. It is difficult to assemble and assess the facts with any degree of exactitude. Records are incomplete. Standards vary. There is inevitably a mass of elementary and more or less transient work which nevertheless is far from negligible, since it at least evidences a kindling of interest, sometimes proves a pathway to more serious and persistent effort, and always yields valuable suggestions as to the lines on which more fruitful experiments may proceed. *The Handbook and Directory of Adult Education* devotes a special section to organisations concerned with religious education, so far as facts and figures are at present available, and to its pages I must refer readers of this article for fuller information. But before passing to one or two reflections upon the significance of this movement a few illustrations of the range and vigour which it has attained in the decade since the war may be illuminating.

Church Tutorial classes are organised in very much the same way as W.E.A. classes. The normal class meets once a week for twenty-four weeks and continues for not less than three years; classes established nine years ago are still strong and vigorous. Among the subjects studied are the Old Testament, the New Testament, Church History, the Creeds, Christian Sociology, the Comparative Study of Religions, Religion and Psychology, and so

forth. Each meeting usually consists of a lecture by the tutor followed by general discussion. Students are asked to read for the class and to write essays. The work has grown rapidly. In 1927 there were seventy classes, in 1928 there were eighty-eight, in 1929 there were 160 with a student membership of approximately 2350, and in 1930 there will be at least 250 classes—probably more. They are nearly all parochially organised, and they strike their roots in all sorts of parishes—in tiny villages and in the big manufacturing cities, in the depressed mining areas and in residential districts, in dockland and in suburbs and garden cities. The one restriction imposed upon classes affiliated to the Church Tutorial Classes Association is that the tutor must be a member of the Church of England—a condition which, though not applying to those who join the class as students, is an obstacle in the way of receiving recognition and grant from the Board of Education.

The Teaching Church Group for promoting Adult Religious Education came into existence in the latter part of 1925 as the result of a Conference on Adult Religious Education, under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Manchester (now Archbishop of York), convened on the initiative of the Church Tutorial Classes Association. Its aims are to help to create public opinion in the Church on the urgent importance of adult religious education in the widest sense, to put inquirers into touch with the appropriate organisations, and to stimulate diocesan and parochial enterprise in the matter. Already, by means of conferences and publications, as well as through the more direct personal efforts of its members, it has exerted a very effective influence.

A notable place is accorded to adult religious education in the Report of the Archbishops' Commission, presented to the Church Assembly last October. In this connexion the Commissioners, among whom were several experienced and distinguished educationists, say:

The cordial response which has been made in the last few years to the Missionary Council's education scheme is largely attributable to the demand for reading and thought made upon the students, and to the opportunities offered for discussion and expression work. It appears that the full are finding good results; much of their class work is in no way inferior to that recognised as adequate in other branches of study. There is much to be said for including the tutorial class method in the educational programme of every Parochial Church Council. Where this is done, the intensive work by and amongst the few sets a standard from and around which provision may be made to meet the need of larger circles.

Another, and considerably older, method of proved value in adult education which has been successfully utilised in this new

phase is that of University Extension courses, with classes for more intensive work following each lecture. About eight years ago the Divinity Lectures Committee, composed of representative Anglican clergy and Free Church ministers, of whom Canon V. F. S. Storr and Principal Garvie were the leaders, was formed in order to promote courses in the Old and New Testaments at University College, London, in co-operation with the University Extension Board. The sustained enthusiasm of adult students was so marked, and the quality of the work done so high, that the Committee felt it a matter of duty to make its experience more widely known. While undertaking no responsibility for any but the London lectures, it has been able to stimulate similar experiments in connexion with other universities, and at the end of last session a comparison between the years 1926-27 and 1928-29 showed that the number of University Extra-mural classes in divinity in England and Wales had increased from twenty-one in the former year to forty-seven in the latter, the last-named total including eleven Three-year Tutorial classes, six Preparatory Tutorial classes, twenty-eight University Extension courses, and two public evening lectures. The universities concerned had increased in number from ten to sixteen, and the subjects of the Extension courses included, besides the Literary and Historical Study of the Bible, the Ancient East and the Modern Mind, the History of Christianity from the Reformation to Modern Times, the Bible in Modern Research, the Philosophy of Religion, and the Teaching of the Bible in Schools. All but a few of these classes and lecture courses were grant-earning under the regulations of the Board of Education. Many were organised by the Y.M.C.A., the W.E.A., or Educational Settlements, frequently in co-operation with the Churches of the locality. An examination of the W.E.A. Annual Report for 1928-29, which contains a complete and detailed list of the association's activities throughout England, Wales and Scotland, elicits the fact that many terminal classes also, conducted in accordance with the Adult Education Regulations and eligible for grant-aid, though not coming within the purview of the universities, took subjects of this kind. It is particularly significant that in so many instances a demand for these studies arises within a so-called 'secular' organisation such as the W.E.A., and that, on the other hand, so many Churches and religious bodies of various kinds, having neither the necessary experience in adult education nor the recognised relationship to the Board of Education and the universities now attained by the W.E.A., the E.S.A., and the Y.M.C.A., seek and are very readily afforded the co-operation of these outstanding pioneers of adult education in its widest sense.

The Y.M.C.A., in addition to the more concentrated work already mentioned, has during the past two or three years arranged

in various towns courses of public lectures by eminent theological and Biblical scholars of all denominations on the modern approach to the Bible. In each case the collaboration of the local Churches and educational bodies has been secured, and the results have been encouraging. In its twentieth annual meeting, held last July, the Catholic Social Guild reported the existence of about 100 study clubs.

Such are some of the facts which substantiate the statement that the last ten or twelve years have witnessed a remarkable advance in adult religious education, and that the motive for this has been widespread desire, not only to understand what religion and the Bible are in themselves, as only the study of their classical documents and of their historical development makes it possible to understand them, but also what they contribute to the solution of the personal, social, and world problems which press upon our generation. When, last August, the World Association for Adult Education held, at Cambridge, its first world conference no provision was made in the programme for a meeting to discuss adult religious education, but when the delegates from more than fifty countries came together request was made that a group meeting on this subject should be held, and the prompt granting of that request was fully justified. At Oxford in September the British Institute of Adult Education for the first time included in the arrangements for its annual conference a sectional meeting on adult education and religion. Far from provoking controversy, as the more cautious feared it might, the discussion served only to reveal the fact that no one regarded the study of religion as anything but natural in a thoroughly comprehensive curriculum of adult education, and that some who had been supposed to be unsympathetic had as a matter of course been providing such courses for some considerable time and with distinct success.

When the B.B.C., in pursuit of the recommendations of the Hadow Committee on Adult Educational Broadcasting, set up its Central Council for Broadcast Adult Education it included a representative of religious education no less than of science, art, music, or literature. Already the corporation had discovered that Sunday afternoon Bible readings, sacred music such as the Bach cantatas now being rendered from week to week, and other items in the programme which are indubitably educative from a religious as well as a general point of view, evoked a very considerable volume of appreciative response. Nor is the attitude of listeners merely passive. Effective discussion groups have been arranged in connexion with series of talks on the history and psychology of religion, the ethical and philosophical questions connected with it, and so forth. The demand increases, and the development of the service rendered by the B.B.C. in this direction

is an important index of what the general public, and not some small and specialised section of it, will not only tolerate, but will welcome.

We are learning that men achieve cultural development by many avenues, some of which may surprise the academic and the orthodox among us. I have no space in which to write about religious education through the drama—though a particularly interesting group in which a number of eminent actors and actresses are co-operating with leaders in the educational work of the Churches is working out the great possibilities of that medium: nor can I do more than mention by way of illustration the excellent use that the missionary societies are combining to make of the films. The Adult Religious Education movement is no conventional, prosy, or narrow affair, but is full of vitality and variety.

To what conclusions, then, does even this brief summary of the more easily tabulated facts impel us?

Among them at least these are scarcely open to question. The implicit religious element in the Adult Education movement is steadily becoming explicit in the form, not of dogma or propaganda, but of wider and deeper study. The Churches, on the other hand, are awakening, though all too slowly, to the fact that more people than we are apt to perceive want what the Churches can give, but not in the way in which it is commonly given. A new and adequately trained leadership is needed by those who would fain follow this quest, whether within the Churches or outside of them. Education, life, and religion are inseparable, and each is more rich than any one man or any particular group of men can know, save as the treasures dug from many mines are brought into a common centre of free evaluation and exchange—a truth for which the word 'university' stands. And, to go no further, but to quote words used by Mr. Baldwin on the occasion already mentioned in this article:

It is largely a materialistic age, but it is a spiritual age too, and short-sighted indeed are those who come to the conclusion that with this generation what has been described as organised religion may have lost some of its force, and yet fail to see that never was there a time when people have more searched their own hearts to find a narrow path along which they may walk.

BASIL A. YEAXLEE.

LICENSING REFORM

A NEW SYSTEM

IN the January 1915 number of *The Nineteenth Century* an article of mine, with a foreword by the late Earl Grey, appeared under a title nearly similar to this.

Since then my experience has ripened and widened; and as it has fallen to the lot of few, if any, to have controlled so many and so diverse licensed houses, I have ventured again, after years of silence, into the field, in the hope of being able to produce before the Royal Commission and those who are interested in its researches, on both sides of the counter, a case for consideration based upon my own experience and observation. It has been my good fortune to have developed the licensed houses, where the opportunity was afforded, perhaps to a greater extent and in more directions than has been done before in this country. From all this it is impossible not to have learnt a lesson, and here, for what it is worth, is the outline of it.

It is a mere truism to state that the ordinary licensed house is rarely a house for the public, in spite of its name. For that reason many outside the trade would like to see, if not its abolition, then its complete transformation. As it is, in spite of spasmodic signs of evolution, it constitutes an anomaly of modern civilisation except in all too rare instances, for many so-called improvements are, in fact, little more than architectural embellishments. Bill after Bill has been introduced into Parliament in an endeavour to find a solution of the problem how to effect improvement, and at least one such Bill has passed its second reading in the House of Lords. But the project has always hitherto broken down upon consideration of the first clause, which defines what is meant by an 'improved publichouse.' No one appears to have entertained any sufficiently definite idea of what exactly is aimed at, without which information the promoters could hardly expect to know how to set about gaining their object. The fact is that the subject cannot be dealt with by a Bill of this kind, for improvement can only come about by a complete reconsideration and recasting of our licensing system

and the conditions under which intoxicating liquor is sold and supplied, such as is now being undertaken by the Royal Commission.

As in the case of all social evils, responsibility must be spread over a variety of interests that, between them, have created a system of laws and of administration which has contributed to the existing state of affairs. The truth of this assertion becomes apparent as soon as we glance at the case for the continued existence of the publichouse.

• It is probably correct to suggest that the average citizen who, in its present form, does not use a publichouse looks upon it with varying degrees of aversion—an aversion so rooted in prejudice that those who do not deserve it suffer with those who do. The best that is said of it is that, since a large section of the public demands it, it must be allowed to exist, subject to as many safeguards as possible to prevent it becoming a nuisance. In this spirit the greater part of our licensing legislation has been conceived and framed, with results plainly to be seen. So long as that spirit is abroad neither trade nor public will come into its own.

The fact is that the licensed house—be it hotel, inn, or publichouse—is the only public resort universally accessible in this country where everyone can foregather free of charge for the purpose of meeting others, whether they desire to eat or drink or merely smoke and talk or be amused. It is not easy to see what resort could economically be substituted for it.

When we come to inquire upon what the average person's aversion is grounded it becomes clear that it is not on account of the fact that intoxicating liquor is on sale, because, if that were so, the same objections would be urged against first-class hotels and clubs. Clearly it is that the average publichouse does not satisfy the new standards of life now demanded by the people. In the fact that the licensed house is or should be the only universal club lies the strength of the brewers' position. Let us hope that they will be enabled and induced to realise it.

It is partly this circumstance that also renders the condition of the publichouse a matter of such wide social interest and importance, and imposes upon those to whom a monopoly has been granted so great a responsibility, while it should act as a spur to those who, by reason of their experience, can contribute anything towards improvement. The object of this article is to attempt to indicate in outline what seems necessary to remove the licensing problem from perennial discussion and render the publichouse a place of real refreshment and entertainment both in body and mind for both sexes and all ages and classes of the people. It should be made perfectly clear that the opinion

expressed and the suggestions made here are in no way representative, and are entirely my own. And, first, a word as to my credentials.

During some twenty-five years it has been my lot to control some 250 licensed houses of every conceivable kind, from the large hotel to the slum publichouse, in almost every part of the country, and many of the licences have been held in my name. All these houses have been controlled under management on improved lines upon a definite system, and in every case the manager has had a special inducement to develop the sale and supply of food. In the dormitory districts around the large towns, and particularly around London, the demand for food upon ordinary weekdays (Saturdays and Sundays excepted) is at present small, owing to the hours during which the houses are chiefly used. These resident populations require amusement after a drab day in often drabber weather, and to meet this demand entertainment upon an elaborate scale has been furnished wherever and whenever permission to do so could be obtained. Thus, by the enterprise of one great brewery company, orchestral and ballad concerts, dancing, cabaret, music-hall turns, and standard plays in a theatre on the licensed premises by first-class professional artists have all been regularly given. Even cinema shows have been held in one licensed house of which I had charge.

As will be imagined, the number of customers served over this long period in so many as 250 houses runs into very many millions, while the combined staffs amount to many thousands. Yet during the whole period of twenty-five years no conviction in respect of any breach of the Licensing Acts has ever been recorded against any of the staff during the time that any of them were with me, and drunkenness has been markedly absent. Having regard to the average of convictions over the whole country, this very remarkable fact enables me to draw conclusions from my experience with some considerable degree of confidence.

There, however, my small stock of self-satisfaction ends, for it is much easier to point out faults, and even to suggest remedies, than it is to improve matters. With that confession, let us begin with one of the main conditions precedent to improvement—the licensing authority which, our Legislature has invested with so much power. For most of all are required a national policy and a national practice in the general administration of the licensing laws. At present, owing to the latitude given to licensing justices by Parliament and the High Court, the licensed trade is subject to conditions which, taking the country as a whole, can only be described as chaotic, incomprehensible, uncertain, and dependent upon personal or corporate predilections.

The *cadi* under the palm tree was at least only one individual with a single mind, even if on occasion he had in view a double purpose. A licensing bench has, in practice, powers nearly as plenary as regards some of the most important of its functions, and it is governed all too often by as many personal prejudices as the number of which it consists. In other words, it has all the demerits of the *cadi* and seldom, in its collective capacity, his wisdom. Rarely open to listen to any constructive proposals, it is as profitable to argue with as the east wind, and it shrivels up enterprise and paralyses progress.

Such a charge without proof savours rather of a diatribe; let me, therefore, give a few examples without particularising too much. The chaotic diversity of view exhibited by licensing justices and local councillors in regard to what is fit and proper in a licensed house can be well illustrated from my own experiences. I have controlled houses situated in licensing districts where the playing of a piano or any game was looked upon as disorderly and undesirable; while in other districts benches and councils have authorised in similar houses the carrying on of cinematograph performances, music-halls, concerts and stage plays upon the licensed premises. What is praiseworthy in one district is anathema to the next. Dozens of examples of anomalies quite inconsistent with progress or common sense could be given if space permitted.

Some licensing justices are middle-aged when appointed, some are now drawn from a class which is accustomed to regard the publichouse as a place hardly to be mentioned in polite society, some are more impressed with the necessity of upholding their dignity than in meeting the necessities of social welfare. It is hard to say which of these reasons accounts for their lack of receptiveness to constructive ideas. Quite possibly the complexity of the licensing laws tends to harden them into tradition as being the line of most resistance. For nowhere is tradition harder held than in a licensing meeting. The majority of brewers have at least adapted these methods to suit their own pockets, and so the public get the houses that the licensing justices think the brewers deserve. To take, for instance, the important question of who may hold a licence. Theoretically, anyone over twenty-one years of age, not debarred by certain very proper disqualifications, may do so if his character is good enough. Practically this is not so, because the law says he must also be 'fit and proper.' These words are variously interpreted in different parts of the country. In some geographical areas a manager for others is the only acceptable licensee as a matter of general policy. In others he will be debarred for no other reason than because he is a manager. Again, some benches or some licensing justices will

measure their idea of temperance by the square yard, and refuse to give permission for enlargements and improvements because to do so would enable a larger number of people to obtain liquor more comfortably and decently. Another bench will make an application for an enlargement of licensed premises or the grant of a new licence the excuse for insisting upon the giving up of another licence, thus making the owners pay twice over for their privilege—a privilege which usually redounds to the benefit of the public rather than the owner. A third bench may take the opposite and sensible view of encouraging and even insisting upon enlargements and improvements. Opinions and prejudices vary, and so does the expression of them. It depends sometimes on private prejudices, sometimes on private interest, occasionally on considerations still more improper. The practice, for example, of calling upon the owners of licensed houses shortly before the annual licensing or special sessions with a trade card bearing even the fact that A. B. is a licensing justice is not unknown.

Many benches, and still more individual licensing justices, are excellent tribunals and judges against whom nothing can be said, and it would be wrong to suggest that instances of actual impropriety are nearly sufficiently numerous to make a case against justices as a whole. It is, however, suggested that a tribunal of much smaller proportions, with an open mind, beyond suspicion, used to weighing evidence, and guided by a knowledge of what a licensed house should be, as well as of local requirements and of the true intentions of the Legislature as laid down in the Licensing Acts, is absolutely requisite as a condition precedent to the provision of licensed houses for people of both sexes and of all classes and ages. As a remedy, therefore, much larger licensing areas are proposed, each under a qualified lawyer, with the status of a stipendiary magistrate, sitting in each petty sessional court in turn in his area along with two local lay justices armed with functions analogous to assessors, in place of the present system of employing licensing justices. To this tribunal all applications at present heard by justices in annual and special licensing sessions should be relegated. It follows that the new functionary must make himself thoroughly acquainted with the licensed houses and with the conditions under which they are conducted in his area, and, in a general way, beyond it. Obviously even an expert tribunal can do no more than secure the wise administration of the laws as they are. The whole system requires a searching overhaul and alteration, but in this article no more can be said than is necessary for our immediate purpose. Accordingly we pass on to a consideration of the questions relating to the number, distribution, and the description of licensed houses

which will be permitted to exist and of the conditions under which they are to be administered.

Hardly any responsible person versed in the business will be found to deny that the number of on-licence houses is grossly excessive, or that their distribution is equally unsatisfactory; and falling revenue adds weight to this contention. For the purpose of arriving at any satisfactory solution we must divide licensed houses into three classes—(a) hotels, (b) restaurants, (c) other licensed houses.

In order to define 'hotels' the only definition already in existence may be adopted—namely, a licensed house, which is an 'inn' where the receipts from intoxicating liquor are not more than half of the total receipts; and to this definition may be added that it must be of a certain size—say, with a minimum of ten bedrooms always available for letting. 'Restaurant' may also follow the existing definition—a place adapted for the purpose where the receipts in respect of the sale of commodities other than alcoholic amount to at least one third of the whole. Hotels and restaurants require separate treatment in any forthcoming legislation—so far, at least, as the grant of new licences, closing time, alterations to the premises, and several other matters are concerned. A good hotel, and even a good restaurant, is always an asset of considerable value to any district, and is ever becoming of increasing importance owing to the enormous road traffic. Such places should therefore not be cramped by conditions which are contrary to international usage or which prevent them supplying entertainment.

For the purposes of dealing with class (c)—other licensed premises—all distinctions between on-licences may be neglected. They are separated into two divisions by reference only to their situation. Division 1 consists of houses situate in 'rural' areas, which may be defined as 'areas not within the boundary of a city or town having a population of more than 6000' (the exact number is not material for my purpose). Division 2 consists of houses situated within any city or borough of 6000 or more inhabitants, and designated here 'populous' areas. This separation is necessary, since it would be economically unsound to impose the same conditions in all respects upon country and town houses.

The greatly excessive number of licensed houses leads to evils too numerous to enumerate here, and experience has proved the case for drastic reductions; while those houses that remain should be redistributed so that in what we term the 'rural' area a maximum of one licensed house to the square mile obtains. The exact number in any area, subject to the above, should be a matter for judicial discretion, according to the needs of the

neighbourhood. In what we designated the 'populous' area a maximum of one on-licence for every 5000 inhabitants should be permitted, but in this calculation due allowance must be made for special areas subject to regular periodical influxes of people, e.g., market towns, business quarters in towns, seasonal resorts, and so on. In making these redistributions no account must be taken of hotels and restaurants as such. To be classed along with hotels and restaurants are railway stations, piers, aerodromes, sports and analogous refreshment-rooms, and these are to be excluded from class (c).

Since space admits of no more than an outline of proposals, we pass to the important question what kind of licensed houses are to be allowed. Are they to be drinkshops, or are they to take the form of the most advanced type in this country or abroad?

Having cleared the decks of opposition to progress by our previous proposals, here is our opportunity, and we are at once brought up against the problem of definition, which has proved such a stumbling-block hitherto. Difficult as the proposition is, it is certainly not insuperable, for the definition will suffice for practical purposes if, knowing what we aim at, we lay down certain postulates, leaving scope in plenty for individual genius and giving credit for common sense. Here, again, my recommendations are based upon experience over a considerable space of time.

First, no licensed premises, whether in class (a), (b) or (c), must, after the passing of the requisite Act, have any open bar—the only exceptions to this rule being railway and analogous refreshment-rooms on aerodromes, race-courses, sports grounds and the like, or for a special occasion, where time and space are limited. The only existing definition of a 'bar' is contained in the Children Act, and there it is illuminatingly defined as 'any open drinking bar'! One may venture to define the meaning more precisely by forbidding the sale or supply of intoxicating liquor over a counter situate in the area licensed for sale, or from a stock or store where the liquor is in view of the public. This proviso may at first hand appear to be petty and interfering, but in fact it will go further than any proposal to convert the licensed house into a fit place for the entertainment of people of both sexes and all ages. That it is practicable has been amply proved over a series of years. To enumerate the advantages of this condition would entail too much space. In passing, we may, however, suggest that nothing has prejudiced the public against the publichouse more than the sight of customers almost fighting to be served over a counter during the last hour on a Saturday or Sunday night. In a Continental

café such a thing never happens, and it could not happen even if the closing hours were the same as ours.

Secondly, all houses in class (c) must be sufficiently 'commodious' to enable all estimated customers to be seated in reasonable comfort at any normal time, the intention being that 'our' new type of house should resemble, in some degree, the great Continental café or kursaal rather than the tavern of the town. A minimum space must be estimated for each individual and the minimum size of each room indicated for the purpose of securing adequate comfort. The London County Council has already made somewhat similar stipulations in houses on their own estates.

Thirdly, any house in class (c), in 'populous' areas only, shall contain at least one room for the supply of all kinds of refreshment, liquid and solid, at prices that working people are accustomed to pay; another room where the price for intoxicating liquor is equal to that of a saloon bar in the district; and a hall of specified size (including a stage or platform) capable of accommodating the estimated customers normally expected in chairs set in rows or otherwise. A portion of this hall must be set aside where no intoxicants can be either sold or consumed; and this arrangement is easily practicable. It is to be a condition of the licence that music or other entertainment is to be provided nightly for at least two hours during permitted hours, unless for good cause shown; the object of this is that the house should be regarded as primarily one of rest and entertainment with food and drink as amenities. In the absence of amusements any publichouse will slip back to the condition of a mere drinkshop, whatever architectural features it may possess.

As regards licensed houses, the power to grant licences in respect of music, singing, dancing, and stage plays must be transferred from the local authority to the new tribunal. This is a *sine qua non*, because at the present time it is within the power of a retrograde council to wreck the intentions of an enterprising bench by refusing leave to use a hall for the very purposes for which it has been provided—by no means a rare occurrence. An adequate supply of food, according to the reasonable needs of the neighbourhood, must also be available at all hours as a condition of the licence.

Fourthly, the removal of an existing licence from its present site to one suitable to enable the conditions herein set out to be complied with must be readily granted. This is another essential condition, because very few town houses are capable, in their present situation, of adaptation to requirements.

Finally, the permitted hours of consumption, if not also of sale, would need to be extended; for service by waiter is

necessarily much slower than over a bar, and more time is requisite.

Let us now examine a few of the main objections to my proposal, for they are fairly numerous, if not substantial. First, it will be objected that the extinction of some 40,000 licences would result in a great displacement of labour. This is so; but the displacement would be gradual, and the great majority will be re-engaged immediately in the new licensed houses, which will each require ten times the number of staff necessary for any ordinary publichouse. Moreover, the abolition of some 40,000 or 50,000 licences will set free that number of houses for conversion into shops or tenements for an enormous number of working people—probably at least 500,000, or, say, ten to every house—thereby resulting in eventual national economy, and making a not unimportant contribution to the housing problem. Obviously no change such as that proposed could be brought about at once without creating widespread hardship and even ruin, and therefore, while every encouragement must be given to an early attainment of the ideal indicated, at least ten years must be given to its fulfilment.

The most difficult part of the proposal will be the working out of a scheme of compensation, and this is not possible without imposing some national sacrifice of revenue from the trade over the period and after, but it will pay, taking the long view, if it thereby almost eliminates over-indulgence and over-temptation. It is only fair that the State, which has allowed our present system to grow up, should bear the chief burden. Off-licences are excluded from the scheme, chiefly because it does not seem absolutely necessary to include them, and so as not to overweight it.

As to taxation: an immediate change should be made in the principle of levying licence duty. The same system—namely, a levy of so much in the pound on purchases of intoxicants—should be imposed on licensed houses as is now applied to clubs, and the penalty for a wilfully false return should be imprisonment and fine. This system would probably result in proportionately increased revenues. The present system is impolitic and often unfair. Again, in place of monopoly value, which is calculation based upon a hypothesis and therefore unreal, a tax on the net profits of the new houses is preferable. A return of the net profits must be made, and the penalty for failure or a false return should be imprisonment plus a fine. Safeguards respecting the term 'net profits' would be necessary.

A great deal of the reason for the present wretched condition of many licensed houses lies in the fact that everyone is trying to take too much out of them, with the result that the public

suffers and development and enterprise are cramped. The State and the local authorities seek too much in taxation. The owners get the highest rent they can. The brokers get all they can for themselves and the outgoing licensee, with the result that the tenant coming in, generally a man of little substance, is overwhelmed by overhead expenses both before and after he embarks upon the business. In short, the safest, easiest, and cheapest course is to carry on the business as a drinkshop. Such a man cannot afford elaborate catering equipment, or to take risks, having regard to the difficulties in his way in the present state of the law. For this and other reasons, although there are plenty of good tenants, one advocates the management system, which gives a chance of promotion to the employee who has taken the trouble to learn his business thoroughly—for it is a complex, difficult and exacting trade—while this system would also keep the house in the hands of people who can afford to develop it to the utmost. The parrot cry of 'mine host' adopted by some licensing justices as an excuse for encouraging tenancies is mainly insincere, for a modern tenant is rarely an independent person, save in his own estimation, while there is no reason why the manager of a licensed house should not be as good a host as a hotel manager.

Obviously any such scheme as is outlined here would be abortive without including clubs within its ambit. Clubs should be classified in the same way as licensed houses, so that those clubs that are residential would probably come within the 'hotel' definition. Those that are *bonâ fide* clubs for food and rest will come within that of 'restaurants,' and those that do not will be treated as licensed premises, but allowed to co-exist on the same terms. No new club licence should be granted unless an existing club lapses, and then only for good cause shown. They should be taxed in the same way as licensed houses of their class, and they should not obtain any preferential treatment.

Such, with many omissions on account of lack of space, constitutes the brief outline of proposals which, if carried out in the true spirit of their intentions, would contribute one of the great social reforms of our generation, contribute to industrial welfare, create healthy employment, and render the liquor trade free from reasonable reproach.

ALEXANDER F. PART.

CATHEDRALS AND THE CHURCH ASSEMBLY

THE Cathedrals Measure, which in a revised form is under consideration by the Church Assembly, is the result of the Report of the Cathedrals Commission appointed in pursuance of a resolution of the National Assembly. This Report was published with appendices in 1927. The Measure based upon it, after being presented to the Assembly in the autumn session of 1928, was amended by the Committee then appointed and printed on May 16, 1929.

The Assembly had passed it for general approval, and the members in charge presented it for revision in the autumn session of 1929. Meanwhile it had been considered by the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, which, after considerable discussion, did not approve it, but passed to 'the previous question.' The members in charge in November 1929 thought that it would now be considered and passed in one morning session. This did not prove to be the case, and the consideration of the Measure, some amendments being passed, only reached to about half-way through. It will be further considered at the next session. It is understood that further amendments are being made by the drafting committee and the members in charge. It is to be hoped that these will be in the hands of the Assembly some weeks before its session. It has sometimes been forgotten how extremely important are the questions involved, and how deeply, though often silently, interested is that very large body of Englishmen which has been taking during the last few years an increasing interest in the cathedrals as centres of spiritual life as well as some of the noblest historic monuments in our land.

So much for introduction. Now for the Measure as it stands. We may well be reminded, in the first place, that, though the Report in 1927 was received with a large measure of approval, and with gratitude to the eminent persons who drew it up under the chairmanship of the Archbishop of York (now of Canterbury), when it was translated into suggested legislation it did not meet with anything like unanimous acceptance even from the members of the Commission itself who had signed the Report. It was

emphatically stated by some of them that it did not, in several important particulars, correctly represent the meaning of the Report; and when the Measure came up in a revised form it was stated that these objections had not been met. The Measure was not a faithful translation of the Report into practice: there were many ambiguities and even contradictions. Some of them at least are believed still to remain. For that reason the Measure deserves, and will no doubt continue to receive, minute investigation. The main changes introduced by the Measure are the creation of a Cathedrals Commission or Committee by which new statutes for the cathedrals are to be drawn up, or revised or put in force, with the approval of the Privy Council; the conferring of very definite powers upon the body of honorary canons, or prebendaries, of each cathedral; and the transfer of the property of the dean and canons to the larger body. I am referring, of course, to the ancient cathedrals. With the points that are thus raised I will deal later on.

Let me brush one obstacle out of the way. It has been supposed that the prolonged consideration of the present Measure causes delay in the acquisition by the new (generally parochial) cathedrals of the status and the constitutions which they deserve. This need by no means be so. The modern cathedrals are quite different in every way from the old. It was very natural, and right, to wish to give them the same position and dignity. But, owing to their history and their present position, there was no reason in the world—except, perhaps, the sentimental one of saying 'Let us give them the full glory of the old cathedrals, and this can only be done by dealing with all cathedrals in one Measure'—why they should not have been taken separately and given at once the necessary steps towards the acquisition of full status and individual statutes, as has been done for the most part wisely, and with practically universal agreement, in the present Measure. The delay has simply come from the mixing together of two quite different subjects, old and new, and the refusal of the members in charge to split the Measure into two and carry immediately, as they could, all that the new cathedrals desire and deserve. No doubt considerable new drafting would be needed; but this would not pass the wit of lawyers, and if an offer which was made in November had been accepted a Measure concerned with the new cathedrals could have been passed, I believe, through all stages, and unanimously, in the first session of 1930. Is it too late even now?

But the case is very different with regard to the old cathedrals. Here, both in those of the 'old' and of the 'new' foundation, there are many complexities. It is proposed to get rid of these by means of a Commission created *ad hoc*, with power to consider,

provide, amend, and ultimately to submit for legal sanction, statutes for each cathedral individually. It has been, after the removal of some not unnatural misunderstandings, emphatically stated by the members in charge that the historic and local idiosyncrasies of each cathedral will be preserved, and that no uniformity will be aimed at. While we may fully accept this as the honourable intention of the framers of the Measure, I cannot but think that if the Commissioners are men with ideas they will be compelled to act upon certain definite principles, presuppositions, and aims for improvement which will underlie their treatment of each cathedral in turn. I have been definitely assured by one of the members in charge that the final decision in every case will be with each individual cathedral. But at present there is this exception in the Measure: with regard to new statutes, the bishop has the power to hold them up if his wishes are not acceded to. That the Measure requires the consent of the chapters to any scheme is indisputable. But it is held by many that chapters should not be put into the position of having either (1) to accept a scheme such as the Measure would empower the Commissioners to make, or else (2) to reject a scheme which might go far beyond the terms of the original Report. Thus, to quote a phrase of Lord Salisbury, in a different connexion, in an earlier debate, the Commission might 'trample on the susceptibilities' of several chapters, or more than that.

But this is to look forward—too far, may be. Meanwhile let us consider the present position. The Measure as revised has received a check in the Church Assembly. The House of Clergy has accepted an amendment to the proposed creation of 'a body of seven Commissioners,' preferring 'a Committee [altered, for technical reasons, to a Commission] of the Church Assembly, of which the composition, procedure and duration shall be defined by regulation of the Assembly.' This resolution must clearly be taken, as part of a reasoned policy, in connexion with a motion which was under debate when the Assembly rose: that the schemes proposed for the cathedrals, when completed and sanctioned by the Commission and sealed, 'shall be reported by the Commissioners to the Church Assembly at its next session, and shall thereupon stand for consideration at the same or at the next subsequent session of the Assembly.' This was moved by Mr. Albert Mitchell, who informed the House that in so doing he was following the advice of that eminent lawyer the late Lord Phillimore. Two consequent motions by Mr. Mitchell, which have not yet been reached, were drawn up in Lord Phillimore's own words. To neglect so weighty an opinion as to what is needed would be, I think, dangerous.

I am led the more certainly to this conclusion by a perusal

of Lord Hewart's most important book, very recently published, *The New Despotism*. I wish that all clergy who take an interest in the constitution and present position of the Church of England would read this valuable essay. It has no direct bearing upon ecclesiastical matters, but indirectly it has a great deal. In plain fact we are on the verge of—perhaps are already suffering from—the bureaucratic encroachments which it is the object of the Lord Chief Justice to expose and denounce. That is where the motions of Mr. Douglas and Mr. Mitchell raise an issue of primary importance. The creation of a body of Commissioners responsible to no one, and the passing into law of bodies of statutes which have not been submitted to the legislative body from which the power of the Commission was ultimately derived, constitute a grave danger. The State has its parallel in the Church. I may quote Lord Hewart, for his words are true of the Church as well as the State:

A little inquiry will serve to show that there is now, and for some years past has been, a persistent influence at work which, whatever the motives or the intentions that support it may be thought to be, undoubtedly has the effect of placing a large and increasing field of departmental authority and activity beyond the reach of the ordinary law.¹

There have been many signs recently, as could be observed in debates in the Church Assembly on matters such as patronage, parsonages, and pensions, that the clergy, and unless I greatly mistake the laity too, are becoming apprehensive of the largely increased powers assumed by the bishops in recent years. Now one of the difficulties feared from the Cathedrals Measure is that these powers will be still further increased. I need not make the hackneyed quotation of the famous motion of Mr. Dunning in regard to the House of Commons. The Cathedrals Measure, which proposes apparently to place the final power in the hands of the whole body of honorary canons, supplementing the canons residentiary, may seem to place entire control in the hands of the bishops, who always appoint all the honorary canons, and in several cases, such as that of the cathedral which I serve, the residentiary canons as well. Give a Commission very large powers as regards statutes to bind the cathedrals, and give the bishop the appointment of those whose consent is necessary to the enacting of those statutes, and what will be the result? I will quote Lord Hewart again:

It is one thing to confer power, subject to proper restrictions, to make regulations. It is another thing to give those regulations the force of a statute. It is one thing to make regulations which are to have no effect unless and until they are approved by Parliament. It is another thing to

¹ *The New Despotism*, p. 11.

make regulations, behind the back of Parliament, which come into force without the assent or even the knowledge of Parliament.²

He is referring, of course, to the State. But what he says bears exactly on Lord Phillimore's opinion and Mr. Mitchell's resolutions. It would be most unwise for the Assembly to agree to the granting of such wide authority once and for all without any power remaining in the legislative body to approve or disapprove.

But that is what bureaucracy, wherever it be found, bitterly resents. Lord Hewart quotes the case of the Local Government Bill introduced in 1929. A clause to secure the control by Parliament was resisted. This was met by constitutionalists.

The attack, such as it was, was directed against the second part of the clause, which provided merely that 'every order made under this section shall be laid before Parliament as soon as may be after it is made.'³

It was desired to obtain a real, not an imaginary, power for Parliament. Was this done? I am not sure.

Lastly, in this connexion let me quote from the same source some pregnant words of Lord Justice Bowen, which I hope every member of the Church Assembly will take to heart when Mr. Mitchell's motions and Lord Phillimore's advice come again to be considered.

If no appeal were possible, I have no great hesitation in saying that this would not be a desirable country to live in, where every parochial officer might do as he liked in this matter. It is true that there is enough difficulty in appealing as it is; but if there is to be no appeal at all possible the system would be intolerable.

Never mind the words 'parochial officer'; there are such in higher places than Bumble. There is a good deal, every reasonable man will admit, to be said for the presbyterian system; there is very little, if anything, to be said for an entirely uncontrolled episcopacy. And if the Cathedrals Measure were carried into effect in a drastic manner a cathedral close would not be at all a desirable place to live in.

For the bishops who have been concerned in the production of the Measure we all have the highest respect; for none more than the Bishop of Oxford, who is remarkable indeed for his learning, his wisdom, his sagacity, and his common sense. But two things have to be remembered: first, that, as he has explained to the Church Assembly, during part of the period of the Measure's progress he was laid aside by illness; and secondly, that Christ Church, the only cathedral of which he has intimate personal knowledge, is entirely excluded from the scope of the Measure.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

There is, of course, an explanation of this; but none the less, is it not highly diverting? 'Control all other bodies as much as you like, but hands off Christ Church!' But this by the way. If a 'Cathedrals Commission' is to be appointed the public should have a vigilant eye upon its powers as granted as well as its actions in the future. It was originally proposed that it should be permanent. This, in consequence of protest, was modified in the following clause:

The powers of the Commissioners shall continue in force until such date not being earlier than the expiration of seven years from the passing of this Measure or later than the expiration of twelve years from the passing of this Measure as the Church Assembly may by resolution determine, and in the absence of such determination shall cease on the expiration of twelve years from the passing of this Measure.

But can anyone doubt that this makes it extremely probable that 'under pressure' from high authorities the Commission will become permanent? It is not easy, and it is ungracious, to appoint eminent and salaried persons with a staff of clerks, and when they have done their best to prove themselves energetic to terminate their engagement. They will rightly claim after seven years to be experts. But how about the bodies which have behind them the knowledge of centuries?

What then? No one denies that there is obsolescence in some cathedral statutes and ambiguity in others, though there is not nearly so much as fanatics fancy. Almost all the statutes, except those which have quite clearly waxen old and are ready to vanish away, can be worked by sensible men. But, be the need for change as great as some suppose, why in the world should it not be effected by the provision which obtains at Exeter and, I think, elsewhere? Why should not power be given to the present governing body of each ancient cathedral to revise its own statutes—insist that they should do so, if you think it necessary—and then provide that full legal sanction should be given to the revision by whom you will—the archbishop of the province, the Lord Chancellor, the Church Assembly or the Convocations, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or the Privy Council, as may seem best to the enlightened wisdom which is so much in evidence to-day?

Do not think that I am saying all that. I should like to say about this Measure—'full of mischievous potentialities,' as *The Times* says. I could say twice as much, or more, if the editor could spare the space. But I will continue as briefly as I can by calling attention to a few among very many debatable points.

The cathedrals are to possess two chapters—a general, or cathedral, one and an administrative one. The powers of

neither are defined. We have been informed that they may be defined quite differently in different statutes. Is this in the least likely? Will a Commission, an Assembly, or a Parliament be satisfied that in one of the old cathedrals the power of supreme control should rest with five or six men, in another with twenty-five or thirty? That would reintroduce the anomalies which the Reform Bill of 1832 removed from the parliamentary franchise. Besides, what is implied in the phrase 'administrative chapter'? For whom is this chapter to administer? Whoever that be, *that*, they or he, must in all reason hold the supreme power. I think it is of necessity implied by the provision that the property of the cathedral should be vested in that body that this power will reside in the general chapter. I presume that this proposal, in itself and for what it involves, will be strenuously resisted. But we have not come to it yet. (The idea that such a bone of contention, with a score of others, could be easily masticated in one morning does amuse as well as amaze me!).

One other point—I do not think it is a trivial one—I will mention. It is the provision that deans and canons should retire at a fixed age, a certain permission to allow a limited extension being left to the bishop of the diocese. That is a fashion of the day, you may say; but it is not at all a good fashion. The case of the universities has been quoted. I am informed that the rule works very badly; at Cambridge some of the ablest and most valuable men are not allowed to serve on any syndicate; at Oxford the head of a college, retired by an age regulation, is at once employed on most important business by the Government. The compulsorily retired head of a great public school is now engaged in more work of public importance than he probably ever had in his life. There is much humour, presumably unconscious, in the following facts. Deans and canons, who are quite rightly supposed to have work to do which is less physically arduous than that done by bishops or parish priests, must retire at a certain age, but there is no provision anywhere that the more strenuous labourers should cease their exhausting activities. A bishop of, shall I say eighty?—I have not drawn up a table of bishops' ages—may require the resignation of a dean or canon several years younger than himself. If he is also the dean of his own cathedral church, as some are, he will have to cease to be dean, but will remain bishop. There are a number of canonries annexed to archdeaconries—London, for example. What will happen to them? An archdeacon who holds a canonry not so annexed will have to give up his canonry, but will retain the gaiters which are supposed to be the badge of his rotatory activities. Only the late Sir W. S. Gilbert could collect and illuminate so large a series of anomalies. I forbear the attempt.

I will only remind my readers that when Dr. Fry had reached an age which the Measure considers too advanced for usefulness, His Majesty the King, in congratulating him, expressed a hope that he would long continue his work. I must say I prefer the King's wisdom to that of the 'members in charge.' When the clause was reached in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury the Dean of Lincoln made a most emphatic, humorous, and sagacious oration, which was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the House, and by the members in charge with bated breath and apologetic humbleness. I believe that the House was in almost universal agreement with the Dean when he moved: 'That this House is of opinion that a better method for limiting tenures in chapters, where such tenure is no longer efficient, is to be found in the constitutional powers of the visitor, with assent of chapter, than in any mere age limit.'

I have said a little about bishops. There is much more to be said. The Commission and Measure rightly refrain from dealing with the difficult question of the ordinary. It is understood that the Commission was quite rightly opposed to the position of ordinary in the cathedral being given to the bishop. In some cathedrals the ordinary is the dean, in some the dean and chapter. But the historical question is too intricate for brief consideration, and the practical one hardly ever presents any difficulty. I have said little about the honorary canons. We all agree that they deserve more power in the election of a bishop, in consultation, perhaps in patronage. More than that I believe hardly any of them desire. We do not yet know what the Measure really means, but if it means what has been generally supposed, nothing better can be said than has been said by the Dean of St. Paul's, whom I do not think the 'members in charge' can believe to be lacking in intelligence.

The remedy proposed by the Committee is one of the most foolish ever suggested by a responsible board. It is to make the honorary canons or prebendaries the governing body of the cathedral, the dean and chapter being only an executive committee acting under them. It is well known that the honorary canons are almost without exception hard-working parish priests, selected in recognition of their good services in that capacity. They have no knowledge of the administration of the cathedral, and no time to attend to it. The only consolation, if this Measure is carried, is that, being sensible men, they would not dream of interfering. But that is no excuse for a change which has nothing in its favour except that it is manifestly unworkable.

The words 'governing body' have been withdrawn; but are we quite sure that the idea in the minds of the framers of the statute, on which they laid so much stress, does not remain? I think it a great matter of regret that no provision whatever has been

made for the advancement of learning or study in any cathedral to-day. As the archbishops have assured us, it is one of the primary needs of the time. The Measure entirely ignores it.

The general scope of the Measure has been severely criticised. *The Times* has said quite plainly that 'neither new statutes nor new rules but new income is, in point of fact, the paramount need of our cathedrals to-day.' That was the view of Lord Cave's Commission, from which all this business started; but it has entirely passed out of the present survey. There is no provision for financial help in the Measure; heavier burdens are imposed, or at least implied. Clarity, in which the Measure is sadly deficient, is almost as essential as cash; but meddling will certainly not provide money. Again, there was an extremely sensible article in the *Quarterly Review* of July 1929. I should like to quote pages of it. I will be content with this:

Our cathedrals cannot be cheap to run, and must tax resources to the utmost; but allowed to develop along their own lines, according to resources and local conditions, and given their own essential corporate life, they have a contribution to offer to the national life greater than ever before. Rising like so many islands above the floods of secularism by which the world is being reduced to a state of efficient impotence, always standing foursquare for the things which are not seen, they are willing to reform their methods of work and to move with the times, but the while have as their constant office to remind the world that but one thing is needful, and that Mary was commended at the expense of Martha.

A still more potent critic is the Dean of St. Paul's. Writing in the *Church of England Newspaper* on September 27, 1929, he concludes: 'The new Measure should be either amended or scrapped. The members in charge have given way about the permanent commission, but I doubt whether this concession goes far enough.' It does not. Behind the whole question is that of English liberty. I have heard many people say that the cathedrals are the only place left in the Church of England where liberty remains. I am not sure that they are wrong. I will be content not to give my own opinion, but to quote that of Dr. Inge. I hope laymen will listen to him, as in the past they have so eagerly done, and as they still, in secular as well as ecclesiastical matters, quite obviously do.

There is a widespread uneasiness at the way in which the bishops are steadily drawing all patronage and power into their own hands. The parson's freehold, and still more the diversity of patronage, have been a great safeguard of liberty in the Church of England. They prevent the dioceses from becoming nurseries of the particular opinions held by the bishop. Even as things are, there have been dioceses (let no one think that I am referring to London) where the position of an Evangelical, or of a Liberal, or of an Anglo-Catholic, as the case may be, has been none too pleasant. In such dioceses, the independence of the cathedral, under

its own officers, is a great asset. That the bishops wish to curtail this independence is plain from the Bishop of Gloucester's Charge in 1924 (*The Church of England*, chap. xi.) and from certain parts of the new Measure.

When I look back upon the cathedrals question I am conscious that it presents a large field with many pitfalls, and that a large scheme has been prepared, but it has many ambiguities. What I plead for is that no one should be too much impressed by his own reforming wisdom, and that all proposals should be scrutinised in a friendly, candid, but thoroughly informed investigation.

W. H. HUTTON.

DOMINION STATUS

RECENT events in India have once more directed general attention to 'Dominion status.' But what precise meaning does the plain man, or, for that matter, the expert jurist, attach to that phrase? Political controversy is apt to popularise a phrase—it rarely elucidates its meaning. Nor did the parliamentary debates on Lord Irwin's recent declaration contribute substantially to that desirable end. Yet it is of great practical importance, not merely to India, but to the Empire at large, that ambiguity should, as far as possible, be resolved—that we should, following Dr. Johnson's injunction, 'clear our minds of cant.' To India, because it is one of the many ironies arising from the dubious gift of Western education to a small minority of the Indian peoples that phrases are apt to assume a significance which have little reference to their connotation; to the Empire at large, because we are on the eve of another Imperial Conference which, however much it may strive to concentrate (and very properly) on economic relations, cannot ignore the unsatisfactory position in which we were left, in regard to constitutional status, by the Conference of 1926.

Is 'Dominion status' synonymous with 'responsible government'? It sounds more precise than 'self-government'; but is it? 'Responsible government' has a technical connotation and can be exactly defined. It means, and ever since the 'forties has meant, a system of government in which the executive side of government is responsible to and controlled by the Legislature. All the greater Dependencies of the British Crown have attained to that constitutional status by gradual stages. British North America showed the way. Canada (as we may shortly call it) emerged from the *Règne militaire* to find itself under Crown Colony administration. The next stage was marked by the setting up of local Legislatures both in Upper and Lower Canada. That stage was accomplished by the enactment of Pitt's *Canada Constitutional Act* of 1791. Under that Act there was to be a Governor for each Colony, assisted by an Executive Council and a bicameral Legislature—a nominated Council and an elected House of Representatives. But the Legislature had no control over the Executive, which continued to be vested absolutely in

the Crown or its local representative. The position thus attained was roughly the same as that which, almost from the first, the original English Colonies on the Atlantic seaboard had enjoyed. It did not long satisfy either French or British Canada. A representative Legislature without a responsible Executive, though it marks a common, and often a prolonged, stage in constitutional evolution, is apt to breed trouble. In Charles Buller's striking phrase, the system is 'like a fire without a chimney.' The lack of a responsible Executive was the root cause of the English Civil War in the seventeenth century. It was largely responsible for the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada in 1837. In Lower Canada, more particularly, there was in the late 'thirties perpetual conflict between the Assembly and the Executive.

Having no influence in the choice of any public functionary, no power to procure the removal of such as were obnoxious to it merely on political grounds, and seeing almost every office in the Colony filled by persons in whom it had no confidence, [the Assembly] had recourse to that *ultima ratio* of representative power to which the more prudent forbearance of the Crown has never driven the House of Commons in England, and endeavoured to disable the whole machinery of government by a general refusal of the supplies.

Lord Durham, in writing thus, had apparently forgotten the history of the Puritan Revolution; he ignored documents of such importance as the *Petition of Right* and the *Grand Remonstrance*; but, though his historical memory was short, his political instinct was sure. He accurately diagnosed the situation in Canada, and, in his famous Report, he prescribed the remedy which was to prove efficacious not only in Canada, but, at the appropriate stage, in all the great English-speaking communities under the British Crown. The passages in the Report referring to this matter have become *loci classici*, but they must, for reasons which will presently emerge, be quoted once more: 'The Crown must consent to carry on the government by means of those in whom the representative body has confidence.' This sentence might have been textually extracted from the *Grand Remonstrance*. And again:

The responsibility to the united Legislature of all officers of the Government, except the Governor and his Secretary, should be secured by every means known to the British Constitution. The Governor . . . should be instructed that he must carry on his government by heads of departments in whom the united Legislature shall repose confidence; and that he must look for no support from home in any contest with the legislature, *except on points involving Imperial interests*.

A claim has lately been made that the root idea of Lord Durham's famous Report originated in Upper Canada itself, and was put forward as early as 1828 in a letter written in that year

by Dr. W. W. Baldwin to the Duke of Wellington. Dr. Baldwin called the Duke's attention to a 'principle of the British Constitution, in the actual use of which the Colonists alone hope for peace, good government and prosperity.' This principle, he explained, was 'the presence of a provincial Ministry (if I may be allowed the use of the term) responsible to the provincial Parliament, and removable from office by His Majesty's representative at his pleasure and especially when they lose the confidence of the people as expressed by the voice of their representatives in the Assembly.'¹ Whether the Tory Prime Minister would have been likely to hand on this suggestion to the servant of the Whig Government which supplanted and succeeded him seems to me doubtful; but Dr. Baldwin's letter unquestionably contains a remarkable and almost verbal anticipation of the central passage in Lord Durham's Report. Whether Durham utilised it or not, the fact remains that his Report, and particularly the passage here quoted, has long been accepted as the classical definition of 'responsible government,' and the *Magna Carta* of Colonial self-government.

In the course of a few years the central doctrine of the Durham Report was definitely and finally accepted as the ruling principle of Canadian government. Responsible government was introduced into New Brunswick in 1847 and four years later into Prince Edward Island. It has since been extended to all the more important Colonies in the British Empire.

The last six words (italicised) in the above quotation have not, however, received the attention they demand. The neglect was natural enough in the 'forties and for many years afterwards, and that for two reasons. On the one hand, there was no question of a Colonial Legislature interfering in the conduct of Imperial affairs. On the other, if it had, it would have aroused little emotion in the Imperial Parliament.

Throughout the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century Imperial interests were regarded as of little importance by the Imperial Parliament. The Colonies were looked upon as expensive appendages of the Crown. They 'hung like a millstone round our neck.' So spoke Disraeli, and his words re-echoed the consistent language of Cobden and the other prophets of the Manchester school. The one responsibility of the Mother Country in respect of its Colonies was 'to ripen these communities to the earliest possible maturity, social, political, commercial; to qualify them by all the appliances within the reach of the parent State for present self-government and *eventual independence* (the italics are mine) is now the universally admitted aim of our Colonial policy.'

¹ Aileen Dunham, *Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836*, p. 166. Quoted by Schuyler, *Parliament and the British Empire* (1929), p. 200.

These words are quoted from a thoroughly representative work of that period, Mr. Arthur Mills's *Colonial Constitutions*, published in 1856. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, in his classical *Essay on the Government of Dependencies*, had written to similar effect in 1841. Cobden wrote and spoke even more strongly. Mr. Mills was right: present self-government was the immediate object; 'independence' the ultimate goal, of our policy.

There were, indeed, a few individual exceptions. Lord Durham and his immediate coadjutors, Gibbon Wakefield and Charles Buller, were among them, but perhaps the most notable were Lord Grey in the House of Lords and Sir William Molesworth in the House of Commons.

I maintain [said Molesworth] that whenever the local circumstances of a Colony will admit the existence of a Colonial Parliament, the Colonial Parliament ought to possess powers corresponding with those of the British Parliament, *with the necessary exception of Imperial powers. For if it were to possess Imperial powers it would become an Imperial Parliament, and as there cannot be two Imperial Parliaments in one Empire, the British Empire would be dissolved.*

And he proceeds to suggest that as the United States is a system of States clustered round a central Republic, so 'our Colonial Empire ought to be a system of Colonies clustered round the hereditary monarchy of England.'² But Molesworth's wise words (which I have again ventured to italicise) fell on ears deafened by the din of Manchester—or rather of that Benthamite philosophy with the dogmas of which a great and patriotic city has been so unfairly associated. It should rather be described as the Whitehall school, for the *laissez-faire* policy was sustained, if not inspired, by a succession of Permanent Under-Secretaries of great ability—Sir James Stephen (1836-47), Herman Merivale (1847-59), and Sir Frederick Rogers (1860-71). But what Mr. H. D. Hall justly describes as 'the lowest depth of the separatist movement' was reached by Sir Henry Taylor (also of the Colonial Office), who wrote in the middle 'sixties to his official chief, the Duke of Newcastle: 'In my estimation the worst consequence of the late dispute with the United States has been that of involving this country and its North American provinces in closer relations and a common cause.' Even Whitehall could not have sunk lower than that.

The ascendancy of the separatist school was, however, approaching its end. In 1872 Disraeli, on the eve of his great electoral triumph, announced a complete, though long deferred, recantation of his youthful heresies, and declared that self-government ought to have been conceded to the Colonies only 'as

² Molesworth's *Speeches* have been rescued from undeserved oblivion and admirably edited by Professor H. E. Egerton (Oxford University Press, 1903).

part of a great policy of Imperial consolidation.' There ought to have been, in his opinion, substantial reservations, as, for example, 'an Imperial tariff,' but above all there should have been established 'some representative council in the metropolis which would have brought the Colonies into constant and continuous relations with the Home Government.' These were wise words, though too tardily uttered, and almost simultaneously Tennyson made his vigorous protest against the separatist policy in the well-known suffix to the *Idylls of the King*. These were sufficiently significant straws on the surface of the stream; but the Imperialist river was soon in full flood. During the last fifteen years of the century it almost, indeed, overflowed its banks.

The South African War checked its course; not even Mr. Chamberlain could beguile an urbanised and industrialised electorate from its traditional adherence to the dogma of free imports; public interest was again concentrated on domestic politics, and the chart of Imperial temperature showed a steady fall. So marked, indeed, was the fall during the Radical Administrations (1906-14) that the German people were easily led to believe that the first shot fired in a European war would be the signal for the 'dissolution of England's loosely compacted Empire.'

Never was a confident anticipation so dismally disappointed. The first shot fired in the Great War brought the whole Empire into line. Let this, however, be made clear. The active participation of the Dominions in the War was wholly spontaneous and voluntary. Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the rest were under no obligation to contribute a man or a shilling. But by no action on their part (save a declaration of independence) could the Dominions have remained outside the sphere of belligerency. There was momentary talk of neutrality in South Africa. It was vain talk. Germany was entitled to bombard Capetown on August 5, 1914, as clearly as she was entitled to bombard Scarborough or Deal. When the British Cabinet declared war on August 4, the British Empire was at war. No unit of the Empire could escape its responsibility save by secession: active belligerency, however; was, be it repeated, a different matter.

Nevertheless, splendid as was the response of the Dominions, there was a general feeling, widely expressed, that the thing must not happen again. Policy determines the issues of peace and war. 'We,' said the Dominions, 'find ourselves at war; but we had no part in shaping the policy which preceded it.' The hand that wields the sword of the Empire justly holds the sceptre of the Empire. When the Mother Country alone wielded the one, to her alone belonged the other. When, as to-day, the nations of

the Empire join in wielding that sword, then must they jointly sway that sceptre. So spake Mr. Doherty, Minister of Justice in Canada; and he spoke for all the Dominions. Nor was there any answer to his argument. 'Call us to your councils,' said Sir Robert Borden. We called them. Into an Imperial Cabinet they entered.

In that Imperial Cabinet they might have their place to-day, had they chosen to retain it. But no sooner was the sword sheathed, than the Dominions demanded, not *jointly* to sway the one sceptre, but the right to sway separate sceptres. The demand, once made, could not, of course, be refused; it was frankly and fully conceded at the Peace Conference. But at that Conference the Dominions both ate their cake and had it. Their representatives appended their signatories to the Peace Treaties twice—once as members of the British Empire Delegation, and again as representatives of individual 'nations.' On the same terms they entered the League of Nations. Yet Mr. Lloyd George spoke no more than the naked truth when he said (House of Commons, August 18, 1922):

Supposing they [the Dominions] had been there [at Paris] as separate independent nations owing no allegiance to the British Crown. They would not have had one-fifth of the power and dignity they had as representatives of nations inside the British Empire. . . . If they had been independent nations they would not have sat so high in the Council Chamber. . . . They knew it and they were proud of it.

Nevertheless, the fissure that first revealed itself in Paris has widened, and, unhappily, is widening. In 1917 the Home Government and the Dominions unanimously resolved that the new procedure of the Imperial Cabinet had proved itself 'of such service, not only to all its members, but to the Empire,' that it should henceforward meet annually, or more often if occasion demanded. It has never met since 1918. Nay more: in 1921 the Prime Ministers of the Dominions were invited to take part, in accordance with the resolutions previously adopted, in an Imperial 'Cabinet.' They accepted the invitation; but when they met they ostentatiously disclaimed the term, 'Cabinet.' 'I see no incongruity whatever in applying the term "Cabinet" to the association of Prime Ministers and other Ministers who meet around a common council board to debate and to determine the various needs of the Empire.' So said Sir Robert Borden in 1918. But, cordially as I welcomed the experiment of the Imperial War Cabinet, I was not without serious misgivings as to whether an Imperial Executive could permanently exist unless it was based upon an Imperial Legislature. Those misgivings I

expressed at the time in the pages of this Review.³ Bitterly do I lament the unhappy fulfilment of my own prognostications. My chief consolation is that the 'curves' of the centrifugal and centripetal periods have in the past been fairly constant in their alternations.

May we dare to hope that in the Conference of 1926 we reached the lowest point in the post-war centrifugal curve? I subjected the Report of that Conference to a detailed analysis in the pages of this Review⁴ some three years ago, but, in view of the fact that we are now on the eve of another Conference, it may be permissible to recall some of the more important resolutions of that Conference and their political sequelae.

Moreover, it happens that within the last few weeks the literature of the subject has been enriched by the publication of three works of outstanding importance to which I desire to call the attention of all those readers of the *Nineteenth Century and After* who are interested in Imperial affairs.

*The Sovereignty of the British Dominions*⁵ is from the highly accomplished pen of Professor A. Berriedale Keith. This work is the latest of a lengthening series of volumes which have established, beyond cavil or dispute, Dr. Keith's claim to the first place among the authorities on the constitutional law of the British Empire. It has been suggested by the Report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 on Inter-Imperial Relations, and on the extraordinarily varied, not to say contradictory, interpretations which have been placed upon that Report. The Report, as Dr. Keith justly observes, 'has been regarded as a mere authoritative statement of existing facts regarding the Imperial Constitution; it has been extolled as creating for the Dominions a status of sovereign independence which renders secession needless, since there is no bond to sever; and it has been censured for tending to weaken the efficacy of the British Empire as an instrumentality in assuring the peace of the world.' But the remarkable points about that Report—points which, as Dr. Keith says, are constantly ignored—are: first, that it has not been formally approved by any Parliament in the Empire save that of the Union of South Africa; and, secondly, that it has never been communicated to foreign Governments, or, as far as I am aware, been submitted to the League of Nations. There is a third: that, except for one evening's discussion initiated by the present writer on June 29, 1927, it received no attention whatever in the House of Commons. That discussion, brief and unsatisfactory as it was, was important as having elicited from Mr. Amery, then Secretary of State for the

³ 'British Federalism; a Vanished Dream?' (September, 1917).

⁴ 'The Imperial Parliament and the Empire' (September, 1927).

⁵ Macmillan & Co. (1929).

Dominions, the only statement on one of the most important documents in the whole history of the Empire ever vouchsafed to the British House of Commons. Dr. Keith takes me to task, albeit with characteristic courtesy, for having mentioned the Report of 1926 in the same breath with Lord Durham's Report. He argues that the treatment of the Report by the constituent Governments and Parliaments of the Empire is conclusive proof that it was not deemed to have effected any fundamental, or indeed any significant, change in inter-Imperial relations.

Let me assure Dr. Keith that I should be only too glad if I could bring myself to agree with him. But I have my misgivings. In the debate already referred to I put to His Majesty's Government a series of rather blunt questions: 'Had there, or had there not, been a change in constitutional relations since November 1926? If there had, should not the Imperial Parliament at least have been informed of the change if not asked formally to sanction it? If there had been a change, what precisely was its nature? Would it affect the prerogatives of the Crown? Would it affect the rights or duties of the Imperial Parliament?' Needless to say that these questions were adroitly parried by the Secretary of State, who maintained that the Conference had merely declared existing rights and had not created new rights. But if that were so, what did the Home Secretary (then Sir W. Joynson-Hicks) mean by words used in the House of Commons on March 15, 1927: 'The Dominions of the Crown, the great self-governing Dominions, are, *certainly since this last Imperial Conference*, coequal with the United Kingdom'? What did General Hertzog, speaking in the Union Parliament of South Africa, mean when he said: 'They had received *from the last Imperial Conference* the acknowledgment by Great Britain of their sovereign national status, *with full abandonment* by the British Government of any claim to control or superior authority . . .'? I specifically pressed the question whether the Dominions had received such an 'acknowledgment.' What precisely did the British Government 'abandon'? And by whom were they authorised to 'abandon' anything? To these questions I have never had an answer. Mr. Bennett, the leader of the Conservative Party in the Dominion Parliament of Canada, referred to the recommendations of the Conference as 'involving what one must pronounce to be *grave constitutional changes*.' What were those grave constitutional changes? Whatever they were, Mr. Bennett deemed them so grave that he moved in the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa that it was not desirable that the Canadian Parliament should be deemed tacitly to have acquiesced in the declarations and recommendations of the Imperial Conference. It was my wish, not fulfilled, to have

moved, had opportunity offered, in similar terms in the House of Commons.

Shortly after that debate Mr. Amery made a tour through the Dominions and delivered a series of speeches to which, in their collected form, he gave the suggestive title *The Empire in the New Era*. In almost all those speeches special and pointed reference was made to the Imperial Conference of 1926. Did it not then inaugurate a 'new era'? If either Mr. Amery or Dr. Keith have any lingering doubts on this subject I would respectfully refer them to the speech delivered so recently as November 20 by Mr. Blyth, a Minister of the Free State, in the Dublin Parliament, and to the debate which arose thereon in the House of Lords on December 3. The Secretary of State, Lord Passfield, summarised Mr. Blyth's contention as being based on 'the momentous constitutional development' in the position of the Dominions since 1926. That such a development has taken place Dr. Keith would, I am confident, be the first to admit. Does he deny that it is momentous?

No detached observer could have any doubt on this matter, and it is significant that of the three important works to which I have referred, two come from Columbia University, New York. Dr. A. Gordon Dewey, the author of *The Dominions and Diplomacy*,⁶ though attached to the Department of Public Law in Columbia University, has the additional advantage of being a graduate of McGill University. Dr. Schuyler, whose work is entitled *Parliament and the British Empire*,⁷ is Professor of History in the same University (Columbia). Both works have an important bearing on the theme under discussion in this article. Dr. Dewey, as the title of his work implies, is concerned mainly with the external relations of the Dominions, and in particular with those of Canada. Until recently, he writes, 'the most salient feature of the Britannic Question has been what might be termed its "inwardness."' By this rather clumsy term Dr. Dewey means the quasi-domestic relations between the Mother Country and the Dominions. He holds that preoccupation with 'inwardness' has resulted in

marked confusion between the internal and external aspects of the problem. . . . Principles have been fought for and vindicated at Imperial Conferences which would seem to be valid only within the Commonwealth itself, and to which foreign Powers will accord attention merely as suits their own advantage. The efforts of [Colonial] Nationalists to gain recognition among the nations for the discretion which they presume to reserve unto themselves as regards Imperial commitments, have served merely to enhance the anomalies in Dominion status and to set forth more

⁶ Longmans, Green & Co. (London, New York, Toronto, 1929).
⁷ New York, Columbia University Press, 1929.

clearly the dilemma which would confront the Dominions in the event of a major crisis.

That seems to be admirably said. Several illustrations of the point on which Dr. Dewey insists will occur to anyone who has followed with attention the development of events since the Armistice. The Chanak incident of 1922 brought the whole Empire to the verge of a 'major crisis.' If we had had at Constantinople a less cool-headed and capable representative than Sir Charles Harington the 'major crisis' might well have issued in war. What would the position of the Dominions have been? The attitude of New Zealand and Australia was not in doubt; what would have been the attitude of Canada and South Africa? Happily that question became academic by the passing of the 'incident'; but it might easily recur. Moreover, it is significant that when the Peace Treaty between the Allied Powers and Turkey was ultimately signed at Lausanne (July 1923) the Dominions were not signatories to the document, though the Treaty was supplementary to that of Versailles. The exclusion of Dominion representatives from the Conference and the absence of their signatures to the Treaty unquestionably raised awkward questions, and the comment of Mr. Mackenzie King thereon is noteworthy. Speaking as Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada in the Dominion Parliament on June 9, 1924, he said:

Legally and technically Canada will be bound by the ratification of this Treaty; in other words, speaking internationally, the whole British Empire in relation to the rest of the world will stand as one when this Treaty is ratified. But as respects the obligations arising out of the Treaty itself, speaking now of inter-Imperial obligations, this Parliament, if regard is to be had to the representations which from the outset we have made to the British Government, will in no way be bound by any obligation beyond that which Parliament of its own volition recognises as arising out of the situation.

That Mr. King's pronouncement was, from the point of view of a parliamentary performance, exceedingly adroit is undeniable; whether his position is either legally tenable or politically satisfactory is more open to doubt.

The Locarno Agreement affords another illustration of the anomaly of the existing situation. It was easy enough for the Imperial Conference to express complacent satisfaction after the event. 'From the standpoint of all the Dominions and of India, there was complete approval of the manner in which the negotiation [at Locarno] had been conducted and brought to so successful a conclusion.' So we read in the Report. That is all very pleasant, but it cuts no ice. The Locarno Pact imposed on Great Britain very grave responsibilities. Under that instrument Great Britain guaranteed existing frontiers between France and

Germany and Belgium and Germany, and undertook to assist in repelling aggression on one side or the other. That guarantee might easily result in (though it is hoped it would avert) a renewal of the Great War. Should that result unfortunately ensue, the whole Empire would, as in 1914, find itself at war. At the Conference of Locarno the Dominions were not represented; they were not individually signatories to the Treaty, but the absence of their signatures cannot legally exempt them (despite the specific and formal exclusion of the Dominions in Article IX. of the Pact) from consequences which might conceivably arise.*

It is all very well for us, as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, to draw distinctions between 'active' and 'passive' responsibility, or 'active' and 'passive' belligerency; but what possible right have we to expect that foreign States would respect the distinction, unless it should happen to be convenient to themselves to do so? Great stress has been laid since 1926 upon the doctrine that the King-Emperor must henceforward regard as equal in status, if not in stature, the responsible Executives in the several Dominions (including the United Kingdom), and must act on the advice severally tendered by them, without the interposition of the British Cabinet. That is a very clumsy doctrine and might have very awkward consequences. Suppose that in relation to a particular crisis in foreign affairs contradictory advice were tendered to the Sovereign by the Cabinets of the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia respectively, whose advice is His Majesty to take, whose to reject? The true doctrine was surely stated by Professor J. H. Morgan in his Rhodes lecture on 'Dominion Status' delivered in March 1929. 'Once grasp, he said, 'the significance of the maxim . . . that the "Crown is one and indivisible throughout the Empire," and a great deal of the current use and misuse of the term the "sovereignty" of the Dominions will, in losing half its meaning, lose all its danger.' And as to foreign affairs he added the timely caution that 'matters might be external to particular Dominions without being foreign to the whole Empire.'

An illustration which may have immediate political significance is ready to hand. On February 1, 1924, Mr. MacDonald's first Government accorded recognition to the Soviet Government of Russia. It was done without consultation with the Dominions. Did it, or did it not, bind them? Professor Keith holds that the act of the Imperial Government was 'one which, under international law, clearly bound the whole of the Empire.' Mr. Mackenzie King, on the contrary, declared that 'the Canadian Government would take their own position in regard to the Soviet Republic just as they would take their position in regard to anything else.' As a matter of fact, the Canadian Dominion

did in this instance follow the lead of the Home Government and accord formal recognition to the U.S.S.R. But Dr. Keith holds, and, in my submission, he is right, that Mr. King's action was 'internationally neither necessary nor effective.'

Another point. The claim of the Dominions—or some of them—for separate diplomatic representation in foreign capitals has undoubtedly added a further complication to a situation that is already sufficiently ambiguous. The matter was first raised in an acute form by the refusal of the Canadian Government to allow the British Ambassador at Washington to sign, along with Mr. Lapointe, the Canadian plenipotentiary, the Halibut Treaty of 1923. The refusal was pointed and deliberate. The British Ambassador at Washington, Sir Auckland Geddes, having telegraphed (February 23, 1923) to the Governor-General, 'I have been instructed by His Majesty's Government to sign the Treaty in association with Mr. Lapointe,' Lord Byng replied (February 28), 'My Ministers are of opinion that, as respects Canada, the signature of Mr. Lapointe alone should be sufficient as it affects solely Canada and the United States.' The Treaty was signed on behalf of His Majesty only by Mr. Lapointe. But in the American Senate Canada came up against an obstacle, for the Senate ratified the Treaty as 'a Convention between the United States and Great Britain' (March 4, 1923), Canada, however, protested, and in the following year the Senate yielded to Canadian susceptibilities so far as to ratify the Treaty in its original form—i.e., with Canada substituted for Great Britain.

In itself the Halibut Treaty possessed only a local significance; but the whole incident—the deliberate affront to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, the obstinate insistence of the Canadian Government on his exclusion from all participation in the conclusion of the Treaty—marked an important step towards the affirmation of diplomatic independence on the part of the Dominion of Canada.

The appointment of a permanent Canadian Minister at Washington and the reception of a United States representative at Ottawa were the logical sequel of the action taken by the Canadian Government in reference to the Halibut Treaty. An interchange of Ministers between Ottawa and Paris was the next step; between Ottawa and Tokio is to be the third.

The two weighty tomes on *The Dominions and Diplomacy*, wherein this development is treated *in extenso*, are not out of proportion to its intrinsic importance. It were much to be desired that they should arrest the attention of the British electorate and the Imperial Parliament. But I am not over-sanguine about that. A handful of constitutional experts are already alive to the significance of these developments, but I doubt whether,

beyond that very limited circle, the constitutional evolution of the British Empire is a subject which will excite any profound emotion or even a languid interest. The attention of the House of Commons is at present wholly concentrated, like that of the electorate, on social and industrial problems. Such problems are the inevitable sequelæ of a great war. They cannot be ignored, and a right solution of them is of transcendent importance to the community. Nevertheless, it is deplorable that so little of parliamentary time can be spared for the consideration of constitutional problems of vital significance to the British Commonwealth of Nations. All the greater, then, is the debt which we owe to scholars like Dr. Keith, Dr. Dewey and Professor Schuyler for their efforts to elucidate these problems and to bring them to the attention of politicians and publicists throughout the English-speaking world.]

Down to the outbreak of the Great War 'Dominion status' might with sufficient accuracy have been interpreted as meaning the right to exclusive control over the local affairs of the Dominion concerned. The control of the foreign relations of the Empire was by general, if tacit, consent vested in the Imperial Government. But the sentiment of Colonial nationalism was developing apace. Could a 'nation,' even if it formed a unit in the larger whole of a Commonwealth, permanently acquiesce in the restriction of its jurisdiction to internal affairs? Did not nationhood imply control over *all* the affairs of the nation, external as well as internal? But, if so, how was nationhood to be reconciled with membership of an Empire?

The dilemma is not novel. It has confronted, and must necessarily confront, every confederation of States. But it has arisen in a peculiarly acute form in a confederation the constituent States of which are geographically remote from each other. Another consideration must not be ignored. Remote from each other, some of the nations of the British Commonwealth are in close contiguity to States outside the family. Great Britain herself cannot escape the implications of physical contiguity to the European continent, and has gratuitously accepted new specific responsibilities in relation thereto. The Canadian frontier marches with that of the United States. Only the British Navy is interposed between Japan and Australasia. Contiguity must still count for something. Yet year by year the globe is contracting. Physical science is co-operating with moral and intellectual influences to bring about a unification of the world and to enforce the lesson of the solidarity of mankind. The diplomats of Vienna were sharply censured for ignoring the principles of 'nationality' in the great European settlement of 1815. The

statesmen who presided over the settlement of 1919 have incurred blame for giving an exaggerated emphasis to that very same doctrine. Geneva is already engaged on the task of neutralising the more obvious defects of their handiwork. 'Nationalism' to-day is suspect, and it is the primary function of a League of 'Nations' to minimise its implications. And this is the moment selected for the reassertion of an obsolescent and disintegrating principle in the bosom of an Empire which provides the most powerful instrument yet devised for the maintenance of world peace. The irony of the situation is manifest. Can anything be done to alleviate it? Of the legal links of Empire the only two which possess much practical validity to-day are the Crown and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The youngest of the Dominions has openly flouted the Privy Council, and its loyalty to the Crown is not above suspicion. The Imperial Conference of 1926 was greatly influenced by a desire to make the Imperial 'yoke' as light as possible for the least loyal of the Dominions. Phrases, undeniably if not designedly ambiguous, were inserted in the Report on Inter-Imperial Relations, in the interests of unanimity and in the hope of reconciling the irreconcilable. The central doctrine of the British Constitution—the sovereignty of Parliament—was seemingly surrendered with similar intent. Is it worth while? Are we not running a serious risk of poisoning the whole body-politic of the Empire for the sake of saving a diseased limb? Would not amputation be a healthier alternative?

Most ardently do I hope that the ensuing Imperial Conference will take a stronger line than the last with the malcontents. Membership of the British Empire is not an irksome obligation; it is a high privilege. Let those who do not so regard it 'loose the bond and go.' The constituent States which remain within the confederation will be the happier, the Empire as a whole will be the stronger, for a surgical operation which, though painful, and maybe dangerous, is at least preferable to septic poisoning.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

THE NATIVE QUESTION IN KENYA

SINCE the publication of the Hilton Young Report much has been heard of the necessity of a common native policy for East Africa. Further, it seems to be thought that such a policy would be easy of realisation did not Kenya, with its white settlers, stand in the way. Kenya is the only one of the territories involved in which one has to reckon with the white settler, the man who is not merely conducting an agricultural or mineral exploitation, but who is making a home. Even so, it is difficult to see how any common denominator can be found between peoples like the Baganda, with their comparatively advanced systems of government and land holding, or the tribes in the Bukoba province of Tanganyika—who go about in motor cars, or at least on cycles—and many of the tribes which are still in the nomadic pastoral stage. But when one gets closer to the problem in Kenya, which in its diversity may almost be regarded as an epitome of all East African conditions, it is clear that the native problem is not one, but several, and, moreover, that its political aspect is negligible in comparison with the economic and social difficulties. At home one is led to think of Kenya as a source of conflict between white man and native; near at hand the anxious question for the Administration is how to maintain the conditions under which the native can continue his accustomed life, even with all the relief he obtains by working for the white man. A mere consideration of the areas involved will show how small a factor the white settler is in the occupation of the Colony. Out of a total area of about 140,000,000 acres some 7,500,000 are reserved for the whites, and about 35,000,000 are defined as native reserves; of the huge remaining area some is forest, but the great part is arid country towards the Abyssinian frontier, that supports a few nomadic tribes, but little or no settlement, either native or white. The protection of this area from slave-raiding is no light burden on the resources of the Colony, because no revenue is collected from its inhabitants. Nor do the white reserves embrace the pick of the country; they consist mainly of the uplands, from 5000 to 10,000 feet in altitude, much of which was formerly sparsely occupied, either because it was colder than the native

likes, or because it was a 'debatable land' subject to the raids of the Masai. It is suitable for European cultivation, and now carries great fields of maize at the lower altitudes, and of wheat or barley from 7000 feet upwards.

Few countries exhibit so much diversity within a short space as Kenya. Starting from the coast—*e.g.*, up the railway line from Mombasa—there is first a coastal belt, tropical in character, but undeveloped because of irregularity of rainfall and lack of permanent water. It contains some sisal plantations, a few sugar estates, and some cocoanut plantations for copra, but in the main it is thinly occupied by native tribes and counts for little in the general economy of the Colony. This is succeeded by a grassy plateau, occupied by the Masai to the south and west of the line, by the Akamba to the north and east. Approaching Nairobi one enters the Athi plains, grazed by the Masai and famous as the great game reserve. From Nairobi the line still mounts, partly through white settlements, partly through the Kikuyu reserve, until the escarpment is reached, and then descends into the great Rift Valley, which traverses Kenya from north to south. The floor of the Rift Valley, hot and dry, is covered with sparse grass and thorn scrub: southward it is Masai country, and joins on to their great reserve; northward is a white settled area of cattle and sheep grazing with considerable cultivation, though at some risk of failure from drought. Here the railway divides; the older southern section climbs rapidly out of the valley to the settled wheat-growing country about Londiani at 9000 feet or so, and thence drops again to the Kavirondo reserve, and once more down an escarpment to the flat tropical shores of the Victoria Nyanza. To the south of the line is another hill area of steep slopes and high rainfall, the Kerico district, where tea is rapidly being developed. The northern section equally climbs rapidly out of the valley to 9000 feet or so, and continues along the Uasin Guisha plateau till it strikes into the North Kavirondo reserve for Uganda. A branch to the north opens up a settled area called the Trans-Nzoia, a purely post-war development, which continues to the high forest land on the flanks of Mount Elgon.

From Nairobi a branch line goes northward through the Kikuyu reserve until it reaches a settled area on the flanks of Mount Kenya, where coffee, maize, sisal, and wheat are all grown.

Conceive, then, a highly accidented country in which one can pass in an hour or two from parched vegetation shimmering in the heat to cool uplands deep in grass that recall the high Cotswolds, where only the dangerous sun warns of the nearness of the equator. The white settlements are closely interwoven with the native

reserves; indeed, much of the white farms is in 'squatter' occupation by natives at work on the farm, but who are given plots of land and grazing for their cattle.

The railway, expensive to construct and to maintain on account of the gradients, serves white and native areas indifferently. The roads are well graded, but, from the lack of good material, develop a treacherous surface and terrible ruts in wet weather. Still, everyone lives in a motor car; and motor cars in Africa go everywhere, track or no track. Rarely are any but American cars to be seen; the British car, depending for its power upon a small engine at high speed, wilts before an African course of potholes and slippery ruts.

In the native reserves feeder roads are being constructed by the local native councils, this being one of the few purposes for which forced labour may still be exacted by order of the chiefs.

The natives of Kenya belong to many different peoples, of various origin and at various stages of development. The languages, even when they possess a common Bantu basis, are distinct, and the *lingua franca* is Swahili—properly the speech of the tribes of Zanzibar and the opposite coast, who used to supply the porters of East Africa. Swahili is taught in the schools, and is used both by settlers and administrative officers, though the latter carry an interpreter when dealing with any particular tribe. Steps are now being taken to initiate the replacement of Swahili by English.

The best known of the tribes is the Masai, long dreaded throughout East Africa for their fighting power, though just before the British occupation they had received some rude checks from tribes they had usually raided at pleasure. They occupy south-eastern Kenya; indeed, their territory was arbitrarily cut in two by the old demarcation of German East Africa, now Tanganyika. A northern section of the tribe was also cut off by white settlement, but by agreement this group was transferred to the main reserve about 1914.

The Masai are a pastoral folk, moving their great herds of cattle and goats across the plains they occupy as the grazing and water serves. Water, indeed, is scarce in the reserve, but two Government boring plants are now at work, and there are good prospects of obtaining water in most districts. The provision of water constitutes the necessary first step towards inducing the Masai to lead a more settled existence. The Masai are good cattle-men; their stock are superior to those of most of the tribes, if only because they select the bulls and castrate the other males, which they are willing to sell for work oxen or slaughter, and to exchange for heifers with other tribes. They eat meat and blood—hence their fine physique; they milk some of the cows,

and to a limited extent prepare 'ghee' for sale. They are thus far ahead of other tribes in regarding cattle as productive material, though, as with the other folk, the standing of a man is measured by the number of cattle and goats he possesses. The Masai themselves do little cultivation, though here and there maize, and even wheat, is being grown by progressive men, and the habit of agriculture is spreading. The great southern game reserve lies in the country of the Masai, who act as faithful wardens of the vast herds which still roam over the plains. It is still possible to drive out from Nairobi after tea and come within a stone's throw of herd after herd of wildebeest, hartebeest, zebra, and the various gazelles, with occasional ostriches and eland. Equally one may find the giraffe among the acacias that dot the floor of the Rift Valley. The Masai respect the game; only on the lions that follow the zebra do the young men blood their spears, being now debarred from their older methods of proving themselves as warriors. Doubtless as the tribe grows the game reserve will have to be restricted and fenced; a charge can then be made for admission to this magnificent natural zoo, the proceeds of which can be used by the native councils for the improvement of roads and water supplies in the rest of the reserve. The railway line south of Nairobi divides the Masai from the Wakamba, in whose country the real native problem of South Africa arises in its intensest form. The Wakamba are equally a pastoral people, though, unlike the Masai, they neither eat nor milk their stock. They do a certain amount of cultivation, and have been famous from of old as smiths and metal-workers. This characteristic shows itself under training in their capacity to become skilled craftsmen; on the white farms they soon learn to drive tractors and deal with machinery. None the less, the great object of the M'kamba man is to accumulate live-stock—chiefly cattle and goats, with a few sheep. They are kept as tokens of wealth and as currency for the purchase of wives, the price of which may range from 90 to 120 goats. Numbers alone count; quality is not regarded. There is no selection, no castration of the excess of males; the breeding is as Nature wills. Save for this one purpose of wife-buying and for their skins when they die, the live-stock serve no economic purpose; the Wakamba will neither kill them nor sell them. 'Money does not breed' is the native axiom, and Wakamba are known to pay Indian traders to keep their money safe for them. Rather than kill for food, a M'kamba man has been found dying of starvation with his herds round him. This cattle-raising would be but an amiable idiosyncrasy were not the numbers growing to such an extent as to become a menace to the continued existence of the tribe, now that multiplication is no longer checked by the raids of the Masai. A recent detailed

census made by one of the veterinary officers of the Colony estimates the number of live-stock in the Kamba reserve as at least three times as great as the land can carry. Over wide areas the vegetation has been wholly removed, the surface has been broken by the goats which eat down to the roots, and on the slopes erosion has begun in its most dangerous form. The hillsides are purple and chocolate, because they have been bared down to the subsoil, and the rate at which the land loses its water is of course cumulative. In this destructive process the goat is the most active agent. It will be recalled how the goat in historic times has destroyed the fertility of Greece and other Mediterranean regions, denuding the hillsides and washing the soil into malarious swamps in the valleys, and this process is rapidly being repeated in East Africa. Some of the Wakamba chiefs are conscious of the ruin that is overtaking their country. They can recall districts where the grazing was good in their youth, but have now become desert; they agree as to the deterioration of the areas that are still carrying cultivation and stock. But they say that their people generally fail to recognise the inevitable end, and are by no means disposed to change their outlook. They will only reduce their stock under compulsion from the Government. The droughts of the last two years have accelerated the destruction and hit the Wakamba hard. So far they seem to have managed to live on food purchased by their hoarded money, though many of them are described as irretrievably in debt to the Indian traders, in spite of the law that voids a debt of more than 200s. unless it has been registered before a District Officer. The Wakamba solution for their troubles is more land. They had previously been given one unoccupied area and are now overflowing into other reserves. But whatever land were available it would only afford a temporary relief; given the opportunity, in time the Wakamba would fill the whole of Africa with their stock.

It is in the Kamba reserve that the worst examples of desert-making are to be seen, but there are other districts equally in danger, where the stock population has been allowed to outgrow the capacity of the land. Practically all the Kenya tribes have the same passion for the accumulation of cattle and goats that serve but a minimal economic purpose until they become skins, and, though the rate of increase is slow owing to endemic diseases, it is quite sufficient to make over-stocking inevitable, even without the efforts of the Veterinary Department to clean up rinderpest in the native herds. There is some irony in the situation. Many people have looked to Africa as the great potential source of meat for the world that has as yet been undeveloped. The cattle are indeed there, even though Africa is the home of every known and unknown cattle disease, but they are unavailable for food

purposes, and they are tending to destroy the land on which they live.

The Masai and the Wakamba are the chief pastoral tribes; other cattle peoples are the Lumbwa, who occupy a small reserve about the southern section of the railway line. Incurable cattle-raiders, the Lumbwa have recently attracted attention by a brush with the Masai, a small affair of raid and counter-raid, but which caused some alarm to the isolated tea-planters of the Kericho district between the two fires. Almost as untamed are the Nandi, a tribe occupying a rugged range of hills in the Kavirondo reserve. A tale is told of a District Officer who climbed up to a great platform of rock on the edge of the escarpment overlooking the flat country on the shores of the lake. There he met some Nandi chiefs gazing at settlements of the agricultural tribes below, and asked them what they were looking at. 'Our cattle,' was the bitter response from one old warrior. But most of the peoples of various origin in the Kavirondo reserve are cultivators, and so important has become their production of maize that a branch of the railway is being built to take the traffic. The growth of cotton is increasing yearly; indeed, agriculture generally is improving, the great danger being the spread of *striga*, a weed parasitic on maize which can only be kept under by the most stringent weeding. Ten years ago most of the Kavirondo natives went mother naked; now they are all clothed in cotton-prints bought from the Indian traders and made on Bombay looms. Manchester seems to be too much interested in the politics of the African native to care to clothe him.

There remains one other considerable tribe engaged in agriculture, the Kikuyu, whose reserve runs close in to Nairobi and stretches out to the southern flanks of Mount Kenya, bordering upon and intersected by the white plantations, especially of coffee. The Kikuyu are nearer to the stage of landowning than the other tribes; they have a form of family ownership known as the 'githaka,' and a Commission is now sitting in Kenya to investigate this question of tenure, for several ownership, or at least security of occupation, is here, as elsewhere, the basis of improved farming. In some areas the titles seem to have been derived by agreement with the Wandirobo, a hunter tribe who ranged over the country before the advent of the Kikuyu, but of which the remnants are now pushed back into the Kavirondo country. It is over these ancient rights of cultivation that trouble now exists between the white settlers and the Kikuyu. Some of the areas alienated for white settlement were at the time practically unoccupied because they were subject to Masai raidings. But the Kikuyu have tenacious memories—'The Masai took our cattle and our wives, but never our land'; and

whether or not some of these old claims have much foundation, the fact remains that there are landless Kikuyu with no right to a share in any 'githaka.' These men, when they cannot get a squatter tenancy on a white farm, complain that their own headmen drive hard bargains for the use of a patch of land. The Kikuyu have readily adopted the machinery of white civilisation; they are the politicals of East Africa, and they enjoy litigation. It is not unknown that a dispute over the exact number of goats paid for the grandmother of the family should reach the appeal courts. With their quick intelligence, the Kikuyu early became a favoured field for mission work, but feelings are no longer so cordial. The young Kikuyu are putting in claims for the lands held by the missions, and in their zeal for 'nationalism' are reviving barbarous customs like female circumcision, frowned on alike by missions and the Administration. Recently they broke up the Communion service in a certain church, some members of which had been excluded because of their participation in a particularly cruel case of clitero-dectomy that had come into the courts. The Kikuyu are experimenting a little in new religions, blends of Christianity and Mohammedanism, but none of their sects has reached the importance of the Amalekites in Uganda. The Kikuyu are good cultivators, and are rapidly improving their agriculture. They are keen about the improved maize varieties the agricultural officers distribute, and they are beginning to grow European vegetables. Indeed, an export trade in potatoes with India is being developed, thanks to an inspection and grading system which the Department of Agriculture has established at Mombasa. Like the other tribes, the Kikuyu accumulate cattle and goats. To some extent the cows are milked; the goats are useless and destructive until they are dead. But the worst effects of erosion are being avoided among the Kikuyu, because they have taken generally to the planting of wattle on the steeper and poorer land. Wattle grows quickly and, besides firewood, provides a source of income from the bark, which is sold to the factories that make from it an extract for tanning. Carrying in firewood and water constitutes the most terrible *corvée* of the Kikuyu women. From their earliest childhood they are trained to bear heavy loads, not on their heads, as do the stately Baganda women, but on their backs, supported by a strap round the forehead. They are proud of their powers, but the doctors tell of the disastrous effect upon childbearing. There are a number of smaller tribes, like the Somali, the Giriama, and other coastal tribes; but enough has been said to show how remote from the actual circumstances is the idea of a common native policy. The one thing on which the tribes feel intensely is the possession of their land, and that is

assured in the native reserves. The ultimate aim of the Administration must be to build up a system of individual occupation for agriculture. To do this demands infinite patience and sympathy, a stage-by-stage development adapted to the conditions and starting-point of each tribe. Though in each tribe individuals learn with astonishing rapidity—evidence of good material that has hitherto had little chance in a world rendered unstable by war, famine, and disease—yet the tribe as a whole can only move slowly. Above all, the measures must be informed with sympathy and understanding, for a native people will wither away if its customs are so changed as to deprive its members of their zest in life. Certain immediate measures will have to be taken to reduce the number of live-stock, and here compulsion will be necessary, though the edge can be taken off by an intensive campaign of education. Otherwise the Government will soon be faced with the feeding of the Wakamba people and their stock; indeed, another drought would at once necessitate such action. This first step will be costly enough, for the stock to be culled have little or no commercial value as meat. A factory is needed which in the first instance will turn out little more than fertiliser and skins; later, as improvement in the stock sets in, the output of meat products will grow and the operation will become normal trading. Coupled with this initial relief should be the education of the pastoral tribes in economic methods of stock-keeping and regulated grazing to improve the pasturage. Somehow the outlook of the tribes upon live-stock has got to be changed; if the Wakamba, for example, could be led to eat even a quarter of a pound of meat per head per week, their over-stocking problem would disappear, and the physique of the tribe would improve with the more varied dietary.

With the improved pastoralism should come an increasing amount of cultivation, for stock alone are never able to support a large population. This eventually means settlement and security of occupation, though this stage is still remote among the Masai and the Wakamba. But as leading in the right direction comes the development of water supplies and roads, both costly, and demanding, therefore, an increase in the earning capacity of the tribe.

Amongst the agricultural tribes progress can be more rapid; indeed, they have already learnt much from working on the European farms. There they acquire a higher standard of living and earn money to pay for it; the coffee-planters alone pay out about 250,000*l.* a year in wages. Their dietary is better; they learn by practice better methods of cultivation and the use of implements and manure. The native hand tools have been replaced by the more effective European hoes, ploughs are becom-

ing widespread, and improved seed and new varieties of crops are appreciated. Throughout the native reserves millets have generally been replaced by maize; wheat is increasing where the climate permits of its growth—for the women have learnt that their children thrive better on wheat porridge than on maize—and European vegetables are being cultivated. Better farming is now a matter of education, for which the natives are quite ready. But it is an all-round education that is necessary—not just the teaching of reading and writing that leads to the production of clerks. To quote from the Report of the recent Commission on Agriculture in Kenya:

The improvement of native agriculture is closely bound up with the general problem of raising the physique, the health and the education of the natives. An ill-balanced dietary, especially at early ages, reduces the physique of the natives and renders them more susceptible to the prevalent diseases—parasitic worms, malaria and tuberculosis. Better food, better housing, better personal hygiene, are all bound up in one cycle with better agriculture, and it is impossible to say that improvement should begin at any one point rather than another. Sir Horace Plunkett's dictum—'Better farming, better business, better living'—is as true of African as of European cultivators.

One other question is of importance in the development of native agriculture, especially as regards its relation to the white farmer, and that is the organisation of marketing. At present the natives sell to the Indian traders, whose 'dukas' permeate the remotest districts. It is difficult to exaggerate the value the Indian traders have been to the young community, their convenience and their efficiency—but it is no more than human nature for them to buy cheap—when purchasing small parcels of agricultural produce. They buy, too, at a flat rate, irrespective of quality, and this does not encourage the producer to improve his output. The matter does not end with the indifferent return to the native; wherever the material is equally grown by the white farmer, the Indian traders, after bulking their purchases, are in a position to undersell the white producer. So is renewed the root trouble of agricultural production the world over; prices are pegged back to the minimum that will maintain production from the men with the lowest standard of living, who themselves are kept at the bare subsistence level. What is needed is the patient cultivation of co-operative societies among the natives, which will ensure to them the current market price, less the necessary costs of grading, bulking and transport. The co-operative organisation becomes at once an educational agency, because its interest is to inform its members what they ought to grow in order to secure a good sale. Further, the native co-operatives can then associate themselves with the white co-operatives

in order to obviate competition and ensure common marketing for export. Already one of the most successful of the Kenya co-operative societies, the Lumbwa Creamery, takes in native members on the same terms as white, and though after an initial success there has been a setback, owing to the absence of the District Officer who organised the natives, the work is being taken up again.

If the natives can thus be led to develop economically we may see an end to the estrangement that threatens to develop between them and the white settlers. Undoubtedly there is a vocal, and possibly dangerous, element among the Kikuyu, who are a politically minded folk with an instinct for exploiting grievances. The young malcontents are well coached by the revolutionary section among the Indians, and have even managed to make touch with the Russian wellhead of discontent. Numerically they are unimportant, and they are just as much a nuisance to their own chiefs as to the whites, for their quarrel is against all authority. But they are accorded an undeserved prominence by a certain section at home, whose passion for 'justice' expresses itself in a profound distrust of their own people. In England, too, we have to reckon with the incurable romantics who want to see the noble savage preserved from the contagion of civilisation. Civilisation has, indeed, its ugly side, but it is idle to deny our birthright; man, even primitive man, will move along the lines of Western development, and it is no more possible to keep the tribes unspotted from the world than to maintain Kenya as a game reserve. Meantime, these friends of the native at home are able to exert a paralysing influence upon government. By newspaper articles, by questions in the House, they can make the Colonial Office nervous, and needed legislation is hung up until the administrator on the spot who has given years of anxious thought to the problem becomes sick at heart.

Meantime, the repercussion upon the Kenya settlers is dangerous. They are conscious of having done a great work of colonisation in a very short time, and that they have been the chief agents in lifting the natives some steps above their original barbarism. And yet they find themselves distrusted and denounced as land robbers and sweaters of labour, addicted to the cruelties of the old slaveowners. It is true that foul cases have been reported from time to time. Unhappily, all men cannot be entrusted with power over the weak; amongst our own folk brutalities of men towards women, and women towards children, are not unknown, but are left to the law to deal with and not regarded as branding the whole of our people.

Small wonder, then, that the Kenya settlers take these imputations to heart and resent them bitterly. That would matter

little did not the resentment engender among them a suspicion of all movements intended to raise the status of the native, and so strengthen the minority who would import from South Africa the Boer attitude to the native. At present the ordinary Kenya settler is on excellent individual terms with the natives who work on his farm; a reputation for oppression or brutality can be easily earned and would dry up his labour supply.

There are no mines in Kenya, no big exploitations that put the native under unnatural conditions approaching serfdom. Native and white man alike have one outlet—agriculture—and can move hand in hand together towards a mutual understanding in the prime task of making the land productive.

In Kenya there is no fundamental cleavage between white man and native. The native reserves are assured; there can be no alienation of land in them for white settlers. No power can be exercised to force natives to labour on white farms; even the economic pressure of the hut tax of 20s. a year is a small factor compared with the desires of the native to earn money to gratify his new-found wants. The other basic principle of eventual electoral rights of the native on an educational and property franchise has been repeatedly affirmed by responsible British statesmen, though for the present the question has no actuality in view of the insignificant number of natives who could become qualified on any such franchise and the fact that the Colony is not self-governing. The real native problems are economic, and not political; they are to a large extent local and detailed questions only known to the men on the spot. However much the Home Government has to be jealous of its trusteeship of the native, it cannot supervise the operations of government in Africa in the meticulous fashion it is asked to do. Some freedom must be given to the Administration, some responsibility entrusted to the settlers. If these men are always treated as incapable of rendering justice to the native, the result will be that greatest of all injustices—leaving the native to himself and his own misery.

After all, administrators and settlers are Englishmen, known for a spirit of fairplay, and the breed does not change by transplantation to Kenya.

DANIEL HALL.

EMPIRE SETTLEMENT

It is generally thought by politicians and others in Great Britain that one of the most hopeful plans for relieving unemployment is to encourage emigration to the overseas Dominions of the Empire, the idea being that the emigrants should take up land and engage in farming. To this end several schemes have been tried, but so far with little success.

Many are much puzzled to account for the comparative failure of these schemes. They argue that there are large areas of fertile land in these Dominions, the development of which is being kept back only by lack of settlers, or, in other words, by shortage of labour, while at the same time Great Britain has a large surplus of labour. What more natural and reasonable, they say, than to transfer those who cannot obtain employment at home to other parts of the Empire where labour is so urgently needed?

Besides disposing of surplus labour in Great Britain, it is argued that the work of the settlers in new parts of the Empire will create new wealth which will result in an improved market for the goods which Great Britain manufactures. To quote from a recent article in this Review by Dr. L. Haden Guest:

An expanding market in the Dominions created by the work of settlers upon the unused natural resources of these countries, an expanding market in the Colonies, an expanding market in India, these are the new factors which can break the vicious circle of low wages, unemployment, low purchasing power, and low wages again in this country, and enable the process of industrial reorganisation to be carried out on the basis of high wages and high standards instead of on the basis of insufficiency.

Why is it that, in spite of these arguments, there has been so little response to the schemes of emigration which have been tried so far? The answer to this question lies in the fact that at the very base of the above line of reasoning there is a fallacy which renders the whole argument unsound.

It seems to be universally realised that in the industrial world the crying need is for larger markets; demand lags far behind possible supply. But what is not so generally understood is that agriculture is in exactly the same plight. The arguments of those who wish to encourage migration are based on the pleasant

assumption that the demand for agricultural products is unlimited, but in point of fact it is no more unlimited than the demand for industrial products. The development of unsettled areas of agricultural land in different parts of the Empire is not being kept back by lack of settlers, but by lack of demand for the commodities which these lands are capable of producing.

In industry the lack of sufficient demand results in low wages and unemployment, but in agriculture it results chiefly in low prices. Strictly speaking, there cannot be unemployment in the farming occupation. Farmers always have plenty of work to do, but what they may and often do lack is an adequate return for their work. This seems so obvious that it would hardly be necessary to point it out were it not that many seem to fail to realise it. Because there is no unemployment in agriculture, and because there is a considerable amount of vacant land, it is assumed that agriculture can absorb a large number of persons. As a matter of fact, there are already too many engaged in farming for the well-being of the industry.

Ever since the war period ended agriculture has been stifled by over-production—over-production which has been and still is continually lowering prices below the cost of production; indeed, the only check on production is low prices. This is true not merely of one or two kinds of farm produce, but of every kind. Take, for instance, a staple commodity, wheat. From 1921 to 1924 the world was over-supplied with wheat, with the result that the price fell so low that even experienced and established farmers were thrown on their beam ends, and many others were completely ruined and had to give up farming. In 1924 a short world crop caused prices to rise sharply, and immediately the brake of low prices was released production began to increase at a rapid rate, with the result that as production increased prices fell, until in 1928 ruinously low levels were again reached. Farmers are afraid to think what prices might have been this season had not the partial failure of the Canadian wheat crop and poor prospects in Australia and Argentina relieved the situation and caused a rise in prices. The world market for pork, beef, dairy produce, eggs, etc., is in the same precarious condition, and farmers are becoming more and more convinced that what their industry needs is a curtailment rather than an increase in production.

To all this it may be objected that the Dominions themselves have all along favoured the bringing in of settlers, and that surely those who are on the spot must know the conditions in their own country. The answer to the objection is simply this. The wish for immigration on the part of the Dominions has really come from the business and industrial interests, which

unfortunately have an unduly large influence with the Dominion Governments—or at least with some of them—while the farmers, not realising the effect which increased immigration was likely to have on their industry, have for the most part remained passive. Manufacturers and business men in the Dominions, like those in the Old World, are looking out to enlarge their markets, and their idea in encouraging immigration was that their home market would improve with the increase in population. Not being themselves engaged in farming, they failed to understand conditions on the farms, although living on the spot, and they were blinded by what they believed to be their interests. At the present time there are not wanting signs that they are beginning to find out their mistake, though they have not yet reached the point where they are willing to admit it. What is bringing about the change of ideas more than anything else is the fact that the effect of the scheme of bringing in new settlers is reacting like a boomerang on the heads of those who were behind it. A considerable number of the immigrants, finding no real opening on the farms, have drifted into the cities, and are causing an unemployment question of some gravity. The writer is at present farming in Western Canada, and has in mind local conditions, but there is little doubt that things are not very different in other parts of the Empire.

If people in Great Britain knew how different farming in Canada really is from what it is represented to be by interested parties they would understand better the reason for the failure of migration schemes. The returns from farming here are such that a farmer with not less than a half-section (320 acres) of land, horses, stock, and equipment fully paid for, and with no large debts, provided he has fair crops (by no means a certainty), can make a decent living. But when his labour (from eleven to fifteen hours a day in summer; and most farmers are far from idle in the winter), his skill in farming and farm management, and his considerable capital investment are taken into account the returns are quite inadequate. When the employers of labour in any particular industry pay their employees low wages and work them long hours it is certain either that the industry in question is yielding poor returns or that the employees are being cheated by their employers. Farm labourers are the poorest-paid workers in Canada, and they work the longest hours. Yet there is no reason to think that the farmers are paying them less than they can afford.

If, on the other hand, the farmer has large annual payments to make on land or mortgage, horses, machinery, etc., he is certain to have a hard struggle extending over a long period of years, and in the end may fail and find himself as poor as when he

started, If to heavy liabilities is added inexperience, his chances of success are, in the opinion of the writer, almost *nil*.

Probably people in the British Isles do not know that there are in Canada many young men born in the country—farmers' sons and others with farm experience—who would like to start farming if they saw any reasonable chance of success, and there is certainly something rather anomalous in bringing in and assisting settlers from the Old Country with no experience while ignoring those who are already in the country. The Soldier Settlement Scheme is a good example of what land settlement schemes are likely to come to. Although it might be denied in some quarters, that scheme, enormously expensive as it was, and in spite of the fact that the soldier settlers had far more assistance than is now offered to settlers, and in most cases some experience of farming and of the country, cannot fairly be said to be anything else but a failure. The Canadian Government would hardly venture on another such scheme. Perhaps it is worth mentioning that a number of those who have been brought to Canada from the British Isles under the Empire Settlement Scheme have been placed on the very farms which have been abandoned by soldier settlers.

It has to be remembered that although there is a considerable amount of undeveloped land suitable for agriculture in the Empire this land is not the best. Most of the raw land left in Canada, for instance, is largely covered with scrub, which would have to be cleared (an expensive undertaking), or marshy land, which needs draining (a still more expensive business), or is so far north as to make farming very hazardous. If the land is vacant it is only because so far no one in Canada has thought it worth while trying to farm on it, and to attempt to put inexperienced settlers on such land would be simple cruelty. No doubt this land will be settled in course of time, but it will be done gradually, and principally by experienced farmers with at least some capital.

One point remains to be dealt with. It is often stated in newspapers—Canadian and British—that Canada is in a very prosperous state and that farmers here are doing well. That the inhabitants of the cities and towns in Canada are on the whole prosperous is a fact, though some think that they are so largely at the expense of the farmers. But statements alleging that Canadian agriculture is in a prosperous and thriving condition are simply not true.

To repeat what has been stated in the earlier part of this article. The factor which prevents the development of vacant lands in different parts of the Empire is not lack of labour, but a lack of demand for the commodities which that land is capable of producing, to which may be added the fact that much of the

land requires considerable labour and capital to bring it under cultivation.

If, for the sake of the argument, the present attempts to place settlers from Great Britain on such lands did succeed, the result would be to transfer the burden of surplus labour from industry to agriculture, which, as has been already pointed out, is even now bearing its own burden of surplus labour in the shape of over-production, with its resulting low prices for farm products.

Even supposing it were possible to bring this about, no fair-minded man would suggest that it would be a right, and no sensible man would think that it would be a wise, thing to do.

CYRIL M. WINTER.

Northfield Farm,
Lanigan,
Sask., Canada.

THE COST OF LITIGATION

To go to law, as the phrase runs, is a proceeding which fortunately falls only to the lot of a small proportion of the population. It is both troublesome and expensive, but it is an abnormal occasion in the life of the ordinary man, as much as an operation for appendicitis or the breaking of a limb. In each of the latter cases a person incurs expense and suffers pain. The litigant is more fortunate, for, though he incurs expense, he does not suffer pain. When one pays a heavy doctor's bill, or the large fee of a medical specialist, grumbling occurs, but, reluctantly as these persons are paid, there is no actual complaint.

It may therefore be asked why is there, it may be intermittently, a public protest against the cost of litigation? The reason appears to be that the person—whether an incorporated body or an individual—who complains does so because he has a feeling that he is not being treated justly. He has suffered an injury, or he is defending himself against a wrong, or seeking to assert a civil right, and he resents incurring great expense in order to obtain justice.

A popular idea exists that lawyers make large profits from litigation, but it is not the most satisfactory side of a solicitor's business, and if the wills of lawyers of either branch of the profession are examined year by year, it will be found that the amounts left by deceased lawyers do not exceed, even if they equal, the estates left by men who have passed their lives in other work. The average incomes of barristers and solicitors are not greater than those of doctors, architects, engineers, and men of business.

It must be recognised that legal work should be reasonably remunerated, and when the time occupied in conducting a lawsuit is considered, the cost of overhead charges and expenditure on such items as copying, and a reasonable profit for the person who is primarily responsible for the conduct of a case, it is obvious that to go to law must cost a substantial sum of money.

Admitting this proposition, the question must still be asked whether there are any means by which litigation in the High Court can be made less costly than it is to-day.

That isolated portions of the subject are commented on from time to time is not surprising, but it can only be adequately considered if it is reviewed as a whole and in its relations to the actual process of litigation.

The first point which seems to require notice is the incidence of the court fees (148 in number) in considering the cost of litigation. In 1922 and 1924 the fees were increased, increasing at the same time the cost of litigation. In a bill of costs they do not fill so large a space as the actual working costs, but they are a substantial portion, especially if the case is one of some length.

In an ideal state courts of law would be open without expense to litigants, but the practice of charging court fees has now become firmly fixed, and the most that can be expected is that these fees should be as little burdensome as possible to the litigant. That the increase in 1922 and 1924 tends to depress litigation, especially in respect of small amounts, cannot be doubted, and one change which is required is that, if possible, there should be some relation between the amount at stake and the amount of the fees.

The cost of a writ to commence an action is 1*l.* 10*s.*, and is the same whether the claim is for 200*l.* or 2000*l.* Again, for setting down a case for trial the fee is 2*l.*, and the amount is the same on a judgment; in both cases the fee has no reference to the amount awarded or to the importance of the case. It should also be borne in mind that the payment of a court fee requires the attendance of a solicitor's clerk, and thus the multiplication of small fees increases the actual working charges. To diminish the number of fees and, where a judgment is for a sum of money, to institute a percentage charge would lessen the cost of litigation.

The subject is one of difficulty, for there is much litigation, especially in the Chancery Division of the High Court, which does not aim at obtaining a judgment in pounds, shillings and pence, as, for instance, when it is sought to obtain an injunction to prevent a person or company from doing some act alleged to be injurious to the plaintiff. It might, therefore, be necessary to have some division of fees to cover both classes of cases. The subject is also made more troublesome since the interests of litigants and the interests of the Treasury are acutely opposed; but if the former are squeezed too severely they will seek to have their differences decided outside the law courts. A sensible layman is usually, where the issue depends on a question of fact, as satisfactory a tribunal as a jury, and the English temperament is such that there are many laymen who will decide a case in which no points of law arise with complete satisfaction to the parties. The tendency towards arbitration is increased by the multiplica-

tion of charges such as court fees not less than by the satisfaction with which finality in litigation is regarded by laymen.

Closely connected with court fees is the increase of expense caused by the multiplicity in modern practice of affidavits of a formal character which have necessarily to be sworn and filed. This multiplicity of documents which are supposed to be of a solemn character tends to discredit sworn testimony generally. The most striking example is the so-called affidavit of documents, which might equally well be a signed and unsworn statement; but there are numerous occasions on which a written statement would be as effective as a sworn statement. The fact that witnesses are not sworn in an arbitration is a strong ground for an alteration in the practice in the High Court in regard to affidavits. It would, however, be quite misleading to allow any layman to suppose that an alteration of the fees, or the practice in regard to affidavits and other documents, is easy at the present time. Technicalities embodied in a legal system are not easily dislodged, and reform can only be accomplished by a competent committee having as its objective, not mere formal changes, but a thorough modernisation of the present system in regard to the matters to which reference has just been made.

One cause of complaint among all classes of litigants is the fact that a successful party, though he is by a judgment given his costs, does not receive them in full. This fact rankles in the minds of successful litigants, and has become so well known as to incline those who would enter on litigation to submit to some amount of loss rather than incur a certain expense. It produces also in the community generally a definite sense of injustice in the course of litigation. This diminution of the actual costs incurred in a lawsuit by a successful litigant arises from what is known among lawyers as the taxation of costs. The germ of the practice will be found in a statute passed in the year 1605, intended to prevent dishonest lawyers from preying on clients and charging them excessive fees and making other unnecessary demands, and it gave the client a right to proceed against them in respect of these abuses. From this simple beginning the modern practice has grown up. The principle of it is admirable, since the intention is that the successful litigant should receive from his opponent all his reasonable costs, and that the unsuccessful litigant should be protected from excessive charges. In practice this ideal is not attained, for the taxation of costs as between party and party has now become so technical, and in regard to what are called discretionary charges so uncertain, that many expenses which from a common-sense point of view are reasonable are disallowed. 'Whether,' wrote Bentham, 'the party shall receive reimbursement at the expense of the loser depends upon a thousand capri-

cious and inconsistent rules.' These words, if modified, would be applicable to-day.

According to the *Judicial Statistics* for 1929, the amount of bills arising out of actions and similar matters in the Chancery Division lodged for taxation in the Supreme Court Taxing Office was 616,169*l.*, and of this amount 525,754*l.* was allowed. In other figures, 90,415*l.* was disallowed and had to be paid by the successful litigants themselves. In the King's Bench Division the respective amounts were 618,373*l.* and 438,215*l.*; 180,158*l.* had therefore to come out of the pocket of the successful party, or more than one-fourth of the amount claimed. Some part of this probably consisted of unreasonable or extravagant charges, but the larger portion comprised, no doubt, sums a litigant would regard as reasonable expenditure. That taxations as between party and party fail to do full justice is demonstrated by the fact that there is another well-known and more liberal scale, that of a taxation 'between solicitor and client.'

In actions brought against a public authority, if the latter is successful, judgment for the defendant carries costs 'as between solicitor and client'; and the same scale is occasionally allowed by the judges in the Chancery Division in some special cases, a jurisdiction arising from the general and inherent authority of the Lord Chancellor, which passed to the Chancery judges. Of this discretionary power the records of the Court of Chancery show many instances.

It would be both undesirable and impossible to discuss technical details in these pages, but the present state of things in regard to costs may be illustrated by a single example.

By a rule of the Supreme Court a fee for a retainer—that is, a fee to retain a counsel for an approaching trial—is not allowable in a taxation between party and party; in a 'solicitor and client' taxation the taxing master has discretion to allow this fee. Obviously, if a litigant desires to be sure of obtaining the services of a particular counsel, it is a reasonable thing to retain him and to pay the usual fee. To say that in no case shall such a fee be reasonable as part of the costs of a successful litigant is equally and obviously unjust. Again, the bill of costs which is brought in for taxation can only commence with the issue of the writ, except that a 'letter before action' is allowed, an allowance comical in its limitations. For no lawsuit really begins with the issue of a writ; there are always some preliminaries, consultations with and letters to and from solicitors, if not letters to and interviews with opponents. Why, asks the man in the street, is the successful litigant not to obtain the costs of these as part of his expenses as much as the costs from the time when and after the

writ is issued? From a business point of view nothing can be advanced in favour of the present practice.

A more real indemnity of the successful litigant would complete the gradual extension of the principle of the Civil Law, *in expensarum causa victus victori condemnandus est*—that is, the vanquished litigant has to pay the costs—a principle which, as Professor Holdsworth has shown,¹ only made its way into the Common Law by degrees, and which is still not sufficiently carried out. The conclusion to which any fair-minded individual, whether layman or lawyer, who considers this subject will come is that the whole of the regulations as to costs, and the decisions and practice on them, should be scrapped and a new scale and rules should be issued. In other words, the taxation of costs should in all cases and in every Division of the High Court be based on a view of what is reasonably payable by a client to a solicitor in respect of the expenses of the litigation from beginning to end. To obtain any such new scale and rules it would be necessary that, as in the case of court fees, the task should be accomplished by a small committee mainly composed, for this particular purpose, of solicitors, who are the only persons who are in daily contact with this special side of litigation, and who will endeavour to modernise the present system.

Modernisation was the aim of the late Lord Gorell's Committee, which was appointed by the Admiralty in 1909 chiefly to revise the Prize Court Rules. The modernisation of the practice was boldly faced, and in the first Report of the Committee (March 24, 1910) it was stated that 'the existing rules embody a practice which is in our opinion quite unsuited to modern conditions. In revising these rules we aim at bringing the practice of the Prize Court into line as far as possible with that of the Admiralty Court.' The work of this Committee, which was long and successfully tested in the Great War, though it sustained some hostile academic criticism and was objected to by the Government of the United States, is referred to here because it is a precedent for the manner in which a stringent revision of the present system of the so-called taxation of costs should be conducted.

An undue amount of attention has been given to the large fees of a few prominent barristers. Among physicians, surgeons, engineers, are some specialists whose fees are very large, but these do not represent the earnings of the majority of any of these professions. It is the same with the Bar. That the general rate of fees is higher now than it was twenty-five years ago is certain, but so are the charges in every calling and business, and it is by no means clear that the fees of barristers as an entire body

have increased in the same proportion as the charges of those who are engaged in other walks of life. In exceptional cases exceptional payments may reasonably be made to exceptional advocates, and when these fees become known there is an inclination in the public mind to estimate general legal remuneration by them, and thus quite wrong impressions are formed. In some instances, it is true, the expenses of an action are out of proportion to the matter at stake, and this is the chief justification for the system of the taxation of costs, especially at a time when limited companies fill so large a part of the field of litigation. To them litigation, though troublesome, is not of the same financial importance as it is to private individuals.

But there is one practice in regard to the Bar which cannot be justified even though it has been judicially approved, that a junior should be paid one third of the amount of his leader's fee. The leader is paid a fee which he is regarded as being worth, and the fee to the junior should be fixed on the same principle. If a change were made in this respect, it would alter a fixed practice, of which no one knows the origin, which from a common-sense point of view cannot be justified and prejudices the legal profession in public opinion. Yet it is doubtful if the change would have much practical result, for the present proportion is often a fair enough standard of remuneration, and if a more elastic system of taxation were established the present rather standardised scale of fees to junior counsel for work done in chambers should be replaced by one which takes more account of the actual work performed. In any case, whatever tends to cheapen litigation tends at the same time to increase it, and at any rate the moral value of a practice more in harmony with the ordinary principles of employment would be valuable.

When the cost of litigation in all its aspects is impartially considered it is impossible to find means by which it can be made cheap, though it may be made less costly. Litigation will always be an abnormal occurrence, and as lawyers have, like other professional persons, to be adequately remunerated for their work, the litigant must continue to incur considerable expense. But this does not mean that the present cost may not be reduced and its incidence placed on a more satisfactory footing. If the litigant be successful, according to the now accepted principles of English law, he should not have to pay any costs that he has incurred which are reasonable from a business point of view. From this the result follows that the unsuccessful litigant may have to pay more costs than he does at present, for now he escapes paying charges which he ought to bear. A diminution in costs should therefore be to the advantage rather of the unsuccessful than of the successful litigant, who, under a modern system of

¹ *History of English Law*, iv., p. 536.

taxation, should not have to bear the many charges which he now has to pay.

But a consideration of the subject of litigation necessarily leads an inquirer to the important and difficult subject of the procedure of the High Court, of which the present rules became law nearly half a century ago—in 1883. Amendments have been made in them from time to time, though in this age of change they remain almost untouched, and they are entombed in an intolerable mass of glosses, composed of judicial decisions, notes, and official directions. A simplification of procedure, a return to the original intention of those who were responsible for the Judicature Acts and Rules in the light of modern movements, and expectations, might, apart from other advantages, result in reducing the cost of litigation. But such a simplification must necessarily take many months to carry out, and cannot, therefore, for a long time affect the incidence and expense of a resort to the High Court.

Moreover, however desirable improvements may be, it is useless to overlook the fact that litigants, whether private individuals or corporations, are isolated units without collective power. Discontent of persons or of limited companies does not in itself constitute a driving force, and such public action as exists is towards the employment of justiciable machinery outside the law courts rather than towards the improvement of their procedure, so that legal changes depend, not on public action, but on official energy at a time when high officials have their attention occupied by many more pressing and more popular subjects.

E. S. ROSCOE.

THE BADGER AND HIS REPUTATION

Wind-bitten beech with badger barrows,
Where brocks eat wasp-grubs with their marrows,
And foxes lie on short-grassed turf,
Nose between paws to hear the surf
Of wind in the beeches drowsily.

(MASEFIELD.)

THE natural history of the badger, or, more directly, the task of describing the strange animal and its stranger ways, constitutes a problem that has severely taxed the ingenuity of more than one student of animal life. Old writers appear to have known curiously little about this shy, solitary inhabitant of our quiet hillsides and valleys, the sturdy, ancient and eminently characteristic British beast, who, entrenched within his stoutly defended and often impregnable fortress, has defied the worst that man can devise against his race all down the ages. How often, one wonders, has it occurred to the casual observer who comes across an ancient badger stronghold that he is actually looking upon one of the most ancient 'castles' in the world? The antiquarian, and even the ordinary tourist, will journey many miles to inspect some historic fortification—usually an outstanding hill overlooking wide vistas of 'England's green and pleasant land,' as often as not crested with age-old pines, and still encircled with ramparts thrown up at some period of the dim past by the earliest sturdy defenders of our soil. They note with interest the mighty embankments—the same earth into which arrows and javelins once plunged—now carpeted with heather and honeycombed with rabbit-burrows, or the silent, grass-grown trenches, manned long ago by Saxon bowmen, now patrolled nightly by owls and foxes. The imaginative mind can conjure up almost any picture of bygone ages in such a place, and yet, as likely as not, if they care to step aside a little way from the beaten path, fancy will no longer be needed to bring them into direct touch with ancient history, for there they will come upon earthworks unmentioned in guide-books, still defended by a race as unconquerable and almost as old as the hills themselves. There they are on the steepest slope, gleaming white and yellow among the patriarchal pines or beeches, and there they have been as likely as not for

untold ages, modelled and remodelled from time to time, abandoned, perhaps, for a century and again reoccupied by descendants as stout-hearted and conservative in their crude but effective methods of warfare as the badgers who pricked their ears at the tramp of the Saxon sentinels above them, or looked out with wonder at the glare of the Roman camp fires.

Many a banished year and age,
And tempest's breath, and battle's rage

have broken down dynasties, changed and repopulated his native land, yet in many cases the ancient strongholds of the badger, entrenched deep in the very heart of the soil, remain impregnable to this day, and there are innumerable places where his human enemy, though aided by every modern contrivance, still assails him in vain.

Every detail concerning the history and life of so old an inhabitant should be common knowledge. Our forefathers, one would have thought, must have known him well enough—too well in some respects, since he was the principal prize-fighter of the 'good old times.' Yet, strange to say, old accounts of the badger as a general rule contain little more than a few commonplace remarks, stock anecdotes—singularly un-badgerlike—some stereotyped quotations from Buffon, together with comments upon the then prevailing 'sport' of badger-baiting. Compared with one another, most of these descriptions read almost word for word, and, although appearing under many different names, in no way suggest anything approaching original research or observation.

Now, in these enlightened times, can we with justice claim an appreciably wider knowledge than William Osbaldiston displayed when writing his quaint treatise on the *Noble Art of Venery*, as pursued towards the close of the eighteenth century, or the compiler of the *Sportsman's Cyclopaedia*, published for the instruction of those who studied woodcraft fifty years later? Modern Nature writers for the most part can tell us little more than that the badger is a representative of the weasel family; that he is a burrowing and a hibernating animal; that he is fond of wasp-grubs, but, being unable to exist entirely upon this commodity, owing to the limited supply, he may be considered tolerably omnivorous in his diet. Even upon the latter point they appear to be uncertain, as evinced by the interminable discussions as to whether the creature is or is not addicted to raiding henroosts, committing murderous assaults upon sheep-folds during the lambing season, munching up game chicks, and all the many things not done by law-abiding citizens of the woods and brakes—if such exist. In a word, the badger, like most truly wild creatures, has been reluctant to divulge his

entire life-story. Circumstances have compelled him to reveal its bare outline, but, like the stolid Devonian who sold the original copy of *Widcombe Fair* to Mr. Baring Gould, but took care to 'keep some o' the best verses for hisself,' so the badger has contrived to reserve and keep intact many interesting secrets concerning the details of his inner life.

In Nature study perhaps the greatest difficulty lies in determining the precise point at which fact ends and fiction begins, or in tracing the origin of the many purely fictitious notions that somehow get afoot. Accident has probably been responsible for most of them, some anecdote exaggerated or improperly explained. Mistakes again so easily occur, while in these days pure invention is too frequently called upon to supply the lack of first-hand experience or observation. Mr. Herbert Ponting, in his book *The Great White South*, gives an illuminating account of the manner in which a sea-animal story, extorted from him by a Sydney reporter, was embellished beyond recognition, and I remember a naïve request made to me by a newspaper correspondent by whom I was accosted when stepping off a C.P. Transcontinental express. The man wished to know whether anything of outstanding interest had occurred upon the journey, and, receiving a reply in the negative, he demanded with characteristic western brevity whether I could not oblige him with some glaring untruth for the occasion, since he was out to procure unique copy for his paper by fair means or foul.

It is not difficult to believe that the 'professional naturalist,' pledged to provide an interesting daily or weekly article, must now and again find himself in a position similar to that of the reporters mentioned, and this thought inevitably crossed my mind when, not long ago, I was assailed in the hunting-field by an acquaintance who opened fire with a startling question: 'Is it true that a fox invariably emerges from its earth backwards?' My reply to the effect that a fox might do so when—and only when—someone was drawing it out by the brush did not appear to satisfy the interrogator. It transpired that he had just been reading an article containing that assertion, and, though it is quite possible that the writer had good reason for making such an announcement, one would like to know how the idea originated. There can be little doubt that many utterly erroneous, but frequently accepted, impressions are based upon foundations as unsubstantial. A circumstance incorrectly observed or accounted for, a statement repeated with a little exaggeration, a measure of credulity on the part of readers or listeners, and a theory springs into being which all the accumulated knowledge of the scientists is powerless to explode.

It is, indeed, nearly impossible to explode any notion, however

fantastic, concerning wild creatures. Even the ancient and, one may venture to say, absurd question as to whether the hedgehog does or does not suck cows has lately been revived, and its pros and cons debated in prominent journals. All the stock arguments, both for the prosecution and defence, have been brought into play, the inevitable 'authentic' instances given and discredited, the sceptic pointing out that the unfortunate little beast is physically incapable of doing anything of the kind. They argue about the sharpness of its spines and teeth, which any self-respecting cow might reasonably be expected to resent, or the insufficient size of its mouth for such a purpose, which latter, incidentally, is a somewhat weak contention, as anyone can testify who has seen the width of his gape when bisecting a large black slug. Curiously enough, however, one simple and conclusive argument does not appear to occur to the disputants. The hedgehog, after all is said and done, is an exceedingly small animal. He can drink at most a teacupful of milk, and, even admitting that the cow permitted the liberty, the amount consumed would be too insignificant to be missed. In the given instances of cows sucked dry the culprit for this reason must necessarily be a much larger animal—probably some other member of the herd.

Authenticated instances of the seemingly impossible are constantly cropping up in natural history, to confound the eminent scientist—who, as a rule, wisely assumes his armour of severe and impenetrable incredulity—and secretly to puzzle the less distinguished but equally accurate observer. There are people who appear to specialise in remarkable experiences, even as there are undeniably good card-holders, or people who possess a positively uncanny knack of 'drawing a winner.' These are, perhaps, the most difficult to 'catch out,' since as a rule they possess the knack of making a great deal out of nothing. Then we have the habitual yarn-spinner, who allows his imagination so free a range that in course of time he almost comes to believe his own stories and is unable to refrain from romancing even in the course of ordinary conversation. One is reminded of Longfellow's Iagoo, than whom

'None had made so many journeys,
None had seen so many wonders,

and, though this type of person is seldom taken seriously in everyday life, he is apt to work considerable mischief if he happens to specialise in natural history.

Again, there is the sensationalist who finds the mid-winter bird's nest or hears the early cuckoo. He has an incurable trick of 'seeing things.' He is genuine enough—to the best of his

own belief—his faults being merely over-keenness and an excessive optimism which frequently cause him to mistake the commonplace for the unique. His case is a trifle difficult. If encouraged, his frequent discoveries become wearisome, while, on the other hand, polite incredulity is not, always easily expressed. I once heard an old West Country farmer describing a recent alleged experience to a crony. It concerned a fox, which, if I remember correctly, had been chased round a thick covert by the farmer's terrier in a somewhat curious manner. He had just reached the most vivid point of the narrative, when the other broke in with the leading question as to who had actually seen the fox. The narrator claiming that distinction, his friend announced, with engaging but disconcerting candour: 'Then I don't believe a word o' it.'

So downright a manner of repudiating questionable statements is scarcely customary in polite conversation. However incredulous, one makes some non-committal remark, and the narrator passes on to repeat his story elsewhere. There are times, however, when the position becomes a trifle difficult. A year or two ago I was requested by a neighbour to come and view a marvellous 'viper,' 4 feet in length, which he had just despatched, being, of course, immensely proud of the achievement. Accompanied by a friend, I went, not without misgivings, to inspect the prodigy. It was suspended full length from a beam in an outhouse, while the man who had killed it—the hero of the hour—stood telling the tale of his prowess to an awe-stricken audience of village people who were studying the reptile from a respectful distance as, kept in motion by frequent tentative pokes from a stick, it pivoted slowly upon its string, its bruised olive-green skin still glossy in the sunlight. It was certainly a remarkable specimen of its kind, but, needless to say, not a viper, and I was at a loss what to say or do when my companion, who, though no naturalist, was at least capable of distinguishing the common objects of the hedgerows, blurted out: 'Surely it's a grass-snake.' Soften it as I might, the blow had fallen. Not too heavily, however, for it was a characteristic case of a man convinced against his will, and I have no doubt that he remade many converts after our departure.

The man concerned, it should be emphasised, was far from being a tyro. On the contrary, he had literally grown grey in the study of the wild creatures among whom he had lived and whose habits he had closely observed for half a century. One would have accepted a statement from him upon any question of woodcraft or natural history without reserve. The instance, however, proved him as capable of glaring error as the merest novice, and the case is only one of many that have occurred

within my experience, the mistake in every case being made in perfect good faith. *Humanum est errare*; and, in view of this unchallengeable aphorism, a measure of caution in accepting any statement is not so much advisable as imperatively necessary.

Purely fictitious tales more often than not defeat their own ends by their obvious absurdity, and one cannot but suspect that many of the old tales recorded by early writers must have originated in the imaginative brain of some wag whose sole idea at the moment was to 'get a rise' out of his listeners. Quite recently I came across a hedgehog story proceeding from no less distinguished a pen than that of the naturalist Jesse. One does not question his veracity, but in this instance one has misgivings as to the reliability of his informant. Here is the passage *verbatim*:

During the summer of 1818, as Mr. Lane, gamekeeper to the Earl of Galloway, was passing by the wood of Glascaden, near Garlieston, in Scotland, he fell in with a hedgehog, crossing the road at a small distance before him, carrying on its back six pheasant's eggs, which upon examination he found it had pilfered from a pheasant's nest hard by. The ingenuity of the creature was very conspicuous, as several of the remaining eggs were holed, which must have been done by it when in the act of rolling itself over the nest, in order to make as many adhere to its prickles as possible. After watching the motions of the urchin for a short time longer, Mr. Lane saw it deliberately crawl into a furze-bush, where its nest was, and where the shells of several eggs were strewn around, which had at some former period been conveyed thither in the same manner.

An interesting anecdote, but from a practicable point of view utterly impossible, as anyone who has tried to penetrate the shell of a pheasant's egg with a pin cannot fail to be aware. To pierce the shell of any large egg a considerable amount of concentrated and judiciously applied pressure is necessary. This, in the hedgehog's case, would be out of the question. Even if he deliberately rolled upon the clutch, the points of his slender spines would be deflected by the hard polished surface of the eggs. To crush them by dint of his weight would be the utmost that he could achieve, and even supposing that he impaled one or two, these would certainly be dislodged in his awkward struggles to regain his feet. The proceeding, however, is inconsistent with the animal's habits, since the hedgehog makes no store nor does it carry food to its nest. It feeds as it goes, and I have never seen a tame hedgehog carry away as much as a crumb. Again the mental process by means of which the creature might be induced to employ its spines for so unnatural a use undoubtedly exceeds the plainly defined limitations of the animal mind, which preclude the possibility of any creature deliberately turning parts of its body to other account than their own natural function.

The prickly armour of a hedgehog serves its owner for defensive purposes only, and not for attack, or—the same thing in effect—as a means of procuring and conveying supplies. Its jaws would be employed for any such use. One would be exceedingly surprised to see a dog carrying a package under its armpit instead of in its mouth, which constitutes, I think, a parallel case. The egg story is on a par with the old notion of a rat sampling the contents of a bottle by the introduction of its long tail—an impracticable proceeding for many obvious reasons—or that of a squirrel deliberately setting forth for a cruise upon a piece of bark with tail erected to serve as a sail, though the latter idea rests upon the authority of the solemn Olaus Magnus, whose integrity was beyond question. The most extravagant tales are all vouched for by somebody, and therein lies the difficulty. The hedgehog anecdote, if indeed witnessed, could have been nothing else than the result of some practical joke. That appears to be the one hope for the veracity of the worthy gamekeeper.

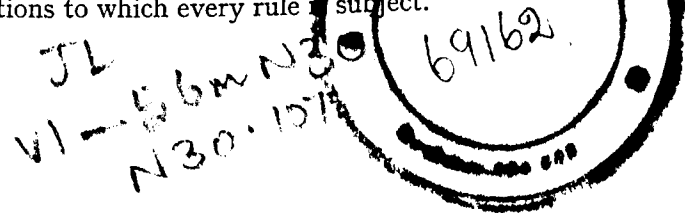
Almost equally unacceptable is the belief still current among many naturalists that the badger, suspecting the presence of traps, deliberately *rolls* upon them to avoid being caught. In this case, however, there is a substratum of truth to account for the supposition. The badger, like the ratel and others of his family, is exceedingly fond of rolling. It is more than likely that one of his first acts upon emerging from his burrow is to indulge in this special form of recreation, and beyond question he has been known actually to roll over traps placed in his runways, escaping upon such occasions with no worse consequences to himself than a nasty pinch and a considerable fright. In these cases, however, his good fortune has been due to accident rather than conscious forethought upon his part. Had he entertained the slightest suspicion of the trap's presence, one cannot believe that the shy creature would deliberately tamper with so deadly a contrivance, nor is it quite reasonable to suppose him capable of sufficient acumen to realise that the cruel iron teeth, whose hold upon one of his limbs would prove so inexorable, could obtain no effective grip upon the broad surface of his back. Actually few animals are more wary of a gin, and few are more skilful at locating its whereabouts. Not long ago I asked a local trapper, who was pursuing his dreadful vocation dangerously near the haunts of a badger which I was anxious to preserve, to spare the animal if it had the misfortune to be caught. He replied that I might set my mind at rest upon that score, his chance of catching it being slight indeed. He told me that in the course of thirty years' experience he had never found a badger in one of his rabbit-gins, though foxes and almost all other animals frequently took the fatal step. Badgers, of course, *are* caught in gins, but

only upon comparatively rare occasions and by the exercise of considerable trouble and ingenuity.

Both the badger and hedgehog are decidedly interesting creatures. Truth is usually more wonderful than fiction, and each of these animals in the course of its ordinary life displays abilities more remarkable than any of the habits erroneously ascribed to it. The badger in particular appears to possess senses entirely unknown to science. I have often remarked upon his amazing dexterity in locating the precise whereabouts of young rabbits ensconced in their nesting burrows 2 or 3 feet below the surface of the ground. Every sportsman knows the difficulty of fixing the spot under which some stubborn old rabbit is occupying a ferret's attention, and as often as not a good dog is powerless to render any effectual assistance, even with subterranean rumblings and bumpings to indicate the place. The badger, however, with no other guide than his own extraordinary nose, experiences no such difficulty. One sniff at the burrow's mouth assures him that it is occupied. He proceeds to find the nearest point from which the nursery can be approached—it may be yards away from the hole—and, if not too deep, he bores his way straight into it, horizontally or vertically as the case may be. He always appears to know the precise extent of his own ability. A dog when tunnelling is frequently balked by roots or boulders, and is obliged to abandon the attempt, but I have never yet inspected a shaft sunk by a badger which did not bear tragic testimony to the success of the venture. A dog, it should be remarked, can wind rabbits from the burrow's mouth quite as readily as a badger, but he lacks the sense that enables the wild animal to locate their exact whereabouts. He can only adopt the comparatively clumsy and seldom effective method of following the passage, nor can he wind a rabbit immediately beneath him unless very near the surface. The badger, indeed, appears to be gifted with faculties which one can only classify as 'under-ground senses,' and, unlike any other animal, he seems able to exist almost entirely without air. When terriers invade his stronghold his favourite device is to 'bury himself' by dint of boring yet deeper into the sand and blocking the passage behind him. This in the case of almost any other animal would amount to an act of suicide. When men inexperienced at the work attempt to dig out a fox, more often than not they only succeed in blocking the hole and losing it altogether. The fox in such a case never comes out, unless there happens to be another passage communicating with that in which he is entombed. Neither, incidentally, does a rabbit. A comparatively short space of time suffices to suffocate either of these animals when confined to a limited area underground. A badger, however, has other re-

sources at his disposal. I have never yet heard of an instance of his death from suffocation, or, for that matter, of such an accident in the case of a ferret, though the latter is not infrequently confined for a long while in the narrowest compass by the body of a rabbit that it has killed, and which effectually blocks the narrow passage. This, one might remark, is almost the only point upon which the badger displays any qualities in common with the other weasels. Apart from any structural connecting links, it is difficult to trace any resemblance in habit or deportment between the badger and his supposed relatives, the true weasels. He entirely lacks, for example, their astonishing agility, being, for his size, the slowest animal upon four legs. I once knew a man, neither young nor particularly active, who prided himself upon his ability to outpace any badger, and upon the occasion of a moonlight hunt he undertook for a trifling bet to pursue and touch with his foot the first badger that took to the open. This he actually accomplished, chasing an old 'boar' across a large pasture and applying his boot to the animal's hindquarters just as it reached the fence. By so doing he 'killed the scent'—to employ the conventional term for one of the most unaccountable things that can happen in hunting—and, spoiling the sport in consequence, made himself generally unpopular.

Another habit of the badger, shared with few others of the weasel family, is that of hibernating, which goes farther than anything to disprove the fiercely carnivorous tendencies of which he is accused by people who seek an excuse for persecuting him. No strictly carnivorous animal hibernates, with the exception of the polar bear, who has acquired this habit for obvious reasons. It is lack of their customary food that compels animals to seek winter quarters. When, therefore, the roots, berries, and small reptile and insect life upon which the badger mainly subsists are no longer procurable, he adopts the wisest course possible, and goes to sleep until better times, leaving his rapacious cousins the polecat, the marten, and the ermine to carry on their sanguinary business as usual. In this respect, again, the hedgehog, another insectivorous creature, follows the badger's example. In most of his ways, indeed, the prickly 'urchin' is a badger in miniature. Like the grey prowler, he commits few real depredations, though either animal is not averse from availing itself of any windfall in the shape of a young bird or an egg that chance throws in its way. A hedgehog may enter a coop at times, just as a badger now and again forces its way into a henroost. Such instances are so unusual, however, that they are not worthy of consideration, and one cannot but wonder that people take so much trouble to 'establish' them. When established they can only be regarded as the exceptions to which every rule is subject.



A hedgehog cannot burrow for himself; he lacks the badger's fossorial limbs, even as the badger lacks the prickly armour, though provided with a wiry coat of no common texture. He loses little on account of this weakness, however, since he makes himself at home in anyone's burrow, and into some dry hole he retreats at winter's approach, there to make that astonishing little nest—one might almost call it a cocoon—which few people have an opportunity of seeing. A hedgehog, deep in his winter sleep, is literally encased in a thick wadding of dry grass, moss, straw, any material that may be obtainable; and how the little beast succeeds in wrapping himself up so closely and how he extricates himself are questions that may well puzzle an observer, or anyone unacquainted with the endless patience of the wild folk.

A hedgehog cannot be described as fair game to anyone. He is too defenceless, too inoffensive, and it speaks well for his timid methods of self-preservation that he exists in England to-day. The badger, up to a certain point, is very well able to take care of himself. In a country of deep sandbanks he has always an unassailable stronghold at hand, within which he can defy direct assault. Upon clay lands, on the contrary, where no creature can burrow deeply, he is helpless, and would soon be exterminated were he not more or less preserved for so-called 'badger-hunting'—a pastime to be discouraged by all genuine sportsmen, since the capture of the hapless creature is too frequently followed by baiting in some barn or enclosure. The legitimate sport that the badger provides is little. He is seldom hunted with hounds, since that involves nightwork, and he can only be shot after patient waiting, either between his 'settes' and the nearest water upon long midsummer afternoons or when emerging from his burrow some moonlight night, when, for once, the friendly wind has failed to warn him of danger. Almost every sportsman naturalist, when passing through the thoughtless stage, has matched his wits against those of the badger at some time or other, and endeavoured to circumvent him when following his own secluded way under the summer stars. After a while, however, studying him year by year, learning more about his many curious and interesting ways, the hunter's attitude gradually changes. One's sympathies go out to the independent, stout-hearted beast who, molesting nobody, asks only to be let alone. Far from scheming his overthrow, one loses all desire to turn the shy creature's happiness into tragedy, and offers him, as a rule, that measure of protection which lies within one's power. The badger sorely needs active protection, at least from unmerited and illegitimate persecution. The R.S.P.C.A. would do well to concentrate upon his case.

DOUGLAS GORDON.

CONRAD AND THE YOUNGER GENERATION

No contemporary literary reputation is static, and the first few years after a writer's death nearly always bring about changes in critical opinion, which, while seldom lasting, are nevertheless indicative of a new spirit. While a man is alive criticism, which is largely a polite gesture as far as the famous are concerned, is apt to be blurred by over-emphasis, but when he is gone we see him from another angle, an angle that either fortifies our belief or makes us wonder at our former enthusiasm. When death puts an end to life, it puts also an end to an era. With the passing of the personality the man himself ceases to stand between us and his creations. The work is finished: the time has arrived to judge it with what we believe to be perspective. When the pæans of praise have faded, the reaction sets in. The voice of genius somehow loses its convincing quality when it echoes from a fresh grave; and therefore, while it is interesting to watch the changing orientation of criticism, it is foolish to let it sway our own independent judgment.

On the other hand, outside literary circles death often has the effect of making people perceive what they have lost: a literary reputation is frequently both rising and falling at the same time. While the critic is no longer under the sway of a personality, the average man is moved by the disappearance of a great figure. And so what I propose to do in this article is to examine, as well as I can, the hold that the work of Joseph Conrad (who has now been dead for over five years) has both upon the younger generation of writers and upon the younger generation of people as a whole.

It must be remembered that the idol of one generation of critics is invariably suspect of the next. As soon as a reputation is established and has escaped from the boundaries of a clique, it is sure to be questioned. This is in the natural order of things, for those who have left our tutelage cease to be our special possession; and we ought not to be in the least surprised to find that the art of Joseph Conrad is now undergoing that ordeal both in America and in England.

The young writers of to-day are not contemptuous of him as

they are, say, of Meredith, but some of them consider that he has been over-praised and that his work does not adequately stand the tests they deem imperative. To this school Conrad is a romanticist; and as its whole tendency is away from romance—to which, of course, it applies its own meaning—it regards him as an exotic 'sport' rather than as a serious novelist.

Such critics do not deny power to Conrad; they only deny supreme importance. They respect his gifts, but they consider that they were partially wasted. Conrad so often stands for what they dislike; he is, for them, too involved in his approach, too sumptuous in his language, and, at the same time, too conventional in his attitude. To be daring in conception while simple in expression is, one might say, the aim of the present school. This may seem an over-statement, but I think that an examination of the more creative current literature will show that, if the ideas tend to be bizarre, the construction tends to be conservative. There are exceptions, I am aware, but I am dealing with the main stream. I do not go so far as to assert that the writers of to-day follow the example of Lenin, who put shattering ideas into language that a child could follow, but I do maintain that a subtly individualised and modulated directness is now the admired goal.

It is dangerous to generalise, but it appears to me that in England a cool clarity, rather reminiscent of the eighteenth century, is sought for, while in the United States the effort is to write a 'hard-boiled' prose which goes straight to the point without any frills. English and American literature travel more and more along different lines, but the young novelists of both countries are affected, according to their national bias, by a new conception of realism. Perhaps this is a reaction from the symbolism which has been so rampant, but in any case it is a realism which fights shy of sentiment and which sees in the beauty that at once captures the heart and stirs the imagination something to be avoided.

This realism has its own artificial rules, but every school of criticism regards its opinions as absolute and judges other writers accordingly. To the modern intellectuals Conrad's atmospheric effects and emotional stress are alike rather distasteful. They read into these things a lack of that classic calm or matter-of-fact downrightness through which alone, according to them, the world can be viewed without exaggeration and with aloof hyperbole.

They would even deny that he was a first-rate psychologist. They would argue that he walks round his characters instead of studying them at first hand, and would assert probably that the characters themselves are romantic figments. The glow of Conrad's creative energy is lost upon these analytical materialists,

and the very richness of his gifts disturbs them. His nobility and compassion, which, as expressed by him, are in their eyes only too likely to distort the face of truth, seem unsound and alarming.

And, as I said before, they do not like what one may call his philosophy. His conservatism appears to them stultifying to the free spirit of an artist. I daresay this is much less true of America than of England, where radical opinions are considered as the birthright of literary originality, but I fancy that in both countries Conrad's ideas on social and political problems are antipathetic to the modern spirit—the modern spirit as represented by this particular school. The writer of to-day wants to rid himself of all inhibitions; he feels that it is only by so doing that he can examine every question anew. The novel for him is, in the main, a work of exploration, a revaluing of all the activities and codes of life.

It is, of course, extremely easy to exaggerate these tendencies and to announce a general rule from particular cases, but it is universally true that hero-worship is repulsive to the anti-romantic and that nothing pleases him more than to criticise with careful lack of enthusiasm any outstanding figure.

Destructive criticism, expressed in language of contemptuous finality, is the natural weapon of people resolved to liberate their imaginations from the stifling weight of their predecessors. The creative writer must fortify himself by a belief in his own attitude, and destructive criticism is one of the simplest ways to achieve that. Such an attitude is instinctive, not forced, and it is a profound mistake to argue that egotism, rather than conviction, is at the back of it. New work requires new standards, and new standards automatically require that the old standards be disparaged.

Moreover, look at it from another point of view. We are inclined to smile at the apparently self-satisfied coteries formed by minorities, but we forget that self-satisfaction is a challenge and that inner diffidence often goes with outer dogmatism. People in a minority tend to gravitate together, for, apart from their common interests, they know that the best means of defying, and ultimately persuading, the world is to show a bold and united front. Individual certitude is all very well, but as soon as we can find a few people to agree with us our very certitude is vastly strengthened. It was, I think, Novalis who made a remark to this effect, and it explains much.

And we must be careful to differentiate between the genuine writers and the hangers-on. There is no snobbery more hopeless than that of the second-rate persons who want to be in the swim. Such persons abound upon the outskirts of the latest artistic movements and delight in giving them their enthusiastic and

spurious support. One can find plenty of people like that ready to attack great writers with parrot phrases; but the genuine critic does not attack Conrad because he despises him, but because he thinks that, though he is on the wrong tack, he is formidable. Conrad himself would at times speak with positive violence about his special *bête noir*, Dostoievsky, but he did so just because he knew that many intelligent people were under his influence—which he regarded as detestable.

It is stupid to dismiss adverse criticism with a mere shrug of annoyance until one has tried to discover what it is that has induced it. And this can sometimes best be achieved by an oblique method. Let us see, for example, what the modern young critics' reactions are to another great writer recently dead. I refer to Thomas Hardy. Why is it that Hardy is, on the whole, more to their liking than Conrad? His construction is often crude, his style often wooden, and at times he sinks into an appalling banality. And yet just because he endeavours to be realistic and direct, and because he often takes what looks like a Nihilistic view of existence, his glaring faults are pardoned and his old-fashioned methods condoned. They perceive *his* real greatness, while Conrad's real greatness seems to elude them.

Hardy, it is true, had a romanticism of his own, but to the modern mind it is not a dangerous romanticism like Conrad's. It is, in essence, a Victorian romanticism; and that strikes them as being quaint rather than disquieting. It is as though a man whose intellect one respected had some odd kink about the earth being flat. It is no use trying to pin down a critic, but I am of the opinion that if certain critics of to-day are trying to undermine the foundation upon which Conrad's fame rests, it is largely because they feel that in the writings of this remarkable but, to them, mistaken man there is a seductive charm and passionate intensity which correspond to some false need of the age.

This is an era of complaisant verdicts. But now, as always, criticism is a matter of personal predilections; and personal predilections are conditioned by surroundings. Why, then, feel agitated by these changes of opinion, which, like a thief in the night, always seem to arrive when we are least expecting them?

Time alone enables us to approximate to absolute judgments, and although every critic can give voluminous reasons for his views, it is certain that many of the deepest of these reasons are imponderable and unself-conscious. There are fashions in all things, and just as the fashions in clothes of ten years ago often look more incongruous than those of a hundred years ago, so do the artistic ideals of yesterday often appear peculiarly obsolete to the latest school. This accounts, no doubt, for the fact that, while writers of the recent past are constantly being consigned

to a lower level, writers who have already sunk into obscurity are constantly being brought out of it. The universal dislike of growing old is youth's most powerful weapon, and the young always have the whip-hand. To be called middle-aged and incapable of receiving new impressions is as deadly a charge as to be told that you are lacking in a sense of humour. Few have the moral daring to argue that maturity has as just a vision as youth.

And there is still another reason why Conrad's hold upon the critics is scarcely what it was. Conrad was a unique product of three nations—Poland where he was born, France where he spent the receptive years of his young manhood, England where he worked and became celebrated—and his gifts were both too strange and too original for him to found a new school or to be accepted fully as a representative author. To begin with, naturally, these very qualities, so striking in their freshness, attracted fervent praise. But it was almost inevitable that sooner or later they would awaken opposition. Conrad's work is not in the true line of succession of English literature; and though the moderns may despise their predecessors, yet they cannot help possessing the same national traits.

When I was a boy Meredith was still, more or less, the hero of the young men. I have seen his place taken—also, more or less—by Stendal, Dostoievsky, James, Conrad, Proust, and goodness knows who else. I have seen one group of writers rise and another fall; the rehabilitation of the eighteenth century; the emergence into popularity, with one set, of Trollope and Melville, the eclipse, with another, of Turgenieff and Anatole France. One can see almost anything if one waits long enough. As Conrad wrote in one of his books, 'All passes and all changes.' The wheel of fashion frequently makes the full circle, and long oblivion sometimes blossoms again into fame. I do not know who is now the guiding light. Perhaps nobody is. Perhaps the age is sufficient to itself and every man is his own mentor. It would be, at any rate, a sign of vitality, assurance and courage.

But finally let me revert to what I wrote at the beginning of this paper about the inevitable reaction which follows upon death. When all is said and done, it is there that one may perhaps discover the most potent reason for the present attitude of certain critics. It is indeed a universal experience that within a few years of death a lauded reputation, a high fame, always suffer a temporary eclipse. Every observer has seen that happen again and again. In the light of time it is really of little importance—it all depends on the man—for it is but analogous to the swing of a pendulum.

And let us remember that while the critics may blame Conrad for certain defects, it does not necessarily follow that he had

these defects, or that, if he did have them, they are really defects. I do not propose to argue the point; I only want to call attention to it. In my opinion Conrad's adverse critics could be, as a rule, successfully answered out of Conrad's own books; but that is a business I can leave to others. I would observe, however, that in Conrad's letters there are refutations of some of the very things with which he is charged. For example, the younger critics do not like his eloquence; but Conrad's eloquence was not due to a love of fine writing, but was bound up with his whole method and personality. As he wrote to me once, 'I have always tried to avoid eloquence, a thing contemptible in itself.'

I have been speaking hitherto about the opinions of one modern group—certain advanced critics of the younger generation—and even so I have epitomised their scattered views as though each held all those which I have enumerated. But I have done this, and emphasised the different points, because, according to precedent, the time may quite likely arrive when these critics will begin to influence a bigger circle of readers and when people will allow their own judgment to be stampeded against their will. Earthquakes are often heralded by subterranean rumbles.

When Conrad died his fame was spreading fast over the entire English-speaking universe. He was admired alike by the complex and by the simple, by the able critic and by the average man, by every type of reader from the scholar to the schoolboy. It was fame of that order which is granted only to those in whose work people feel there is something inherently great: and now, even despite the partial defection of the present-day critics, that fame is still growing. And it may be illuminating to trace this growth and so try to get an insight into its real force.

The general interest in Conrad began, I surmise, as a fashionable craze. After the publication of *Chance* in 1914 it became the correct thing to read Conrad. That kind of vogue, usually so fleeting, is liable to overtake any author. Sometimes, as may be witnessed about once a year, it is due to the striking of an unexpected chord which happens to catch the restless attention of a public always eager for a new sensation; sometimes, as in Conrad's case, it is due to the steady, cumulative effect of discerning criticism spread over a decade or longer. *Chance*—which, incidentally, was not among Conrad's own favourites—was no more remarkable than many of his previous books, but it caught the ear of the public because that ear had been at last attuned to welcome the note.

But what began as a fashion has gradually developed into a reality. The average reader of Conrad to-day is a real lover of his works. And he is more than that: he has a critical instinct

about them which corresponds surprisingly to Conrad's own ideas. For instance, I am always meeting people who assure me that *Nostramo* is the book, above all others, that appeals to them. Well, Conrad himself regarded *Nostramo* as his principal creative effort, but it must be admitted that in the old days he got little support for that view even from those very critics whose literary flair made his reputation and led to his triumph.

Conrad, in short, has come into his own with a class of readers who, without being literary in the accepted sense, have nevertheless instinctive critical perceptions. I do not mean that such readers perceive everything that a critic might perceive; but I am not at all sure that they do not often perceive things which the critic, with his preconceived notions, misses. All contemporary criticism, as history shows, is apt to ignore one of the most valuable things in a writer—that something which echoes within the inner consciousness after the book has been laid aside. For criticism is often more taken up with technicalities and comparisons than with that finer essence which interpenetrates art and gives it its ultimate appeal. And it must be said that over and over again it has been that despised thing, public opinion, that has really discovered an author. Written criticism is never the last word, and that is particularly true in the case of Conrad. At the present moment his influence, like an irresistible tide, is flowing out beyond the bounds of fastidious analysis to sink deep into the minds of this generation. Whatever may happen to Conrad's fame in the future, it will never contract into a rarefied cult: his appeal is too many-sided.

The dead Conrad is a living force to an increasing multitude. To them he stands for something which transcends literature and yet is bound up with literature. He has created for them a world within a world, and to many young people he is the one writer who really 'counts.' Conrad himself had no belief in the endurance of fame and did not write with an eye on posterity; to do that would have been odious to him in its assumption of Olympian superiority. But all the same, the kind of recognition accorded him after his death would have pleased him. For that recognition is primarily due to the absolute integrity of his art.

The myriads who draw sustenance from Conrad's writings feel a sort of personal fellowship with him, which they could never feel towards a man, however brilliant, who was lacking in a wide humanity. Conrad creates, of course, a universe of gorgeous variety and adventure for those who live circumscribed lives; but an imaged universe can be found in numerous other writers, and is not in itself his main appeal. There is something in the combined sobriety of his outlook and splendour of his imagination which make many feel akin to him in spirit. And in his philosophy

of mingled irony and pity, in his hatred of shams, in his respect for duty, he stands forth as a man like to others but built on a larger mould. The reading public is relatively voiceless, but its discernment is, on occasion, far keener than the professional critic is prepared to recognise. Some of the most astute judgments passed on Conrad have been passed by people who never write a word for publication and who would not dream of setting themselves up as critics.

Many readers are, of course, not analytical: that is to say, the processes of their thought do not emerge into conscious explanations of why they like or dislike. But the silent opinions of such are suggestive, and I have watched with a good deal of care the reactions of this type of reader to the novels of Conrad. To one he will be quite incomprehensible, to another he will be the very voice he has longed for: Conrad is not a writer who excites lukewarm emotions even in those who pick up a book merely to pass the time. For his work is not only extraordinarily impressive in itself, but is concerned with fundamentals which cannot escape attention. If Conrad was simply a romanticist he would be read and thrown aside; if he was simply a literary artist he would be disregarded; but it is because he creates in the grand manner out of the fulness of his humanity and genius that he arrests the attention of so many average people—even of people who are usually contemptuous of novels. It is very curious. He has touched some chord in the modern outlook which, bound up as it is with the reactions of personality, cannot be completely described.

That is a thing to bear in mind. The appeal of Conrad, like the appeal of all the really great writers, is at once obvious and mysterious. After we have said everything we can, something still remains unsaid. I am not pretending that he is universally admired by his readers; I am only saying that the number of those who do admire him is augmenting. To many, of course, he is just a fascinating enigma, and to many but a standard author of whom one ought to possess a set; but to an increasing number he appears, odd as the term must seem, like a long-lost brother who has been found. To such people there is something strangely intimate about his work: it is as if they recognised in it a whisper of their own aspirations. Now this is very striking when we consider that, though Conrad was simple in some ways, he was exceedingly complex in others. But perhaps the explanation is that, while his genius was complex, his attitude was basically simple. Many of those who never actually met him have, as one might put it, found him in the texture of his books.

I shall probably be told—it would not be for the first time—that Conrad is a man's writer rather than a woman's, and that

therefore my argument is vitiated from the start. But is it? Conrad certainly inhabits a world of action in which men play a preponderant part, but though he has more men admirers than women, yet he does appeal very much to many women. That is a fact. Women, being themselves decided realists, are inclined to think that he idealised his feminine characters; but women, like men, do not only admire the novelist in Conrad: they, too, are subject to his deeper influence. Conrad may, as is often said, have judged women from a man's point of view, but I want to know from what other point of view he could have judged them. Women are not attracted to a man with a feminine outlook, and there is a virility about Conrad's work which draws them despite his not always congenial treatment. One cannot make a generalisation to cover innumerable different views, but my impression is that Conrad, although not so much read by women as by men, is appreciatively read by more and more of them. Conrad himself highly valued the opinion of women. I remember his writing to me: 'You know how I prize women's appreciation, which, for a man not specialising in sentiment, is about the greatest reward one's sincerity can obtain.'

And, indeed, it is that sincerity of his which attracts women to him as it attracts men. Of course, it is not only his sincerity—as Conrad said to me once, when we were discussing the sincerity of a fanatic, 'The value of sincerity depends on what you are sincere about'—but without it he might have spoken with the tongue of men and of angels and been entirely ineffective.

I am not here concerned to discuss Conrad as an artist and as a creator; I am only concerned to put forward the two views about him that are so much in the air to-day. But it is surely permissible to admire some of the extremely able work now being produced by writers of the younger generation, as also indeed the critical profundity and originality of much that they have to say, without being swept off one's feet. It would be as absurd to deny that Conrad's work has limitations as it would be to deny that his very mannerisms and outlook are as antagonistic to some as they are attractive to others; but it seems to me that there is a greatness about him that outweighs everything else. And it is that which finally matters.

And furthermore, he was in some ways very fortunate. The experiences of his middle years gave him the very material which his special gifts required: it is doubtful whether they could have ever flowered as they did unless excited by the gorgeous background of his life. Then, again, he did not publish his first book until he was a man approaching forty and he died before old age had withered his powers. Thus there is a blessed lack of immature or feeble work to regret, and thus there is a sense of splendid

homogeneity and completeness about his achievement. Naturally his work is of varied importance, and naturally it underwent changes in method, but his attitude always remained the same, and everything that he wrote has a real, and not merely an historical, value.

At its best his style is one of marvellous flexibility and richness, and although we may call his characters romantic, we may equally call them realistic. And remember that nearly all of Conrad's plots are founded upon fact and are no more far-fetched than life itself. The criticism of him that nibbles here and there seems to me to miss the point. For it is not in a nicety of perfection that Conrad stands out; it is in the rounded harmony of the total result. Conrad himself disliked the idea of choosing selected passages from his work to form an anthology, and he would equally have disliked a criticism of his books that did not see that each must be judged as a whole.

Let me make myself quite clear: Conrad willingly recognised his own shortcomings, but he had much of common sense, and he would not have been at all impressed by criticism, either favourable or unfavourable, which did not perceive what he was aiming at. As a matter of fact, Conrad, within certain broad limits, was very tolerant of the opinions of others; he would have felt little surprise or annoyance at the criticisms now levelled against him. He did not put himself on a pinnacle; he merely went his way. As can be judged from his published letters, his appreciation of the work of his younger contemporaries was sympathetic, although I admit that, when he wrote to friends about their own books, he sometimes allowed his affection to outweigh his judgment.

Indeed, one had to be pretty well acquainted with Conrad to know just what value to give to many of the things he said. Friendship might bias him in one direction, fits of irritability (caused by gout) in another. And he was too wise to say all that he thought on any one subject at any one time. On the surface he had many facets, and one had to acquire a kind of intuition to brush aside the apparent contradictions and to gain a just, if necessarily only a partial, idea of the real man. And, in a manner, those who only know him through his books have less to contend with in gauging the true Conrad than had those who knew him personally. His surface moods were perplexing, but the Conrad who wrote was not a man of the surface. His unmistakable deep personality is there in his books, and thousands of readers all over the world have, through a study of them, grasped the essential Conrad—the Conrad mirrored so faithfully in his written words.

R. CURLE.

BIOGRAPHY AND UNBELIEF

THERE has of recent years been a tremendous change in people's ideas upon the function of biography, and this change can be defined very briefly. To the Victorians, biography was the means of getting to know why certain men are great, or what makes others interesting. But to us to-day, all men are interesting and none, broadly speaking, great. The Victorians, in fact, were content with adoration; we demand analysis.

This point has been made often enough already. André Maurois has an illuminating chapter upon it in his recent *Aspects of Biography*. In the history of the human race, he says, there have been certain rare periods in which vast revolutions have been effected in a very short time. In England, as elsewhere, the human race, about the beginning of the twentieth century, passed through one of these periods of intellectual revolution. Of the nature of this revolution Maurois says little, beyond giving as one of its characteristics 'the invasion of the sphere of psychology and ethics by the intellectual methods of the man of learning.'

There is, of course, more in it than that. Psychology affects the modern mind; it gives man a weapon to work with, and a very keen weapon, but that is all. Whatever Freud, Jung, and Adler may say, souls are neither won by psychology nor lost by it. Psychology is a method, not an influence. Of influences to-day, as in all times past, there is only one that affects mankind as a whole, and that is what may be called the religious influence, or better, perhaps, the faith by which the person tries to establish to his own satisfaction his relationship to the universe.

The present age is often described as irreligious. It is also described, like all other ages there have ever been, as immoral. Its lack of religion has been given as the cause of its lack of morals. Nothing could be further from the truth. Without going so far as to insult religious people by suggesting that they are less moral than non-religious people, one must admit that a large proportion of the population is definitely non-religious as opposed to irreligious, and that the non-religious are quite as good citizens as those who enthusiastically profess some definite

creed. Whatever one's own personal views on the subject may be, it is a fact that in England now among what may be called the intellectual classes the non-religious are in the majority, and this suggests that the prevailing opinion in this country is non-religious. It might not be so. Minorities can exercise enormous power. But in this case one has only to look to the leading personalities of the literary world. Shaw, Wells, and Bennett—they are without question the most influential writers of our time. Do their writings give evidence of faith in any established creeds? Far from it. Shaw and Wells certainly are influenced in all they write by a passionate moral sense, but so far as belief is concerned this is destructive, not constructive; it impels the reader to jettison any previous convictions he may have had and start life afresh with a free and open mind. Wells, in moments of excitement, erects altars to the Unknown God. Bennett gets all the excitement he wants out of life itself, its triumphs, its vanities and all its commonplace detail. Then there is Galsworthy, who gives us in his novel *Beyond* this exquisite example of a contemporary mind in action:

'What do you think happens after death, Gyp?'

'Nothing, Dad. I think we just go back.'

'Ah—My idea, too.'

Neither of them had ever known what the other thought about it before!

Gyp murmured:

'La vie est vaine—
Un peu d'amour,
Un peu de haine,
Et puis bonjour!'

Not quite a laugh issued from Winton's lips.

'And what they call "God,"' he said, 'after all, what is it? Just the very best you can get out of yourself—so far as I can see. You can't imagine anything more than you can imagine. But there's one thing always puzzled me, Gyp. All my life I've had a single heart. Death comes, and out I go! Then why did I love, if there's to be no meeting after?'

'Perhaps loving somebody or something with all your heart is all in itself.'

Winton stared. 'Ye-es,' he said at last. 'The religious Johnnies are saving their money to put on a horse that'll never run after all. Those Yogi chaps in India—there they used to sit, the world might rot for all they cared—they were going to be all right themselves, in Kingdom come. But suppose it doesn't come?'

Slipping her hand through his arm, she pressed close up to him. 'Dad; you and I will go off into the wind and the sun, and the trees and the waters, like Procris in my picture.'

Such belief, or, if you prefer it, absence of belief, is typical

of all the people of our time who are in the habit of trying to think out things for themselves. 'One just goes out.' And what is the effect on our literature of this denial of the immortality of the soul?

It is impossible for man to dismiss entirely from his mind the question of life after death. It is too tremendous a subject. It is also hardly possible for a man not to want to survive. He may, however, come to believe the arguments of scientists who profess that the idea of personal survival is nothing more than a vain and idle hope. What then? He does not immediately lose all his hope. He no longer thinks of his soul as 'passing on,' but he can still think of it as enduring after him—here. The future life having, so he imagines, been proved non-existent, he demands of his destiny a continuance on this earth of his works or of his mere name after death has rid him of consciousness. This mental process, which is a natural if rather pathetic one, can be observed even behind the writings of Samuel Butler, who was one of the first of modern writers to insist that there is no such thing as permanent survival after death. Butler is content that when his time comes he should die. He does not fear death; he does not abhor the inevitability of absolute personal extinction. He takes it for granted. And yet there wells up occasionally in his notes the instinctive desire for survival that we all possess. 'On death,' he writes, 'we do not lose life, we only lose individuality; we live henceforth in others, not in ourselves.'¹ We live, that is, by being in the thoughts of others. Butler, therefore, sought to insure immortal life for himself in what was then an original manner. He deposited a copy of his unpublished writings with Henry Festing Jones, 'as a precaution against fire.'

Precautions of this kind are now more common. People to-day try to guard against entire extinction by leaving behind them all possible evidence of their existence. They write diaries and memoirs and autobiographies. Having demolished heaven, they set about building up reputations for themselves on this earth. Now Sir Thomas Browne long ago demonstrated the futility of this kind of memorial.

The iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy, and deals with the memory of men without distinction to merit of perpetuity. . . . In vain we compute our felicities by the advantage of our good names, since bad have equal durations, and Thersites is like to live as long as Agamemnon.²

This is a point that no thinking man can possibly ignore. Good and bad reputations have an equal chance of survival, and

¹ *The Notebooks*.

² *Hydriotaphia*.

one might presume, therefore, that people would think it fatuous to worry themselves about the chances of their names enduring after their death. But that is not how the modern mind works. A bad reputation is avoided for obvious reasons; and as for a good reputation, the term has no special meaning now, unless it be that a reputation is good if it offers a man prospects of immortality without jeopardising his chances of having a good time while he is still alive. Such a reputation comes to a man when he attains what the world calls success.

For the main point about success, whether it be artistic, political, or commercial, is this: it sets a man up in a conspicuous position. People cannot help noticing him. They cannot help talking about him. He is a classic, they say, a statesman, a genius. Already he has earned immortality. Before he is dead he is enshrined in a thousand newspaper interviews and appreciations, and people avidly read these to find out what the great man did which they have not got it in their power to do and why he is a famous man who will live, so they tell him, for ever, while they are insignificant and destined to die and be forgotten.

Thus has been born the present appetite for biographies, an appetite which has in it much of the zest of curiosity. We admire success. We venerate the people who have had the luck (as they often so irritatingly put it) to achieve success. We want to know how it is done. There are plenty of people ready to explain, and they know what is demanded of them. They take pains to remember that the attitude of the reader of biography to-day is very different from that of the ordinary religious man of even fifty years ago.

And if the present attitude is composed largely of curiosity, it has in it also an element of envy. We do definitely envy great reputations. We do more. We put them, so we think, to a more rigorous test than previous ages have ever employed. Previous ages were disposed to have their heroes gigantic and remote. We want to meet ours face to face and assure ourselves that they are of no more than our own stature. Since Lytton Strachey wrote *Eminent Victorians* there has been a host of intimate studies of great men and women. The subjects may remain great after the studies are completed, but they will cease to be the heroes they were. They have become human—men and women curiously little and curiously like ourselves. And, seeing that this is so, may it not be that we shall some day ourselves have reputations as likely to endure as theirs?

These considerations do not affect everyone by any means. In every age, fortunately, there are humble, inarticulate, un-meditative people in the world who find all the happiness and

interests they need in their immediate surroundings. They have no particular immortal longings. The beliefs that satisfied their fathers are sufficient for themselves. They are content. They live their little lives unappalled and often candidly bored by thought of the future. Nothing ever moves them to ecstasy. It is difficult for them to understand extreme love or extreme hatred, or, indeed, any passionate feelings at all. Poets and artists laugh at them; and they laugh back at the poets and artists, generally with greater justice. Certain is it that they are infinitely less to be pitied than the type of person who cannot enjoy in life the beauty of which he is passionately aware, for lamenting its transience or his own.

But at my back I always hear
Time's winged chariot hurrying near;
And yonder all before us lie
Deserts of vast eternity.

We now might substitute a state of nothingness for poor Marvell's deserts; but what would be the difference? Could anything be more typical of the modern attitude towards life than this same poem's ending?

Let us roll all our strength and all
Our sweetness up into one ball,
And tear our pleasures with rough strife
Thorough the iron gates of life:—
Thus, though we cannot make our sun
Stand still, yet we will make him run.

In all ages people have been impressed with the frailty of our present existence and the bleakness of what lies beyond. Shakespeare gives frequent expression to the theme.

What is love? 'tis not hereafter;
Present mirth hath present laughter;
What's to come is still unsure:

Gray repeats it, contrasting death with the 'warm precincts of the cheerful day'; and it finds an echo in Keats's *Ode to Melancholy*. But with these poets it was hardly more than the outcome of a passing mood. Now it is a solemn and permanent conviction. It infects the minds of quite ordinary people. It makes them seek in art the salvation that religion can no longer secure for them; it moves them to comment, and create.

There is something intensely pathetic in the desire that so many people have to-day to leave upon the world a mark of themselves, a sign that they have lived and perhaps sometimes been happy. Every year life becomes less solid to our imaginations, and matter more questionable. And yet, though conscious

that he must pass away and leave to others a world that is itself only a perishable thing, man still contrives to gloat over anything that he has done or said which may endure in the memories of those others a few years longer than his own flesh. It is possible, for instance, for one of the most popular of contemporary dramatic critics to announce in the course of one of his articles:

I wrote a short story about the difference (between art and life) once. It took me seventeen years to write. I called it *When God Takes Off the Paint*, and even then no one took any notice, except Hall Caine. Now and then an old woman writes to me about it from New Zealand or somewhere, but otherwise it is unnoticed on some file in the British Museum. . . .

One of the main features of the age is its enormous self-consciousness. We are, of course, encouraged in various ways to believe that we are people of importance. To be able to speak, and have the echo of our words ringing round the world to New Zealand and the Middle West, would be a marvellous achievement, if only one could be heard above the noise of all the other people doing the same thing. Modern man has invented special precautions against fire and all other material means of destruction; the gramophone and the cinema perpetuate and multiply our personalities while we are still alive. It is thus possible to earn quite early in one's career the only form of immortality in which the non-religious can believe, and to flatter oneself into defying what Sir Thomas Browne calls 'the consideration of that duration, which maketh pyramids pillars of snow, and all that's past a moment.'

But we are not content with our triumphs. We must match them against those of the heroes of the past. We compare merely, and call it criticism. 'All the famous characters of history, from Edward the Confessor to Charles Peace,' shouts the waxworks man at the fair. But are the values of our supremely educated critics any better?

Van Gogh [writes one of them] was one of the greatest figures of the nineteenth century. It is only with giants like Tolstoy and Cézanne that one can justly compare him. . . . Van Gogh was a saint more saintly than Tolstoy, because less self-regarding; more saintly than Newman, because more simple.*

Art criticism is perhaps not a fair test. M. Vollard, in his book on Renoir, relates how he saw a man standing before a reproduction of *A Woman in a Tub*, by Degas, in a shop window. The man exclaimed, 'A woman's torso like that is as important as the Sermon on the Mount.' Renoir said, 'He must have been

* Herbert Read in a criticism of 'The Letters of Vincent Van Gogh' in *The Times Literary Supplement*.

a critic. A painter would never talk that way.' But one sees the same tendency in literary criticism. An author cannot be simply himself now. He must be better than Lamb, bolder than Shelley, more amiable than Addison, or as brilliant as Wilde. He may be aware of his faults, but if he obtain a certain degree of proficiency the critics will not let him believe himself anything but a classic in embryo. He is encouraged to issue each new work of his expensively in a limited edition, each copy being printed on hand-made paper and embellished with his signature. He can thus best compete at Christie's and Sotheby's with the great writers of the past, who are the only rivals he is inclined to acknowledge.

There is to-day no hard-and-fast distinction between biography and fiction. It has been said often enough that everyone in the world has it in him to produce one good novel. One may call it a novel, but essentially the story would not be a novel at all, but an autobiography. It certainly does happen that an enormous number of the novels that are published now are first and last novels. The authors of these have only one story to give to the world, and that is the story of their own lives. They do not issue them as autobiographies, simply because the public will only readily accept the autobiography of an ordinary man if it is presented in the guise of fiction. Ordinary people are not the proper material for biography. The biographer must choose the best subject he can, and his choice is as restricted as his material. The novelist can delineate the essential nobility of the thwarted and the obscure; but then he does not have to rely, like the biographer, on facts that everyone can check. Ordinary people may be fascinating in themselves and fascinating to the novelist, but to the biographer they can never be as interesting as the great, simply because they fail to reveal themselves; their lives lack form and feature, and the contrasting tones that bring significance.

Ordinary people cannot hope, therefore, to stand out, as Pepys and Johnson stand out, in the light of a diary or a biography. Their diaries will diffuse no brilliance. Their biographers will be bored. But if they cannot be protagonists they can still perform. They can write novels about their own true personalities, or they can contrive to find a niche in the biographies of others. Boswell, in immortalising Johnson, could not help immortalising also hundreds of lesser men for whom he felt nothing but contempt, and it is not an entirely forlorn hope that tempts people to-day to imagine themselves perpetuated in literature—in fiction as well as in biography.

The introduction of actual living people into works of fiction has become quite an ancient device now, but it illustrates better

perhaps than anything else the modern craving for self-preservation. H. G. Wells has toyed with the idea, and Shaw gives it an entertaining twist when he makes Dubedat in *The Doctor's Dilemma* refer to himself as a disciple of Bernard Shaw. In a play it answers well. It brings one up with a start. It is definitely dramatic. In an historical novel it is practically essential if we are to be given any history at all. But what the author is really doing when he applies the practice to a novel of contemporary manners is to push that novel into the category of historical novels and offer his friends to the ages to come as evidence of the veracity of his narrative. And it is suggested that this process will be extremely gratifying to the friends in question.

One has only to call to mind, for instance, the following passage from the sketch of the Marquis de Chaumont in Harold Nicolson's *Some People*, which is doubly relevant here :

A few weeks later we heard that Proust was seriously ill. He had been working at *Pastiches et Mélanges*, and the effort had exhausted him. De Chaumont came to see me in obvious tribulation, carrying a letter in his hand. I read the letter. It was from Proust, saying that he had written a short sketch in the manner of St. Simon and would Jacques mind if he figured in it by name? The latter was embarrassed how to answer. He did not wish to offend Proust, yet on the other hand, well really . . . I said that I, for my part, would have been in the seventh heaven had Proust showed any inclination to insert me in *Pastiches et Mélanges*. De Chaumont said 'it might be jolly well all roight for a foreigner, but moy mother would not loike it.' I told him that I had met his mother, and was convinced that she would not mind in the least. He was only slightly disconcerted. 'Then there is moy aunt, de Maubize. She 'ates Jews.' I began to get a little angry at this, and told him that I doubted whether Proust would live long, that he was the greatest living writer, that Jacques was sacrificing a free gift of immortality, and that what on earth could it matter about his aunt?

'I told Jacques that he was sacrificing a free gift of immortality.' How futile it all is, and how pathetic! We may say glibly that we do not believe in the immortality of the soul, but in our heart of hearts we dare not contemplate the day when the earth will know us and our reputations no more. We comfort ourselves with the thought of the great men of the past who have survived for some centuries. We measure ourselves up against them. Shaw cannot dash off a single play without shrieking, 'Isn't this better than Shakespeare?' If it be ten times better than Shakespeare (which it is not), it will one day perish just the same.

Is all this the inevitable consequence of unbelief? Surely not. Literature is no less perishable than any other kind of monument, and sooner or later we must face the fact. Popular

literature is always a generation behind the thought of its time. Our authors are still under the shadow of the last war; only now are those of them who actually saw active service coming into their own. The war brought the younger generations up to face, and almost to expect, sudden death; and life is never more desirable than when man first comes to manhood. It is then that he feels all emotions most keenly. It is then that he expresses himself most forcibly. The thought that to-day he is alive and to-morrow he may be dead adds more glory to the sun and gives the song of the birds a new and torturing significance. The war made soldiers poets because it made poets soldiers. It took away life and gave us literature, and that literature, we say, is the most glorious and enduring memorial the dead now have. It is necessary and honourable that those who die in war should be commemorated. It is not necessary—it is merely shameful—for people whose lives are without aim or interest to expect to be commemorated in the same way. Monuments are given most honour in times when life is precarious; in times of peace we must think it simply folly if people spend time and ink in working out the place they will occupy in men's thoughts when they are dead.

Furthermore, unbelief will not always govern men's minds. Popular literature will probably be materialistic in tendency for some years more, but materialism long ago lost savour with the really penetrating minds in the world. Scientists make their discoveries and their guesses about the machinery of the universe, but they know they will never discover why the thing works at all.

They are guided now to a large extent by faith, and the attitude most of them adopt towards atoms and electrons is nothing less than mystical.

ROBERT SWANN.

THE ORIGIN OF RIGHT

I

ONE person in every twenty-two—that is to say, an average of one cricketer in every match—is left-handed; and the other twenty-one have always seen something sinister and gauche in this physical declaration of independence. The double meaning which attaches to the words suggests that our moral ideas of right and wrong derive from the earlier physical distinction between right and left; and the suspicion is strengthened by the fact that religion adopts precisely the same standpoint in this matter as ethics. The good sheep are said to be assembled on the right, the wicked goats to the left; and the Apostles' Creed asserts that Christ sits on the right hand of God.

This right-handed attitude has permeated politics as well as religion. The party in power occupies the right, the party in opposition sits on the left, in every representative assembly. History, too, is littered with petitions and declarations of right; and paradoxically every demand for rights comes from the parliamentary left.

These things go down to the roots of human nature, perhaps even deeper; and as the origin of this attitude had never been investigated, I decided to make such physical observations as were possible, in the hope that they would throw light on various obscure points of action and thought.

The inquiry proved unexpectedly complex and prolonged, and involved an excursion into an entirely unexplored department of natural history. How far it was successful the following pages will show.

II

Being personally ambidextrous, I find it difficult to believe that I am particularly vicious because I prefer to shave or sharpen a pencil with my left hand, or specially virtuous because I generally use that same pencil with the right. These things are to some extent optional; a good many cricketers, for example, bat with their right and bowl with their left hand, or *vice versa*. Such trivial matters seem obviously a matter of

individual preference and convenience. But, socially at least, they are not.

There is much more in this than the ordinary dislike of the crowd for the individual who dares to be different. These acts are taken as pointers and symbols of the general physical attitude of the individual, and the underlying truth behind the opinion which condemns them as sinister is the fact that the left-handed man is, and must nearly always be, something of a nuisance in team-work. He is in the minority, and therefore abnormal physically, and consequently we are inclined to think him abnormal morally and mentally.

But why is the left-handed man in a minority? It may have been personal prejudice, but it seemed to me at the start that in a perfectly constructed world both right and left handed men should be in a minority, and that we ambidextrous folk should be the normal type. Life, however, has not been built on those lines, and the answer to that question raises some curious points of animal response and reaction to the world around us.

Most quadrupeds and reptiles couple the active foreleg with the opposite hindleg in walking, for the obvious reason that it preserves the balance; the alternative is to become a hopper or bounder, like the kangaroo or squirrel—a method that is quicker for short spurts, but much more tiring over long distances, since it involves lifting the whole weight of the body at every step.

It is common knowledge that many men preserve a remnant of this alternative use of the four limbs by swinging the arm opposite the moving leg when walking. But I was surprised to find that the premier biped reverses the rule at starting. The majority of human beings have so definitely dextral an outlook that they are right-legged as well as right-handed.

The proportion of right-legged folk is certainly smaller than of right-handed: of seventy-two individuals observed entirely at random, forty-six used the right leg first to twenty-six the left, and similar but smaller lists compiled to check this ratio gave practically the same result.

There are two chances to one that a woman puts her right foot first in walking, and this is very much the same whether she rises from sitting down or resumes walking after standing still.

The ratio is less with men—presumably because military training insists on marching left foot first; but six men out of ten stride forward right foot first. The proportion, however, of men who put the right foot first when rising from a chair is the same as with women, and it is only when men are already standing that they are more inclined than women to start off with the left—a fact which seems to confirm the surmise that Army regulations are responsible for this difference of the sexes, since a

regiment is already standing, not sitting, when the order to march is given. Indeed, if the great majority of men were naturally left-footed as they are right-handed, there would be no need to drill them left foot first.

III

Lower down the scale of life the variety is astonishing, and a long series of observations was necessary to discover the habitual attitude and approach of various types.

Dogs, like horses, make pretty equal use of left and right forefeet first; so far as one can see, it depends partly on the attitude in which the body has previously come to rest, and partly on the direction to be taken—the limb follows the purpose. But there is no canine or equine rule of 'right-about-turn' when doubling, and a dog will curl himself up right or left as the fancy takes him.

His cousin the wolf is, however, emphatically left-footed. I do not mean that a wolf will not occasionally, even often, start off right foot first; but it will use the left far more frequently—its whole angle of approach is preferably from the left, and in an open space it will advance in a left ellipsoidal movement, not a right.

The domestic cat, on the other hand, is right-footed, particularly when stalking a mouse or a bird; and the whole tribe of cats—ocelots, civets, genets, and cervals—climb right foot first and hold their food in the fore right paw in preference to the left.¹ Jaguars, lions, and tigers use both paws together to their food, probably because they are used to large carcasses; but the dainty little kinkajou, which lives on carrots and bananas, picks up its dinner piece by piece, and, like good little boys all the world over, invariably conveys it to the mouth with the right hand. Indeed, its manners are so perfect that one almost expects it to use a table-napkin.

Of the larger quadrupeds, antelopes, like dogs and horses, appear to have no particular rule. But giraffes, like human beings, put the right foot forward twice as often as the left; elephants three times right to once left; and camels—at least when led—invariably start off right foot first. These facts were at first simply meaningless to me; but afterwards I saw reason to attach some significance to the coincidence that the animals, with the highest vision, and therefore the farthest horizon, should have a predominantly right outlook.

Deer, on the other hand, almost always use the left foot first;

¹ The polecat, however, appeared to climb indifferently right and left foot first; and it chewed my lead pencil equally with the right and left side of its mouth.

and in this, oddly enough, the swift resemble the slow, for tortoises and terrapins of all kinds invariably put the left foot first; and even swimming turtles seem to use the left fore flapper under the water more than the right. Only once have I ever seen a tortoise start off with the right, but this does not, of course, necessarily mean an automatic swing to the left.

In order to test this, an obstruction was repeatedly placed before my little daughter Joy's pet tortoise on the lawn. Confronted with a capsized deck-chair—a monstrous object which no ancestral instinct can have familiarised—the sagacious Timothy deliberated carefully, with the slow but sure intelligence of his kind, before he set forth in quest of his favourite rubbish-heap, hidden behind a tall lavender hedge 80 feet away. Each time his sense of direction took him straight home, allowing for an occasional turn and halt to swallow a dandelion; and after six experiments on different days he had defeated that deck-chair three times by circling to the right and three times to the left.

After that I left him to his own devices; so acute and well-balanced a mind, capable of finding his way home over what, size for size, must have been about a level mile to a human being and feeding himself *en route*, seemed more worthy of Professor Spearman's psychological laboratory at University College than of my back garden.

The truth is that we are apt to think animals, like children lacking in intelligence, simply because they fail to do what we want them to do. But I have noticed that a little more patience in observation often shows them to be doing something they themselves want to do; and, judged from that standpoint, their actions may be not less intelligent than our own.

It is necessary to keep this steadily in mind when studying insects and other invertebrates. My own observations seemed to indicate that many of these possessed a great deal more intelligence than they are commonly credited with; and perhaps it is not very intelligent of us to label habits that we do not understand by the convenient but occasionally meaningless epithet of instinctive.

Spiders, for example, which both prey upon others and are preyed upon by others, must lead very exciting lives, in which quick decision is essential to survival; and, unlike the tortoise, whose shell gives it time to think, I found that every spider whose path I obstructed on a level floor hesitated not a moment, but turned away instantly and instinctively to the right.

But they are certainly not incapable of what, in a human being, would be called rational thought. A spider which I imprisoned in an overturned glass ran three times to the right, and then alternatively to the left, in its attempts to escape.

Possibly its adventurous career makes it intelligent and ready to try experiments ; and, moreover, every web presents a different problem in architecture, and close observation shows that there is a great deal of variety in the method of building.

For obvious reasons the web is usually in a site protected from rain and wind, and therefore preferably in the sun. But the mesh is sometimes woven from the centre outwards towards the circumference, and sometimes from the circumference inwards towards the centre. Again, it is sometimes spun from the hedge or inside, and sometimes from the open or outside ; and I have also seen a spider alter its position abruptly from inside to outside when the web was half finished.

I could not see any reason for these differences, but it seems to me absurd to call them instinctive when they vary in so many particulars. In these matters the individual obviously suits her own fancy or convenience ; and the only rule is that there is no rule at all of right or left, of inwards-outwards, or *vice versa*, and only a slight preference for inside as against outside when building. But in walking on the ground the spider emphatically prefers right to left.

My acquaintance with beetles, apart from museum specimens, is unhappily less extensive than it should be. Unlike the spider, they generally turned to the left when the path was blocked, but after two or three failures they reversed and tried the right. I am not prepared to deny their intelligence. But I suspect that here, as in our own species, it is possible to have more beauty than brains. (If the poets had microscopes, they would sing the exquisite loveliness of this neglected order.)

Ants, like dogs and horses, seem indifferent to direction ; but a solitary ant when obstructed (or even a small company) easily gets confused and runs around aimlessly. They are, however, more inclined to climb over an obstacle than go round ; and here they resemble the earwig, which, like the young men praised by Samuel Smiles, has an insatiable desire to get to the top.

But the earwig earns my respectful admiration. Others have celebrated its affection for its young ; I found it quick, resourceful, and cool in any difficulty. Confronted with obstruction, it darts either right or left in search of cover ; but, having found a hiding-place, it will not enter at once, unless the danger seems imminent, but, like the famous British soldier in Flanders, looks round for a ' better 'ole.' If this is not forthcoming, it will return to its original discovery. If we did these things, we should call it intelligence ; as it is only an earwig, we talk learnedly (and stupidly) about the mysterious nature of instinct.

An earwig which I dropped into a bowl of water swam at once to the nearest side and tried to climb out head first. Failing

to get sufficient purchase on the glazed surface when perpendicular, after several attempts, it approached the side diagonally, when its long body gave it a better grip, and clambered out sideways. It may have been only coincidence that it approached and came out on the right side ; but as the earwig has an excellent memory it would probably be more likely to try a similar method and right-handed approach next time. An insect will fight for its life with the rest and the best of us, and from such hairbreadth escapes are habits sometimes born.

Flying insects contributed little to this inquiry. The curious flight of the common white butterfly is naturally zigzag, as though an automatic internal rudder impelled it to alter course every two yards or so ; but this eccentricity is markedly increased when chased by a hungry bird, and it appears to be the butterfly's only form of defence on the wing. It is, however, effective in puzzling its pursuer, whose beak opens to catch the butterfly and closes on empty air ; the 'daddy-longlegs,' which has no such tactics, is a much easier victim.

A creature that flies zigzag can have no particular preference for right or left on the wing ; it is the same with bees and wasps. But the mental capacity of hymenoptera seems to me somewhat exaggerated by popular philosophy. During more than one long summer afternoon I have watched them both gathering honey from a tall lavender bed ; they move up or down on the long stalks, and either right to left or left to right indiscriminately, over bushes already visited only a minute before by their colleagues. A better organised attack would have halved the work.

Birds, like flying insects, were of little use in this connexion. Light hoppers naturally hop—like Luther, they can no other. Heavier birds walk like bipeds, but pigeons, pelicans, ducks, geese, and other fowl use right or left foot first with complete impartiality. Cranes and flamingos rest indifferently on either leg ; of six which I observed in rapid succession three were poised on the right, three on the left leg. After that I gave up counting.

Fishes, which are the birds of the sea, have also no preference. The opportunity for observation is, of course, very limited, but, so far as one could tell from the aquarium, even the flatfish and the gurnard tribe are indifferent to right and left.

Very different from those purely negative results is the evidence of the mollusca. The earliest univalves (Ammonites) are simple curved cylinders. Subsequently the spiral developed a bewildering variety of forms, with both right and left screws, and one anomalous type—*Odostomia* and other members of *Pyramidellidæ*—in which the young whorls are sinistral and the adult whorls are dextral.

But the right-hand screw has a marked preponderance over

the left—I have often gathered over 100 shells in succession on an open beach without finding a single sinistral specimen—and, although new examples of the left screw frequently appear in every geological period, Lyell states that the reversed or left screw is relatively much more common in the old Neocene strata, while the normal or right-hand forms increase in the Tertiary and modern period.

IV

Is there, then, as Matthew Arnold might have said, some force outside ourselves that makes for rightness as against leftness? Does the right-handed attitude or approach confer some advantage in the battle of life as against the left-handed?

From the evidence before us, it rather looks like it. With a large number of animals, of course, right and left are approximately equal, and equally used; and this applies particularly, as one would expect, to winged creatures. Birds are bound to preserve a head-on attitude; any tendency to lop-sided flight would probably bring more dangers than advantages in its train, and this is reflected by their general carriage when on earth. But with that part of the world which walks, crawls, or runs this does not appear to be so. Here a substantial minority of the many hundreds of cases I observed directed their activities, whether voluntary or enforced, to the left; but a clear majority evidently preferred the right.

But it is useless to sum up until all the evidence is before the court.

Now, there can be no question that the human attitude is not merely right-handed; this is in effect only a symptom of a general outlook on life from the left towards the right. Our arms and legs attest the former; our cameras and portraits demonstrate the latter.

Of fifty-six photographs in my possession I found that thirty-three heads were inclined towards the right, twenty-three towards the left. The professional in the studio may be suspected of posing his subjects to look better than they are, but no such reproach can be brought against the amateur, whose snapshots generally make us look worse than we are. And I find that out of twenty specimen snapshots taken by different people over several years twelve persons are facing right, eight left. For once, amateur and professional are agreed: the proportions are identical—three right to two left.

Artists are not always accurate observers, or at any rate reproducers, of ordinary physical fact. But a visit to the National Gallery and National Portrait Galleries, for the purpose of arith-

metic rather than admiration, showed 152 portraits posed to the right to 129 to the left; about five to four.²

But how did this general outlook and approach of humanity towards the right arise? Why of 100 physical actions are sixty or more normally directed towards the right and forty or less towards the left?

It is obviously not sufficient explanation to say that we draw, paint, write, and fence³ with the right hand because these actions, like speech, are directed from the left hemisphere of the brain. Indeed, this seems to me no explanation at all, for it puts the cart before the horse.

Structure is conditioned by function, not *vice versa*; and therefore our left cerebral centres, including speech, have presumably developed because we use the right side of our bodies in preference to the left. We can hardly suppose that in this one case we are in the presence of a biological exception, and that the function of using the right is dictated by the structure of the brain. Further, we have seen that it is our general attitude and approach to life, and not merely these specific activities, which is turned towards the right; and on that ground alone it seems probable that these localised cerebral centres are more probably the consequence than the cause of our normal outlook.

But in order to see if there was any evidence which bore definitely on this point I spent some considerable time in more or less close company with our excellent cousins the lower primates.

I found that baboons use right and left hand indifferently, while drills grasp or swing equally with one hand or the other. Both will take food with left as well as right hand, and convey it to the mouth with either. The little capuchin will take (and break) food without preference of right or left. (All these animals have tails.)

The tailless orang-utan, on the other hand, makes more use of right than left; and the tailless chimpanzee is undoubtedly right-handed. 'Greedy Jimmy,' the chimpanzee at the Zoo, will take every lump of sugar he is offered, but always with the right hand. His colleague in a neighbouring cage, who amuses his too abundant leisure in breaking and peeling sticks, uses his left foot.

² Some artists seem more right-handed than others. The two self-portraits of Reynolds at Hampstead and the Tate Gallery are both posed to the right; in his *Holy Family* the three principal figures are all on the right; in the *Three Graces* two figures are right to one left. This contrasts with Gainsborough, who has five portraits right to six left.

³ Exceptionally the right-handed man boxes, as he bats at cricket, with a left-forward stance. But in both cases defence is more important than attack, and therefore the typical attitude is reversed. Left-handed cricketers are more apt to slog; 'stone-wallers' are always right-handed.

to hold a twig down while he pulls it with his right hand till it cracks, and, in peeling it, holds the stick with his left hand and pulls the bark off with his right. In both cases the left hand is passive, or at most auxiliary, while the right is active; and his methods are precisely those of any woodman in any part of the world.

These facts do not particularly assist the theory that our right-handedness is due to the specialisation of the left hemisphere of the human brain—a theory which, even if true, would still leave the question open why the faculties of speech and writing should be concentrated in that cerebral section. On the other hand, they do rather suggest that our general physical outlook towards the right has been a gradual development due to some mechanical advantage which the right possesses over the left; and if that is so, the elaboration of the left cerebral hemisphere would be a consequence, not a cause, of our physical attitude.

This would, of course, be more in accord with biological principle. There is, however, no known mechanical law which favours the right over the left; the port and starboard engines of a steamer have the same push and pull,⁴ and water will flow as easily through a pipe curved left as right.

The problem is therefore one which is peculiar to life, and to certain forms of ground and arboreal life; for neither birds nor fish nor flying insects show any preference for right over left.

What, then, is the meaning of this curious preference?

Let us assume—as seems inherently probable—that life was ambidextrous at the start, and that it found itself in a world in which every creature with limbs was free to begin each act with either right or left hand or foot. But of the first 100 actions it is improbable that exactly fifty would have been done by the left and the other fifty by the right. One side would have done more actions than the other, and that alone would have begun to form a habit and an attitude of looking at life. That habit would be economical of time and effort; the creature that stops to consider whether it shall begin every action with right or left is at a disadvantage compared with the rival that has formed a habit of operating from one side, and only using the other as an occasional alternative.

But the search for an efficient physical cause for this frequent but by no means universal preference was not an easy matter.

I take it we can dismiss such recondite considerations as that the sun rotates from east to west, and (north of the equator) at least appears to move from left to right, and that the slower

⁴ Apart, of course, from the tendency of the ship to obey the set of the screw in actual navigation. Practically all vessels are built with the right-hand screw, but a very few have been constructed on the opposite principle.

wave-lengths of the spectrum are to the left and the quicker to the right. These things no more influence the ocelot or chimpanzee than the sacred ritual of passing the port; some more practical and proximate reason must be adduced for this twist of life to the right.

V

Many hypotheses occurred to me while these observations were being made which were abandoned almost as soon as formed; but one seems definitely to fit. I suggest that it is primarily a question of grip.

Let us see how the evidence consorts with this interpretation.

The shell of the mollusc protects it from its enemies, and its grip (which is proportionately much stronger than that of a man) enables it to hold fast to the rock or stone which is its home. The shell grows with the animal which lives, so to speak, on the ground floor, so that the top whorl or original attic was built before the large establishment downstairs, and is sometimes left untenanted in adult life. The shell varies enormously in size and structure in different species, and even in the same species, but there is no particular reason, except one, that can fashion it from left to right rather than right to left. That one reason is that every house is conditioned by its foundations, and the shell must grow from left to right because the typical attitude of the animal is from left to right. But this in turn is conditioned by its grip, which is essential to its safety; and, since the majority of shells broaden from left to right, we must assume that the animal gets a better purchase with a dextral rather than a sinister twist; and this gives it a better chance of survival.

New sinistral shells appear in successive geological epochs, a fact which indicates that the door of free development is not definitely closed; but the majority of shells are dextral, and, so far as we can judge from the rather doubtful evidence of deposits from past ages, that majority appears to be increasing. But to this disputable point we must return later.

Higher up the scale the evidence, though less conclusive than one could wish, seems definitely to confirm the assumption that grip, whether for hunting or climbing, is the decisive factor in this left-right controversy.

Animals which use their limbs entirely for locomotion have no particular preference for right over left. One cannot get inside their minds, but the first foot used appears generally to indicate the direction in which they want to go, and, so far as horses and dogs are concerned, they are as likely to want to go left as right.

So far as I could ascertain, it was the same with the diggers, which grip only with their mouths. Stoats and badgers are not

easy to observe, but they seemed to use right and left forefeet indifferently, or preferentially both together, exactly as a dog when throwing up earth and sand; and even the raccoon, which is very clever with its hands, generally uses both together (like a squirrel) when eating.

Cats, on the contrary, are mostly climbers and hunters who grip their prey and kill it; and if experience has taught the whole tribe that the right forepaw gives a better hold, it would explain that foot coming first when stalking. The actual evidence I have is confined to the smaller felines—genets, ocelots, and so on—but if any reader who is hereafter chased by a tiger or a panther has the time to observe (and opportunity subsequently to record his observations) he will have added a little to this obscure subject.

The reptiles were of little use in this connexion; like the horse and the dog, they seize with the mouth, not the limbs, and therefore no question of grip arises. I was interested to notice, however, that two climbing lizards—the iguana and the monitor—usually put the right forefoot first when climbing a tree trunk or the bars of their cages, in exactly the same way that a man will climb a ladder. Possibly it gives the lizard a better purchase; but the opportunities for watching this particular act were too few for me to attach much importance to it.

However that may be, there is possibly some significance in the fact that spiders and earwigs, both of which are climbers, seem inclined to turn towards the right; while beetles, which seldom leave the ground, have no such preference. I confess that I should not attach much weight to these particular observations—live beetles were extraordinarily scarce when I looked for them in my part of the world, and museum collections are, of course, useless for what is essentially a field naturalist's inquiry—but, so far as they go, they tend to confirm the impression that the grip required in climbing can be better obtained by a right than a left ascension.

When we come to the primates these odd hints and indications—which would be worth very little if they stood alone—become more definite. Apes and monkeys commonly use their hands to grasp and pull food towards them. But the lower tailed types use right and left indifferently; it is the higher tailless varieties that use the right more than the left. When one lives in a tree the loss of the prehensile tail of course throws more work on the hands; and the left hand appears to have been chiefly used for holding on, leaving the right free for climbing and manipulating.

Habit, like appetite, grows by what it feeds upon. The chimpanzee, like the mollusc, appears to have found that the use of the right gives a better grip; and the preference descended to

man, who has used his right hand and arm as principal and his left as auxiliary until the right has become indubitably stronger and generally larger.

How much stronger the human right is than the left is difficult to say, since it varies according to individual use. But perhaps a rough general indication may be found in the fact recorded in *Wisden's Cricketers' Almanack* that one William Yardley, a Rugby schoolboy, threw a cricket ball 100 yards with his right arm and 78 with his left.

In this case the right is to the left as five to four; and it will be noticed that this proportion agrees approximately, though not exactly, with the general right-left attitude exhibited in our photographs and pictures, where it is as six to four.

The exceptions seem to prove the rule. Horses use right and left indifferently, but horses neither hunt, grip, nor climb. Dogs use right and left indifferently, but they hunt with their noses, not their eyes, and neither grip nor climb.

Wolves also neither grip nor climb, and where they hunt they hunt in packs. Why a pack, like a regiment, should be left-footed defeats me. Possibly concerted movements may be easier that way, but I simply do not know. In any event, this does not apply to the tortoise, who, being deaf, lives in rather a solitary world; but the tortoise is left-footed, neither grips nor climbs, and only hunts lettuces.

To sum up this section of the argument. Not every animal that uses the right approach or the right foot first in preference to the left does so for the purpose of gripping, climbing, or hunting; witness the camels, elephants, and giraffes. But practically every animal that grips, climbs, or hunts uses the right approach or the right foot first in preference to the left; and this is surely a significant fact, which can hardly be dismissed as mere coincidence.

VI

But this only removes the problem a stage further back. There remains the difficult and more fundamental question why the right should give a better purchase, grip, or approach than the left. What exactly is the advantage conferred by the dextral as opposed to the sinistral attitude to life?

Here, as before, a large number of plausible ideas suggested themselves to me which had every imaginable virtue as theories and only one defect—that they did not fit the facts. There was, however, one explanation that presented itself, somewhat diffidently at first, but with continually increasing force as the evidence accumulated, and which I now venture to propose as an efficient cause for the origin of this preference.

Everybody knows that it is impossible to see distinctly with the sun in one's eyes. For clear vision one therefore turns one's back on the sun, and experience shows that sight is slightly more accurate when the sun is over the left shoulder than the right.

The reason for this is evident in bright sunshine. When the sun is over the left shoulder our eyes follow the light in practically a direct line, and any object which is along the line of vision is therefore seen in clear and sharp outline, under the maximum conditions of visibility.

But with the sun over the right shoulder our eyes look a little across or through the light, with the natural result that we are either slightly dazzled or the view is a trifle blurred or even distorted.

Every cricketer knows these facts; every shot acts upon them when he can. The best position in which to chase anything, to catch anything from a cricket ball to a dinner on the wing, and to grip firm hold of anything whether for sport or supper, is with the sun at one's back, and for preference behind the left rather than the right shoulder.

But this makes the dextral attitude predominant and instinctive in animals of aggressive type. Insensibly it comes to colour our whole attitude to life; so that in the end we use our right hand naturally as principal and the left only as auxiliary; while we put forward the right leg first in sympathy with the right arm, but less automatically and therefore less frequently, because it is on the whole easier to swing round as a unit in accordance with our general outlook rather than the other way in opposition to it.

Men know this as a practical fact who have never troubled to reason out the causes of the preference; and hunting and climbing animals—who, like ourselves, are mostly beasts of prey—appear to have found it out in the same manner, by discovering that a right approach was more likely to spell dinner and a left approach to spell hunger. And this perhaps explains why our anomalous camels, giraffes, and elephants are also right-footed; they are not beasts of prey, but their height from the ground gives them a wide horizon, and since they all live normally in a very strong light, it is important to use it to the best advantage and to avoid the dazzled or blurred effect of looking through or across rather than down and along the rays of the sun. These, then, also prefer the right to the left approach.

But if that is so, the localisation of the faculties of writing and speech in the left cerebral hemisphere of the human brain must have followed, and not preceded, the assumption of a right-handed attitude and a general dextral outlook on life by large classes of animals; for there can be no question, of course, from the evidence cited above, that the dextral outlook was adopted

by types that existed long prior to humanity. And the localisation of these and other centres in the left cerebral hemisphere would be a natural result of the dextral outlook, which has obviously been intensified rather than diminished in the case of man by the addition of speech and script.⁵

The actual visual advantage of a right over a left attitude is apparently not very great—somewhere in the proportion of five or six to four seems to represent the ratio—but it has been decisive. If the above arguments are correct, it has at any rate been sufficient to affect our physical attitude, our cerebral architecture, and our mental outlook from the very beginning with its impalpable influence.

VII

The theory advanced above as the cause of preference for the physical right appears to account for every case mentioned except the mollusca. Here, indeed, is an exception, and apparently a real difficulty; for there is a far greater preponderance of right over left in univalve shells than among insects and mammals, yet every mollusc known to science avoids the sun.

There is therefore presumably a far stronger reason for their adoption of the dextral twist than for the higher animals' adoption of a right-hand outlook. But the physical cause, both of the coincidence and difference, is obviously different.

The text-books which I consulted simply stated the bare facts as to the preponderance of dextral over sinistral shells, without attempting to account for them. And I found that the problem itself involved a long and complicated investigation of what was, to me at least, an extremely difficult subject; I can therefore only put forward the conclusions which gradually formed in my mind with the deference and humility proper to one who is in no sense a professed conchologist.

No doubt here, as in the other cases, the problem is primarily a question of grip—although of grip not so much for the purpose of catching as of avoiding being caught. The latter is indeed an even more vital matter than the former, for whereas anybody can go without dinner more than once and survive, nobody can be made into dinner even once without losing interest in all subsequent proceedings. But even this increase of motive does not sufficiently explain the extraordinarily increased preponderance of rightness over leftness among mollusca; nor—since the

⁵ This dexterity—the very word betrays an ambiguity in the present connexion—extends even to trivial matters. A dentist informs me that people are more inclined to masticate on the right than the left side of the jaw; and every railway-carriage and club smoking-room shows that more pipes are held in the right side of the mouth than the left.

influence of the sun is negligible in all save land mollusca, who detest it—can we look to light as the exciting cause.

But for the action of the sun we may reasonably substitute the action of water in the case of molluscs; with this difference, however, that the physical impact of water must have far greater effect on the shell than sunlight on land animals. The total weight of actual sunlight that falls on a human being during an entire lifetime is considerably less than an ounce. But the minimum weight of water supported by either salt or fresh-water shell in a still and shallow pool can seldom be less, and must generally be much more, than this at any one moment. The difference between the slightly dextral attitude of some land animals and the extremely dextral attitude of many molluscs must no doubt be ascribed to the fact that the former live in the lighter medium of air and sunshine, whereas the latter live in the dense medium of water.

Where the mollusc lives at great depths the pressure of water is vastly increased, but it does not have to withstand waves, and can therefore support life with a thin shell; but on an exposed beach, where great tides and currents and backwashes are constantly at work, the force of the water is multiplied by the velocity of its motion, and the shell will be thick and solidly constructed, with stream-lines made to lessen and break up rather than resist pressure.

Now, mollusca depend very largely on currents of water for their food.⁶ They must therefore accommodate themselves to these influences, which are essential to their well-being, and the various modifications of structure give evidence of the manner in which they adapt themselves.⁷ The top whorl of the shell faces the current, so that its slender apex breaks the force of the oncoming water, which slides over the bulk of the shell and presses the animal within against the rock or breakwater to which it clings.

The bulk of fixed marine life is found on the full tidal side of the current, which sweeps it in and forces it to cling to any projection or obstacle; on the slack-water side of a beach or bay the amount of life will be less. And it will at once be seen on comparing dextral and sinistral shells that the elongated dextral

* Currents carry nourishment to the bottom animals, and sweep away the finer particles of mud and other soft substances, leaving (in sounds especially) nothing but the bare rock, or perhaps a slight covering of coarse sand and shells. This enables attached forms to thrive, since the current prevents their being buried, and at the same time supplies them with the nourishment they require. (Murray, *The Depths of the Ocean*.)

⁷ It should perhaps be noticed that marine worms, which live in sand some inches below the tide, do not have thus to adapt themselves, and worm-casts at low tide are as likely to fall right as left.

shell, on account of its physical conformation, necessarily gets a better grip of a solid projection when the tide is behind it than a sinistral shell of precisely similar pattern, but with the screw reversed.

In the former case the lie of the whorl is with the current, the whole body of the animal is pressed downwards and forwards by the water, and the incoming tide helps it to cling to its support. In the latter the lie of the whorl is against the current, and, unless the incoming tide strikes the shell from below instead of above, the formation of the mouth of the shell places the animal at a disadvantage in holding on, and it is obviously much more likely to be washed away.

Now, in my experience, no incoming tide on an open beach comes up from below, like the water rising in a spring or a river at the flood; sea tides strike the beach in the form of waves from above. It may be said that the sinistral shell might be located on the top of a rock which is just covered at high water, in which case the tide might possibly lap it gently from below. But in that event the lie of the whorl is still counter to the current, and this explanation allows nothing for the difference between spring and neap tides. Even granting that possibility, the area open to colonisation by the sinistral shell would be very limited—which is not a fatal objection, in view of the small numbers found—but its life would be very precarious.

So far the argument is easy; we have only to assume that the sinistral shell made a false start in life and failed to prosper, and has therefore given place generally to its more efficient brother, the dextral shell, which began right, continued right, and lived happily ever after in the path of righteousness.

Unhappily, in abolishing the sinistral shell, or at least rendering it an uninsurable proposition on an open beach, we seem to have proved too much; for I hold one in my hand as I write, and I have only to walk a couple of miles along the shore to pick up a dozen. Like the young lady who vanishes, clothes and all, from the stage when Mr. Maskelyne says 'Go,' only to pop up in the audience a moment later, we have no sooner demolished the sinistral shell in theory than the wretched thing reappears in practice, with the inconvenient question of the tombstone:

If so quickly I was done for,
What on earth was I begun for?

How, in fact, did the whorl counter to the current come into existence at all? What is a shell built to deal with a tide coming in from below doing on a beach which has never seen anything but a tide coming in from above?

This is one of Nature's own enigmas; but even the riddle of

the Sphinx had an answer, and the secret of the sinistral shell can hardly be insoluble. I therefore put forward a suggestion which seems to offer a possible solution of the problem.

Sinistral shells are undoubtedly found at various places on the shores of the North Sea; and those particular waters have from time immemorial swept down south from the Arctic with the incoming tide and swung northwards again with the outgoing tide. With the currents as they are, it seems to me mechanically impossible that a mollusc with a left-hand screw could have been formed, and physically impossible that such a mollusc could have survived on an open beach.

But there are two possible contingencies in which the formation becomes mechanically possible and its survival physically probable.

(1) If the North Sea be regarded as merely the lower mouth of the Rhine, and the Arctic itself were frozen to a lower latitude than to-day, the weight of water from the north would be less, and a condition would exist in which the major current would usually be reversed and a riverine ebb set in which would periodically flow more strongly from the south than the diminished oceanic flood from the north. The general shallowness of the North Sea does not render such a contingency impossible, and the demonstrably changed courses of East Anglian rivers in recent geologic times lends some support to this view, and makes such a change of current seem not improbable.

The coast of England must then have been some miles further east, and apparently formed a flat and more or less amphibious region over which the tides would sometimes have washed gently from above, and sometimes have welled up from below through the spongy mud. In such conditions the sinistral shell could not merely have existed, but have flourished.

The whorl is no longer against, but with, the current. The incoming tide sometimes washes over the animal from above, and sometimes presses upwards from below. And finally the lessened capacity for grip caused by the physical conformation of the mouth of the shell is no longer of importance; for the animal is not, in fact, exposed to the buffeting of heavy waves, and it does not have to hold on tightly to a rock or a breakwater, but lives peacefully on the soft clay; and how closely sea clay clings only those who have walked on it know.

(2) But it is not really necessary to reverse the current of the North Sea to construct a suitable habitat for our sinistral shell. The North Sea flows in from the Arctic every day, and the *débris* it brings down with it has choked and cloaked some of the rivers of eastern England, as the mouths of the Yare and the Ore sufficiently testify. But the tide flows up the East Anglian rivers

twice a day, and as the current sets in from the north its major force breaks upon the south or right bank of the river as it presses upstream.

Within the river the tide flows strongly, but less in waves beating from above than in ripples rising from below. The current is not reversed, but its force is moderated and its direction changed by the fact that the ocean current is from the north or north-east, whereas the lie of the East Anglian rivers (like the Thâmes) is roughly from west to east, or rather north-west to south-east. In these circumstances, again, the sinistral shell is equipped for the battle of life. The whorl is with the current, the tide presses up from below, and the animal can grip its support with sufficient firmness for all practical purposes of molluscan existence.

Which, if either, of these two assumptions is correct must be left to those more competent to decide than myself; in optimistic moments it has even seemed to me that both might possibly have some truth in them. For the fact is that the sinistral shell is found in abundance in places where it might have

- (a) Simply remained stationary where it lived and died;
- (b) Been washed out to sea from a neighbouring river, driven a little southward by the North Sea current, and thrown up on the flood tide; or
- (c) Been washed out from the river, sucked along to the north through the old river channel—now a deep—on the ebb, driven again south by the normal set of the ocean current on the flood, and finally thrown ashore in a south-easterly gale.

These possibilities are not mutually exclusive: in my opinion (a), though the simplest, is slightly less probable, whereas (b) and (c) are both in constant operation as regards ordinary *débris* every season. It should be added that the sinistral shell seems to me slightly less stoutly built than its dextral brother, which supports the assumption that it has to bear less weight of water; but on this point I should not like to be dogmatic. And, further, the extreme rarity of the sinistral shell would be accounted for by the fact that its opportunities of distribution would be limited to the peculiar conditions I have described; but where these conditions occur it is not infrequently found.*

VIII

If these facts are correctly stated and interpreted they cannot but induce some strange reflections. The actual superiority of

* I hazard the guess that the mollusc *Odostomia*, referred to in a previous page as being sinistral in youth and dextral in adult life, may begin life in a tidal river and subsequently put out to sea.

right over left is slight, and due to two separate physical causes which only affect certain classes of life; but it seems to have been sufficient to determine the physical attitude of practically every gripper and climber and hunter, from mollusc and monkey to man; and in our case the preference, which physically can be stated as a mere five or six to four, appears to have influenced not only the general attitude and outlook of the race, but to have directly affected the local structure of the brain, and to have coloured our legal, ethical, and religious phraseology as well as our common daily speech.

A. WYATT TILBY.

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THE THREE-PARTY SYSTEM

I

IMPORTANT as are many of the particular problems which confront present-day politicians, there is one general constitutional question underlying them all that immeasurably exceeds them in gravity. It is the question whether or not the government of this country shall continue to be conducted on the three-party system which prevails at the moment. This question is more important than any particular problem that faces either Parliament or people, because it relates to the method and machinery by means of which all particular problems have to be settled. It raises the fundamental issue between democracy and oligarchy; between majority and minority rule; between the will of the people and the craft of the conjurer.

At the present moment minority government prevails. On the one hand, the representatives of 8,362,594 Socialist electors lord it in office over the representatives of 13,965,190 Anti-

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Socialist electors (8,664,243 Conservative and 5,300,947 Liberal). On the other hand, 59 Liberal members of Parliament hold the balance in the House of Commons between 287 Socialist members and 260 Conservative, thus exercising an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. So great, indeed, is their power that they hold the fate of the Government in their hands. If, for example, they had been united and had faithfully followed Mr. Lloyd George's lead in the division on the Coal Bill in December, they would have forced the Cabinet to resign. As it is, they compel the Cabinet to make all sorts of unwelcome concessions in order to win their support for the Bill in Committee. Similarly in respect of the Unemployment Bill, the Liberal handful—presumably in the hope of re-establishing themselves once more as the people's party—with complete irresponsibility, lure Labour on to bestow extravagant and demoralising doles on wasters who are genuinely *not* seeking work. In vain do the responsible Ministers endeavour to keep some sort of check on the permanent establishment and endowment of malingering. Their hands are forced by their microscopic but potent foe. In short, the erratic and apparently unprincipled course of the Liberal remnant in Parliament destroys all the calculable in politics, and entirely nullifies the will of the majority both of the members in the House and of the electors in the constituencies.

II

The Liberals, not content to remain the irresponsible minority that exercises control over the responsible minority that constitutes the Government of the country, wish, not unnaturally, to enjoy in their turn the sweets and emoluments of office. In order to do so they are anxious completely to remodel the electoral system of the kingdom. They point out that under any sort of scheme of proportional representation they would now have 140 members in the House instead of 59. It is not easy to see how this would benefit either themselves or the country. They would be no nearer office than at present; the Socialist Government would be even weaker than it is to-day; the Liberal third party would be no more responsible than it is now, and would be even more potent for mischief. The Liberals probably hope, however, that, if they can secure the adoption of some sort of proportional representation, or alternative vote, or second ballot, at some distant day they may get back to office. For they insist with iterated emphasis that they are not going to vanish from the parliamentary scene. On the contrary, they say that the day of the two-party system has gone for ever, and that three parties

henceforth will remain perpetually on the electoral field. This is the question that I propose to consider.

III

There are some political idealists who object altogether to any kind of party system, whether the parties be two, or three, or many. They say that party breaks the unity of the nation; that it lowers to sectional ends loyalties that would otherwise be devoted to the interests of the whole community; that it introduces conflict where co-operation would be more appropriate; that it causes a needless discontinuity of policy; that it generates envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness; that it obstructs much useful legislation and furthers the passage of many pernicious measures; that it excludes a large number of able men from office and raises to eminence and power a multitude of incompetent windbags; that it destroys individuality and independence in politicians, and gives control to the caucus and the boss; that it subordinates patriotism to factional passion. Such are a few of the arguments against party advanced by Bolingbroke in the eighteenth century, Brougham in the nineteenth, and Belloc in the twentieth.

No careful student of the history of political party will contend that these arguments lack weight. If one were seeking and expecting to find a perfect form of government, entirely free from all objections, one would not set up the party system as a model. But in this mundane sphere, in respect of administration, man has no more than a choice of evils. All he can possibly decide is whether or not any alternative form of government has not still more serious disadvantages than the party system. The only alternatives to this system are—(1) autocracy, (2) oligarchy, and (3) that specialised form of the latter known as bureaucracy. Each of these has drawbacks so markedly more formidable than those attendant upon the party system that no one who inherits the British tradition of freedom and self-government could readily prefer any one of them. For—and this is the vital point—the party system is essential and inevitable in any and every effective form of democracy. No party system, no workable mode of democracy.

IV

That the party system is the indispensable concomitant of democracy is recognised by nearly all the great students of representative institutions. 'Party,' says Walter Bagehot, 'is of the essence of parliament—bone of its bone and breath of its breath.' Sir Sidney Low concurs. 'The division into parties,' he says, 'is

in fact essential to the operation of our constitutional machinery.' The eminent American publicist, Professor A. L. Lowell, remarks to the same effect: 'Democracy in a great country, where the number of voters is necessarily large, involves the permanent existence of political parties.' Even the Prussian absolutist, Heinrich von Treitschke, expresses the same deliberate judgment. 'An unprejudiced study of history,' he admits, 'shows that party is a political necessity for a free people.' Quotations of a similar kind could be produced almost without limit.

If we ask why almost all publicists and political philosophers agree that party, in spite of its admitted defects, is inseparable from parliamentary government, we find that they reply to the following effect. In a democracy the isolated individual is impotent. In order to give effect to his views and desires he must associate himself with those who think as he does, and with those whose interests are the same as his own. 'How can Demos speak without organisation; and how can Demos be organised without party?' asks Professor W. J. Brown. The case is put with conclusive force by Mr. Stephen Leacock in his excellent book on political science:

The rule of the people [he says] can only mean the rule of a majority. Now the only way in which any particular set of people can remain together as a majority, and thus render possible a stable and consistent administration of public affairs, is that the members of the ruling group shall 'agree to agree' with one another. A modern democratic State without this somewhat artificial and yet essential unanimity would become a brawling chaos of individual opinions.

The successful working of party necessitates regimentation, discipline of a military character, much suppression of individuality. Thereby, no doubt, it involves some loss of enterprise and initiative—some quenching of genius; some extinction of novel ideas. But, as compensation, it simplifies and clarifies political issues; it brings questions forward in such a form as admits of their being answered; it educates the democracy by the only means in which it is capable of receiving instruction; it makes political opinion effective in action. Rightly says Mr. Ramsay Muir: 'Our whole representative system turns upon the unending warfare of organised political parties.'

V

When it is admitted that party organisation is necessary for the effective working of democratic government the question arises, How many parties should there be in order that the parliamentary machine should operate most satisfactorily? To this question there are really no more than a couple of answers.

On the one side there are those who contend that representative government is efficient only when the number of parties is two, and not more than two. On the other side there are those who advocate government by temporarily associated groups. The so-called 'three-party system' is not in a separate category; it is merely the smallest possible specimen of the group system. It is, moreover, an exceedingly unstable specimen of the group system. It marks merely the beginning, not the end, of the disintegration of the two-party system. The present Liberal group, small as it is, shows unmistakable signs of fissure. As Mr. Lloyd George lamented at a Liberal lunch on June 13 last, whenever in the preceding session the division bell rang 'four Liberals voted Conservative; twelve voted Socialist, and twenty-four ran away.' Deep lines of separation, indeed, tend to sever the Liberal group into sections. The other two parties, moreover, are by no means homogeneous. If the disintegrating group principle were once admitted, the Conservative Party might well split into Protectionists and Free Traders. As for the Socialists, they are already divided into many shades of pink and red. There is, in truth, no telling where the process of schism might end; for in the last resort *quot homines, tot sententiæ*. When once the discipline of party is broken down, each individual tends to go off and plough a lonely furrow.

Now the multiple-party or group system has its defenders. Treitschke, for example, faced in Germany by more than a dozen kaleidoscopic cliques, says that the two-party system would not suit the German genius: the Germans have too sublime a love of truth to be dichotomised; they have too deep a devotion to merit to limit office to two sets of demagogues! Most of the publicists, however, both of Germany and of France, where the group system prevails, lament its existence, and recognise the evils that it brings in its train. It means unstable government, irresponsible oppositions, unscrupulous log-rolling, unprincipled compromises and accommodations, cancerous corruptions. In Italy and in Spain it has brought democratic government to a ruinous end; even in France and in Germany it has involved it in deep discredit.

England, the home of parliamentary administration, has until the present day remained steadily faithful to the two-party tradition; and her fidelity to this tradition accounts for the fact that in England parliamentary administration has been more successful than in any other country. It is true that third and even fourth parties have from time to time appeared upon the political battlefield and displayed their little banners; but invariably, after a brief interval, from one cause or another, they have vanished, usually by absorption into one or other of the two great armies. The prevalence of the two-party system in

England is, in truth, no accident; nor is its persistence a matter of mere fortunate chance. The two-party system in England originated in war, and it has continued as a form of sport. To say this is not in any way to disparage it. Party conflicts are war without bloodshed; countings of heads instead of breakings of them; hurlings of arguments in place of bombs; sheddings of ink in lieu of gore. They are, moreover, forms of sport free from frivolity; games of skill and chance only in that they are pursued according to rule, and ordered by codes of honour. The two old English parties, Whig and Tory, sprang from the militant Roundheads and Cavaliers who waged the civil war of the seventeenth century. In that war, as in all other serious struggles, there was no place for permanent third parties. All who were not either Roundheads or Cavaliers had either to stand aloof altogether or else to suppress their idiosyncrasies and join one side or the other. Men like Falkland might hesitate for long, but ultimately they had to make up their minds whether to remain out of the struggle altogether or to adhere to one or other of the two armies. Permanent third parties in war are inconceivable. They are equally inconceivable in sport. What would football or cricket be like with three teams on the field, all playing at once? What would be the condition of a game of tennis in which, besides the parties in the courts, there was a third party at the ends of the net, rushing in to intercept the ball? Much the same sort of confusion results in Parliament when third parties spring up to disturb the interchanges of Government and Opposition.

VI

It would be interesting and instructive at this point, did space permit, to summarise Mr. G. W. Cooke's *History of Party*, with additions to bring it up to date, tracing the process by which in turn such third parties as the Jacobites, the 'Boys,' the 'Bloomsbury Gang,' the Chathamites, the Shelburnites, the Canningites, the Peelites, the Adullamites, the Irish Home Rulers, the Liberal Unionists, emerged, disarrayed for a time the set-pieces proceeding on the political stage, and then were removed by the management. To do so, however, in adequate detail would demand a dozen articles. One third party, however, played so important a rôle in its day, and provided so close a parallel to the present condition of things, that it cannot be passed over. That was the Radical Party which took shape during the conflict over Wilkes and the Middlesex election in 1769. Like the Labour Party in 1893, it rose outside Parliament, and outside the old political organisations. Like the Labour Party, it gradually made its way into the House of Commons, winning recruits and securing

leaders (e.g., C. J. Fox) from among the more advanced section of the Whig Party. Like the Labour Party, it drove many of the more moderate Whigs (e.g., the Duke of Portland) into Conservatism. Ultimately it extinguished the old Whig Party, absorbing all such of its members as had not become Conservatives in a new composite 'Liberal Party.' Until the two-party system was fully restored—and this did not take place until about 1865—British politics were hopelessly confused and chaotic.

The two-party system, indeed, is vital to the smooth and efficient working of the parliamentary machine. This elementary truth is stated in unequivocal language by a long succession of constitutional authorities whose words I should have liked to quote had space allowed. Among them are Lord Bryce, Professor Henry Sidgwick, Sir Sidney Low, and Dr. A. L. Lowell. So recently as June last, in the *English Review*, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher observed that 'in our own country effective parliamentary government depends on the two-party system.' One writer, however, has distinguished himself above all others by the eloquence and emphasis with which he has stressed the necessity of the limitation of parties to two. That writer is Mr. Ramsay Muir, both of whose masterly works, *Peers and Bureaucrats* (1910) and *National Self-Government* (1918), should be consulted by those interested in this theme. In the earlier work he denounces the group system; condemns the electoral device of proportional representation precisely because it is destructive of the two-party system, which, he says, is 'quite fundamental to our system of cabinet rule.' He further observes that 'it is when the great parties break up into shifting groups, not pledged to steady support of the Government, or to persistent opposition, and therefore capable of being tempted by the promise of gain, that corrupt bargaining will begin to appear.' It is in the later work, however, written when the Labour Party was the third party, that Mr. Muir deals most fully with the menace of the three-party system. Would that his weighty words could be pondered by the present Liberal Party! The two-party system, he says, is 'the only system whereby parliamentary control of the Executive can be made effective' (p. 29). He warns us that 'a coalition of shifting groups involves log-rolling and corruption' (p. 29). He drives home by striking examples the significant fact that 'whenever smaller groups were formed by scission from the two great parties, they always tended to be merged again in a very short time' (p. 158). He observes that 'the two-party system is a real safeguard against a decline in the standard of public rectitude' (p. 160), and ends his impressive—indeed, conclusive—argument by enumerating (pp. 160–5) six merits of the two-party system which counterbalance all the defects that may be incidental to it.

Briefly summarised they are as follows :—(1) It ensures stability and coherence in the government ; (2) it secures the maintenance of an incessant and watchful criticism of all legislative proposals ; (3) it acts as a safeguard against political corruption ; (4) it serves to simplify and clarify the issues of national politics ; (5) it identifies policies with prominent leaders—*e.g.*, Home Rule with Gladstone ; (6) it inspires politics with the fine and honourable spirit of sport, and gives it the interest of an exciting game. The two-party system, he concludes, is ' one of the vital elements of the British Constitution ' (p. 165).

VII

To the powerful arguments for the two-party system advanced by Mr. Ramsay Muir many others might be added. On the theoretical side it might be urged that when any problem is analysed into its constituent elements, when issues are disentangled, and when the ultimate questions are put one by one, two answers alone are conceivable in each case—either an unqualified Yes or an unqualified No. And this argument might be reinforced by the consideration that there are only two lobbies in the House of Commons, so that, however loudly third parties may assert themselves on the hustings, in Parliament they are bound to be either disintegrated or absorbed. On the practical side it might be demonstrated that the two-party system is the indispensable prerequisite of a strong democratic Administration ; that under it alone is a responsible Opposition possible ; and that it is the only mode in which the rule of the majority can be effectively attained.

The three-party system, and *a fortiori* the multiple-group system, means minority government ; it means a weak Executive ; it means an irresponsible, divided, and ineffective Opposition ; it means unstable and short-lived Ministries ; it means perpetual temptation to log-rolling and corruption.

So deadly a menace to the British system of government and to the spirit of the English Constitution is the three-party system that it is safe to say that the electorate will not reduce itself to futility by allowing it to continue. The electorate, moreover, if it is wisely led, will refuse to permit itself to be cajoled into experimenting with proportional representation, or alternative votes, or second ballots, or any other of the devices by means of which minorities try to secure the advantages of majorities. For all these complicated and delusive devices merely increase the probability that the two great parties will be supplanted by numbers of ideological groups.

The return to the two-party system is the prime condition

of the restoration of sanity and stability to British politics. Personally the present writer much wishes that the return could be to the old Liberal and Conservative Parties. But that return is obviously impossible. Labour, whether Socialist as at present or non-Socialist, has clearly come to stay. It is the Liberal Party that has got to disappear. Happily, the disappearance of the microscopic and dwindling Liberal Party does not mean the disappearance of the great principles for which it used to stand—the principles of individual liberty, civil equality, economic freedom, religious emancipation. The function of the expiring Liberal Party is to liberalise both its opponents : it has already begun to do so. In particular, its immediate task is to wean the Conservatives from their fatal proclivity towards Protection, and to deliver Labour from its Socialistic obsession. The final disappearance of the Liberal Party will probably signalise the final triumph of the principles of Liberalism. The party will perish because its work is accomplished ; it will die in a phoenix-like transformation.

When the end will come it is impossible to predict. The analogous transformation of Whiggism, under the pressure of Radicalism, was a very long-drawn process. But events move more rapidly to-day than they did in the Victorian age, and probably the extinction of the Liberal Party, as such, will take place at the next General Election. All that is necessary to effect that extinction is the emergence of some tremendous issue which will force the electorate to cease to play the game of triangular duels, and compel it to give a plain Yes or No to some great question presented to it by Destiny. Whether that question will relate to finance, or to India, or to Russia, or to an impending war cannot be predicted. But it is impossible to doubt that a day of judgment is at hand which will sharply divide the people of this country into two sections which, whatever be their names, will correspond to the two parties that from the seventeenth century have controlled the business of the British Empire.

F. J. C. HEARNshaw.

COAL PRODUCTION

It is not unlikely that the present year will witness a profound change in the organisation of the coal-mining industry, not only of Great Britain but also of Europe. There are three countries in Europe which normally produce more coal than they consume. Of these Great Britain and Poland supply their own requirements and export the balance. The third, Germany, regularly imports coal but exports more than it imports. The remaining countries either (as in the case of Denmark) import all that they consume or (as in the case of Holland) produce less than they consume and import the remainder from the three exporting countries.

The German industry is controlled by syndicates, of which the Rhenish-Westphalian Syndicate is far the most important and controls approximately three-quarters of the total output. In some parts of the German market the syndicates enjoy a monopoly, but in other parts, such as the region around Hamburg, they are faced with the competition of other syndicates or of other countries. It is well known that the Rhenish-Westphalian Syndicate adjusts the price in contested areas to the requirements of the market, and that the competitive price in such areas is usually below the monopoly price in the non-contested areas of Germany. The Polish industry is controlled by a convention, which is a looser type of organisation than the Ruhr syndicate, but appears to retain an effective control of prices. The Polish industry enjoys a monopoly within the national boundaries and, like the Ruhr industry, charges lower prices in foreign markets.

Between the years 1919 and 1926 the coal industry of Great Britain was working under such abnormal conditions that it was impossible to discover real trends and to estimate the more or less permanent position of the industry. In 1920 and 1921 the industry suffered from stoppages; in 1922 output and exports were stimulated by a stoppage in the United States of America; in 1923 and 1924 the industry experienced a boom in consequence of the occupation of the Ruhr by French troops and the disorganisation of the German industry; in 1925 it suffered on account of the over-valuation of the English pound and the return to the gold standard; in 1926 the longest and most serious

stoppage in the history of the industry took place. During this period (1919-1926) the condition of the industry was examined by two Royal Commissions and one Government Committee. When the Sankey Commission of 1919 conducted its investigation Europe was still short of coal, while the currency of this country was seriously inflated. The task of the Commission was to provide a method of control which would secure peace in an industry which appeared likely to enjoy a period of great prosperity. When it was decided to release the industry from Government control and to introduce a wages agreement under which wages would fluctuate with the proceeds of the industry the wages controversy was focussed, not upon the minimum wage, which was regarded as merely of academic interest, but upon the ratio in which the net proceeds were divided between labour and capital. But the boom in trade was followed by a severe depression, and when, in 1921, the Wages Agreement came into operation it was found that the national minimum was of more importance than the precise ratio in which the proceeds were divided. The agreement was revised during the boom caused by the disorganisation of the German industry, and the wages controversy was now centred upon the national minimum wage. In 1925 the Macmillan Committee was called upon to investigate the wages problem. But the Government finally decided to grant a subsidy which would enable the industry to escape the immediate consequences of the return to the gold standard. Then followed the Samuel Commission, which carried out an extensive investigation into the economic position of the industry and made certain recommendations relating both to wages and to organisation.

It has already been stated that during the whole of this period the industry suffered from influences which prevented a close estimate of the probable future of the industry. During the same period, too, there was a serious conflict of principle between the mine owners, who contended that wages should be determined by district conditions, and the workers, who fought to maintain the principle of a national minimum. The conflict resulted in the stoppage of 1926, after which the national minimum was abandoned and district wages agreements were established.

Since the end of 1926 the industry has been working under what may be regarded as ordinary commercial conditions, and it is possible, as the result of three years' experience, to estimate the permanent influences upon the industry and the changes that have taken place in the volume and direction of trade since the outbreak of the World War. The situation may be summed up very briefly. The total production of Europe between 1913 and 1928 fell from 605,300,000 tons to 593,800,000 tons, but the production of Great Britain fell from 292,000,000 tons to

241,300,000 tons per annum. The fall in British output was due partly to a fall in home consumption, but mainly to a fall in the export trade. Between the years 1923 and 1927 production on the continent of Europe showed a marked upward trend, but in Great Britain it fluctuated without showing any real improvement. Last year there was a considerable increase both in British output and in British exports, and we are now asked to believe that this increase in the volume of trade represents the beginning of an upward trend. This view seems to me too optimistic. The year 1928 was an exceptionally bad year, and the subsequent improvement was due in part to a real increase in the demand for industrial coal. But the exceptionally severe winter of last year found Europe bare of stocks, with the result that the frost and snow caused considerable suffering. This lesson was taken to heart, and over a large part of Europe considerable stocks of coal were collected in anticipation of the present winter. The increase in the volume of trade in 1929 was undoubtedly partly due to this fact. Europe now appears to be well stocked with coal, and the cautious observer will assume that last year's demand will not be repeated during the present year. If, as is likely, the increase in demand is checked, market prices will tend to fall, and speculators will prefer to draw upon existing stocks and wait until the slump has reached its limit. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that the present position of the coal-mining industry of this country has not undergone any substantial change.

When we examine the foreign markets for British coal we find that the fall in exports since 1913 has been widely distributed. Our trade with a few countries, such as Belgium and Holland, has slightly increased, but in the great majority of the markets it has fallen appreciably.

The greatest fall has occurred in our trade with the Baltic States, partly on account of the collapse of the Russian market, but also partly on account of the remarkable growth of Polish competition in Denmark and Sweden. Poland is undoubtedly the centre of the European picture. When the new State was created Germany feared a shortage of coal and stipulated that supplies should be sent from Poland. It was found, however, that Germany, so far from suffering from a shortage of coal, was sharing the depression in trade due to over-production. Since 1925 Polish coal has been excluded from that country, with the result that the Polish industry was compelled to secure markets elsewhere. Coal was sent along the "corridor" to Danzig and exported to Scandinavia, where it was sold at a price beyond the reach of the British industry. The export of Polish coal to Scandinavia cannot be regarded as a temporary factor in the

European situation. A second railway is being constructed along the corridor to the port of Gdynia, and it is reasonable to assume that in the absence of an international agreement the exports of Polish coal will tend to increase rather than to diminish. Under the terms of the commercial treaty which is now being negotiated between Germany and Poland the latter will be permitted to send approximately 4,000,000 tons of coal per annum into Germany, but it is likely that the additional supplies will be found from an increase in output rather than a partial withdrawal from the Scandinavian market. In the Reparations agreement Germany is required to send large supplies of coal to Italy and France. She has been able to fulfil the agreement partly by increasing output and partly by developing the lignite industry. Between 1913 and 1928 the annual consumption per head of coal in Germany fell from 2.34 tons to 1.94 tons, while that of lignite increased from 1.38 tons to 2.61 tons. The growth of the lignite industry has intensified the difficulty of the European coal problem. Holland increased her output of coal in the same period from 1,900,000 tons to 10,700,000 tons. Wherever we turn on the Continent we find that there has been an increase not only in capacity but also in actual production, and that our position in nearly all the markets of Europe and of South America has grown weaker. Europe as a whole is suffering from the existence of an overgrown industry. In Great Britain the producing capacity has increased since 1913 from approximately 290,000,000 tons to approximately 330,000,000 tons per annum, while the demand for British coal has fallen from 290,000,000 tons to approximately 250,000,000 tons. Such is the problem to be solved.

There are four main coal-producing areas in Great Britain—namely, Scotland, north-east coast (Northumberland and Durham), South Wales, and the Midland area. In all four districts attempts have been made to arrest the decline in the export trade. Wages were reduced and the hours of work increased. But the extent to which labour costs have been reduced in this way varies between different districts, and is most pronounced in Northumberland and Durham and in Scotland. The reduction in labour costs made possible a reduction in price and thereby increased the competitive power of the industry as a whole, but the growing disparities in the conditions prevailing in the different districts also resulted in a considerable change in the direction of domestic trade. Thus, for example, the industry on the north-east coast was able to capture a considerable amount of trade in the south of England which was previously in the hands of the Midlands and South Wales, and the difficulties of such districts were therefore correspondingly increased. This change in the

direction of domestic trade is a factor of the first importance at the present time. In the Midland area, where the miners work a shorter day and wages are relatively high, an association was formed in 1928 for the control of output and the stimulation of the export trade by means of a subsidy. The Central Collieries Commercial Association controlled approximately two-fifths of the total output of Great Britain, and its formation thus constituted an experiment of the first importance. By means of the subsidy it was able to recapture a considerable part of the export trade that it had lost, and by controlling output it was able to arrest the fall in prices. But it suffered from two serious weaknesses. In the first place, it was a voluntary organisation, and suffered from the fact that about 10 per cent. of the output of the area was produced by non-associated firms which, by working independently, were able to cut prices and secure a full complement of contracts. In the second place, it suffered from the competition of other districts, not only in the southern markets, to which reference has already been made, but on the competitive fringes of the producing areas. It was clear to the leaders of the association that complete success could not be achieved until similar organisations had been established in other districts, all the non-associated members had been persuaded to join, and co-operation had been established between the district organisations.

The view of the leaders of the Central Collieries Commercial Association has now been endorsed by the Government. The Coal Mines Bill provides for the establishment of district organisations and a national committee for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of the districts and adjusting any inter-district differences that may exist. Before the issues raised by these proposals are considered it is desirable to draw attention to one further development in the region of voluntary organisation. I have already referred to the fact that the scheme of the Midland Association provides for the payment of a subsidy upon exports. A subsidy is a weapon of economic warfare, and economic warfare is the alternative to co-operation. The leaders of the association realised that the process of adjusting the producing capacity of Europe to the requirements of the near future would be extended over a long period, and that in the meantime all parties would be seriously weakened and the capital of the industry wastefully employed. It was felt that international co-operation would produce the desired result more effectively and quickly and with less injury to the industry. For that reason informal discussions took place between individual leaders in the Midland area, Poland and Germany. These discussions led to official conferences in the summer of last year, and in the second week of last month the conference with Polish coal owners was resumed and a

document was signed containing 'heads of agreement.' The joint memorandum issued in the summer and the document, containing heads of agreement, issued last month may be regarded as the beginning of international co-operation for the purpose of regulating prices and conditions of sale. It is not too much to expect that in due course a body representing the British industry as a whole will enter into definite arrangements with the Polish and German industries which will enable all three to escape the consequences of wasteful and ruinous competition in an industry which has outgrown the needs of the world.

It has been said that the Coal Mines Bill provides machinery whereby both output and prices will be controlled. It is further proposed that the marketing organisations shall be empowered to subsidise the export of British coal if and when such a subsidy is deemed advisable, and the fund for the provision of such subsidy will be secured through a levy on output. If international agreements are established and made effective, the provision for a contingent subsidy becomes merely of academic interest. On the other hand, if international competition is to continue, the subsidy may play an important part in the future of the export trade of this country. But it should be observed that the section of the Bill relating to the subsidy merely secures that the organisations which are to be set up by Act of Parliament shall have the powers which they would in any case have enjoyed if they had been established upon a purely voluntary basis. If no such provision is made in the Act it will still be competent for the national association or the district associations to provide for a voluntary levy and the payment of a subsidy from the fund thereby established. The main difference between the two alternatives is that in the first case the levy would be enforceable upon all coal owners, while in the other case it would only be paid by those who entered into a voluntary agreement.

The real controversy revolves around the proposal to control output and prices. The control of output necessitates the establishment of a basic tonnage for all establishments and a quota which will vary from time to time according to the state of trade. The operation of the quota system presents serious practical difficulties which it would be folly to ignore or underestimate. These difficulties, however, have not formed part of the subject of the controversy, and I do not propose to consider them in this article. They belong to the sphere of internal administration rather than to that of general policy. Critics of the Bill assert that the quota system is wrong in principle. By distributing production over all the units in the industry it tends (we are told) to dissipate energy when the great need is to concentrate effort upon the most efficient units. It creates a strong vested interest by giving the

uneconomic mines a statutory right to produce the amount represented by the quota. For these reasons it raises the cost of production and perpetuates the existence of uneconomic mines, or alternatively, if the latter are to be eliminated, loads the remaining units with a burden of dead capital employed in the purchase and closing of the uneconomic mines. Some alternative scheme must be found, and the alternative proposed by some critics is an increase in efficiency by means of compulsory amalgamation.

Before considering the objections that have been urged against the principle of output regulation through the establishment of the quota system a brief comment may be submitted upon the possible alternatives. Those who believe in allowing the force of unregulated competition to produce its inevitable result have had their way for eight years. Experience abundantly shows that the owners of inefficient coal mines may struggle for years before accepting the inevitable, and that in the meantime their struggle causes serious and undeserved injury to the more efficient competitors. The mills of competition grind very slowly. If the industry is to be left to the mercy of unregulated competition the present state of affairs may continue for another eight years. The industry of one country will only enjoy accidental and fictitious prosperity if and when trouble arises in the industry of another country. The hopes of some coal owners in this country have recently been raised even by the fact that they have benefited by the strike in the Australian industry.

The second alternative is to increase the efficiency of industry through amalgamation. Amalgamations may be on a purely voluntary basis or enforced by Act of Parliament. Compulsory amalgamation may mean either enabling a majority desiring amalgamation in any district to coerce the minority, or the selection by an outside authority of a group of mines which appear suitable for the purpose, and the enforcement of amalgamation irrespective of the desires of the owners. A discussion of the relative merits of these three classes of amalgamations is beyond the scope of this article, and it may be assumed that the type most likely to increase efficiency is selected. It should be observed, however, that, in the first place, the process of amalgamation will inevitably be slow and that a considerable period of experiment and reorganisation elapses before any amalgamation produces much effect upon efficiency. For this reason, even on the most optimistic view of the value of large units, at least three years would elapse before an amalgamation movement could be expected to produce any social benefit. In the second place, in so far as the amalgamation movement was successful in increasing efficiency, it would intensify rather than solve the immediate problem created by the existence of an industry far larger than is required. In 99

far as the efficiency of other countries was not increased it would improve the competitive position of Great Britain, but, in view of the existence on the Continent of syndicates able to pursue a policy of price discrimination, even the improvement in the relative position of the British industry might not express itself in any improvement in the export trade. The alternatives that have been suggested fail to distinguish between the urgent need of Europe as a whole and the ultimately important need, in the interests of social progress, for increasing the efficiency not only of the coal-mining industry but of every industry and of every form of economic effort.

The statements of those who argue that the quota system would establish vested interests through the creation of statutory rights are somewhat vague. At the present time every coal owner has a legal right to produce as much as he likes, and the effect of the Bill will be, not to create a right which does not now exist, but to restrict a right which is now unrestricted. The new right which will be created by the Bill is that of preventing competitors from producing that percentage of the total output which is represented by the quota of the individual coal owner; in other words, the latter is given a right to produce a given percentage of the total output, or alternatively to transfer that right (if he does not wish to exercise it) in return for a money payment. But the Bill does not provide a guaranteed market for the quota, and in that respect the proposed system differs from the system employed by the German syndicates, which not merely grant quotas to individual coal owners but actually purchase the amount of coal represented by the quota. It is therefore clear that the question whether the quota system will create a value in excess of the present surrender value of an uneconomic mine will be determined by the price policy pursued by the organisations which the Bill proposes to establish. If the associations exercise their power wisely there is no reason to suppose that artificial values will be created far in excess of the existing 'nuisance values' of uneconomic mines. Moreover, in so far as such values are paid, production will actually be concentrated upon the more efficient units, with the result that the actual cost of production will be so much below the present cost as to make it possible to find the capital necessary for the purchase of uneconomic mines while actually reducing the burden upon the industry as a whole. Further, if the quotas to be established are based upon the right principle, there will be no tendency for the quota system as such to distribute widely that volume of production which is now concentrated. One of the difficulties of the present time lies in the fact that production is not concentrated, and that the so-called uneconomic mines are actually receiving a

larger share than can be justified by their relative cost of production. The history of the quota system in Germany suggests that it expedites rather than retards the process of concentration. I do not suggest that this is an inevitable and universal result; what I do suggest is that it is a result that can be achieved by the exercise of wisdom on the part of those who control policy, and that the tendency to perpetuate existing organisations, irrespective of their efficiency, is largely influenced by the price charged by the controlling authority.

The considerations that have been set forth in this article seem to me to point to the conclusion that the marketing machinery provided in the Bill is necessary as a first step in the reorganisation of the coal-mining industry. International competition has resulted in a fall of export prices to an uneconomic level without an appreciable increase in the volume of trade. The most urgent need of Europe is international co-operation for the purpose of restoring such prices to a reasonable level. International co-operation cannot be secured unless and until a national unit is established in this country. A national unit must be based upon district organisations, and district organisations with a 100 per cent. membership can only be brought into existence through coercion. The national and district organisations will be able not only to enforce international arrangements, but also to regulate the volume of production. They will not necessarily increase the efficiency of the industry, but if they are wisely led they will pursue a policy which will secure that result. It will thus be seen that the Bill proposes to place a heavy burden of responsibility upon these organisations, and whether real progress will be made will depend upon their policy. The interests of the more efficient firms are largely identical with those of the community, and one may reasonably expect that the policy of the new authorities will be wisely determined. Not only are the criticisms of the Bill less weighty than they appear to be at first glance, but the alternatives to the marketing proposals contained in the Bill offer so little hope of early improvement that by contrast they make the case for organised marketing even stronger than is commonly supposed.

J. H. JONES.

AN EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

V. THE PROFESSION OF A TEACHER

What we call education is a failure . . . rich female children, formerly imprisoned in the family dungeon under a wardress called a governess, are now sent out like their brothers. The result is a slightly greater facility in reading and writing, in the habits and speech of the rich idle classes, and a moral and intellectual imbecility which leaves them politically at the mercy of every bumptious adventurer and fluent charlatan, who has picked up their ways and escaped their education, and morally on the level of medieval robber barons and early capitalist buccaneers.—BERNARD SHAW.

The reputation for mediocre intelligence which he enjoys,—enjoys is the word, for the Englishman does appreciate his position as a slow thinking man . . .—SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA.

Anti-intellectualism is our chief national failing. There seems to be a notion that cleverness and knavery are near akin. The apparent stupidity of the Englishman is a useful camouflage, but it is not a thing to be proud of, and it has very nearly ruined us again and again.—DEAN INGE.

No profession in the world is more criticised at the moment than that of a teacher. They are blamed for the result of their work; for the revolt of youth, its irreverence, its insubordination, its distaste for home. They are blamed for the demands of the schools, for the ever-growing taxation, for the discontent of parents and employers. They are indeed between Scylla and Charybdis. Mr. H. Hodge last month in this Review warns them that 'no people talk so much or so often about their own business as the professional teacher,' but that the repulsive character of their professional vocabulary seems to eliminate everything that has life or soul. When the most distinguished members of their own body join in, they must indeed bow the head.

Schoolmasters have been in the past the butt of literature and the subject of derision in every form which it can take, from good humour to anger and bitterness, because as a profession they have deserved it, and for so long a period from Tudor to Modern days fell short of any ideal which men can honour and respect.¹

But one criticism is surely open to question: 'There is not encouragement to take up education. Nobody will take much

¹ *The English Tradition of Education.*

interest in your work or your hobby if you do.' I should like to maintain that there is one class in England which does take an intense interest, and that is the British parent. It is true that the four able articles in *The Nineteenth Century* for January deal almost exclusively with the education of one sex, and whether it is that even the father has more 'views' about his daughter's mental state than his son's I know not; but thirty years' connexion with a public school for girls convinces me that interest, friendly sympathy, even unbounded trust, the British parent will bestow on any teacher, who he thinks is honestly trying to solve the baffling problem of his daughter's upbringing. It is more than probable that he might endorse her epitaph as 'misguided but well-meaning,' that he may unwittingly undo in the long holidays much that she has done in the term, but his *wish* to co-operate and understand is most genuine. I for one would welcome the formation of that small committee of laymen who shall wrestle with the three great questions: What are we aiming at? Where are we? Whither are we tending? May I make two further suggestions: (i.) Should not a member of this committee be a parent, or at least a guardian? (ii.) When they have had their discussions, can we not have a round table conference, and a small representative body of educationists be deputed to hear the solutions they have arrived at? One of the great dangers of the present day is the split between school and home. Whilst the teachers are 'a class apart' and yet are the only ones who really know the race of the future, how can the danger of disintegration be averted?

Two serious charges are made against English education. The first is that it fails conspicuously in dealing with what Dean Inge calls our chief national weakness—anti-intellectualism. In a modern novel there is a sympathetic description of an English officer at the front: 'There was not a sport at which he did not excel—of *Art, Religion, Science, Business, Politics*, Colonel X knew nothing and cared less.' (The italics are mine.)

In Professor Salvador de Madariaga's recent suggestive book on comparative Psychology a comparison is worked out between the English, French, and Spanish types. He takes three key words to denote the special reaction to life found in the three nations, but characteristically they seem untranslatable in the three languages. They are—

Fair play in the Englishman.

Le Droit in the Frenchman.

El Honor in the Spaniard.

A sympathetic and even admiring analysis follows of the Englishman as the successful man of action, but there are other striking

remarks. 'The empirical spirit of the race manifests itself in the unpopularity of the intellectual boy, the "brainy" fellow, as well as in the tendency to shun intellectual work and cultivate sports.'

Let us imagine that the English convert the whole world to their philosophy, and that, moreover, they persuade the world to adjust itself to their ways. What would be the result? The earth would become an immense tennis-golf-cricket-swimming club, with elegant and simple clothes, mediocre food, excellent roads, magnificent sanitation, and impeccable police. Sundays a little dull perhaps, but first-rate week-ends, and not too strenuous weeks in between. Good humour, a sprinkling of wit, and even at times cleverness, though in moderation, and worn, so to say, with tactful decency. Greek known, but half-forgotten; Latin on the visible horizon; an extensive reading of bad novels, some conversation about those recognised as good. In all, a pleasurable world for the well-to-do, and therefore for the others, whose main pleasure would be to look at them. Plenty of physical movement, but moral adventures reserved for the few. Men would learn the experience of things rather than that of their own selves.

As regards girls' education criticism takes a somewhat different line. In the days of Jane Austen things were simpler. 'To teach is to retire from all the pleasure of life, of rational intercourse, equal society, peace and hope, to penance and mortification for ever.' Charlotte Brontë could write: 'My sister had to taste the cup of life as it is mixed for the class termed governess.' When Miss Augusta Plating, daughter of Sir Miles Plating of Chelsea, was a patroness of education we understand her point of view: 'I am re-modelling one of Queen Anne's charity schools. I am in great need of a pious, modest, industrious young female to teach small children and mend their clothes.' But now the whole outlook has altered. 'The vast majority of girls' schools . . . are still floating in the backwash of Victorian rationalism and utilitarianism . . . ' 'Our modern girls' schools appear to be founded upon masculine ideals.' A vehement controversy is in progress about the school-leaving examination. Some deplore the number of failures on the ground that it is too academic for many girls and boys. The Headmasters' Conference suggested solving the problem by a separate test for boys and girls; but the real causes seem much deeper than a question of examination. A modern novel which was described by a masculine critic as 'one of the most penetrating studies of English girlhood in our literature' speaks thus of the heroine:

She had absorbed and passed examinations in all the branches of information suited to her age and condition, and made no use of them whatever.

In no other country on earth could you find a girl so competent with her hands, so deliberately circumscribed in her mind . . . her real enthusiasm was for boys' games . . . she did not deny her sex, she wanted to ignore it.

But all this is remarkably like the criticism we have noticed of her brother, the public schoolboy.

We are forced to the uncomfortable conviction that numbers of boys and girls leave our schools never having learned to think: that they often show practical ability, a certain way of getting things done, but that there is in them no real respect for knowledge, no power of logical reasoning, and no thoughtful interest in the history of their country; that, incidentally, they are totally unable to speak any language but their own is not satisfactorily explained by our unmusical ear and dislike of foreigners. It has been pointed out that whereas an Athenian audience (many possibly unable to read or write) would yet sit spellbound before the masterpieces of Æschylus and listen to the speeches of Demosthenes, our youth crowds to music-hall and cinema, and seems the prey of the cleverest demagogue. I venture to think that the most important recent utterance on the whole subject is to be found in *The English Tradition of Education*. 'No one,' says Sir Michael Sadler, 'is better qualified than Dr. Norwood to speak of the present position of the public schools. . . . Not many headmasters have written in this way about their work from their own workshop.' This most important book must be read as a whole, and especially for its inspiring chapters on 'the things that may be.' It should be noted, however, that it contains a confession that there is some truth in the present-day criticism.

Athens, delivered from Persia, flowered forth in pioneer achievement in architecture and sculpture, history, drama, and philosophy: England, delivered from Spain, flowered in the genius of Shakespeare. But Great Britain, delivered from German hegemony, educated but industrialized, flowers forth neither in art, nor music, nor drama, nor thought, nor any form of literature. The crowded Cup Tie, the throngs gaping and betting on 'the dogs,' the packed cinema—in these a democracy, which has shown itself in action truly heroic, shows itself incapable of accomplishment in the things of the spirit, and proves that its education so-called must have been either wrong or imperfect, a thing of quantity only, and never of quality.

Later the same writer speaks of that respect for knowledge which the nation does not possess, and as yet has never possessed—'the average Englishman does not regard it as at all important that he should gain as much knowledge as he can for the purpose of efficient conduct of life.' The book, however, is very far from being despondent or merely destructive. Definite lines for a better future are laid down in 'the things that may be,' and there is one pregnant sentence which should be specially noted. The writer speaks of a promised land which may be entered—an age of control and security which may be reached; but he adds it

will depend upon knowledge and upon education whether the opportunity of that more favourable life will be used or misused. 'It will mean handing our life over to the guidance of those who know, not to those who are amateurs at improvisation, however brilliant, or to those who, with stoical perseverance under hard knocks, are content to muddle through.'

Theoretically, a professional training should be enforced for the would-be teacher in a public school; practically, the young graduate does get a post without it, and begins to 'muddle through.' It is not all exaggeration which pictures schools 'where the teacher who hates her work is shut in with a crowd of unwilling, hostile, restless children.' Certain unpleasant novels on school life have appeared recently. We may put them down in disgust as exaggeration and unlike any school of which we have any experience. Greater knowledge, it is feared, might modify that verdict. Certain points must be reluctantly conceded as true. Many teach in girls' schools who dislike their work and would gladly do something else. They drifted into it as a means of living and only realised too late their unsuitability. Others get disheartened through the sense of failure and nerve strain.

As things are in this country anyone may set up a school and begin to teach if he or she can find pupils. Some thirty girls of ages varying from eleven to fourteen were recently received in a public girls' school. They had been educated previously at considerable expense in private schools, preparatory schools, or by governesses. They had all been taught French for some years. Of the whole number only eight had learnt *avoir* and *être* correctly; about eleven could write well; only ten showed evidence of having been trained to think clearly. A test was given to a number of girls of about the same age at an elementary school. It revealed that as regards neatness, writing, and the spelling of ordinary words the latter were far superior. In ordinary elementary principles of arithmetic they were much more accurate. The homes of these children were in a small town, where there would be little or no intellectual stimulus.

However much we deplore the large classes, the limited outlook, and the other difficulties of the elementary schools, the children there have the enormous advantage of teachers who have been trained, who have learned the A B C of their profession; and the extraordinary waste of time would never be allowed which goes on in some places where the parents pay 200 guineas a year. The much criticised common entrance does exercise a certain amount of control over the preparatory schools for boys. If their pupils never get into the great public schools they may as well close. But this check is much less powerful over the

preparatory schools for girls under fourteen. Many a parent still hears with a shock of surprise that his daughter has failed to pass the entrance paper for the school he has selected—that, in plain language, she knows at fourteen less than his gardener's little daughter of twelve, that she has never learned to concentrate or think logically, and, worst of all, that no intelligent interest has been awakened in any subject, and that the time lost will never be made up. Even more serious cases occur occasionally, and it is suggested that a child is mentally deficient when she is only rather lazy and wholly uninterested, or when the discipline has been too bad for any work to have been possible. Yet parents still entrust their little girls to places where 'amateurs at improvisation' are in charge, where there may be no time-tables, no morning prayers, no Scripture teaching—in a word, where even the most brilliant of educationists are experimenting with costly material. All criticism then comes back to the one point—the question of the teacher. Mr. Hodge's last paragraph endorses this: 'The teacher undoubtedly is the greatest factor in education next to the taught'; and this should be understood in the widest sense. It includes the elementary teacher, the only person 'who has touch with and knows the real mass of the people'; it includes those in infant and nursery schools who do, it may be, the most honourable, most critical, most permanent work; and, last, it includes the ever-increasing rank and file of those who have entered the profession during the last eight or ten years—that is, since there has been the possibility of a living wage and a suitable pension. Do they not one and all require the very best preparation for their work which the wit of man can devise? They should be philosophers with depth of thought and many-sided interests; they should be artists with delicacy of touch and skill in execution; they should be idealists with breadth of vision and a sense of vocation.

May we, therefore, in conclusion consider some of the points which a good professional training should include. Obviously one of the first is to ensure an audible and pleasing voice, a command of good English, unspoilt by colloquialisms or accent. No teacher can expect to be a success without clear utterance and a knowledge of voice production. English does present certain special difficulties. Whilst calling us a 'purely empirical people,' Professor Madariaga notices that it even affects our dealing with such a subject as language. Whilst an *English* humorist observed that French was the language in which it was most difficult to speak the truth, the Spaniard considers it a debatable point whether there is such a thing as an English grammar, since whatever rules may be said to exist are 'so rusty and exception-eaten.' As regards pronunciation, he notices 'considerable

elasticity'! 'Should you say "aheether" or "eether"?' a Yorkshireman was asked, and he answered, 'You can say "oother".' Again we say, is this a fair criticism? In a certain university, in a department wherein the majority were probably destined for the profession of teaching, there were only a very small per cent. who could speak without a marked accent. Posts are sought, and often obtained, by those who know nothing of voice production, and whose use of slang is unpardonable. Can we wonder at the rapid degeneration of the language and the criticism which this provokes abroad.

Further examples may be found by observing the peculiar character of English vowels. 'Vowels' I have said, in order to humour for a while a general delusion on the subject. The English language is supposed to have many vowels. I believe they have even been counted and estimated at twenty-six. This is mere science. The fact is that there is only one English vowel or, if preferred, only one vowel-mass, a vowel-cloud, a vowel-sea, a vowel-nebula. It is universal and protean. It is now broad and dark, now sharp and pointed, now deep and musical, now dry and short, now stiff and opaque, but it is always vague and always ambiguous and shifting, so that it hardly ever ends as it begins, and it seems always to be turning up from somewhere, appearing for a time, then withdrawing somewhere else, dragging along with it bits of uncomfortable consonants. The English vowel-nebula is the true representative of the English empirical mind, always fluid and in process of becoming, only in actual use at the fleeting moment of the present which action fills, and even then, always ready to compromise.

Another essential of training is to produce teachers who have the power of arousing interest in the subjects they teach. This is the element of bitter truth in Mr. Bernard Shaw's words:

It is gravely injurious both to children and adults to be forced to study any subject for which they have no natural aptitude unless some ulterior object which they have at heart gives them a factitious keenness to master it. Mental disablement caused in this way is common in the modern examination-passing classes. Dickens's Mr. Toots is not a mere figure of fun: he is an authentic instance of a sort of imbecility that is dangerously prevalent in our public school and university products. Toots is no joke.

He goes on to hint at something nearer the mark when he speaks of 'the common case of a vindictive hope that Beethoven may be expiating a malevolent life in eternal torment is that of the normally musical girl,' who, to put it briefly, has been taught in a completely unscientific way. People do exist with a complete lack of sympathy with the developing mind and devoid of affection for the child himself—such should be firmly advised to avoid the profession; but they are few compared with the many who blunder through ignorance and inexperience, the typical English who think they can muddle through. Whatever be the cause, 'to be dull is the cardinal sin of instruction.'²

² Herbart.

But our supreme need is for an increasing body of teachers who look upon the profession as a vocation. In the year 1895 a great pioneer of education was carrying on a scheme of her own. With the foresight which characterised all her work she saw the country would ultimately recognise that the public school teacher needed professional training just as much as the elementary. She organised a many-sided training department which at one time certainly numbered 130 students. This included preparation for work amongst little children (the examinations of the Froebel Society were taken) as well as the teaching of girls of ordinary school age. Finally Miss Beale started a class for those who wished to take up elementary work.

The whole atmosphere was keenly alive with educational interests, and new theories and problems were discussed. Miss Beale herself did three things. She heard and criticised the students' lessons; she had a special Scripture class for teachers and students, and she took the trouble to correct herself the work written for it. She gave special lectures to all who were preparing for the profession of a teacher. The latter made an indelible impression on her hearers. Two thoughts come back after many years. We should see children, not as they are, but as they will be; we must look beyond the humdrum present to the vast possibilities and hope of the future.

Ours may be a mediatorial ministry—it is our supreme chance to lead youth to the vision of the True and the Beautiful. When the toil up the mountain was ended, and Dante, in his sublime dream, had reached the rolling spheres of light, he was conscious of a subtle change. He found the things of this world receding as he passed into the blue glory of the Empyrean, and he wondered why he rose so easily, why the pull of this lower earth had weakened. Then at last he knew, it was a new force, the lost Guide of his youth was there:

I looked on Beatrice, and she on Heaven.

This is one of the world's true myths. It is by the personal touch man rises. As our children see in us 'the light which never was on sea or land,' they too will rise into Freedom, and Truth, and Beauty.

B. C. MULLINER.

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND CHINA

SINCE last July China and Russia have been massing troops along the Manchurian frontier. Intermittent clashes and sporadic fighting, including the use of tank, artillery, air, land and naval forces, have been taking place, with the loss of thousands of lives. Several Chinese frontier towns have been razed to the ground, three Chinese and two Soviet gunboats have been sunk, and Hailar, an important Manchurian town 150 miles from the Siberian border, was attacked by the Red army on November 24. We may not call this war, but it certainly is not peace.

The universal question in the mind of thinking people has been, What are China and the Soviet fighting for? What is all this meaningless and nameless war about? These questions are pertinent, because the cause of this fighting, killing, and invasion is nothing more than the appointment of one man as manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway, a single-track railway of 1067 miles. As may be recalled, soon after the coup of July 10 the Soviet demanded the restoration of the *status quo*. China refused that demand, because for China to reinstate the Soviet railway agents discharged for plotting against her, as Minister Wu put it, would be comparable to the action of a mistress in reinstating a cook whom she had dismissed because of attempts at poisoning.¹ Numerous proposals and counter-proposals have been made, and finally the terms settled down to this. The Soviet said it must appoint a Soviet agent as manager of the Chinese Eastern *before* the opening of negotiations. China agreed to the Soviet's demand, but said the appointment must be made *after* the opening of negotiations. The Soviet replied No and the recent invasion took place.

It may be remarked, in this connexion, that while the Soviet was insisting that China should fulfil certain conditions prior to the opening of the Russo-Chinese negotiations, it was at the same time refusing to accede to similar demands made by Great Britain before the resumption of the Russo-British negotiations. On the

¹ Dr. C. C. Wu's speech at the Williamstown Conference, as reported in the *New York Times* of August 2, 1929.

one hand, the Soviet blames Great Britain for presenting such demands; on the other hand, the Soviet blames China for not acceding to such demands. This remark might appear sarcastic were it not too true.

A little delay in the appointment of one man as manager of a small single-track railway as the Chinese Eastern seems to be such a simple matter that any armed conflict over it would be making a mountain out of a molehill. But controversies over the fateful Chinese Eastern are often not so simple as they appear, for the whole conception and arrangement of that railway is full of complications, leading to endless tragedies unparalleled elsewhere. Being conceived in the dark chambers of the late Czar's palace and delivered behind closed doors by Li Hung-chang and Lobanoff, the Chinese Eastern has been breeding trouble ever since its incarnation. In name it is a commercial enterprise; in reality it has been a political agent of Russian conquest, be it White or Red. It led to the Russo-Japanese War in 1903; it brought about the Soviet-Chinese conflict to-day.

The original Chinese Eastern contract of 1896 provided that the railway should be owned and managed by a private company whose stock may be acquired by Chinese or Russians; but the Czar saw to it that the stock certificates should be printed in St. Petersburg, and that his Finance Minister should buy them up as they came out of the press. The contract says that the undivided surplus of the railway should be applied to the redemption of the line on China's behalf, but it is silent as to what should be the maximum dividend to be declared. Again, it says that China may redeem the railway upon paying both the cost of construction and the debts resulting from operation, but the Czar's agents were reported to have been encouraged to spend as much as possible on the railway so that it should become unattractive for China to redeem it. The Czar's agents seemed to have succeeded, because the cost per mile of the Chinese Eastern to-day is just about five times that of the average Chinese Government railway. Thus the old Czar fooled Li Hung-chang from the beginning of the Chinese Eastern game.

The first appearance of the Soviet on the stage of the Chinese Eastern tragedy was by the famous Karakhan declaration of 1919, in the drawing up of which Lenin directly participated. By this solemn declaration the Soviet condemned the Chinese Eastern Railway as a symbol of imperialistic oppression of the Czarist régime, and made the grand gesture that it would be returned to the Chinese people without compensation. This gesture made a profound impression upon young China. In 1924 Karakhan came to Peking as the Soviet ambassador to settle the Chinese Eastern question. By that time, however, the Soviet found itself

no longer in a position to indulge in the generosity she seemed to show five years before. To a certain extent China was to blame for the Soviet's change of mind, because at the time of Karakhan's declaration China was so afraid of the Red régime that she did not dare to accept the Soviet's magnanimous offer then and there. So, after considerable bargaining, China and the Soviet signed two agreements whereby they gave the Chinese Eastern the naked status of a Government enterprise to be jointly owned and managed by the two countries on a half-and-half basis.

This new Sino-Soviet arrangement was put into operation in October 1924. At the time both China and the Soviet liberally blamed the Czarist régime for all the woes of the Chinese Eastern. Both let the world understand that they would do better. As a matter of fact, however, it seems that the new arrangement between Soviet Russia and republican China has been even less wholesome than the old arrangement between the Czar and the Son of Heaven, for it took the old arrangement eight years to bring on the Russo-Japanese War, while it took the new arrangement less than five years to lead to the present Russo-Chinese conflict.

The irony of fate is that, instead of simplifying matters, China and the Soviet added a few more complications to the numerous old ones bequeathed by the Czarist régime. First of all the new agreement says that, pending revision, the original contract and statutes of the Chinese Eastern Railway as approved by the Czarist Government in 1896, in so far as they do not conflict with the new agreements or prejudice the sovereign rights of China, shall continue to be effective. This provision refers to some voluminous and ambiguous documents which were framed in rather weird circumstances. It is extremely difficult, to say the least, to determine which clauses are prejudicial to China's sovereign rights and which provisions of the old documents conflict with the new agreement and which do not. This becomes especially complicated when the differentiation is left in the hands of the directors of the Chinese Eastern, who seem to have been quarrelling constantly among themselves. Thus by one stroke the ghost of the Czarist régime animated the body of the new agreement.

The new agreement provided for a board of directors to exercise control over the railway, which shall consist of ten members, of whom five shall be Chinese and five Russian, six votes being necessary to make a decision effective. But in practice it seems that the five Chinese directors usually vote one way, while the five Russian directors vote the other, so that most of the board meetings have ended in deadlock. This would not have been so bad had there been some adequate provision for breaking up such *impasses*. Nothing of the sort, for

the agreement seems to go from bad to worse when it stipulates that all disagreements, with the exception of estimate and budget matters, among the directors shall be referred to the two Governments for settlement. When all disagreements among the directors of the railway have to be settled by two Governments through diplomatic channels, how can the railway's business be prevented from degenerating into a political squabble?

The agreement further provides that the manager of the railway shall be a Russian, and that 'the rights and duties of the manager . . . shall be defined by the board of directors.' The first part of this provision was soon carried out when a Red manager replaced a White. But when it came to the second part the Russian directors wanted to enlarge the rights and duties of the manager, while the Chinese directors wanted to curtail them; and neither side has as yet secured the necessary six votes to settle the issue. In the meantime the manager runs the railway as he pleases, claiming that all his actions are justified by one or other of the numerous statutes of 1896 which do not conflict with the 1924 agreement. As it requires six votes for the board of directors to curb him, all the trouble he faces is five adverse, but ineffective, Chinese votes. Since the Chinese directors seemed stupid enough not to have attached a time limit to the manager's appointment when that was voted on, they cannot get rid of him. This may explain why the Soviet is so insistent upon restoring the *status quo*.

By simply standing still and declining to vote the Soviet directors have beaten their Chinese colleagues from the beginning of the game. With this simple device they have completely nullified the functions of the board, and rendered that body—the highest and most responsible, according to the agreement—impotent, and 'managed to obtain the most important offices in the administration of the road, appropriated the revenues and otherwise neglected the treaty rights of the Chinese.'²

Quarrelsome and exasperated, the directors could do nothing but refer the disputes to their Governments for 'a just and amicable settlement.' At first the two Governments had to make some gesture towards *rapprochement*, but since the raid upon the Soviet embassy in 1927 they ceased to be on speaking terms. China endeavoured to ask for mediation; but that move itself would constitute a gross violation of the 1924 agreement, which specifically says that all questions arising out of the Chinese Eastern should be settled between China and the Soviet 'to the exclusion of any third party or parties.'

While recognising that China may have had some real grudge against the Soviet manager and directors, we cannot but feel that

² Editorial of *New York Times*, July 13, 1929.

the coup of July 10 was neither entirely wise nor altogether justified. It at once created the impression that seizure of the railway, instead of being a temporary measure to rectify an anomalous situation, was permanent. This impression became especially vivid, because it took place at a time when there was a widespread propaganda that China would unilaterally abolish extra-territoriality and all other foreign privileges. Both coming at the same time created the feeling that Nanking's foreign policy was returning to that of Hankow days, noted for getting what it could by force. Thus the *New York Evening Post* commented that the seizure of the Chinese Eastern signals a 'further step in the campaign for abolition of unequal treaties. . . . The Russian crisis is a glaring example of what may happen to any one of the Treaty Powers.'

Japan was especially unfavourably impressed. While she has no special love for the Soviet, the consideration of her own interests most naturally and rightly led her to feel some sympathy for the Soviet, since she also 'suffers under uncertainty of what will happen next. . . .'³ This feeling is almost universally reflected by the Japanese Press. Indeed, the *Tokyo Asahi*⁴ expressed this fear three weeks before the seizure of the railway took place, when it frankly said that the raid upon the Soviet consulate might indicate that China had 'covetous eyes fixed on the South Manchuria Railway.' To arouse the suspicion of Japan and to create a bad impression abroad was unfortunate, because possession of property by seizure is out of date, no matter what the cause.

But, unfortunately, it was not the Chinese Eastern Railway muddle alone that precipitated the coup. Another and far more mischievous factor is claimed to be the constant efforts of the Soviet railway agents to use their office for spreading Bolshevik propaganda. The Chinese Government has made public its findings, together with photographs of documents alleged to have been seized at that time. 'China must prevent such propaganda at all costs,' as Minister C. T. Wang declared, 'lest Communism should again play havoc.' This declaration well voices the feeling of the great majority of the thinking Chinese, and it is no exaggeration of China's fear of Communism, because the poisonous seeds planted by Comrade Borodin and his associates are by no means uprooted.

This claim of the Chinese is at once denied by the Soviet and its advocates, who label it as nothing but a disingenuous excuse on the part of China to get control of the railway. They curtly dismiss the evidence as forgery.

³ Editorial of *New York Times*, July 13, 1929.

⁴ May 20, 1929.

We are not in a position to prove the authenticity or otherwise of the evidence against the Soviet agents in Harbin, but those who were in China during 1926-7 know how deep an inroad Soviet propaganda has made upon a large section of young China. The fact that many middle-class families, including my own, felt constrained to dispose of their houses in Peking at reduced prices for fear of being 'sovietised' only tells part of the story of the grave situation. My five years' association with the Russians lead me to think it well-nigh impossible for the Soviet agents on the Chinese Eastern not to indulge in political propaganda, even if they were not induced to do so by Moscow. Of all the people I know of, the Russians have the strongest characteristic of being political minded. For Russians to refrain from political propaganda after being baptised in Sovietism and sent forth from Moscow to the end of the Far East would seem impossible.

What China charges Russia's Communists with doing in Manchuria, the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan well know other Communists have attempted to do in their respective countries; but these countries are hundreds or thousands of miles away, whereas Manchuria is embraced by the Soviet on two sides from without and honeycombed by thousands of Soviet agents from within.

The truth seems to be that it is both for the control of the Chinese Eastern and the prevention of propaganda that the drama of July 10 was staged. For China to deny the intention of getting more control of the railway is about as far off the mark as for the Soviet to claim its innocence of spreading Communistic propaganda.

On the other hand, it is quite evident that China did not intend to seize the railway permanently, even if she desired it. Private information shows that what China really wanted was a fair and square application of the 1924 agreement, which, as China thinks, entitles her to share equally with the Soviet in the ownership and management of the Chinese Eastern. Thus to get 50 per cent. control of the railway was half the cause, while Soviet propaganda furnished the other half that led to the explosion.

Another strange aspect of the Russo-Chinese drama is the conflict of personalities, who, like fragments in the great kaleidoscope of China, move to and fro forming ever unfamiliar designs with each turn of the instrument. It will be remembered that the 1924 agreements, while signed by Dr. V. K. W. Koo, were mostly negotiated by Dr. C. T. Wang, the then special commissioner to handle the Russo-Chinese questions with Comrade Karakhan, Soviet ambassador to Peking. When the agreements were initialled by Dr. Wang and M. Karakhan they were rejected

by the Peking Cabinet, with Dr. Koo as Foreign Minister. Thereupon Commissioner Wang resigned and Dr. Koo resumed negotiations with M. Karakhan. Final agreements were soon signed by the Foreign Minister, which differed little from those initialled by the retiring commissioner. What an irony of fate that to-day Wang, as the Nationalist Foreign Minister, should be accusing the Soviet of the violation of the agreements signed by his political rival, with Koo rumoured to be carrying on independent negotiations with Moscow from Mukden behind the back of Nanking, while Karakhan is again matching wits with both Koo and Wang in defending the Soviet's interests in the Chinese Eastern which he himself categorically renounced by his famous declaration of exactly ten years ago! Again, in the field of military operations, we find the same conflict of personalities. For at the head of the Red army confronting Manchuli is General Bluecher, who is no other than the famous General Galan, erstwhile right-hand man to President Chiang-Kai-shek in conquering South China.

The complexity of nationalities arising out of the Manchurian drama is unique. For example, there are about 100 'real' Americans in and around Harbin, in addition to which there are the 'near' Americans and *quasi*-Americans. These 'near' Americans are young Russians who have been sent to the United States for the purpose of obtaining an education and, incidentally, American citizenship. They turn up in Manchuria with their American 'papers' or certificates of citizenship and ask to be registered in the American consulate, which is perfectly right and proper. Then it often follows that the father (Russian) will turn over all his property to the naturalised son in order that a bright new American flag can be flown over the premises. The import of this is that the Russians, having lost their extra-territoriality right, are subject to Chinese law and Chinese taxes, while Americans still enjoying extra-territoriality rights are free of Chinese law and Chinese taxes, and hence the presence of an American flag over a business house, retail store, or a warehouse filled with valuable cargo has considerable monetary value in taxes saved. What is to be done with these 'near' Americans, 'near' Italians, 'near' English, 'near' French, and 'near' Irishmen?

The '*quasi*-Americans' is a name given to the Russian ladies who marry American husbands out there. In Harbin it is said there are four women to each man, with the usual consequence that the young Americans, far away from their home-town friends, take unto themselves Russian wives. Then the complexity in nationalities crops up, and it seems to keep on cropping up every time a child is born.

But most tragic is the conflict of political colour lines. When the Sino-Soviet management of the Chinese Eastern was inaugurated in 1924 most of the Russians on the railway were left over from the White régime. They were compelled to take out Soviet papers, and were then called 'Radishes,' as they were Red only on the outside and remained White inside. When the Red directors and managers were dismissed last July many of the 'Radishes' were also dismissed at the instigation of the Whites, who became the principal advisers of the Chinese. On the other side, the Soviet trade unions pressed them to resign, under threat of reprisals and loss of citizenship when the Soviet agents return to Manchuria. Many resigned, and have been suffering extreme hardship because it is impossible to find new employment.

The position of those remaining in the railway service is equally unenviable. The Soviet side considers them 'enemies of the people,' whereas the Chinese side cannot call them 100 per cent. Chinese. Should a Soviet-Chinese condominium be restored—which looks likely at the time of writing—such Russians would be the first to lose their positions at the instigation of the Bolsheviks. Thus all the Russians now on the railway find themselves between the devil and the deep sea.

What is worse is that the Red army is ordered to kill every White Russian on sight. This is no empty threat. Already Chinese and foreign sources gave support to the White Russian report lodged with the German consulate at Harbin that about 200 of their men, women, and children were slaughtered near Hailar during the recent invasion. As there is not any external mark to distinguish the Red Russians from the White, and as old grudges may easily lead some of the Red soldiers, many of whom have been in Manchuria before, to be somewhat colour-blind, the conflict among the Russians along the Chinese Eastern may yet reach a more acute stage when the Red manager and assistant managers return at the head of the Soviet triumph.

From an international point of view the conflict of ideas between the different nations is shown at its best in Manchuria. To begin with, China has always considered the dispute arising out of the Chinese Eastern as a matter to be settled by negotiation or mediation. The temporary discharge of some railway employees found guilty of political plots did not seem to her to involve any question of national honour calling for armed force. Therefore she has repeatedly proposed arbitration to the Soviet. The last proposal was submitted late in November through the German Government, in which China proposed that both sides should withdraw their troops thirty miles from the borders and that a Sino-Russian joint commission be formed, composed of equal

numbers of Chinese and Russians, with a national of a neutral country as chairman, to investigate conditions.

We are not yet aware what is the Soviet's real attitude toward this proposal for arbitration or mediation, but all reports, including the Soviet's Tass Agency, repeatedly say that the Soviet considers all forms of mediation as 'wicked imperialistic plots of the capitalists.' China's direct and indirect requests for arbitration so far have made no favourable impression upon the Soviet.

This state of affairs did not prevent the friendly nations from taking a keen interest in minimising the conflict between China and the Soviet. Germany has been in the happy, although difficult, position of taking care of the Soviet's interests in China and China's interests in Russia, and has continually exerted her efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement. When the Russo-Chinese crisis developed last July, Secretary Stimson led the way in appealing to both China and the Soviet to remember their obligations under the Kellogg anti-war Pact, and received ready assurance from both countries of their adherence to the spirit as well as the letter of that Treaty. Following the recent Russian invasion, Stimson formally appealed to all the fifty-three signatory Powers of the Kellogg Treaty, including China and Russia, for mobilising world public opinion to check hostilities in Manchuria. In all these efforts London and Washington seemed to have worked hand in hand. France, Germany, Italy, and many other nations all responded readily to the American appeal.

The American Note contained nothing of egoism or motives that could possibly lend themselves to suspicion. It was simply a friendly reminder of the dangerous possibilities involved by the Manchurian crisis, which was becoming more threatening every day. The Soviet decidedly dislikes the American appeal, and considers it, in unmistakable terms, an act unfriendly to Russia. It emphasises the fact that it has not diplomatic relations with the United States—the same emphasis that it made when China endeavoured to negotiate with it early in July. The Soviet apparently insists upon settling the matter with Manchuria, a province of China, instead of settling it with China as a nation, an act which under normal conditions would itself bring on war; but conditions in China are not normal. The Soviet succeeded in making a separate agreement with Mukden in 1924, and succeeded again on December 22 last in concluding a protocol with the Mukden delegate at Khabarovsk, which provides for the restoration of the *status quo* pending the conference to be held in Moscow on January 25, 1930, at which all outstanding questions were to be settled.

All through Tokyo has constantly been consulted. As the *New York Times* well observed, 'as the most interested spectator

on the Russo-Chinese quarrel in Manchuria, Japan has maintained an attitude at once restrained and diplomatically correct. But behind that 'diplomatically correct' attitude, does not there appear something that is perplexing, if not causing anxiety? She consistently opposes all forms of mediation on the part of friendly Powers, but at the same time concentrates 10,000 troops in Changehun, with more to come by various routes. Japan officially states, as reported by the Associated Press on December 3, that she does not intend to issue a declaration supporting the American Note, or otherwise to associate herself with the proposal, because Tokyo fears that the Chinese might interpret such a declaration from Japan as an intervention in their behalf, stiffening the Chinese attitude and interfering with prospects of an early peace. But cannot Tokyo hear that what China wants is settlement by arbitration rather than by armed forces? And does Japan mean that China's attitude should not be allowed to stiffen sufficiently so as to permit arbitration? Arbitration may not be a perfect instrument for settling disputes, but it is certainly the most advanced method which civilisation has so far discovered. It is difficult to understand what Japan has in mind when she opposes steps toward settling the Russo-Chinese dispute by mediation or arbitration.

Whether it is advisable for China to appeal to the League of Nations or to resort to the Kellogg Pact has been an important question, not only from China's point of view, but from that of the League as well. While under the League Covenant the members may be called on to deal with aggression of a non-member against a member, yet the position appeared clearer under the Kellogg Pact, because Russia is a signatory of the Pact, but not a member of the League. Furthermore, it is apparent that some Powers, including China, would wish to consult the United States, which is considered as being more concerned with the violation of the Kellogg Pact than with that of the Covenant. Therefore, when the crisis in Manchuria became threatening, it was but natural that the appeal was made in the name of the Pact.

This appeal gave the Kellogg Pact a test at its weakest point. As Litvinoff pointed out, the Pact does not expressly give, either to the United States or any group of Powers, the right to act as guardians of the Pact and to call any other nation's attention to a violation of it, for the Pact provides no specific machinery for its application. According to the Pact, the high contracting parties merely declare that 'any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by the Treaty.' In other words, if we were to admit that Russia has sought to promote her national interests by invading Manchuria, she automatically

loses the protection of the Pact, and may herself be attacked by any signatory Power without violation of the agreement. But no nation is bound to launch such an attack at the request of China as a victim of aggression. Thus the Soviet might feel there is not much benefit to lose. It is believed in certain international circles that this defect of the Pact must be remedied.

In this respect it is claimed that the League Covenant is better, for it not only specifically gives any League member the right to call attention to any threat of war, but provides certain machinery for ending the threat. Article XVI. of the Covenant provides that if any member of the League shall go to war in disregard of its obligations, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League. That nation then becomes an aggressor and is subject to punishment as a law-breaker. So far so good; but it does not seem to go far enough, for it fails to say in what form, and by whom particularly, such punishment should be inflicted. So here, again, the advantage seems to be more apparent than real. Take the present Manchurian crisis, for instance; certainly not all the League members can deny that there was a threat of war, and yet no member observed the League Covenant by doing anything to prevent it. Even China's appeal to the League for action was itself postponed on the League officials' advice, if not request. Moreover, France, Great Britain, and others openly admitted the threat of war by joining the United States in its appeal concerning the Pact, and yet none of them (all important members of the League) took any action under the obligation of Article XI. of the Covenant, which says that 'any threat of war is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League of Nations.' When it comes to the final analysis it seems that the effect of the Covenant differs little from that of the Pact, for in either case the net result is that when it is everybody's business it is nobody's business.

Another difficult problem which confronts the League formula is to determine who is the aggressor. Take the present Russo-Chinese case. Is the Soviet the aggressor by reason of its invasion of Manchuria, or is China the aggressor for having deported the Soviet railway agents in contradiction of the 1924 agreement? Or, again, is the Soviet the aggressor for having first violated that agreement by permitting those railway agents to stir up trouble in China? These and a hundred and one other similarly intricate questions must all be threshed out before punishment can be inflicted. The very fact that the League officials have from the beginning of the whole controversy shown an unmistakable dread of China's appeal to that body may indicate the difficulties involved.

But the question is not so much who is right and who is wrong; much less whether the Kellogg Pact or the League Covenant should take care of the case. What the world demands is (1) to stop fighting, and (2) to find some solution that will prove more or less lasting. Whatever remedy is applied, it must go to the very roots of the problem. The legitimate needs of Russia, be it White or Red, of a direct route to the sea, and the reasonable aspirations of the Chinese to free themselves of foreign interference in their domestic administration, must be taken into due consideration. The Sino-Soviet arrangement of 1924 set up such a nicety of control by both sides that its success depended wholly upon the most harmonious, the most intimate, and the most willing relations between the Chinese and the Soviet staff on the railway; and to maintain the arrangement of managing a railway by two Governments like that of China and Russia on a fifty-fifty basis is, without question, to continue an active cause of irritation between two nations.

With all the factors in view, it would seem that the only settlement that promises any reasonable degree of permanency is for China to redeem the Chinese Eastern in accordance with the agreement. For doing this the Shantung Railway settlement and the 'free transit' arrangements practised by the international railways in Europe would furnish practical precedents. After all, China and Russia must remember that, with a frontier of 5000 miles which cannot be protected with bayonets, they must give up the idea of playing for small gains and petty advantage. They must endeavour to be good neighbours. The only example to emulate is that between Canada and the United States, and the only way to settle disputes is by conference or arbitration. Failing in these, they fail in everything. They may stop fighting, they may patch up; but the falling of the curtain will not be the sign of the end, but of an intermission.

CHING-CHUN WANG.

THE FUTURE OF SEA POWER: A SPECULATION

DURING a discussion of the Naval Estimates in the House of Commons the First Lord of the Admiralty referred to the oft-repeated necessity of Britain standing ready to protect the imports of food whose temporary stoppage would mean certain starvation for her crowded millions. Lady Astor interposed a question. Who, she naïvely asked, threatened this admittedly vital trade, to which Mr. Bridgeman replied that he spoke of the protection of imports in time of war.

That is the sum and substance of the naval question. It is for war, and for war alone, that modern naval establishments exist.

Were war actually unthinkable, the high seas could be immediately disarmed except for the floating police which would always be needed to prevent the recurrence of piracy and to assure the safety of life and property in lands where local authorities are unable or unwilling to furnish the protection given by every civilised and sovereign State. Such a force might count many regiments of marines, their transport and their train with cruisers in support, but it need include no *Rodneys*, no *Marylands*, and no *Mitsus*. The very existence of battleships, despite the Pact of Paris, presupposes the possibility of war at sea on an extended scale. These great steel forts, the central bastions of naval power, were built to fight, if fight they must, in tremendous battles on vast and lonely seas. Not by their 16-inch salvos can distant trader and missionary be guarded, and long-suffering lands freed at last from the curse of Hattian bandit, Chinese war lord, or Communist fanatic. Battleships are not the weapons of world order against world chaos, but of nation against nation. As such they were conceived and built by the masters of naval design. To speak of a nation's independent need of a navy or its abstract right to possess a naval force is to use phrases which are both vague and misleading. There is no other measure of the need of a navy than the likelihood of war (or the threat of war), the known strength of prospective enemies, and the magnitude of the issues involved for each nation in warfare at sea, nor is there any right to a navy save the inalienable right of self-defence.

Generalisations are always dangerous—never more so than in the sphere of naval and foreign policies. No two maritime nations are similarly placed. Britain, heart and centre of an Empire wrung from the sea through years of war, highly industrialised and immediately susceptible to attack, still fronts an armed Continent across the Narrow Seas. Old victories have bequeathed her a tradition, but not security. Prophetically Kipling wrote :

We have fed our sea for a thousand years, and she calls to us, still unfed.

Japan, controlling the China Seas, facing no major base nearer than the still unfinished dockyard at Singapore, and that in the hands of a former ally, well realises the strength of her position. For France there are two separate coasts to guard and the sea lanes across the crowded Mediterranean to North Africa, whence in war cometh her hope. In a future conflict at sea who will be allies, who neutral? What sea areas will be controlled, what coasts blockaded? Who will question the blockade, and how? Are the League Covenant and the Pact of Paris destined to change the old conception of impartial neutrality, and will the neutrals of future wars be compelled by world opinion to allow the seas to be 'closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants'? The complications of world sea power are legion.

Yet one generalisation may surely be made. Until the day when all armaments are merged into an international police each nation will prepare its sea forces solely with an eye to the policies and purposes of war at sea which it thinks best in its own interest to seek. A ready naval defence may be the best, nay the only, assurance of peace, but it will be effective as such only if its readiness consist in direct preparation for war. Hence, whatever limits the statesmen proscribe, fleets still remain of their very nature competitive, each built for victory on the day of battle. Some lightly bunkered and bound to near-by bases are obviously designed as direct enemies; while others bear the stamp of all-round fighting forces of prospective use in many wars on widely separated oceans.

The weapons of sea power are the trident and net of the Roman gladiator, the trident of battle fleet striking force for victory at sea, the net of cruiser blockade and commerce control. With the trident the enemy is stricken down, with the net he is bound and strangled. The might of these weapons has been felt in all ages and on all seas. They have altered the course of world history, bringing to the victor wealth and empire.

Will sea power dominate the future as it has the past?

Let us review the teachings of naval historians in the light of modern world conditions. At the outset we find that naval thought is largely influenced by the history of European expansion in the centuries following the age of discovery. An almost unbroken series of British victories in the sea wars of this epoch gave to Admiral Mahan material on which to base his thesis of sea power. To him the story of the past spoke clearly: 'Commerce abroad with strength at sea to support it is the mark of the greatness of an empire.' It is but a step to advance these ideas to the claim that the present and the future course of trade and empire will be determined by the same forces, and that sea power will ever remain the ruling factor in national prosperity and national greatness in time of peace as well as in time of war.

Is the supposition entirely justified? Does it not confuse the question of modern world trade, which is inherently peaceful and productive, with the question of war, which is inherently violent and destructive? Does history always repeat itself, and are the political and economic forces which characterised the past likely to exert the same influence on the future?

The period of history comprising roughly the years between 1500 and 1900 saw a world-wide expansion of European civilisation in terms of commerce, political control, and colonisation. It witnessed the settlement of unknown continents by men of European stock, the partition of Africa, and the partial conquest of the Orient. Through much of its course ran a series of wars for control of the sea, and for the right to have and to hold the great empty spaces in the sun. Up and down the oceans of the world the maritime nations fought for the exclusive right to exploit the new West and the ancient East, to tap the untouched wealth of India and Peru, to follow the fur trade through the trackless northern forests, to reap the quick profits of slave labour applied to virgin soil, and, in doing so, to lay the foundations of future empire. A seventeenth century Europe, beating back the Turk under the very gates of Vienna, turned to the open sea. For years the flag of empire followed the explorer's track—north through the ice, south to the tropics, and east to the Indies. In truth, Europe had found her future on the water.

Out of the welter of sea wars, lasting more than two centuries, Great Britain seemed about to emerge the unrivalled victor. When Wolfe lay dying in Quebec England held what might have become world control. Scarcely more than twenty years later, in the mud and cold at Yorktown, she lost an empire that bid fair to surpass in extent, and surely would have matched in wealth, the greatness of imperial Rome.

The treaty signed at Paris in 1783 marks the end of an epoch. Gone for ever was the vision of British world power. The old

political conception of immediate imperial control and the parallel merchantist theory of the economically self-sufficient empire had passed into the stuff of forgotten dreams. They were challenged at Lexington. They surrendered at Yorktown. During the six long years of the American Revolution obscure forces had been at work in the English mill towns, where machinery was being applied to manufacturing, ushering in the Industrial Revolution and the modern era of mass production. A new age gave birth to a new economic philosophy. The year of the Declaration of Independence had seen the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, teaching that national wealth is not dependent on exclusive empire and exclusive commerce, but solely on the quickening of world trade in its natural channels, each nation, for its own benefit, and for the benefit of all, exchanging what it can best produce for what can best be produced abroad.

At Yorktown only the 'showy trappings of empire' had been lost. The future depended, not on the worn-out economic bond of colony and mother country, not on artificial trade restrictions—'that mouldy straw of the eighteenth century'—but on a new untrammelled commerce that should promise to all men life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. So, in substance, wrote Adam Smith, and his ideas, echoed in France by statesmen who saw her first colonies fall like ripened fruit from the parent tree, were to be acclaimed as the new gospel. The ancient empires, founded on the explorations of intrepid seamen, were passing. The modern dominions of trade and industry were yet to be.

It was in terms of the political economy of Adam Smith that the great Liberal statesmen interpreted the prosperity of England in the nineteenth century. They saw in free trade the source of that unprecedented national wealth, which rested precariously on peace, an established empire, a head start in manufacturing at home and in selling abroad, and a carrying trade in iron ships stimulated by ever-increasing imports of food and raw materials and ready outbound cargoes of British coal.

To the men of Gladstone's time all these advantages seemed rooted in the very nature of things. They should be from everlasting even unto everlasting. The way had been made straight for Liberalism and permanent prosperity. The thought of war recalled the glories, but not the dire perils, of Trafalgar and Waterloo. Security at home and easy victories in border warfare from Nigeria to Tibet led Disraeli to boast, 'We have no reason to fear war. Her Majesty has fleets and armies which are second to none.'

And yet it was to prove a fragile structure, the economic pre-eminence of Victorian England. Despite a navy that could

'nourish trade in the teeth of war,' despite victory and the Carthaginian peace, secure prosperity vanished in 1919. Like mediæval Venice, it was builded from the sea. It was defended by victorious sea power. And yet it crumbled and fell in the tempest of four fierce years of war.

What of the future? Will wealth at sea follow the trident as of old, and the argosies of modern trade return as richly freighted as the *Golden Hind* and the proud East India fleets? Will future economic concessions, won by strength at sea, replace the mines of looted Mexico and all the burnt-out Caribbean empire, once so rich a prize that the island of Guadeloupe was bartered for the whole of Canada? Or have times changed, and is national wealth to-day intangible and illusive—following economic laws, no longer subject to the victors' guns?

It seems that any study of world conditions to-day shows them to be totally different from those which faced the impoverished Europe that looked out on the New World. We live in an age that in contrast is crowded, busy, and prosaic. There are no more empty continents to conquer and settle, no more ancient empires to pillage, not even a chance to take up a fuller measure of the 'white man's burden.' There no longer exists to any appreciable extent that type of commerce whose fabulous profits led gentlemen adventurers to Virginia, Hudson Bay, and the West Indies, where a gracious monarch left them free to fight their way to fortune and all unknowingly to carry with them the seeds of colonisation, of stable trade, and of an empire worth defending. To-day international trade is only to a minor extent a question of privilege and monopoly. For the most part it is the exchange of exportable surpluses between all nations, an exchange balanced by the flow of credit and specie. In order to sell abroad, a nation must buy abroad, sale, purchase, and transportation being made at competitive world prices. Beneath the tariffs and subsidies, through which nations seek special temporary advantage, irresistible economic laws are silently at work fashioning the varied tapestry of world commerce.

What influence has sea power (other than as anti-pirate police) on the whole vast pattern of international trade? In so far as the balance of competing navies assures world peace, it assures world prosperity, for with the fine atonement of modern trade they have become well-nigh synonymous. Distant battle fleets still mount guard over the trade of the Orient, lest one national appropriate to itself the sole right to buy cheap, sell dear, and lend at high interest in the unsettled markets of the Far East. The policy of the 'open door' rests to-day on a solemn treaty backed by the fleets at target practice off Chatham and San Pedro.

But, beyond the promise of world peace and of the right to

trade freely in the few remaining areas of chronic disturbance, naval power, including all the attendant factors of war readiness, serves only to disturb and distract the natural flow of world commerce, that complicated exchange and cross exchange between many peoples of the products of mine and factory, of prairie and jungle, made in order that mankind may have the material things of life and have them more abundantly. His would be a mean spirit indeed who did not hold that the defence of nations is worth more than the wealth of nations; but defence can be had only at a price, the price of preparation for war. Of necessity, nations regard the subject of trade in terms of war readiness, striving still for the ideal, though unobtainable, self-sufficient empire—dream of the eighteenth century merchantilists. As an element of preparedness at sea shipping and certain domestic products are artificially strengthened and protected in time of peace as future war assets. War and business are two quite different elements of human life, and yet they are inseparably joined. More than the questionable maintenance of protected wages, with its twin brother protected prices, industrial strength for war is the basis of the whole protective system. Bearing in mind the possibility of war, one must approach the question of international commerce from a very different point of view than the attractive *laissez-faire* of the economists.

To depend entirely on foreign bottoms, even in years of peace, is to give our export trade a hostage to alien shipping. In time of war, even though we be neutral, sufficient cargo space may be unobtainable at any price. And were we to be involved as a belligerent, it is to our own merchant marine that we must look, not only for the movement of the foreign trade on which so much of our industrial prosperity depends, but even more for the import of foreign materials without which our military forces would soon be powerless.

It is well, then, to stimulate in peace those domestic products needed for war and thus reduce the dangerous list of vital imports, whose defence must be the navy's first duty. And yet this is but one phase of the larger naval problem of guarding all sea-borne commerce, which itself merges into the broad strategic scheme for the use of the nation's entire naval force to win victory at sea.

Any consideration of naval affairs leads inevitably to the conclusion that a navy, and all that relates thereto, is understandable only in terms of war. Protection of commerce is wholly a war question. It lies dormant in time of peace, when Lloyd's makes no reduction in insurance to British and American shipping despite its guard of *Kents* and *Pensicolas*, and the natural forces of world supply and demand bring the products of Belgian mills to

compete freely with those of Lowell and Birmingham for a return exchange of coffee in the markets of Brazil.

War changes all this. Economic laws no longer determine the course of trade. The ocean routes are watched by cruisers. Commerce is halted and questioned. It proceeds at peril. All nations are involved, as neutrals or belligerents, and if as belligerents, either in the rôle of blockader or blockaded, as nations without whose sanction no merchant ship may sail the seas, or as nations to whom the use of the sea is denied. Whatever country insist that its ships and its exports pass unhindered to destinations forbidden by the sea-controlling belligerent must stand prepared to enforce its interpretation of neutral rights by threat of war. A veiled threat involving no more than the possession of a ready navy of known strength may serve; but it is none the less a threat, heeded only if backed by a recognised force. In seeking to shield its sea-borne commerce a neutral must always face a determination on the part of the sea-controlling belligerent to forbid all trading with its enemy, under the perfectly sound assumption that all imports minister to the opposing army, and to press the theory of ultimate enemy destination to its logical conclusion in rationing all areas through which supplies may reach the hostile country. When Grotius wrote *De Jure Belli et Pacis* an army was an army. The forces of modern life have made it a nation. To-day, when the military supply table includes almost everything except cosmetics, it seems likely that only threat of intervention will preserve the last vestiges of the old distinction between contraband and non-contraband.

Nor is the most sweeping and stringent application of distant blockade the only war-time barrier to neutral trade. Counter-blockade by commerce destruction may prove an even more dangerous hinderance. Despite the Washington Treaty, it is not unlikely that a nation struggling for its very life against the slow strangulation of blockade will use every weapon in retaliation, including the submarine. The danger is very real. The sinkings of the last war speak for themselves. And since then improved under-water craft and air force have given so sharp a sword to commerce destruction that certain British writers see the future safety of their country, not in the squadrons that still bear the proud names of 'those sea-worn ships on which the Grand Army never looked,' but in the acceptance by all nations of the most extreme theory of neutral rights. After centuries of victory they would surrender the hard-won control of the sea where 'never a wave of all her waves but marks the English dead' for a treaty promising freedom from the menace of counter-blockade.

In a future struggle of any magnitude unguarded neutral commerce seems destined to meet a situation as intolerable as

that which led Secretary of State James Monroe to long for war against both England and France, muttering a curse on both their houses. From captured palaces the emperor whose victorious armies swept the Continent, and whose commerce destroyers could still slip out through the British blockading squadrons, issued decrees against neutral shipping. Britain retaliated by Orders in Council and a widening of the blockade. The press gang could no longer drag aboard enough drunken wretches to fill the ships, floating hells of cruel discipline, whose weary months and years at sea were broken only by an occasional debauch at anchor in home ports, when contrary gales blew them off station, and ended only by the stark horror of battle under an immortal admiral who flew the signal 'Engage the enemy closer.' For years sea power was taxed to its limit. Merchant seamen were pressed from the decks of Yankee ships to man short-handed cruisers, whose captains had a keener appreciation for 'handy topmen' than for newly established American citizenship. But the protests of a weak republic overseas went unnoticed while two great coalitions met in a death struggle with the future of Europe in the balance. In 1812, goaded to desperation, we joined the war, with little influence on its outcome.

Again in 1917 our protests were unheeded. Germany played for the highest of all stakes, victory in a war that already counted the dead by millions, but her admirals and statesmen misjudged, if only narrowly, the strength of the United States navy. To-day, with a navy equal to the most powerful, we may rest assured that our neutral rights will not again be challenged, and that our fleet, if ready for war, will stand as a world force forbidding a repetition of the excesses of blockade and counter-blockade.

But it is not impossible that the threat of war may lead to war itself, and the position shift from that of a neutral shielding neutral trade to that of a belligerent whose commerce can be guarded only by active naval operations against the enemy. A belligerent unable to win control of the sea by battle or threat of battle must watch its shipping rust unused in harbour. To a nation defeated at sea the paths of world trade are closed. The blue water is no longer a shield. It has become a broad highway for enemy attack. A purely maritime nation must fight or perish. A land power, denied access to the high seas, may still fight on, against time and the slow suffocation of blockade, and, like a gladiator menaced by the trident and struggling to free himself from the imprisoning net, strike out fiercely with the sword. In past wars the net and trident of sea power have triumphed over the sword, but by how slight a margin and at what tremendous cost naval historians seem scarcely to realise. Never in modern war has even the most powerful fleet been able

to win and keep actual unbroken control of the sea in the face of a determined adversary. The depredations of the *Alabama* and consorts, the far-flung squadrons despite which a few German cruisers spread terror over the seven seas in the early months of the last war, and the dark menace of the submarine blockade—known only at Whitehall, where sore, burdened man faced defeat—there among the trophies of old victories: these are but indications of the overwhelming forces necessary to assure world-wide control, though no enemy battle fleet actively dispute it.

Nor is the establishment and maintenance of sea control the final purpose of naval warfare. It is not enough that an unopposed fleet can protect trade in the face of war. Something more will be demanded by the nation, seeking vaguely, but with sound intuition, the still further use of its navy in violent combat against the enemy. No great war has been won by naval operations alone, much less by commerce control and commerce protection. Though Gallipoli was a tragic failure, there was something eternally right in the ideal which inspired that most ill-fated and daring of ventures—the belief that the safety of Allied commerce, the control of neutral commerce, and the closing of the seas to German commerce was not enough; that somewhere, somehow, the fierce destruction of triumphant guns must play its deadly part. And the same ideal animated German naval leaders. It was not enough that the ready High Seas Fleet should control the Baltic, forbid close blockade, and hold bound to its North Sea bases an overwhelming counter-force. Somehow German ships must offer battle. In the early days of the war, before there crept in the deadening philosophy of the world siege at sea, battle was held by some to be an object to be sought for itself, sea control as a benefit attendant on victory. Fighting seemed fundamentally good for its own sake; for war is essentially destructive, a turn of thought based on the sheer glorification of combat, which is the one constant in the genius of all great soldiers.

What His Majesty's commander-in-chief, Sir George Rodney, Admiral of the White, himself controlling the seas, wrote from New York in sneering criticism of British inaction in the American Revolution is true of all wars: 'Believe me, my lord, in this war, the sword must cut and cut deep.' Napoleon complained that French admirals 'were always talking of pelagic conditions and ulterior motives, as if there could be any motive in war except to get in contact with the enemy and destroy him'; and Paul Jones saw in the manoeuvres by which Degrasse denied the Chesapeake to the British relieving squadrons and compelled the surrender of Cornwallis only the lost opportunity 'to sink the enemy's ships and kill his seamen.'

Had I stood in the shoes of Degrasse, [he boasted; and the memory

of the *Bonhomme Richard's* bloody decks justified the boast] there would have been disaster for someone off the Capes of the Chesapeake; disaster of more lasting significance than the orderly retreat of a beaten fleet to a safe port. . . . To me war is the sternest and gloomiest of all human realities, and battle the cruellest and most forbidding of human practices. . . . It is the true duty of everyone concerned to make them the most destructive . . . that the real cause of humanity may be gained by making them the soonest ended. . . .

It would be impossible to find a truer and more complete philosophy of war—war whose essence is violence and the unsheathed sword.

He who would seek the idea behind those majestic ships home from winter manœuvres, resting at the battleship buoys under the bustle and wealth of New York's Riverside Drive, is led step by step from the hope that their sole purpose is peacefully to guard the national wealth of which the busy drive is itself a symbol, to the realisation that their protection springs from their power to make war, that these ships are not a shield, but a sword, and that war means far more than the mere protection of wealth and the commerce at sea from which it springs.

For the naval officer there can be no other philosophy. He has but to glance at the wardroom copy of *Fighting Ships* to know that in foreign ports ride other fleets ready and waiting. As long as the faintest shadow of war menaces the country he serves he must labour unceasingly that her flag may fly from the gaff of newer and yet more powerful ships—ships that give promise of peace in a world still heavily armed, and, failing peace, of victory won long before the scholar need be taken from his books and the artist from his studio to swell the ranks in the great citizen armies of protracted wars. If the nations be not masters of their fate, and the vision of perpetual peace prove but an empty dream—if, in truth, *la politique, c'est la destinée*—then ready armaments will best serve mankind if, in promising quick decision, they assure that only those who live by the sword need die by the sword.

And yet the real cause of humanity rests, not on war, with its stern and inexorable philosophy of destruction, but on the high purpose of earnest men and women who seek gradually to remove in all countries its menace and its symbol, that other generations be not called to follow those gone before.

Who died obscurely most in foreign lands,
For some ideal but dimly understood . . .

In their search for peace we wish them well, realising that those of us who may yet be summoned 'to take up arms in public war have not thereby ceased to be human beings,' nor ceased to share their high hope for years to come.

MELVIN F. TALBOT.

CANADA'S OUTLOOK

IN a recent conversation a Canadian said to the writer: 'You know, even despite my long residence in England, I can never feel that this is my home; nor can I get used to your class divisions.' He had led an academic career of distinction in this country; he knew and loved England, but it was not his own country. He was of a different people.

It is equally true that comparatively few English people who go to live in Canada, unless they do it while young, are able to feel good Canadians: they talk to the last of England as home. But their children born in the country are Canadians; and consequently there is evident a separation between parents and children greater than the normal. The English parents and their Canadian children fail to understand one another's points of view.

The gap as between two nations is of recent growth. Perhaps the war, more than anything else, signified to the world and to herself that Canada had attained her majority. England, like most parents, has not fully realised it. It is still possible to hear Canada talked of as a 'colony.' In official documents the Englishman describes the Empire as the British Commonwealth of Nations, but he is not usually prepared for the independence and difference in outlook which is implied in that phrase.

To see if it is really a Canadian nation it is necessary to realise a little of the history and geography of the country and to comprehend the diversities of race which have settled there, and, arising out of these two things, the sort of general ideas current in Canada, and different from our own.

The approach to Canada is unique. It is no mere landing at a port which hove into view an hour or two before. The ship has sailed for about a week across the Atlantic, and has entered Canadian waters either south of Newfoundland or by the narrow Belleisle strait, between the desolate coast of Labrador and the woody but dull north shore of Newfoundland. From that strait it will steam two days and nights up the gulf and river of the St. Lawrence. Often there is no sight of land, so that it does not seem strange that the earliest explorers thought that here they

had discovered the North-West Passage. This sailing in a 20,000-ton ship between the banks of a river for hour after hour, even though the banks are at first miles apart, is a suitable preparation for the newcomer's reception of Canada. Somehow: after sailing for two evenings into the sunset, it no longer seems so fanciful as before to imagine with many Americans that the course of civilisation is that of the sun, and that in this new land it is completing its course. Be that as it may, the St. Lawrence stands in three respects as a symbol for all Canada. It is vast as Canada is vast. Secondly, it is a narrow strip of water upon whose banks there is stretched out village after village and a continuous line of farms to which the river is like a great high-road; just so is inhabited Canada, a narrow strip of country 100 to 200 miles broad, stretching for more than 2500 miles east and west. And, thirdly, the St. Lawrence freezes in winter. It is difficult to imagine it as the ship steams up against the current, but so it is. And likewise does Canada freeze up in winter, gaining thereby one of its greatest assets. Owing to climate, there can never be too great an amount of luxurious ease, and always will man remain in that strong competition with Nature which underlies progress. The people of the country must always be of a strong and vigorous type. There is little likelihood of a negro question arising; neither is Canada going to be overrun by southern Europeans. The probability is that the people of Canada will not add to their other diversities that of a mixture of all the nations of Europe.

The population of this long, narrow strip is now about 9,000,000, and great have been the achievements of such small numbers. The most eastern 1000 miles were once covered by forests. None but a pioneer could tell of the difficulties that faced all those who had to cut their farms out of the woods. It required years of perseverance and patience. Still, to-day one occasionally meets with fields whose fences are the upturned roots of trees, the sight of which reminds one how much went to the clearing of a single field. Or one may read the French Canadian novel *Maria Chapdelaine* and get some glimpse of the labour of pioneering. Thus the small farms, with their solid-looking houses and barns dotting the countryside of Ontario, are witness to no inconsiderable achievement. The first settlers of Ontario arrived less than a century and a half ago, and for long remained only a few thousand, so that most of this eastern forestland has not been opened up for more than three generations.

But it is hard to select examples that will adequately express the character of the work that has been done by so few men in so short a time. The structure of an up-to-date civilised community has been built across the continent. There is the story

of the act of faith that impelled a population of 4,000,000 to erect a railway across 2000 miles of country, including two ranges of mountains—one of which, in the words of Whympers, is 'sixty Switzerlands rolled into one'—to reach a little community of 50,000 in British Columbia. It took thousands of men nearly ten years to complete, and several times it was 'touch and go' whether they could succeed. They did succeed, and during the last fifty years the Dominion of Canada has been formed along these rails.

Geographical conditions have been directly opposed to the building of a nation across a narrow strip of country of such a length. The natural line of development is north and south. Beyond the St. Lawrence there is very little reason why one foot of territory should be Canadian and another a part of the United States. Each section of Canada belongs by nature to the American State just south of it; it is easier to go from New Brunswick into Maine than into Quebec, and so on throughout the borderland. The pull of industry is undoubtedly north and south. Here, then, is a clear case of man controlling geography, of setting himself against the natural order of things and sticking to it, so that by now he has succeeded in making of this country one nation. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the magnitude of this task whereby a people, throwing off paternal government, has cleared half a continent, constructed the machinery of provincial and federal government, and made an entity of the most diverse elements.

For it must always be remembered that Canada is made up of powerful diversities; indeed, so strong are these that they seem sometimes to endanger the unity of the country. Disruption is still a factor that has to be reckoned with. There still might—it is unlikely, but there is the bare possibility—be a dangerous movement of one part or other for secession. During late years there has been a certain amount of irresponsible secession talk in the Maritime Provinces, and also in the Prairie Provinces. Neither is this to be wondered at, when one considers the origins of the various parts.

Quebec has a distinct and peculiar character of its own. On that voyage up the St. Lawrence, after nearly two days' steaming, the ship will bend with the river, and on the north bank in the distance is seen the city of Quebec. It is an old-fashioned city, with many churches and houses built one higher than the other on the side of the hill that rises to the plains of Abraham. Here in 1608 Champlain landed and started a fur-trading port. It seems strange to be landing in the New World at a city over 300 years old, but stranger still when one finds out the character of the city and province of Quebec. Here is a society older than

any in Western Europe. For 250 years changes have been small. The 3,000,000 inhabitants of the province are mainly the descendants of emigrants from France who left before 1690. Since then there has been hardly any colonisation, and one walks in a tradition and atmosphere not dissimilar to that of the time of Louis XIV. These people have settled here, prospered and increased in numbers. They are contented, unambitious, unenterprising. They are not worried by doubts or progress; they have been saved from the unhappiness of having to think for themselves. They have found the Iroquois and Nature a sufficient foe to tackle. Over them the seigneur and the priest, and now the priest alone, have exercised intellectual dominion. Nowhere, I suppose, in the Christian world is the power of the priest so unchallenged. The Roman Catholic Church in Quebec has taken, like the Grand Inquisitor in the Brothers Karamazov, the freedom and unhappiness of the people upon itself. Education is carefully regulated. Not in religion only, but in politics, the priest retains the leadership; the village priest is the most important politician in Quebec, and without his approval no statesman and no programme stands a chance.

Here is an important element in the make-up of Canada. Nearly a third of the total population are French Catholics, a strange, aloof people who have no use for the gods of progress and organisation. These Quebec habitants have strange ways about them. In politics they call themselves Liberal, but that is only because they called themselves by that name a long time ago and are too conservative to change. In religion an unbending conservatism prevails. Of late the priests have begun to view with suspicion a small amount of emigration of younger sons to the New England States, where they learn new ideas, and sometimes return home with them. The priests are beginning, therefore, to demand higher barriers against American trade, in order that work may be kept at home.

Determined to resist the modern materialistic spirit which they identify with their American neighbours, this community of Catholic peasants is equally opposed to further absorption by the other parts of Canada. Quebec is jealous of its privileges. It stands firm by the British North America Act—the charter by which Canada in 1871 became a federation, and by which Quebec retains a privileged position in the federation. The province has fears for its own position, which is that of a minority among English-speaking Protestants. It will not suffer itself to be eclipsed, and clings to the British North America Act and to the appeal to the Privy Council. Thus one has the curious spectacle of a French community setting the highest value on its connexion with the Imperial Crown, and it has been said that

the last ditch of the defenders of the British connexion will be manned by French Canadians.

Here, then, in Quebec Canada possesses what could be a weakness, but what is probably an element of diversity of the highest value for its future welfare. The little white farms along the St. Lawrence, though one hears scanty news of them, add variety and dignity to the life of the nation.

There are in Canada at least four other sections, different in origin and outlook. British Columbia, settled largely by Englishmen and possessing a mild climate with great lumber and fruit-growing industries, contrasts strongly with the Prairie Provinces, that have been going only for twenty or thirty years, and support mainly an agricultural population drawn from Northern Europe and from the United States. Then there is Ontario, the industrialised, perhaps over-much industrialised, part of Canada, founded 150 years ago by the courage and endurance of the United Empire loyalists who left the United States in their thousands after the War of American Independence. The population of Ontario is English and Scotch, rather narrowly Protestant in outlook, but a shrewd, progressive community drawing now from the United States many of its ideas and much of its capital. Easternmost are the Maritime Provinces, a shipping, lumbering and fishing community, by nature much more allied to the New England States, and only with much loss and pain clinging to the rest of Canada. The greater part of its population is descended from the other wing of United Empire loyalists and from highlanders. These two provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, would profit greatly if they could become merged in the United States and could break down the tariff walls that prevent their natural development.

Western-moving progress has passed these provinces. They have been left behind by the newer, richer lands, and their natural outlet to the south has been blocked. They often feel aggrieved at the orientation east and west which they must obey in the interest of Canada. Secession talk is no new thing here, and perhaps it must not be taken too seriously, but the problem of the Maritime Provinces is one of the most enduring and difficult questions that Canadian statesmanship has to face.

If Canada sometimes proclaims and attests its nationhood more aggressively than seems necessary, the reason is this underlying diversity, which makes the people sensitive. To understand the country it is necessary to appreciate the force of this sectionalism, while remembering that, in spite of it, Canada is a nation—a nation the more highly coloured in expression because of certain natural weaknesses.

In the task of nation-building Canadian democracy has done

well. But there are other victories. While the efforts of England have been given to the development of political institutions, to the fostering of a highly developed life on a narrow front, American democracy is rendering its service by raising the standard of life of the whole people. Although there are bad patches, more particularly among European-born immigrants, the conditions of living are much better in America than anywhere else at any period in history. An easy indifference about wealth is a little unnatural, a trifle put on. There is a crime of poverty, of that starved, ungenerous sort of existence, that is soon translatable into terms of spiritual loss. There has to be an end to the poverty that blinds men from taking pride in themselves. Equality of wealth is not a matter of importance; the elimination of poverty is. It is often enough for the average Englishman, when told of America, to mutter something about materialism, and to return into himself comfortable and self-flattered.

Canadian and American democracy has not bothered its head about the tremendous trivialities that have so often disturbed the peace of Europe: it has been concerned with the raising of the standard of life—with questionings about smoke-free towns rather than frontier posts. In their care for the sick, in the purification and provision of milk, in the cleanliness of food, they are a long way ahead of us. What does this mean for the future of man? So much misery and failure is due to preventable poverty and disease; who can draw a fine distinction between what is material and what is spiritual? The Canadians and Americans have set out to improve the average; they spend great efforts and money upon it, and we ought to be just in our appreciation of this side of their life. After all, it goes for something when a nation can prove that a smokeless city is possible, or that high wages pay. It is a contribution to life of some value; and when millionaires give for education, for art, for medical research, millions of dollars so that an Englishman grows green with envy, you have something which means much, both of good and evil, in the story of the race.

And arising out of this average 'levelling-up' there are not the same class distinctions in Canada as in England. In Napoleon's army each soldier was said to carry a marshal's baton in his knapsack; in America each man assumes that he is capable of sitting in the director's chair, and is quite likely to do so some day. Even if that turns out to be a little optimistic, he never allows anyone to forget that one man is as good as another. It will not be difficult to remember instances of this kind of equalitarianism among the Canadian soldiers in the war. Titles (even though it be said *sotto voce* there is no greater admirer of titles than the Canadian) are officially frowned upon. The motor car a

few years ago might have been a mark of class distinction, but it is not the least of the services which Ford has rendered to America that his car prevented a social cleavage. A Packard and a Ford might be different things to look at, but the owner of the Ford would not consider his machine any the less a motor.

In regard to equality and class distinctions, English ideas are different. Out there the 'man in the street' has received a great glorification, and there are disadvantages about this. Anything which deviates from type is likely to be ruthlessly eliminated. This remark is less true of Canada than of the United States; but, generally speaking, liberty is less safe on the American continent than it is in England—individuality is more inclined to be forced into a mould.

Average opinion has become so vociferous, so powerful, that anything unorthodox stands a poor chance. Not in law courts, nor in dismissals from position, but in the events of everyday life, does this tyranny take most effect—the hour-to-hour oppression of an outspoken public opinion, that browbeats every digression from type. It was just this danger that was foreseen 150 years ago in America by De Tocqueville, and fifty years ago in England by J. S. Mill. Armed, as never before, by a certain standard of education, and having at hand a ready slave and master in the Press, average opinion, pluming itself on an unreal equality, is ready to do battle with all that is strange to it.

* There is a type of mind which wants to find in history some one controlling factor. The followers of Karl Marx discoursed on an economic interpretation of history, thinkers like Figgis substituted a religious interpretation, and more lately men have found an explanation of all historical events in geographical control. There is a good deal in this; certainly 3000 miles of ocean and different climatic conditions are responsible for a good deal of the difference between Canada and England. Time moulds separate nations under different conditions. Despite the connexion in our blood and English institutions on a new soil, the people of Canada are bound to develop an individuality of their own. It is entirely desirable that they should. So far as Canada, Australia, and the other Dominions are concerned, the British Empire is dead, and the British Commonwealth of Nations lives in its place; and it would lead to happier relations between the members of the Commonwealth if we made the assumption that the Dominions have already attained their majority and are developing separate and distinct nationhoods.

Geography is a strong controlling factor, but not the only one. As Canada made herself one despite all the pulls of geographical conditions, so can sentiment, similar institutions,

affection, loyalty to the same Crown, bind the ocean and keep our two peoples together. The British Commonwealth of Nations is a reality, made stronger by a frank recognition that we are different.

The ideal British Commonwealth may not survive; it depends upon our efforts to understand the new world. Canada's real contribution to the society of nations is in its interpretation of England to the United States and of the United States to England. It alone can understand both. Canada has mainly English institutions and a political system like ours, while at the same time she is daily mixing with American ideas. By sentiment and sympathy she is attached to England, but she is more akin to her big neighbour in current ideas and outlook. She knows both of the main branches of the English-speaking world, and yet she is distinct from both. She is as much a separate people from ourselves as she is likely to remain separate from the United States. She has an individuality distinct from both, and is not likely to be swamped by either.

There are other things in which England and Canada are different. One might, for instance, mention that there is much less home life in Canada, and that there is a different quality of faith about the future. Most of us believe in the future of our own country, but in a new country like Canada the faith is intense. Men always seem to be thinking of the future, and it lends a tremendous power and directness to their work. You could as soon convince the chrysalis that it had no future as persuade a Canadian to leave off ruminating about the immensity of the promise of his country—that not long distant time when it will have more inhabitants than England, and will be making use of its vast riches, hardly yet scraped. In estimating the difference in outlook between the Englishman and the Canadian you are bound to take into consideration a different orientation of mind. They are always making plans and devising new schemes. An Englishman is proud of his history, a Canadian of his future.

GEOFFREY F. BELL.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

IN the whole of the Union of South Africa there are between 170,000 and 180,000 Indians, about 155,000 of whom are living in Natal. What is still known as the Indian problem is therefore most acute in the 'Garden Province.' Since the visit of the South African Indian Congress deputation to India in 1925 and the conferences of the official Indian delegations with the Union Government in 1926 and 1927, the position of Indians in South Africa has undoubtedly improved. Then the Europeans here seemed bent on forcing every Indian out of the country, an attitude that to-day, fortunately, has almost disappeared.

It was argued that Indians were multiplying so rapidly that they threatened to swamp the white races. To avoid such danger the need for better repatriation schemes and restriction of Indian immigration was essential. Indians were looked down upon by race-conscious whites and regarded with envy and jealousy by other races. But many Indians held fairly high positions in local society. Many had seats on the city councils and a few were members of the provincial councils. In Durban, with an Asiatic population of over 50,000, whole blocks of buildings were owned by Indians, who lived in the select parts of the town, and maintained expensive motor cars, sometimes driven by white chauffeurs. They had societies and associations, and, although inclined to confine interests to their own people, would gladly accept invitations to circles once the strict preserve of the white man.

Many of the Indians in South Africa to-day are descended from the few thousands brought over many years ago to labour in the Natal sugar plantations, where the natives were too indolent for the work. Many have now adopted the ideals of Western civilisation, and a number, without being compelled to do so, have been converted to Christianity. South Africa is obviously their country. Had the sterner councils of the more ruthless prevailed, they would have arrived in India strangers in a strange land. These would have suffered most if the Areas Reservation and Immigration (Further Provision) Bill, introduced into the House of Assembly by Dr. Malan, Minister of Interior and Health, had become law.

This Bill aimed at stopping the encroachment of Indians upon the social and commercial life of Europeans and coloured people and at reducing the Indian population of South Africa. Over 30,000 Indians have been repatriated voluntarily, and this policy will still be pursued.

As a result of the agitation awakened by this Bill, a deputation, with as its personnel Sir George F. Paddison, C.S.I., Sir Diva Prasad Sarvadhikary, and the Hon. Syed Rasa Ala, arrived in South Africa from India, its object being to make first-hand observations of the problem. The work was done so sympathetically and tactfully that the antagonistic feeling had been lessened considerably by the time the deputation departed and the South African parliamentary deputation sailed for India. This deputation was headed by the Minister of Mines and Industries, the Hon. F. W. Beyers. There were six members of the House of Assembly and a departmental representative. While in India these men were brought to consider the problem from many new aspects, and it was agreed that the Union Government would meet a delegation from India, when the problem would be discussed from every angle with the object of arriving at a solution satisfactory to both sides.

The Habibullah delegation was carefully selected. It was headed by Sir Muhammad Habibullah. There were seven other members, including Sir George Paddison and the Right Hon. Srinavasa Sastri, first Indian Agent-General in South Africa. The first conference took place in Cape Town on December 17, 1926, and by January 11, 1927, differences had been discussed so frankly and freely that eight articles, since known as the Cape Town Agreement, were drafted and subsequently approved by the Indian and South African Governments as a suitable basis for future guidance. The fundamental idea of this agreement is assisted emigration, and between 1927 and 1929 Indians left South Africa at the rate of 3000 a year. The number now has a tendency to dwindle, one reason for this being assigned to the negligence of the Indian Government in caring for emigrants according to the provisions of the Cape Town Agreement.

At this memorable conference it was resolved that :

1. Both Governments reaffirm their recognition of the right of South Africa to use all just and legitimate means for the maintenance of Western standards of life.

2. The Union Government recognise that Indians domiciled in the Union, who are prepared to conform to Western standards of life, should be enabled to do so.

3. For those Indians in the Union who may desire to avail themselves of it the Union Government will organise a scheme of assisted emigration to India or other countries where Western

standards are not required. Union domicile will be lost after three years' continuous absence from the Union in agreement with the proposed revision of the law relating to domicile, which will be of general application. Emigrants under the Assisted Emigration Scheme, who desire to return to the Union within the three years, will be allowed to do so only on refund to the Union Government of the cost of the assistance received by them.

4. The Government of India recognise their obligation to look after such emigrants on their arrival in India.

5. The admission into the Union of the wives and minor children of Indians permanently domiciled in the Union will be regulated by paragraph 3 of resolution 21 of the Imperial Conference of 1918.

6. In the expectation that the difficulties with which the Union has been confronted will be materially lessened by the agreement which has now happily been reached between the two Governments, and in order that the agreement may come into operation under the most favourable auspices and have a fair trial, the Government of the Union of South Africa have decided not to proceed further with the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill.

7. The two Governments have agreed to watch the working of the agreement now reached and to exchange views from time to time as to any change that experience may suggest.

8. The Government of the Union of South Africa have requested the Government of India to appoint an agent in the Union in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments.

The first Indian Agent-General was the Right Hon. Srinavasa Sastri, who was succeeded early in 1929 by Sir Venkata Reddi. Mr. Sastri was a notable success in South Africa. His remarkable ability as statesman, orator and writer, his personality and learning, had an admirable influence during the early period of the agreement's trial. He formed Indo-European councils in Durban and Johannesburg, the idea being to bring the two sections together on a common footing, so that problems may be discussed and a better understanding established. These councils, consisting of an equal number of Europeans and Indians, are doing excellent work.

An Indian problem of sorts still exists in South Africa. A certain section of the white community would solve it by repatriating every Indian in the country, as was done many years ago with the Chinese labourers in the Transvaal. The Indians, however, were invited to Natal with certain rights of domicile not promised the Chinese. The planters tried to obtain Indian labourers on the same basis as that upon which Chinese labour

was brought to South Africa, but Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, refused to sanction the proposal. The planters were thus forced to grant the coolies the privileges desired.

But the Indians were not treated with the fairness expected of a British country. The European trader's bitterness at Indian undercutting can be understood, but not the rigorous legislation of a responsible Government. Soon after the union of the four provinces now comprising South Africa there was the passive resistance movement of Mr. Ghandi, which led to the Smuts-Ghandi Agreement. In the terms of this the South African Government contracted to treat Indians already in the country as British subjects, and the Indian Government agreed to restricted immigration. Free Indian immigration into Natal stopped in 1896, and after 1911 the Indian Government would not let its subjects emigrate to South Africa. No Indians have settled in the country since 1914. Before the motion restricting immigration, introduced in India by the late Mr. Gokhale, became law, Natal sugar planters, assisted by the Natal Government, tried to recruit as many Indians as possible. About eighty headmen were sent over, but, in spite of these and other efforts, the Indian Government would not allow any of its subjects to go to Natal.

The Indian trader—and his method is the principal one by which these people earn a livelihood in South Africa—is charged with a low commercial morality, of paying lower wages than the European and of underselling him. The Indian's answer to the first charge is that because some of his race err in this respect it does not argue that all are offenders. Traders from Central Europe are greater criminals. It is not fair either to level the other charges against the Indian trader only. Grocers and drapers in South Africa generally sell certain lines at figures lower than the wholesale prices. Instances, too, can be quoted where European tradesmen sell goods at lower prices than Indian shopkeepers a few yards away. And most of the large industrial and commercial firms in South Africa pay assistants scandalously low wages.

There is more foundation to the charge that Indians are insanitary and unhealthy in their mode of living. But it must not be forgotten that public health authorities have full power to deal with cases of lack of sanitation. In the same way the complaint that Indians have little interest in the affairs of the country is answered by the fact that, whatever their educational and other qualifications, they have little opportunity for doing so. Conditions have altered since 1926, but the white skilled worker still refuses the Indian the admission to his trade union which would enable the Indian to raise his standard. Exploitation of Indian and coloured labour is inevitable. There are few signs of

white trade unions in South Africa changing their attitude, but that is the only solution to the problem they face.

The Indian population of South Africa is not increasing rapidly. During the ten years between 1911 and 1921 Indians in Natal, where they still outnumber the white races, increased 6 per cent. and the Europeans nearly 40 per cent. For the whole of South Africa there was an increase of 243,246 in the European population and 13,528 in the Asiatic population. There is thus little danger of the white races being swamped by yellow races. The main reason for this slow rate of increase is the preponderance of Asiatic males; the wives of many resident Indians live in India. The restrictions placed upon immigration and inter-provincial movements is another influence, and a third is the provisions of the Indian Relief Act of 1914, which allowed for the repatriation of Indians, with wives and children, who volunteered to return. In 1924 the Smuts Government introduced a Class Areas Bill, a prominent provision of which was the reservation of definite areas in towns for European residence and trading. If this Bill had become law the Government would have been able to force Indians to certain parts of towns. Asiatics protested violently against the proposed measure, but it was saved from becoming law by the dissolution of Parliament and the election of the Hertzog Government. A strong recast of this Class Areas Bill was the measure later introduced by Dr. Malan and the cause of the final agreement with India. On the whole, Indians form a minor section of South Africa's population. The 1926 census was of the European race only, and that gave as the total 1,676,660. The total number of all races in the Union is now about 7,000,000. Of a non-European population of about 5,500,000 the Indian proportion is very small.

The view is still held that with the increase of the native population the presence of even this small number of Indians must lead to unpleasant complications. Those who argue this way are inclined to credit Indians in South Africa with the ability to increase at a much faster rate than the small number makes physically possible. Altogether the problem seems to be solving itself. In course of time the presence of Indians in South Africa will not be regarded as a problem. In the official forecasted progression of population up to 1971 no mention is made of the Asiatic element, which is obviously regarded as a negligible factor. The European population is then expected to reach nearly 5,000,000, while the native population will be about 17,000,000.

Most Indians in South Africa are accused of sending money out of the country and restricted in parts of Natal and the Cape from investing money in South Africa. Only Indians whose home is

in India and commercial domicile in South Africa regularly send money out of the country. In the Transvaal Indians may not buy land, and as far as possible they were kept from settling there. In addition to this, Europeans seem to forget that their people send money overseas and many business houses are financed from America and Europe. The Indian is not always wrong.

To-day the term 'assisted emigration' is used instead of the old one of 'repatriation scheme.' When it is remembered that many availing themselves of it were born in South Africa, it is obviously more correct. An alteration of more importance is the fact that emigrants are not compelled to sign a document relinquishing domicile and receive a small sum of money in return as compensation. The right of re-entry is thus retained, should the country in which settlement is attempted prove unsuitable. It is an important concession that Indian emigrants are treated on the same basis as those of other races. By the new Act all emigrants from South Africa who remain away three years lose their rights of domicile. The only exception is when the Minister of Interior issues a special permit.

In addition to, or in lieu of, the bonus monthly pensions are now issued to the sick and disabled. The distribution of these has been taken over by the Indian Government. The bonuses now offered are far more generous than under the old scheme, and another welcome alteration is the fixing of sixteen as the age of majority for children concerned in assisted emigration schemes. Previously children under sixteen would be admitted into South Africa as minors when their parents were domiciled in the Union, but when repatriated a man was compelled to take all his children under twenty-one with him. The required age in this case is now sixteen.

It has been said that the dispute between South Africa and India is as old as President Kruger, who is now but an historical figure. The last three years have been the most settled period since the beginning of Indian immigration to South Africa on November 17, 1860. It is also said that no satisfactory solution has yet been reached, but the altered feeling has ended a painful controversy and opened the way to a better understanding in the future. Before the South African War the Transvaal was the stumbling-block, but since then the leaders in the anti-Asiatic feeling have been the British sections. With Union the position of Indians rapidly became worse, well-meaning South African party leaders feeling it necessary to retain the support of their Natal adherents by ignoring the undoubtedly just demands of the Indian Government and of the leading Indians in South Africa. Indians once had parliamentary franchise in Natal, but lost it in 1896. Many years later municipal franchise was taken

from them. Individuals already registered, however, were allowed to continue to vote, but they would not elect a man of their own race. By combining Indians could elect a European to represent their interests.

Except for the hundred or so Indians serving as waiters and in similar capacities, the Orange Free State is closed to Asiatics. Many more have been admitted into the Transvaal, but they are not allowed to vote in municipal or parliamentary elections, have generally to live in locations, where houses are only occupied temporarily, and may not own immovable property. It is rare for new licences to be issued to Indians in the Transvaal; old licences are frequently renewed, occasionally with difficulty. From the Indian point of view the Cape is the most favoured province. Here they have municipal and parliamentary franchise. This is probably a survival of the sentiment prevailing when Cecil John Rhodes was Prime Minister of the Cape. His policy was one of equal laws for all civilised people, irrespective of race. But in the Cape, as much as in other parts of South Africa, theatres and cinemas are the subject of a strict segregation. They are designed either for coloured people or for Europeans. Hotels catering for Europeans will not admit Indians, who are also subject to many restrictions on long-distance trains and on ships. There was a time when they were not allowed on pavements, but that sort of foolishness has almost disappeared in South Africa to-day.

Educational facilities for Indians in South Africa have long been very poor. Until the opening of the Sastri College in Natal the only institution for higher education open to Indians was the South African Native College at Fort Hare. This college was opened by His Excellency the Governor-General of South Africa on December 14, 1929. The college is in Durban, and the six principal members of its staff are to be selected from among teachers in India.

In spite of the many injustices under which Indians in South Africa have laboured, there can be little doubt that in general they are better off in the Union than they would be in India. The idea that Indians in South Africa are pressed under cruelly, subject to disheartening periods of unemployment, to poverty and other hardships, is wrong. The proportion of wealthy Indians is much higher in South Africa than in India, where the country is so overcrowded and competition so keen that few men of this type could have risen high. Class for class, South African Indians are far more comfortable than their fellows in India.

The political and social interests of Indians are now guarded by the South African Indian Congress, with which are affiliated the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, and

the Cape British Indian Council. This Congress is recognised by both the Indian and the South African Governments as representing the Indians of the Union. In the Transvaal, it might be mentioned incidentally, there are now nearly 16,000 Indians. Housing has been receiving much consideration from these bodies. In Durban a special Housing Board was appointed in 1928. Many important recommendations were embodied in the report, but so far nothing has been done to carry them out. Housing and sanitation, wages and organisation of tradesmen, and traders' licences are the main conditions in which a need for urgent improvement is felt.

A point on which there is always likely to be misunderstanding is the definition of Western standards, which fill so vital a place in the agreement. It has been said that this aspect of the problem is of no consequence, but to argue in this way is to ignore the fact that failure on the part of Indians to reach this standard renders them liable to be sent out of the country. Various definitions, some with legal sanction, have been tried, but on the whole they are not satisfactory. It has to be acknowledged that this Western standard differs with individuals; to expect the lowest class of Indian to live up to the ideals and habits of the best type of European is manifestly unjust. Personal cleanliness, habits, intellectual interests, amusements, modes of building and decorating form some of the vital differences between civilisation in the East and the West. The ability to accumulate wealth does not in itself constitute living up to a Western standard. In India itself some of the wealthiest people are the trading and moneylending castes, but the actual standard of living among these people is much below that of the poorer professional classes. Indians in South Africa live on very much the same style as certain classes of Europeans. No contrasts like that of cities and cantonments, as offered in India, are to be seen in the Union. A comparison of the design, cleanliness, and refinement of a cantonment with an adjoining native city will satisfy the most sceptical of the superiority of European methods and their difference from those of natives. In cities like Durban, where there are definite Indian areas, differences are noticed. Before condemning, however, it should be remembered that as many Europeans sink to the Indian level as Indians live up in the European way to the incomes they are earning. If sanitary and other laws are enforced without racial discrimination, difficulties here would readily disappear.

W. L. SPEIGHT.

120, Kloof Street, Cape Town.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN JERUSALEM

THERE are few features of the life of the Church of England so singular as the Church's representation in the Holy City, and the unique nature of that representation calls for the closest study and attention. There, in the Holy City of Jerusalem, side by side with the ecclesiastical buildings of the Greek, Latin, Armenian, Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian Churches, stands the Anglican Collegiate Church of St. George as an outward and visible sign of the embassy of our national Church to the religious capital of Christendom. If, even before the Great War, when Palestine formed part of the Ottoman Empire, it was deemed eminently desirable that the Church of England should be represented in Jerusalem, the establishment of a British mandate over the country has converted desirability into absolute necessity. In the last decade the religious significance of Jerusalem has been magnified. The Zionist policy of the British Government has had the effect of enhancing the position of the city in the eyes of the Jews, and for this very reason the people of Islam have stressed its sanctity as taking precedence next to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The Christian Churches have therefore worked for the maintenance and possible improvement of their position, while the Church of England has fulfilled her function as representing the national religion of the Power with paramount influence in the Holy Land.

Before attempting to describe the ambassadorial nature of the Jerusalem bishopric and its relations with other religious bodies represented in the Holy City, it is as well to give some account of how this bishopric came to be created. The failure of several attempts on the part of Lutheran Germany to recover episcopal orders through Rome led Frederick William IV. of Prussia to approach England, with a view to founding a bishopric in Jerusalem as a means of attaining that object. The bishopric was founded in 1841, its income being provided by the interest of an endowment fund raised in England and of a capital sum set aside from the privy purse of the King of Prussia. The nomination to the see thus financed was vested in England and Prussia alternately, the Archbishop of Canterbury nominating to the

Crown on the English side and having the right of veto on the Prussian nomination. The original objects publicly set forth as the aims towards which the bishop was to devote his efforts were, first, Christian unity, and, secondly, the preaching of the Gospel to the Jews, beginning at Jerusalem. Therefore, in the commendatory letter presented by the first bishop to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Archbishop of Canterbury said that the bishop was 'charged . . . not to intermeddle in any way with the jurisdiction of the prelates of the Eastern Churches' and 'by all means in his power to promote a mutual interchange of respect, courtesy and kindness,' and a 'heartly desire' was expressed to 'renew that amicable intercourse with the ancient Churches of the East which has been suspended for ages, and which, if restored, may have the effect, with the blessing of God, of putting an end to the divisions which have brought the most grievous calamities to the Church of Christ.' Further, in the authentic statement of the proceedings on the establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric it is recorded that the bishop's 'chief missionary care will be directed to the conversion of the Jews, to their protection, and to their useful employment.'

The bishopric, as then founded, was distinctly unpopular with many Churchmen on account of its connexion with a non-episcopal communion, and because of their failure to appreciate the difference between episcopal jurisdiction as exercised in the West, where it is territorial, and in the East, where several bishops have jurisdiction in the same area, each over the members of their own communion. This led to the unfounded fear that there was an attempt to intrude on the rights of the Greek Patriarch as Bishop of Jerusalem. Changes, however, were approaching which altered the whole position. A further failure to obtain episcopal orders for the Lutherans, when Bishop Gobat referred a request from the King of Prussia for the consecration of certain Lutheran ministers, prepared the way for the withdrawal of Prussia from the contract; and on the death of Bishop Barclay in 1881 the bishopric fell into abeyance. It was not until six years later, in 1887, that it was reconstituted as an Anglican see by Archbishop Benson, and Dr. Blyth, then Archdeacon of Rangoon, was consecrated Bishop in Jerusalem and the East, the Greek Patriarch having said that it was 'necessary that a bishop of the Church of England . . . should be placed in the Holy City.' The aims of the bishopric—Christian unity on Catholic principles and the conversion of the Jews—remained as in 1841, but the bishopric itself was duly regularised. In the East there had never been any question on this point, and under Bishop Blyth's administration it gained rapid and solid support both at home and abroad, so that the bishop became recognised as the representative of the

whole Anglican communion among the other representative bishops in the Holy City.

During all this time the Patriarch of Jerusalem was most sympathetic towards Bishop Blyth, saying that 'mutual understanding and union will be best promoted if you show us services truly representing the uses in your Church'; and again, 'we welcome your missionary work,' after lamenting that the law of the Ottoman Empire prohibited such work on the part of the Churches in Palestine. The law being then as it was, the method of representation of the Church of England took the form of a church with schools and medical work attached to it; and the work was carried on not only in Jerusalem, the headquarters of the bishopric and of all the Christian Churches, but also in smaller centres where opportunity offered without interfering with the efforts of others. Means to carry on the work were provided by a fund opened with the offertory alms given at the bishop's consecration, and known as the Jerusalem Bishopric Mission Fund; but the name was afterwards changed to the Jerusalem and the East Mission Fund, so as to avoid confusion with the Bishopric Endowment Fund. In order to safeguard the continuity of work and legalise medical institutions in the Ottoman Empire, it was essential that schools, hospitals and dispensaries should be located in buildings belonging to their respective missions and protected by imperial firmans, and for this reason the bishop opened his Land and Buildings Fund, donations to which were limited to the objects specified by the donors, but the Mission Fund was, and still is, of the nature of an English diocesan fund, and is administered by the bishop at his discretion for missionary purposes. It was not, however, until 1894 that St. George's College buildings were begun, and it was only in 1910 that the group of buildings (church, bishop's house, clergy house, etc.) was finished; but if the *tout ensemble* has been the result of years of unremitting toil, it certainly fulfils the object of upholding the dignity of the Church of England in Jerusalem, and provides most suitable accommodation for the various activities of the mission. It is interesting to note that it was on the bishop's table at St. George's Close that the surrender of Jerusalem was signed by the Turkish commander on December 9, 1917. The Jerusalem bishopric then comprised Egypt and the Sudan, as well as Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus, but now that a separate bishop has been appointed for Egypt and the Sudan the jurisdiction of the present bishop (Dr. MacInnes) is confined to Palestine, Syria, Cyprus, and such parts of Asia Minor as are not assigned to the Bishop of Gibraltar. The Collegiate Church has the status of a cathedral, having the bishop's seat and a dean, archdeacon, and canons; but the style, although in general use, is not officially assumed, as the

Patriarch of Jerusalem is the Bishop of Jerusalem, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the cathedral of the Holy City.

Under present conditions the objects of the mission have undergone little material change, except that the missionary work has been extended to Moslems, and has become more fruitful in this direction in consequence of the emancipation of the people of Palestine and Syria from the domination of the Turks. It may be summarised as follows :

1. The establishment and maintenance of mission work among the Jews and Moslems in Bible lands.
2. The provision of Church privileges for English Church-people resident therein.
3. The maintenance of relations of Christian charity, now so happily established, with the other Christian Churches represented in Jerusalem, especially the Eastern Orthodox Church, with a view to co-operation on Catholic principles and to the promotion of Christian unity, as laid down in the statement of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London on the reconstitution of the bishopric in 1887.

The essentially ambassadorial nature of the bishopric imposes upon it the twofold duty of keeping the Church at home informed regarding the religious position in Palestine and of maintaining such relations with other Churches and religions as to enable it to use the influence it believes to be for their help and benefit ; and it was with this aspect in view that St. George's began, to grow to its present dimensions. Long before the cathedral was consecrated in 1898 the then Orthodox patriarch suggested both to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem that a church should be built in the Holy City to show to the Eastern Orthodox Church the manner of worship of the Anglican communion in its most seemly form, and the patriarch believed that this would draw the two Churches together better than any other means. That His Beatitude's forecast was correct has been amply proved by the remarkable progress made in Anglican-Orthodox relations to which I will refer later in this article. But, although the bishop's activities must necessarily be multifarious, one common feature unites them all, and they are all governed by one ideal—namely, that the primary function of the Anglican bishop in Jerusalem is the worthy representation of the Anglican communion in the Holy City and the Holy Land. This principle is carried out by every other branch of the Church, from the Church of Rome to that of Abyssinia. Moreover, Palestine is a country peopled neither by a nation nor by different races, but by individuals of different religions, so that a man's religion is of much more importance than his nationality. It

therefore follows that, as Great Britain has been delegated to guide and protect these people politically, the religious side of the British race cannot escape their careful scrutiny, and must necessarily be shown to them in such a way as to earn their respect and justify their confidence. This is the function of the Jerusalem and the East Mission, whose primary object is to create a friendly atmosphere of mutual study and, in the case of non-Christians, to produce a body of people who, while still remaining Jews or Moslems, will at least oppose current and controversial travesties of Christianity. The position of the bishop is not an easy one. As in the case of an ambassador, it is not only essential that he should be trusted by those whom he represents, but that he should be acceptable to and trusted by those to whom he is accredited. If an ambassador cannot gain the confidence of the people to whom he is sent, or if circumstances arise which, in spite of the representative's own efforts to the contrary, bring him under suspicion, his usefulness, or even the smallest possibility of his usefulness, ceases and every action on his part is misconstrued and resisted. How to gain and maintain this confidence is a problem of which there is no definite solution. All who assume such representative duties have to solve the question for themselves according to the special circumstances in which they are placed, the type of people among whom they are sent, and their own personal qualities. The means that they can use and the influences that they can bring to bear vary in each individual case ; but one factor remains constant irrespective of local or personal peculiarities—namely, that any manner of usefulness depends solely on the representative's degree of success in penetrating to the very depths the life, thought and mind of the people in question, in acquiring a thorough knowledge of their literature and ideals, in understanding their limitations, and in sympathising with their prejudices. This is the task which the bishop and his staff have been called upon to undertake, and results have already more than proved the success of their mission.

One of the canons of St. George's is specially appointed as an expert in Jewish work, and the bishop, knowing the unfriendly attitude of the Jews towards Christianity as a result of centuries of persecution, asked this canon to make himself fully acquainted with the Jewish hopes for a National Home in Palestine and to form points of contact with the educated and leading Jews of all classes. Dr. Herbert Danby set to work nine years ago, and the contacts which he has formed have at least shown that the church is sympathetic and friendly to all the finer aspirations of Jewish life. He met the Jews on common ground—in literature, scholarship, Oriental study, and music, in all of which he is an expert—with the result that he has now formed lasting friendships with

many of the most intellectual and cultured Jews in Palestine, and has even been asked by the leading Zionists to publish lectures given by him on the Jewish attitude towards Christianity. This is ample proof that a considerable step forward has been taken in the creation of a better atmosphere, and it is significant that Dr. Danby has become so prominent in Jewish intellectual activity that he is helping to supervise the completion of a *Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew* compiled by the late Eliezer Ben Yehudah, the Jewish genius who was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the revival of the Hebrew language. It is also intended that a canon of St. George's should become an expert in work on the Moslem side, but owing to financial difficulties this side of the work has not yet been fully regularised, although Moslem relations are efficiently maintained and promoted by the bishop himself and by members of the mission staff with a knowledge of the Arabic language. The relations between St. George's and the Moslem religious hierarchy are very cordial, and an example of the mutual sympathy existing between the two religious bodies is to be found in the fact that the Anglican bishop was one of the first to offer his congratulations to King Hussein on his assumption of the caliphate in 1924, on which occasion he was decorated by the King of the Hedjaz. Both the Jewish and Moslem work is carried out by missionaries specially trained in their particular branches, by means of schools and colleges which attract ever-increasing numbers, and by the services of St. Luke's Hospital, which has recently been moved from Haifa to Hebron. Education and medical treatment are irrespective of race and religion, and while St. Luke's Hospital treats in-patients and out-patients, Moslems and Jews, as well as native Christians, and provides visitations to the sick of the neighbouring villages, St. George's School educates boys of British, Palestinian, American, Armenian, German, Swedish, Russian, Persian, and Iraqi nationality, representing the Anglican, Jewish, Moslem, Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Syrian Orthodox, Abyssinian and Baha'i religions. From every point of view it is impossible to speak too highly of St. George's School in Jerusalem, which offers to Oriental youth, be he Christian, Moslem or Jew, the best that Britain has to give.

It is, however, important to remember that from a missionary point of view the British residents are of supreme importance. Although comparatively few in number, most of them hold positions of responsibility where their actions are intimately bound up with their religion, and the church's help is necessary for the full and adequate discharge of their duties to Church and State. Since the British Government accepted the mandate for Palestine many Government officials of all grades have gone to that country.

and the Church of England is responsible for them, as well as for the ever-increasing number of visitors and pilgrims who annually visit the Holy Land. For this purpose a British chaplaincy has been created under the superintendence of the archdeacon, while an up-to-date pilgrim hostel has been open for several years as a counterpart of the older hospices of the sister Churches in Jerusalem.

As far as the relationships with the Eastern Churches are concerned, marked progress has been made in recent years. Experts on the position of the Eastern Churches form part of the mission staff, and friendships, which there is every hope will prove lasting, have been formed with the Greek and Armenian patriarchates. The history of Anglican-Orthodox relations is too large a subject to elaborate here, but the work of recent years has brought about two most significant results which cannot be passed unnoticed. First, mutual sympathy and understanding have gained so much ground that the Orthodox Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have now definitely acknowledged the validity of Anglican orders; and, secondly, it has been agreed that where clergy of the Anglican or Orthodox Churches are out of reach of a church building of their own Church they can avail themselves of the church buildings of the other Church with the sanction of the local bishop. Inter-communion has not yet been reached, but an important practical outcome of the efforts at friendly approach is shown in the following letter written in 1919 by the Orthodox Archbishop of Melbourne to the Anglican Archbishop of Brisbane:

I have received an encyclical from the Holy Synod of Athens authorising me to advise that all members of our Church (not within reach of ministrations from their own clergy) should avail themselves of the ministrations and Sacraments of the Church of England. . . . Where your priests desire and can come into touch with our people, in any attempt they may make to invite them to the ministrations and Communion of your Church, they will be acting with my freely and gladly given sanction, as I recognise that they will be doing a service both to our people and our Church.

As far as the Greek Church is concerned the above clearly shows the value of the work done by the Anglican bishop in Jerusalem.

There are, however, two other Eastern Churches with which the Anglican bishopric has the most cordial relations—those of Abyssinia and Assyria. In 1921 an embassy from Her Royal Highness the Empress of Abyssinia arrived in Jerusalem in order to request the recovery of the rights which the Abyssinian Church had lost in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and His Excellency Dejtch Gabra Salassi,¹ head of this mission, conveyed to Dr.

¹ Governor-General of the Northern Province of Abyssinia and counsellor to the Empress Zawdito.

MacInnes, the Anglican bishop, the personal greetings of the Empress, presenting to him at the same time a brass benediction cross and an illuminated manuscript of the Abyssinian Gospels, in recognition of the sympathy and help which the Anglican bishop had so often shown to the representatives of Abyssinian Christianity in Jerusalem. Then later, in 1924, His Highness Ras Tafari, Prince Regent of Abyssinia, visited St. George's Close, and took occasion to present a sum of money, five enormous sacks of coffee, a beautiful benediction cross of pure gold, and three volumes in the ancient Ethiopic language, besides decorating the bishop with the Star of Ethiopia. Scarcely less significant of the high regard in which the bishop is held throughout the Middle East was the visit of Mar Shimun, Patriarch Catholicos of the Assyrian Christians, who as a mere boy of fifteen spent some days in Jerusalem in 1925 and took part in the services at St. George's Cathedral. This youthful patriarch is the temporal and spiritual ruler of the Assyrians or Nestorians, over whom he holds unlimited powers, and represents a people of the highlands of Kurdistan who were our staunch allies in the Great War.

The relation between the Anglican bishopric and the Palestine Government is practically that the one is the complement of the other. Religion plays so important a part in all Palestine matters that close co-operation between the Church and the Administration is essential, while in education and public health the Jerusalem and the East Mission gives substantial help to the Government departments concerned and receives their assistance in return. Even in police duties the staff of the mission has rendered valuable service; for in the recent crisis every available member performed the duties of special constable until the arrival of sufficient British troops to control the situation.

Of the many English pilgrimages that have recently visited St. George's Cathedral perhaps the most interesting was that of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, of which the bishop is chaplain, in the spring of 1926. Besides having the Ophthalmic Hospital of the Order, which has long done magnificent work to combat eye diseases so prevalent among the *fellahin*, they have St. John's Chapel in the Anglican cathedral as their official place of worship; and the presence of the Order once more in the Holy Land was a reminder that the great spirit of charity that fired the hearts of the knights of St. John 800 years ago is ever present in the hearts of their successors to-day. Not only has their work brought credit and enhanced prestige to that Venerable Order, but it has substantially assisted the ambassadorial representation of the Church of England.

Jerusalem, from which might be expected to radiate a spirit of peace, has been positively notorious throughout the centuries

for violent ecclesiastical disputes in which trivialities have played the greater part. Since the war, however, considerable progress has been made to reduce ecclesiastical strife to the minimum, and the Anglican bishopric has missed no opportunity of encouraging harmonious co-operation. The most striking testimony of the success of this policy is to be found in the thanksgiving service held every year on December 9, the anniversary of the liberation of Jerusalem by Lord Allenby—an event for which the greater part of the contending factions are united in their varying degrees of gratitude. This impressive and unique ceremony, held in the Anglican Cathedral of St. George the Martyr under the direction of the Anglican bishop, has been attended by the High Commissioner and the heads of the Palestine Administration, as well as by the Moslem mayor and the chief notables of the city. The Patriarchs of the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Churches have attended and taken part in the service. The leading ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian Churches have seats by the high altar. The Grand Mufti, Chief Rabbi, and representatives of the Arab and Jewish communities have formed part of the congregation, and the consuls of the foreign Powers have attended, irrespective of the Church to which they belong. Parts of the service are conducted in English, others in Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, and Armenian; and differences of race, creed, and language are no obstacle to unity of purpose. Nowhere else in the world is it possible annually to witness a procession of patriarchs, with full robes and decorations, all of different Churches, entering an Anglican cathedral at the invitation of an Anglican bishop, fully robed with cope and mitre. The sun-lit cloisters form a dignified background to this brilliant procession of peace as it passes along headed by the *kawasses* of the different patriarchates and consulates, dressed in their rich Oriental uniforms. The High Commissioner's guard of honour is drawn up at attention in the quadrangle; the Union Jack flies from the masthead of St. George's close; and the strains of the National Anthem mark the opening of this universal thanksgiving in the Holy City.

E. W. POLSON NEWMAN.

BRUSSELS A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

BEHIND the busiest streets of Brussels lies hidden a square—so still, so old world, that on entering it one seems to step back into the spacious leisurely days of long ago. The houses are all uniform—of greystone, with massive pediments and rows of pillars. Pediment fronts pediment, pillar matches pillar across the square.

It was known as the Place St. Michel in that past time when its magnificent houses were the habitation of 'rank and fashion.' Now it bears another name, and its dim and dusty mansions, fallen from their high estate, serve as offices and warehouses.

In the centre is a garden with a monument. Belgium, a crowned woman, stands there in stone, beside her lion; chains lie about her feet. With proud, free gesture she inscribes an immortal deed upon a scroll.

Around the statue has been dug a crypt with cloisters; on iron doors under its arches many names are engraved. Funeral wreaths hang there, in varying stages of mournful decay.

This spot is holy ground—a place of pilgrimage—for here lie buried 600 citizens of Brussels who perished in the revolution of 1830.

Belgium has throughout the ages been under the domination of some alien power. France, Spain and Austria succeeded one another as her overlord, till in the early nineteenth century Napoleon brought her back under the heel of France. When that titanic empire fell, the Powers of Europe concerted to wrest Belgium from Gallic dominion and to establish a barrier State by uniting all the Low Countries under the sceptre of William I. of Holland.

Though Belgium would have preferred the restoration of the Austrian *régime*, she was ready at first to accept the situation philosophically. It was the inconceivable tactlessness of the Dutch which engendered the revolution of 1830.

There were obvious difficulties, of course, in harmonising the two countries. The chief stumbling-block was religion; the

cleavage between Catholic Belgium and Calvinistic Holland had widened, if anything, during the past two centuries.

The proclamation of liberty of conscience for all seems to us now a logical solution of the struggle between the two cults for the position of 'State religion.' Unfortunately it satisfied neither party.

National jealousies, too, added their note of inevitable discord. The Dutch demanded that Amsterdam should be the capital of the new kingdom; the Belgians, naturally, urged the claims of Brussels. The matter was finally left in abeyance! The constitution of the two Chambers was the subject of bitter discussion before the Belgians consented to equality of political representation; they had laid claim to a proportion of two to three, corresponding to the greater density of their population over the Dutch.

The draft Constitution—'the Fundamental Law'—was submitted to the approval of the Belgians in characteristically ingenuous fashion. 'Notables' were chosen in each district by local authorities to vote on the subject, in the proportion of one representative for each 2000 souls. William, fearing the unpopularity of the Liberty of Conscience clause, tried to forestall protest by excluding religious matters from the suffrage; these statutes, he said, had been imposed upon him by his compact with the Powers.

The Constitution was, indeed, received with universal disfavour. The Catholics regarded liberty of conscience as a synonym for the condonation of error, and the proposed liberty of the Press offended the Church as greatly as did the annulment of the ancient right of the clergy to sit in the National Assembly. The Belgian hierarchy petitioned the King for the redress of these grievances, but no reply was vouchsafed them. The Bishop of Ghent, Maurice de Broglie, who was the soul of the opposition, then led his peers in proclaiming, by pastoral letter, that Catholics could not in conscience support the Fundamental Law.

Voting took place between August 14 and 18, 1815. 796 votes were registered against the Constitution and 527 for it. There were 280 abstainers. Of the dissentients, 126 announced that they had acted from religious motives.

In spite of this adverse majority, the Constitution was imposed immediately upon the country. William had even the audacity to proclaim that the result of the referendum had been favourable. His peculiar reasoning was explained as follows in a proclamation:

The 280 abstentions were counted as affirmatives, for silence might be interpreted as consent.

Religion having been excluded from the vote, the number of

conscientious objectors—126—was not only deducted from the negatives, but classed among the affirmatives!

This violation of their rights was received with surprising calm by the Belgians, and the clergy themselves lapsed into quietude. The situation, however, remained intensely strained.

When William was inaugurated as sovereign in Brussels there were some demonstrations of loyalty. Yet even on that day there were clouds. The address from the throne was spoken only in Dutch—a capital mistake in a city which was certainly half French-speaking. The people, too, were disappointed because the customary largesse thrown to the crowd was not of silver coin, according to precedent, but of copper—a misplaced economy which earned William the soubriquet of 'Koperen Koning' ('Copper King').

William's eldest son, the Prince of Orange, a handsome, dashing young man, who had distinguished himself on the field of Waterloo, had a real sympathy for the Belgians, and was popular with them. He and his bride, the Grand Duchess Anna Paulowna of Russia, spent much time in Brussels. As early as 1816 the Prince perceived the seriousness of the general discontent. To his close friend, the Duke of Wellington, he wrote:

The spirit of the Belgians becoming daily worse and more dissatisfied on account of the entire influence of the Dutch—who have all the business in hand, and consider Belgium daily more as an annexed province which is to be submissive to the Mother Country—it seems to me of great importance to check this bad spirit as much as possible. The King is exclusively surrounded by Dutch, who, although his intentions are the fairest and the best, lead him to be decidedly partial in favour of the Dutch, and this being the case, he is made to be quite averse to my being settled for the greatest part of each year in Brussels, which is the general wish of the Belgians, and might be very useful, for you know how easily that nation is gained and amused by a court, and when amused they forget to a great extent their grievances.

The Prince had, unfortunately, little influence with his father; and under the latter's blundering rule matters went steadily from bad to worse.

Belgium, already smarting under religious disabilities, began to suffer financially. She was obliged to bear half a national debt in the making of which she had had no part; the tax on wheat fell exclusively on her, since in her provinces lay the only corn-producing lands in the kingdom. Low import duties, on the other hand, afforded her, a manufacturing country, no protection for her industries.

Further objectionable measures were promulgated. Dutch was made the official language for the whole country, obligatory

for all who held employment under Government. Naturally the Walloons, who represent 50 per cent. of the population of Belgium, chafed under this edict. Teachers, religious and lay, were required to obtain from their local authorities a permit to exercise their functions; no school or college where Latin was taught might be opened without the sanction of the Minister of the Interior. Thus the entire educational system of a country wholly Catholic and half French-speaking was controlled by the Dutch Calvinistic Government. Simultaneously a secular College of Philosophy was opened at Louvain, and candidates for the priesthood were ordered to pass examination there before receiving ordination. The law forbade any candidate who should henceforth be educated or ordained abroad to exercise his priestly function in Belgium.

What advantage could William expect to obtain by this gadfly policy? Yet, strange as it may seem, his intentions were, as his son said, 'the fairest and best.' He was sincerely labouring, according to his own not very brilliant lights, for the fusion of the two countries so arbitrarily united under his sceptre. He was, moreover, not lacking in a certain shrewdness; his business acumen was remarkable. Belgium was undoubtedly indebted to him for the rapid renaissance of her commercial prosperity after the devastating Napoleonic wars. But benefits were forgotten in exasperation.

William bore the sole responsibility for his unpopularity. He governed as he willed, keeping his Ministers in subservience by the simple method of dismissing those who dared to oppose him. Enamoured of his own ideas, he continued to blind himself to the increasing unrest. The fact that during a royal progress he had not been badly received by the Flemish population—whose race and language naturally inclined them to be more tolerant of the Dutch than were their neighbours of the French-speaking provinces—completely atoned, in his eyes, for the attitude of the Walloon towns; an attitude so menacing as to oblige him to curtail his tour. He ascribed unpleasant incidents to the agitation of a small minority, believing the mass of the people to be well satisfied.

Discontent finally broke out in a violent Press campaign, in a flood of seditious pamphlets. Then it was seen how little the 'liberty of the Press,' which had so alarmed the Bishops, counted in the eyes of William. All who were guilty of adverse criticism were arrested and tried; many were thrown into prison. Louis de Potter, the most active of the agitators—who was first imprisoned and then condemned to eight years' banishment and deported—was a Liberal and a Freethinker; yet he and his party made common cause with the Catholics against the oppressor. William failed to realise the danger to him of this unique con-

junction—the union of clerical and anti-clerical against the enemy of both.

A monster petition of protest had no effect on William, but a new attitude on the part of the Belgian deputies to the Parliament at The Hague did, for a moment, shake his self-confidence. The occasional subservience of some of these deputies had hitherto furnished the King with the bare majority necessary to pass his measures; now they united in a solid block against their Dutch colleagues. The deadlock forced William to withdraw two of his edicts—the educational laws and the compulsory use of Dutch. But, characteristically, he forfeited the good of this alleviation by establishing the exclusive seat of the High Court and of all Government departments in Holland. Belgium, naturally, was enraged afresh.

While matters were in this ferment there arrived news of the fall of the French King and the setting up of a constitutional monarchy under the Orleans branch of the Bourbons. Barricades had been erected in Paris, there had been fighting, blood had flowed, the people in arms had prevailed against trained troops; it was a stimulating example.

Demonstrations took place in Brussels—isolated incidents, like small sporadic fires, all tending towards a general conflagration. They culminated in the famous scene at the Théâtre de la Monnaie on the evening of August 25, 1830.

It was perhaps with the connivance of the leaders of the agitation that the opera chosen that night was *La Muette de Portici*; anyhow, the work, with its evocation of liberty and patriotism, served their purpose well. When the tenor sang Masaniello's famous appeal—

Shake off the yoke which crushes us—
Let the stranger fall beneath our blows!
May the holy love of our native land
Inspire us with daring and courage!
My country gave me life,
I will give my country liberty!—

groups rose among the audience and took up the song in chorus. It was a concerted movement, the secret of which had been well kept. The demonstrators then rushed out into the Place de la Monnaie, shouting 'Down with the Dutch! Down with the Ministers!'

They were immediately reinforced by a mob, which had been awaiting this signal. It was not the best element of the population which came to the fore that night; but then the work to do was not for the squeamish. The insurgents broke into the gunsmiths' shops and armed themselves, before proceeding to sack and burn the houses of the Dutch Ministers, and the office of

the Government newspaper, the *National*. Believing that the army would refuse to attack them, they passed confidently in front of a detachment of grenadiers, who had been hastily posted near the Place Royale. But the soldiers, obeying orders, fired, and five Belgians were killed and many wounded.

From the hour of this first shedding of blood the revolution held full sway. There was a certain ebb and flow, but the flood steadily gathered volume until the day came when it burst the barriers.

Meanwhile there was danger of mob rule. The Dutch Government and the municipal authorities seemed paralysed by the events of that night. The restoration of order and the protection of property had to be undertaken by the citizens. The energy and efficiency shown then by the burghers of Brussels can never be sufficiently extolled. They organised among themselves a 'Garde Bourgeoise,' or Burgher Guard, of several thousand men, the command of which they confided to an ex-cavalry officer, Baron d'Hoogvorst. The burgomaster gladly recognised and encouraged the Garde Bourgeoise, which was indeed to prove the sole governing power in the city for the next few weeks. It was the guard who issued admonitory proclamations, disarmed the revolutionary element, and substituted the tricolour of Brabant for the French tricolour (which had made a sporadic appearance among a section of the insurgents)—emphasising thereby the national and patriotic character of the revolution. The commander of the Dutch garrison deemed it the best policy to accept a truce with this effective body, pending negotiations with Holland.

On August 29 a deputation of five prominent citizens departed for The Hague to carry the nation's demands to the King.

Sire, [so ran the address they bore] Never in a like crisis did good citizens more greatly deserve the esteem of Your Majesty and the gratitude of the public. By their firmness and courage they have quelled in three days a most dangerous effervescence, and made grave disorders to cease. But, Sire, . . . the discontent has deep roots; everywhere the consequences are apparent of the disastrous system followed by ministers who refuse to recognise alike our desires and our needs.

Thus did the Belgian leaders tactfully lay upon William's unfortunate Ministers the blame which, they well knew, attached only to the King himself.

The good citizens of Brussels [the petition continues] have despatched these emissaries to obtain the happy assurance that the evils of which they complain will be removed as soon as they are made known. The undersigned are convinced that one of the best means of arriving at this most desirable end would be the prompt convocation of the States General.

Here followed the signature of Baron d'Hoogvorst and forty-three other names, representative of the nobility, the army, the law, medicine, industry, and trade.

Meanwhile William, on hearing the news of the revolt, had immediately sent troops to the environs of Brussels, by forced marches, under the leadership of the Prince of Orange and Prince Frederic.

The Prince of Orange arrived at Vilvorde on August 30 and invited the commander of the Burgher Guard to wait upon him there immediately. When d'Hoogvorst accompanied by four 'notables' appeared at the royal headquarters they displayed upon their breasts broad sashes of the colours of Brabant. This silent affirmation of nationalism was a challenge, and the Prince knew it.

The conversation proved fruitless; and he had to confine himself to the intimation of his intention of making a 'peaceful progress' through the city at the head of his troops. He stipulated that the tricolour should not be displayed.

The delegates replied that they would debate the question with their colleagues, and withdrew without having committed themselves.

When the account of the interview became public, the people's indignation knew no bounds. Between 8000 and 10,000 men enrolled themselves in the Burgher Guard in one day; the bells of Sainte Gudule and of lesser churches rang out a ceaseless tocsin; formidable barriers were erected in the city in the style of the recent Paris revolution. A curt reply was sent to the Prince: Brussels offered a safe conduct for himself and his staff, but no troops would be admitted. The flag would not be removed.

It was a staggering blow; trusting, however, in his popularity, the Prince accepted the humiliating terms.

On the morning of September 1, therefore, he presented himself at the bridge of Laeken accompanied by six officers and two servants, all on horseback. The chiefs of the Burgher Guard received him, and a small opening was made in the barricades to allow his passage. The guard, in their improvised uniform—a blue peasant blouse and a military cap—lined the streets three deep. They were fortuitously armed; some with rifles, others with swords, here and there a few with butchers' knives and axes. Behind them thronged vast crowds. The Prince's brow darkened as he beheld the forbidden tricolour; pinned on the breasts of men and women, hanging from balconies and window sills—on all sides fluttered the ominous red, yellow, and black.

Heavy silence reigned at first; then here and there—for there were still a few Orangists in the town—arose a rare cry:

'Vive le Roi!' Immediately the greeting was drowned in a roar of voices: 'Vive la liberté!'

The Prince, though deathly pale, kept up a show of fearlessness and affability. He chatted with his aides-de-camp, waved and smiled to the sullen populace that surged ever more menacingly around him, pressing against his horse's flanks, and closing their ranks behind him as he passed.

Such was the situation all the way to the Hôtel de Ville, where the unfortunate Prince had to submit to a long harangue from the burgomaster. It was here that, looking round on the wall of hostile faces surrounding him, his courage gave way. Perceiving a gap in the crowd near the Rue de la Violette, he suddenly spurred his horse, and, to the horror of his entourage, leaped a barricade and set off at full gallop. He never drew rein until he reached the Place Royale, where the Dutch garrison had bivouacked since August 25.

His officers and his Belgian escort hastened after him, helter-skelter. The flustered Prince received them exceedingly badly. 'What do you want? Is it a revolution?' he demanded; then burst into invective against the insulting display of the 'revolutionary colours' of Brabant.

It was, however, only a passing ebullition. His statesmanship soon reasserted itself, and the same evening he issued a conciliatory proclamation, thanking the guard in the King's name for their services and announcing the formation of a commission to discuss measures 'for the restoration of calm and confidence.'

Towards nightfall on that eventful day the deputation returned from The Hague, and the next afternoon the result of the embassy became known. The King had received the deputies 'benevolently,' informing them that he had forestalled their wishes by summoning the States General for September 13. His Majesty further observed that he held too much 'to his royal dignity' to yield 'as one who had a pistol to his head.' He would, however, endeavour to conciliate all interests. The princes must enter Brussels with their troops, and thus terminate a situation which offered a pernicious example. Finally, His Majesty expressed his desire for peace, 'several times reiterating, with deep emotion, his horror of bloodshed.'

Belgium was in no mood to be lulled by ambiguous promises or quelled by veiled threats. The convocation of the States General, though demanded by their own 'notables,' irritated the people at this juncture. It appeared to them an empty boon, since the system of representation left them at the mercy of the King.

Immediately the proclamation was published angry crowds began to assemble, and the situation soon grew alarming. Towards

nightfall the mob tore the proclamations down, burned them, and, in melodramatic gesture of defiance, hurled the ashes in the direction of the Hôtel de Ville. From high and low alike was heard the cry for 'Separation! Separation!'

The Prince's secret ambition here undoubtedly met the wishes of the Belgians. He started for The Hague the following day, bearing the people's ultimatum—an unequivocal demand for their administrative separation from Holland, under the viceroyalty of the Prince of Orange. He agreed to leave Brussels in the sole charge of the Garde Bourgeoise, and the whole of the Dutch garrison accordingly evacuated the city on September 3, remaining encamped near Vilvorde.

A deceptive calm reigned during the next fortnight. Neither the ambiguous tenor of the speech from the throne at the opening of the States General at The Hague on September 14 nor the hostility of the Dutch Press provoked any demonstration in Brussels. The Burgher Guard quietly increased its effectives. Arms and cannon were mysteriously forthcoming; reinforcements arrived from Liège, Louvain, and other cities. A 'commission of public safety' was organised as a civil auxiliary to the volunteer force. It was, however, a false step on the part of the commission which provoked the final explosion. On September 19 this body issued an 'order of the day' condemning skirmishes with the Dutch outside Brussels and acts of pillage on the part of the more fiery of the patriots. Such moderation was quite sufficient in those days of public effervescence to brand the commissioners as traitors in the eyes of the populace. The more violent element had indeed for some time steadily been gaining the upper hand, and now definitely threw off all control. The leaders of the movement and the officers of the Burgher Guard became suddenly powerless before the forces they had themselves fostered.

The night of the 19th was hideous with rioting. The town resounded with clamour, cries of 'To arms! . . . Forward!' beating of drums, noise of running feet. The Garde Bourgeoise resisted the insurgents with admirable self-control; the mob which attacked the town hall was repulsed innumerable times without a single casualty among the rioters. But the next morning the building was finally stormed by 1500 men, who, with great shouts of 'Liberty!' battered down the heavy doors and possessed themselves of the arms concealed within.

In this crisis several of the 'notables' fled. Others, more valourous, attempted the constitution of yet another provisional Government. But no leadership could avail any more. From that hour the populace was supreme.

It has been asserted that overtures were made by certain

nameless Brussels personalities to Prince Frederic, asking for the co-operation of his troops in the restoration of order. If true, this might be an excuse for the unfortunate decision which he now took.

Assuming that the city was divided against itself, and that he would be welcomed by 'the best citizens,' he issued his famous proclamation of September 21, in which he ordered Brussels to open her gates to his army, insisting once more on the abolition of the colours of Brabant, and promising amnesty to all who were not 'guilty of acts too criminal to escape the law's severity.'

The effect of this effusion may be imagined. Prince Frederic wasted the next two days in little skirmishes outside Brussels; meanwhile the city organised her defence. When at dawn on the 23rd the King's army marched on four of the town gates they found themselves confronted with a formidable resistance.

At the gates of Laeken and Flanders the attacks were easily beaten off, but at those of Schaerbeek and Louvain they were more deadly. At Schaerbeek the enemy pressed in after a desperate struggle, and, bringing up sixteen cannon, bombarded the whole length of the Rue Royale. A column, 1800 strong, then charged up the street, meeting with no further opposition until they reached the intersecting points of the Rue Treurenberg and the Rue de Louvain, where a strong barricade had been erected. A fierce battle took place here, and the advance was stopped. The Dutch, attempting an outflanking movement, passed through the Rue Ducale into the Parc. The defending forces were concentrated just beyond, holding the upper part of the Rue Royale and the whole of the Place Royale. From thence an intense fire from such cannon as the Belgians possessed poured on to the invading troops in the Parc. Sharpshooters, posted in the windows of the neighbouring houses, picked off their victims while remaining themselves in comparative security. The confined wooded gardens where the Dutch entrenched became for them a death-trap.

Meanwhile, the detachment of cavalry which had successfully forced the Louvain gate, being repulsed in its turn at the Treurenberg barricade, galloped round to await events near the Porte de Namur. The Belgians closed in behind them and retook the Louvain gate.

That evening Prince Frederic, panic-stricken, sought to come to terms with d'Hoogvorst, who, naturally, refused to forgo the hardly won advantage. Moreover, the situation grew hourly more auspicious. The access to Brussels was open on the south, and volunteers were streaming in from the provinces, bringing fresh arms and provisions. During the four days of battle the

Belgians waxed in numbers, while the Dutch waited vainly for their promised reinforcements.

A bombardment started a widespread conflagration, and it was believed that, by order of the Prince, red-hot cannon balls had been fired into the town. 'He wants to burn down our city!' was the cry in every mouth, and hatred redoubled the people's valour.

One of a deputation of citizens, who of their own initiative ventured into the enemy camp in the vain hope of arresting the civil war, hurled at Prince Frederic this protest of fine imagery: 'Can you not see that with every drop of blood that falls, with every spark that rises from the burning city, a fragment of your father's crown crumbles away?'

It was literally 'the people in arms.' Authority and discipline were non-existent. The officers named by the Burgher Guard were ignored. Here and there an old soldier of the Napoleonic wars might be seen directing a handful of the more docile volunteers, but for the most part everyone fought as he pleased.

It is astounding that these men, in all some 7000, untrained, undirected, ill-armed, with only ten guns (of which four were of small calibre), with no horses, should have routed a professional army of nearly twice their numbers, well provided with artillery and cavalry. It was a victory of spirit over matter.

Their method of warfare, if primitive, was effective. During the attacks on the gates women and children had poured boiling water and cast paving stones and every available missile from the windows on the heads of the advancing troops. The volunteers had possession of the houses near the Parc; piercing the dividing walls inside, they extended their line unperceived round the Dutch encampment. In these advantageous positions the marksmen continued to fire from behind casements, from the scaffolding-holes of the buildings, from beneath loosened roof tiles. Not an enemy soldier could advance beyond the trenches in the Parc without becoming a target for a hidden rifle.

It was a quaint feature of the strife that with the fall of dusk hostilities ceased. It was a kind of unspoken pact that the night should bring peace. 'Like the workmen, they end their toil at evening,' wrote an eye-witness. The Dutch perhaps took advantage of the respite to perfect their entrenchments, whilst the Belgians worked at their house-tunnelling, but neither side ever made any attempt at a surprise attack. Some of the patriots kept a semblance of watch, indeed, but by far the majority either went home to supper and bed or passed the time in the cafés. At sunrise the tocsin of Sainte Gudule, hushed too during the dark hours, rang out again; the drums beat in the streets, and every man hastened to his post.

The *dénouement* has a picturesque unexpectedness. While the good patriots of Brussels were taking their accustomed rest on the night of September 26 the Dutch quietly evacuated the dreaming town. No sentinel saw them go, no drowsy ear heard them. At dawn the citizens turned out as usual for the daily sniping, and it was not till several hours had passed that, surprised at the unnatural quiet which brooded over the Parc, a few scouts crept forward to reconnoitre. And, behold! the enemy camp was void.

The Belgians penetrated into the empty trenches, inspected the abandoned cannon, munitions and other war material. Their unwary feet tripped over the carcasses of horses and the bodies of slain men, scarce hidden under an inch of soil and a scattering of dead leaves. The Dutch, indeed, showed scant respect for their dead; the seventy-four corpses found in the Parc were all naked.

It would need a pen more eloquent than ours [writes a contemporary] to depict the aspect of Brussels on the morning of the 27th. More than 60,000 inhabitants who had been hidden for four days in the cellars of their dwellings came out to the light of day, and wandered everywhere, joy and triumph expressed in their countenances and gestures. Complete strangers embraced one another; people wept for happiness. They contemplated the ashes, the ruins, the devastation that lay around them, with looks in which grief, hatred and victory were blended. And everyone said to himself: '*It is dearly bought! But at least we shall no longer be Dutch.*'

The instinct of the people did not err. Mysterious as it may seem, these four September days had decided Belgium's future. The campaign in the provinces, the battles and siege of Antwerp, had not the smallest effect on the general situation. King William's complete capitulation, his promise of administrative separation and of the reform of the Fundamental Law, made public on September 29, the last desperate efforts of the Prince of Orange to recover his lost prestige—all this evoked nothing but contempt from the patriots, sure now of final victory.

The 'Brussels Days' had been the prelude to the insurrection of the entire country [writes Monsieur Pirenne]. Horrified by the violence and the suddenness of the movement, the authorities allowed themselves to be deposed without protest. It was scarcely necessary to attack the *régime*; it was crumbling of itself.

On October 28 the Belgian patriot Rogier signed an 'indefinite armistice' with the Dutch general; the hostile armies withdrew into Holland; the war was over.

It is not within the scope of this article to retrace the ensuing diplomatic developments which culminated in the recognition by the Powers of the kingdom of Belgium, under the sceptre of Leopold I.

These retrospective meditations, begun in the Place St.

Michel, may fittingly end there. On September 25, in the thick of the battle of Brussels, d'Hoogvorst and his associates had issued a proclamation commanding that a pit should be dug in the Place St. Michel to receive the bodies of 'the brave defenders of Liberty,' and promising that 'a monument shall transmit to Posterity the names of the heroes and the country's gratitude.' The dead were therefore carried down in long procession to the little old square, where by the raw grave priests knelt day and night in prayer.

And henceforth the spot was known as the Place des Martyrs.

MARIE-LOUISE DE MEEÛS.

OVERSEA MECHANICAL ROAD TRANSPORT

It is not generally realised by people at home that lack of adequate transport facilities is one of the chief obstacles to the more rapid development of our oversea Empire. We have here a vicious circle: the Dominions want more settlers, but are afraid of the risk of swelling the number of their own unemployed in the cities, and all the time land in the country districts awaits development through lack of transport facilities. On the other hand, railways cannot be built to serve country districts until there are sufficient settlers to justify construction. In this connexion mechanical road transport offers a solution of the difficulty.

It might be argued that if railways were built in these vast and sparsely populated areas development would follow and eventually the railways would pay their way. This is true up to a certain point, and in some cases the policy would be justified, but in most cases there would not be sufficient traffic for years to come; no private capital could be attracted for the construction of such railways, and the State could not afford to finance them during an indefinite term of years.

For a full realisation of the problem it is necessary to compare the density of our population at home with that of some overseas countries. In Great Britain there are 395 people to the square mile, whilst in Australia the population density is two to the square mile; and, since most of these are concentrated in the coast cities, the country districts can claim only about one person to every square mile—surely a case of 'splendid isolation.' In these circumstances not only railways, but even good roads, are often an impossibility. In order to have as low a population density in the British Isles we must imagine our numbers reduced to 120,000 people—the population of one comparatively small town, like, say, Norwich, spread over the whole of these islands.

Brigadier-General F. D. Hammond, who is an authority on these matters, says that the loneliest farmer in England generally has at his door a road which most farmers in the oversea Empire would view with envy; also that the less fortunate settlers may have to transport their produce for days before reaching a railway. There are to-day in the Dominions and all

over the Colonial Empire zones of 'No Man's Land' which are potential areas of production, but it is not worth anyone's while to cultivate them because of the difficulties of transport. They are too far from the railways, and prohibitive transport charges cut them off from the markets.

Transport by lorry at present costs at least 1s. 6d. per ton-mile, and transport by rail costs only about 2d. per ton-mile. What is wanted is something that would bridge the gap until such time as the settlement of a district would warrant the construction of a railway: the cost of railway construction varies from 4000l. to 10,000l. per mile, so it is seen the capital expense is in any case a formidable item. The economic radius of lorry transport is not yet fully determined, and depends on the load that can be carried on each journey. In tropical Africa parallel lines of railway are placed roughly at 300 miles apart. With lorry transport at 1s. 6d. per ton-mile, this involves a charge of 3l. 15s. per ton for a journey of fifty miles to the railway. Up to that distance a lorry is economically possible, but for any further distance it is out of the question except for high-priced crops such as cotton and tobacco.

A special type of vehicle is required for overseas conditions, where there are usually only bad roads or no roads at all. British manufacturers are endeavouring with some success to meet the demand for the design of a vehicle intended for use as an auxiliary or feeder service for the railways. There are two uses to which such a service might be put—either as a pioneer service anticipating the construction of a railway, or as a feeder service to an existing railway, swelling the volume of traffic in much the same way as the tributaries of a river increase the flow in the main stream. If large road units could be constructed with an economic radius of 100 miles from railway centres—and to do this the cost per ton-mile would have to be reduced from the present figure of 1s. 6d. to as low as 6d. or 4d.—then existing railways would be able to tap an area two or three times as large as at present, and the volume of traffic would be greatly stimulated.

The two most suitable types that have emerged from vehicles designed for the purpose described are the six-wheel lorry and the caterpillar track machine, the latter sometimes fitted with a Kegresse or rubber-band track. The latest pattern of this is the half-track type, with the track covering the two rear axles only. The principal problem yet to be solved, however, is how to increase load-carrying capacity without increasing axle load, and for this reason a road train with suitably designed trailers is now finding favour with the experts.

A year ago an Oversea Mechanical Transport Directing Committee was appointed by Mr. Amery—at that time Secretary of

State for Dominion Affairs and the Colonies—to study every aspect of mechanical transport likely to further the economic development of the oversea Empire. One of the primary objects of this Committee has been the development of a large transport unit not confined solely to good roads. Half the expenses of the Committee, estimated at 120,000l. to be spread over a period of five years, are to be borne by the Empire Marketing Board and half by the oversea Governments concerned. It is proposed ultimately to set up an Overseas Mechanical Transport Committee composed of representatives of His Majesty's Government, the Colonial Empire, and the Governments of the Dominions, India, and the Sudan. Meanwhile the present Committee has been appointed in order that the work may be started promptly, as the question is rightly considered urgent.

In order to determine on the best type of vehicle for overseas road transport the Committee has conferred with the War Office, leading manufacturers, and officials of roads, railways, and engineering departments of the oversea Governments. They welcome suggestions and criticism from all interested parties and from anyone competent to appreciate the problems involved.

Up to the present the only report issued by the Committee is a confidential one, but it is understood the trend of their activities so far has been chiefly in the direction of discovering how far the cost per ton-mile of motor transport can be reduced by handling heavier loads. They have accordingly arranged for the design of two road units—one to handle a useful load of about fifteen tons, and the other a useful load of about forty tons. Both units will consist of a tractor and a number of trailers so as to spread the load, and the axle load will not exceed three tons. The smaller unit will be of the rigid six-wheel type favoured by the War Office, and which has already proved its suitability for oversea conditions: the larger unit will be a Kegresse track machine. The Committee have also an eight-wheel trailer undergoing tests; it is fitted with automatic steering and braking mechanism, and carries a useful load of seven and a half tons. Several of these will be used to form a road train.

Other problems which the Committee are pledged to tackle are those connected with finding some fuel cheaper than and equally as satisfactory as petrol. The price of petrol in many parts of the Empire varies from 2s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. a gallon, according to the distance from the coast and the difficulties of transport. Several substitutes for petrol have been suggested and even tried experimentally, with promising success. With a slight alteration to the carburettor alcohol can be successfully used on engines designed for petrol consumption. It has already been made and sold as a substitute for petrol in Natal and Uganda and

some parts of Australia, being produced as a by-product in the manufacture of sugar, but it can also be produced from many other crops which might be cultivated specially for the purpose. In some places it offers a distinct saving in price over petrol, but even so its price runs to about 2s. a gallon. Moreover, it should be noted that, in view of the strenuous conditions that are often encountered in undeveloped countries, the makers of petrol engines do not recommend anything but the best motor spirit for their engines.

Another type of fuel which promises greater success is producer gas. This reduces the cost of fuel to about one-fifteenth that of petrol. The gas is produced from charcoal, which is easily obtainable in any wooded country. The engine, however, has to be specially constructed for its use, and the bulky apparatus carried on the car is also a disadvantage. It is said the system gives good results under skilled direction, but not when its operation and maintenance are left to the ordinary lorry driver. Other authorities who have experimented with it, however, are satisfied that it is a practicable system which does not require specially skilled attention.

Steam power is to be recommended where there is a supply of coal or good hard wood or charcoal available. Depôts for this might be established along the line of route.

Another alternative to petrol, and one that promises the most universal success of all, is the Diesel engine using heavy oil. This will probably be found to be the most powerful factor yet introduced to solve the fuel problem. The Oversea Mechanical Transport Directing Committee are of opinion that Diesel engines suitable for a fifteen-ton unit are already on the market, and that one suitable for a forty to fifty-ton unit will be available shortly.

A problem of minor importance concerns more particularly the tyre manufacturers. Balloon tyres have been found most suitable on unmade roads as giving a larger bearing surface, and the task before British tyre manufacturers is therefore to perfect a tyre of this description so that it will stand up to extremes of temperature, actinic rays, and abrasions from tree stumps and hard ruts baked by the tropical sun.

Now let us briefly summarise what has been accomplished in some parts of the Empire by making use of this new factor in transport. Australia and South Africa are the two Dominions likely to reap most benefit from it on account of their population being scattered over such wide and undeveloped areas.

The essential problem in the transport system of Australia, as of all other parts of the Empire, is how to reduce the ton-mile cost. To take one instance only of the potential advantages of cheap and adequate transport, it is estimated the wheat area of Australia

could be trebled if the necessary transport were available. The continent of Australia covers an area of nearly 3,000,000 square miles (more than twenty-five times the area of Great Britain), with only 6,000,000 inhabitants. The railways are owned by the different States or by the Commonwealth Government, and are being steadily extended to meet increasing demands. Although it has been responsible for the piling up of a heavy burden of debt, railway development is still inadequate to the pressing transport needs of Australia. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that both the State and Commonwealth Governments are interested in the saving in cost of railway construction that may be effected by proper use of road services. Parallel railways can thereby be placed wider apart and made to serve a greater area.

The Federal Government has made a grant of 20,000,000*l.* for road construction, to be spread over ten years; this is in addition to the usual amounts allocated for the purpose by the various States' Governments. It is worthy of note here that Australia and Canada share the distinction of having per 1000 of population the longest mileage of railway track of any country in the world, but Australia bears the sole distinction of having the lowest mileage track per 1000 square miles, so it is seen Australia's transport problems are, in a sense, unique.

Lorries have not yet to any great extent replaced horse or bullock teams for hauling heavy loads of wool, etc. The cost per ton-mile by horse teams in back-country districts is from 10*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.*, according to road conditions. Mechanical transport has so far not been able to compete in price with this. The advent of the six-wheeler is being watched with interest, and a limited number are already in use; they appear admirably suited to Australian conditions. The development of the track vehicle is also being closely watched, but the possibility of these and their economic radius has not yet been tried in Australia on any large scale. The fuel problem affects Australia more acutely than most parts of the Empire because the price of petrol is abnormally high. The hope of finding a natural supply of oil on the continent has up to the present not been realised, although there are promising indications of oil in several districts. The supply of synthetic oil and petrol produced from coal has also been considered, but the difficulty of disposing of the by-products among the limited population of Australia would probably make this a non-paying proposition.

In South Africa, in the country districts, there are many road services operated by the State Railways, the management having wisely decided to work up traffic in this way in advance of railway construction. In some cases the road services have had to be abandoned owing to lack of support; in other cases the volume

of traffic has justified replacing the road service with a railway.

In his report for 1928 the general manager of the State Railways for the Union of South Africa says that from the point of view of rapid expansion the road motor transport services inaugurated by the railways in country districts stand out conspicuously, and there is abundant evidence to justify the belief that this enterprise will play a most important part in the future economic development of the Union—a part almost as important as the railways themselves.

At the close of the 1924-25 financial period only eight services were being operated by the railways. Twelve months later saw nineteen districts being served with a total route mileage of 165 miles. By March 31, 1927, the mileage had reached 4282 miles, and a year later it was 7349 miles. It is safe to prophesy that the total mileage of road services in the Union of South Africa will soon exceed that of the railways, which at present stands at about 12,000 miles. The total number of vehicles operating at March 31, 1928, was 240, an increase of 109 vehicles during the year. The operation of the road services last year resulted in a loss of 11,111*l.*, but this is a small sum if the great advantages to the community and the more rapid development of the country be taken into account.

In an article in *Modern Transport*, Sir John Thornycroft relates some of the impressions he gained during a recent tour in South Africa. He gives an interesting example of the advantages of road transport for pioneer services: a branch railway line was demanded in a certain district and careful surveys and estimates prepared. The estimated cost was 750,000*l.* and the time of construction three years. It was also estimated there would be a loss on the first year's working of 40,000*l.* In these circumstances it was decided to try a road service, which took only a few months to instal at a capital outlay of 27,000*l.*, and showed a profit at once.

The roads in South Africa are mostly dirt tracks, and vary greatly according to the country to be traversed. Six-wheel vehicles with large pneumatic tyres do not, as a rule, cause much damage to the surface: experience seems to indicate that where the ground is not broken up in the first instance, or cut into channels by heavy rainstorms, a very considerable traffic can be carried on a sandy soil. Goods are consigned at through rates by rail and road to any point in the Union to which the system extends. Some of the road services cover comparatively short distances, but others extend to points over 200 miles from the railways. What may be called 'seasonal' traffic is easily handled by putting additional trucks into the service, or tractors with a

number of trailers forming a road train, and withdrawing these when the demand for them ceases. This is the plan adopted at the season of the year when crops are marketed, especially in those districts where citrus fruit is grown.

In Canada not much experimental work has been done in connexion with long-distance road transport. The reason for this may be found in the fact that railway development had reached an advanced stage before the advent of suitable road vehicles. Canada, being a near neighbour of the United States of America, has tried to emulate that country in the matter of railway development, sometimes too intensively. Being dazzled by the success of the C.P.R., an ambitious railway programme of construction has been carried out which has not always been justified: in consequence Canada has often been bled nearly white by having to finance this construction and pay for initial losses on working expenses. Another cause of the lack of interest in road transport in the Dominion is the profusion of large lakes and navigable rivers that intersect the country: even where the rivers are not strictly navigable they generally suffice for the transport of logs, logging being a pioneer industry in all except the Prairie Provinces.

During the winter months, however, the frozen lakes and rivers form valuable potential highways, and Government engineers have carried out extensive experiments to determine the best type of vehicle suitable for ice transport. It seems obvious to an outside observer that there is a large field for the profitable use of road and ice transport, in co-operation with the railways, in augmenting their traffic and opening up new districts, and that any time or money spent on developing and organising road services would not be wasted.

Some other parts of the Empire where mechanical road transport gives promise of great success are New Zealand, Rhodesia, India, Irak, Kenya, and the Sudan.

A memorandum presented at the Colonial Office Conference of 1927 by the Mechanical Transport Sub-Committee of the Empire Cotton Growers Corporation may here be briefly summarised, as it gives valuable information regarding transport problems in potential cotton-growing areas in tropical Africa:

Large areas suitable for cotton growing are at present inaccessible owing to lack of transport. There should be main feeders to the railways and minor feeders to the main feeders. The former should be capable of carrying produce at a much lower rate than the existing three-ton lorry, and should have an economic range of 100 to 150 miles, for low-priced rotation crops as well as for cotton. Transportation for the minor feeders exists in Africa in the form of head-porterage, which is not economical for distances

greater than two or three miles, and ox and mule waggons or pack animals, which can only be used in certain districts free from tsetse fly, and in any case do great damage to the roads. The best form of transport for these minor feeders is undoubtedly light motor lorries. Although these are often used on what ought to be main feeder routes for distances up to 200 miles, their economic radius is not more than 50 miles.

The damage done to a road by a vehicle depends primarily on the surface pressure of the tyre or track, and secondly on the speed. The pressure should be kept down to 25 lb. per square inch and the speed regulated to a maximum of 15 miles per hour. The cost of even a dirt road in tropical Africa may be as high as 2000*l.* per mile if a number of culverts and bridges are required; and the annual upkeep may be reckoned at a minimum of 100*l.* per mile. Paved fords or submerged viaducts across rivers are recommended by some authorities in preference to bridges as being cheaper both in first cost and in maintenance. Stress is laid upon the desirability of roads and transport being under one executive.

From the above it would seem that the transport problem in tropical Africa is as much one of efficient organisation as of finding the most suitable type of vehicle. In the latter connexion, it should be noted, the Committee favour the use of suction gas as a substitute for petrol, because there is always available a plentiful supply of native-made charcoal, which is very suitable for producing the gas. They also allude to the fact that forty tons carried by a fleet of three-ton lorries would require a personnel of about a dozen men, whereas the same load carried by road train would require only two men, besides saving in engine power and consequently in fuel.

It may be stated with confidence that for machines best suited for road transport in undeveloped countries British manufacturers have obtained a distinct lead. Among the principal firms specialising in six-wheel trucks and track motor vehicles may be mentioned Messrs. Thornycroft, Messrs. Crossley, and the F.W.D. (Four-Wheel Drive) Motor Company. Thornycroft six-wheelers may be met with in successful operation in all four corners of the Empire. Messrs. Crossley have of late years concentrated on the rigid six-wheel chassis, with articulated rear axles, which, they say, has been generally adopted by the British and oversea Governments in preference to the Kegresse track type, over which it possesses many advantages, such as lower initial cost, greater speed, and lower average fuel costs. On soft ground it can be fitted with over-all tracks on the rear wheels. The articulation enables one pair of the rear wheels to be inclined at an opposite angle to the other pair, and thus uneven ground

can be negotiated without tilting the chassis. The F.W.D. Motor Company claim for their vehicles that they give excellent service on good roads as well as in cross-country use. The driving power on the front wheels helps steering over bad roads or soft ground, increases the draw-bar pull, and makes the vehicle more suitable for cross-country work. On good roads the front-axle drive may be disengaged by the driver. The Sentinel Steam Waggon Company formerly made a roadless steam tractor for cross-country use, but state they have been obliged to cease manufacturing this vehicle because it was found the cost of track replacements made it an uneconomic proposition. Their eight to ten-ton steam lorries, however, fitted with solid tyres for service on metalled roads, have gained a world-wide reputation, and should be suitable for dirt roads and oversea conditions if fitted with twin or balloon type pneumatic tyres.

Wherever any noteworthy progress has been made in road transport overseas it is found to be through co-operation, and not competition between road and rail. The success of such co-operation in South Africa should stimulate the other Dominions to increased efforts in this direction. It shows, too, the advantages to be derived by railways operating their own road services; they are in the best position to serve the public efficiently, having greater resources at their back and a ready-prepared organisation.

By co-ordination of transport systems and a full use of road services intelligently applied this new factor in transport is likely to play a leading part in the future development of the Empire.

R. E. TURNBULL.

THE DAWN OF MINING

THE oldest known tools and mines have been found in East Anglia, far from any of the areas probable as the original home of man: so fragmentary is our knowledge of primitive man! The earliest known mines were worked for flint at Brandon, in Suffolk, and their antiquity has been greatly increased by their identification by Mr. Reginald Smith¹ as belonging to the Older instead of to the Newer Stone Age.

Modern civilisation depends on metals, and no great advance was possible while the only materials for tools were stone, wood, and bone. The foundation of industrial progress dates from the dawn of metal-working, and the determination of its site is a problem of perennial interest. There has been long controversy on this question between the archaeologists, who rely on the relics left by early man, and the metallurgists, who are guided by the conditions that control the preparation and preservation of metals. The archaeologists place the Bronze Age before the Iron Age, as in so many places bronze weapons are found in beds earlier than those containing iron; and it has been held that iron-working requires higher temperatures and skill than the preparation of copper and bronze. The metallurgist, on the other hand, explains the absence or rarity of early iron relics by the readiness with which iron rusts entirely away; and he points out that the preparation of iron requires a lower temperature than the extraction of copper from its ores, and is a much simpler process than the manufacture of bronze. The ores of iron are the most widely distributed, and its extraction from them is so simple a chemical process that it must have happened constantly in camp fires. The preparation of iron should therefore have preceded that of the more complex metal bronze.

Archæologists have generally held that iron-working, except occasionally from meteorites, began about 1000 B.C., and was little practised in Europe before about 700 B.C. That meteorites were the first source of iron is improbable, for the iron meteorites quickly decay and disappear in a moist atmosphere, and they would have lasted but a short time in the river valleys or on the

¹ *Archeologia*, ser. 2, vol. xiii., 1912, pp. 109-158.

seashores that were probably the home of the first metal-workers. Iron meteorites would have lasted longer in the deserts, but the conditions there would not have been favourable to the development of iron manufacture. Iron has been made from meteorites by primitive people, such as the Eskimo; but such iron can be recognised by its high percentage of nickel.

In recent years there has been widening recognition that the first metal tools were probably made of iron. Its antiquity has been pushed back from the dates of the Hallstatt Iron Age in Central Europe of 700 B.C. to the Homeric period in Greece and the Ægean of 1000 to 800 B.C., to 1100 B.C. in Etruria and northern Italy, 1200 B.C. in Crete, 1000 B.C. in southern India, and 1500 B.C. in the Punjab. Even earlier dates have become necessary since the discovery at Ur of specialised iron tools which are assigned to 3500 B.C. Pre-dynastic iron beads, which have been regarded as dating from 6000 B.C., had been previously discovered in Egypt: but, in the absence of evidence as to their chemical composition, they had been explained as curiosities made from meteorites; and the same origin has been suggested for the iron wedge found in the Great Pyramid of Gizeh (fourth dynasty: 3733 B.C.), which is earlier than any known iron in Mesopotamia.

The original home of iron-working is generally assigned either to eastern Asia Minor² or tropical Africa. South of the Caucasus, in Georgia and northern Armenia, iron slags are widespread through a tract of country extending far eastward from Batum on the Black Sea; and then further south another line occurs in the Taurus Mountains between Aleppo and the Euphrates. The ironworks in these localities may have supplied iron to Chaldea and Assyria, including the 150 tons of iron and iron implements found at Khorsabad at the temple of Sargon. This hoard was much later than the earliest iron tools of Ur, and for their material it seems unnecessary to go so far away as either the Taurus or the Caucasus.

The credit of the original invention of iron-working may belong to the negro race. Its ancient slag heaps show that the extraction of iron in a primitive type of furnace had been widespread and long-continued in tropical Africa. The age of these slag heaps is still undetermined; but direct evidence of the early date of iron-working in Africa is supplied from ancient Egypt. The oldest known iron is in the pre-dynastic beads, the wedge found in the Great Pyramid (3733 B.C.), and a piece of an iron pick from Abusir, which dates from the fifth dynasty, at about 3566 B.C. According to Sir Flinders Petrie, however, these dates

² Cf., e.g., W. Gowland, 'The Metals in Antiquity,' *Journ. R. Anthropol. Instit.*, vol. xlii., 1912, p. 281; H. Louis, Presidential Address, *Journ. Iron and Steel Instit.*, vol. cxix., 1929, p. 30.
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should be much earlier. That this ancient iron reached Egypt from the south is suggested by the discovery in Nubia of an iron sickle and spearhead of the twelfth dynasty, assigned to 2466 B.C.

That iron-working in Egypt was introduced by the negro is indicated by a bas-relief of about 1500 B.C., now in Florence, which shows an unmistakable negro working the bellows of a primitive African type of iron furnace.

As the formation of grains and flakes of metallic iron, which could be welded into useful pieces, must have happened in many parts of the world when men prepared stone fireplaces, the use of iron may have started independently in various places. The balance between the claims for priority of Asia Minor and Africa is still uncertain, but the evidence seems in favour of Africa.

The scarcity of iron among the relics of ancient Egypt raises doubt whether iron was extensively used there; but the same consideration arises with bronze. Much of the Egyptian stone cutting and carving was clearly done by metal tools, and, as they have been found so rarely, it is more probable that they were of the evanescent iron rather than of the more durable bronze.

The iron tools found at Ur prove that iron-working was highly developed in 3500 B.C., and must date back before the main Bronze Age.^{*} But on the discovery of bronze its many advantages made it for a couple of millenniums the more widely used metal.

The use of bronze followed that of copper, which may have been the first metal used for domestic utensils. Native copper occurs in many parts of the world in lumps, plates, and fibres. It is easily hammered into sheets, which can be bent into cooking-pots and water-vessels, or it can be drawn into wire. Pure copper is too soft for tools and weapons, but the early smelters must often have obtained it hardened by an accidental alloy. Copper ores often contain antimony, and the metal made from them would, as in Hungary, have been hardened by the presence of 4 to 5 per cent. of antimony. Some early copper has been improved for use as tools by the similarly undesigned intermixture of bismuth. The most useful of the copper compounds is bronze. The smelting of copper ore in the presence of some tin ore produces the copper-tin alloy bronze, which is a highly serviceable metal. Its useful qualities doubtless led to the search for tin, of which the main supply to the Mediterranean countries was obtained in Cornwall, supplemented by north-western Spain and

^{*} The date of the beginning of the Bronze Age is given for various places as ranging from 3000-2500 B.C. by Gowland (*Journ. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xlii., pp. 245-247).

Brittany. The Phœnicians were the early tin merchants, and that they drew supplies from Cornwall is shown by a large X-shaped tin ingot, with a stamp upon it that has been identified as Phœnician, that was dredged in Falmouth Harbour. Its shape is depicted in the fresco by Lord Leighton, in the Royal Exchange, London, of the Phœnicians trading with the ancient Britons. This ingot was ingeniously designed for horse transport on the journey across the south of England and France, and to lie flat on the floor of the boats that carried it over the Strait of Dover and from Marseilles to the Levant.

Copper was obtained from many localities along the Mediterranean; it was probably first worked extensively in Cyprus, whence it derived its name. It was mined by the ancient Egyptians in Sinai; the Sumerians of Ur worked it and other metals in southern Cappadocia, as clay tablets with the name of Ibil Sin, of 2350 B.C., have been found in the mines there,⁴ and the seals of Gudea, of about 2800 B.C., have been found in mines behind Trebizond on the Black Sea. The Phœnicians, and later the Romans, obtained a large part of their supply from southern Spain, from masses of iron pyrites that still maintain great mines at Rio Tinto and Tharsis.

Gold was probably the first metal used by man. Grains of it occur in the sands of many rivers, and must have attracted his attention by their brilliant colour when he set his fish-traps. As the grains are easily beaten into plates and wire, they could be made into rings and beads. Gold was of no use for weapons of war or of the chase, and was accordingly despised by men of the Stone Age. It was valued later for decorative purposes, and its archæological interest is due to its clues as to early trade routes.

Gold in small quantities is widely distributed through the older rocks. Its abundance in the river gravels of the south-east of Ireland made that area the centre of the gold industry of the British Isles and Scandinavia. Ornaments were made from gold in many parts of the world from local supplies; but it was used in Egypt and Mesopotamia on a scale that required extensive and skilled mining in one of the world's major goldfields. The quantities used in Egypt and Chaldea were enormous. The massive coffin of Tutankhamen is of solid gold, which was then so plentiful that the undertakers of his time were prodigal in its use. Thotmes III. (1479 B.C.) went to war in a chariot of gold combined with some silver. Gold was for long worth much less than its weight of silver or copper.

In Babylon also gold was a common metal. Herodotus and Diodorus both described the profusion of gold in the Temple of

⁴ Waddell, *Makers of Civilization*, 1929, p. 402.

Bel in Babylon, with golden statues, one of which was 40 feet high, and a golden table 40 feet long and 15 feet wide. We know from Genesis (xiii. 2) that Abram was rich in gold and silver, and Mr. Gadd, of the British Museum, describes the people of Ur as enjoying an amazing 'riot of gold.'⁵

It is natural to turn first for the source of the gold of Egypt to the goldfields of Libya and Nubia, in the mountains west of the Red Sea, and for the gold of Ur to the localities where gold is recorded on the upper Euphrates, in Asia Minor or northern Persia.

Classical legends indicate that Asia Minor yielded gold in quantities which for those days were large. The fabulous wealth of Croesus came from the mines near Smyrna; the story of Midas and his golden touch suggests the existence of a plentiful source of gold in Phrygia in the north-west of Asia Minor: that the river beds of the north-eastern provinces yielded gold is shown by the expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis, and Jason's use of the golden fleece indicates that the adhesion of metallic particles to a greasy surface was then known. Modern experience shows that though gold occurs in many localities in Asia Minor and northern Persia, the quantities are small. The mines, even when worked with the cheap labour and infinite patience of the ancients, could hardly have supplied enough for 40-foot statues and the abundant jewellery of the courtiers of Ur.

The ancient Egyptians certainly worked the goldmines of Libya, Nubia, and Midian. That they mined extensively and persistently is shown by the extent of the disturbed gravels and by records of expeditions from that of Ameni, who brought back gold ore from Coptos in the twelfth dynasty (2466 B.C.),⁶ to the mining on the goldfield of Allagi, south-east of Wadi Halfa, in 1900 B.C. by Amenemhet III.,⁷ and of the barbarous severity of the mining work as described in a famous passage in Diodorus (about 50 B.C.).

The mining-fields were rediscovered in the last century and visited by an unsuccessful expedition sent by Mehmet Ali under Linant de Bellefonds. The concession in 1896 of some mines west of the Red Sea to Theodore Bent and Rider Haggard also produced no gold. But from 1899 to 1920 the ancient mining areas were searched by expert miners. According to the official report by the Egyptian Mines Department, in 1922 only one of the mines had yielded a profit, and the results show that the great majority of the deposits known to have been worked by the ancients are small and patchy.

⁵ *History and Monuments of Ur*, 1929, p. 27.

⁶ H.H. Manchester, *Eng. and Min. Journ. Press*, vol. cxiv., 1922, p. 411.

⁷ T. A. Rickard, 'Copper and Gold Mines of the Ancient Egyptians,' *ibid.*, vol. cxix., 1925, p. 1008.

The experience of modern Egyptian gold-mining between 1900-1920 shows that the early Egyptians must have had some other source of supply, or gold would not have been described as being as common as dust.

That the gold of Egypt and Mesopotamia may have come from Central Asia is suggested by two considerations. The people of Ur and Egypt both used the blue gem lapis lazuli, and it no doubt came from Badakshan, the north-eastern province of Afghanistan. This mineral is also found near Lake Baikal, but it includes there some coloured varieties that have not been found in Ur or Egypt. Moreover, if the lapis lazuli of Ur had come from Lake Baikal, jade would probably also have been found among the agates and cornelians so largely used in Babylonia. Further evidence of intercourse between Chaldea and Central Asia is afforded by the huge Tibetan dogs which are unmistakably depicted on a terra-cotta tablet from Babylon. Ctesias, the Greek authority on the commercial geography of Asia in the fifth century B.C., expressly stated that the gold of Babylon came from the East across Persia. It may have been part of the gold which, according to Herodotus and other classical authors, was raised by gold-digging ants. The most plausible interpretation of this story is that the Tibetans mined gold in the winter, during which they lived underground in their excavations, like the workers in the silver mines of Laurium in Greece that were opened by the Phœnicians in the fifth century B.C.⁸ Traders from India visited the mining-fields, and found the miners dressed in yak skins, sometimes with the horns attached. Hence rose the report that these ants were covered with fur and had horns. Nearchus, one of the officers of Alexander the Great, said he had actually seen one of the skins of these gold-digging animals, and, according to Pliny, a specimen in the Temple of Hercules in Erythræ, near Smyrna, was horned. The Indian traders apparently sometimes stole the gold or gold ore and were then chased by the diggers and their huge mastiffs. According to the story, only female camels which had dropped their young just before starting on the expedition and were eager to get back to their calves could maintain their pace for a sufficient time to make good their escape.

This legend indicates that Tibet yielded some of the gold that reached south-western Asia; but there is no evidence that any of the goldfields in Central Asia were worked on a sufficient scale to have supplied the quantity of gold owned by the people of Ur.

⁸ C. L. Sagui, 'The Ancient Mining Works of Cassandra, Greece,' *Econ. Geol.*, vol. xxiii., 1928, p. 675; and Edouard Ardaillon, *Les Mines du Laurion dans l'Antiquité*, 1897, p. 126.

The goldfields of Mysore, in southern India, and of Singhbhum, to the west of Bengal, were both worked in prehistoric times. The workings in Mysore were 300 feet deep, but the date is uncertain. The produce of both fields was probably retained in India. The ancient Sumerian towns of the Indus valley were less well supplied with gold than Chaldea. Hence it is unlikely that the gold of eastern and southern India went to Chaldea through the settlements on the Lower Indus.

Rhodesia is the one rich mining-field known to have had ancient workings on a scale large enough to have provided the quantities of gold held in Egypt and Mesopotamia. The amount of ore removed from the ancient workings in Southern Rhodesia has been estimated as 100,000,000 tons. If so, as the material worked would hardly have contained less than half an ounce of gold to the ton, 200,000,000*l.* worth of gold would have been won from the ancient mines. The estimate of 75,000,000 tons by Telford Edwards was made while many of the old workings were unknown.

This gold did not stay in South Africa, or more gold objects would have been found there. If the Portuguese, after their settlement, had obtained gold on that scale, the history of Portuguese East Africa would have been very different. The Arabs no doubt obtained some during their ten centuries' occupation of the coast; but their jewellery is mostly of silver, and the relative scarcity of gold in Arabia shows that there was no great inflow of gold in mediæval times.

Mr. L. Woolley⁹ quotes the bill of lading of a ship that returned to the Persian Gulf in 2048 B.C. after an absence of two years, laden with gold, copper ore, and ivory; and the fleet of Solomon's partner, Hiram of Tyre, returned to its base at the head of the Red Sea after voyages of three years, bringing gold, silver, ivory, and apes.

Hence contemporary records prove that some southern gold-field, accessible by sea from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, supplied at least part of the gold and copper that was used in Mesopotamia and Palestine. This goldfield was probably that of Rhodesia, unless there be clear evidence that the mining there was much later than the golden age of Egypt, Chaldea, and Palestine.

The age of the prehistoric mining in Rhodesia has been again raised by Miss G. Caton-Thompson's recent excavations at Zimbabwe and other ruins. She claims that her work confirms the conclusions of Professor Randall Maciver after his diggings in 1905. She goes further, for, while he regarded the mining as connected with the Arab settlement on the East African coast,

⁹ *Sumerians*, 1928, p. 116.

she declares it inconceivable how any theory of a Semitic origin of the Rhodesian ruins could ever have been started.¹⁰

The buildings were examined by Mauch, Schlichter, and Theodore Bent, who, with others, claimed that the architecture, ornamentation, bird-capped pillars, the metallurgical processes, the shape of the ingots, and the narrowness of the mining spaces all indicate that the buildings and mining were due directly or indirectly to an early Semitic people from south-western Asia.

The late Dr. Percy Wagner considers¹¹ that the same people opened the copper-mines of Northern Rhodesia and Katanga, of which the antiquity is shown by, amongst other evidence, the famous Rhodesian skull. Was its owner mediæval?

The careful excavations by Professor Maciver and Miss Caton-Thompson did not, however, discover any objects which they regard as ancient or due to extraneous influence. The objects found at Zimbabwe they regard as Bantu; whereas some experts on African anthropology, such as the late Sir H. H. Johnston, describe many of them as 'utterly unlike anything that has been ever made by any race of Bantu negroes.'

Negative evidence on ancient sites has to be regarded with caution. With the exception of one tin ingot, which by a fortunate mishap was sunk in Falmouth Harbour, apparently no Phœnician or Greek object coin or inscription has ever been found in Cornwall. Yet it appears to be universally admitted that the early working of the Cornish tin was for the Phœnician market. We were once asked to believe that the date of Stonehenge, from precise measurements and observations, the absence of bronze, and the occurrence of Roman glass and iron objects, and from fragments of Roman tiles having been raked from under the stones, was 740 A.D. $\pm$ 200 years, though 'perhaps as early as 400 A.D.,' or else that it had grown up in six stages, beginning with pre-Roman earthworks and ending with the erection of the inner stones as tombstones in post-Roman times.¹²

That the imitative Bantu of Rhodesia continued until modern times to build stone walls and carve soapstone in imitation of ancient models is highly probable; but the recent age of the crude soapstone objects and most of the ruins does not disprove the antiquity of the more skilfully made models and buildings.

Chaldea and Egypt in ancient times received a vast quantity of gold from some unknown source, and some at least of it was brought by sea from a long voyage to the south. South Africa sent a vast quantity of gold to some unknown destination. Hence, even apart from the testimony of authorities who have

¹⁰ *Nature*, October 19, 1929, p. 619.

¹¹ *Cf. Nature*, September 28, 1929, p. 493.

¹² W. M. F. Petrie, *Stonehenge*, 1880, pp. 20, 27, 30, 32-34.

regarded many of the objects discovered in the Rhodesian ruins as evidence of Semitic influence, the early history of mining strongly supports the conclusion that the rich outcrop mines of Rhodesia rendered gold the commonest decorative metal in ancient Egypt and Babylonia.

J. W. GREGORY.

COMMERCIAL VEGETABLE CULTURE

THE commercial culture of vegetables in England goes back to early times. In the twenty-second year of his reign Charles II. granted a charter to William, Earl of Bedford to hold and keep a market within the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, 'for the buying and selling of all manner of fruits, flowers, roots and herbs whatsoever.'

In 1828 was passed the first Act of Parliament regulating Covent Garden Market. In 1824 the municipality of Birmingham commenced the building of Smithfield Market to accommodate the market which had grown up around the Bull Ring and had become a nuisance there. The charter of Charles II. is evidence that there was some commerce in vegetables in the seventeenth century, but it was the Industrial Revolution which, by leading increasing numbers of the rapidly growing population to quit the villages for the towns, and thus divorcing them from a domestic supply of vegetables, created a demand for commercial supplies.

What became known as 'market gardens' grew up near London—along the Thames Valley, in Kent, on the southern borders of Hertfordshire, and on the western borders of Essex. On the outskirts of provincial towns the same movement took place; thus near Bristol the Fishponds area developed; the Wallasey Island, near Liverpool; and Morpeth became the source of supply for Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the towns about the northern coalfields. Even around modern towns like Southend and Bournemouth we find this growth of local market gardens.

The radius of transport, limited to what a horse could do in a day, prevented the industry spreading beyond the fringe of urban development. The advent of railways, however, made it possible for areas where the soil was suitable to vegetable cultivation, but not attached to any particular large urban centre, to be brought in. Thus the old abbey lands of Evesham, the sandy loams of Bedfordshire and the area of millstone grit at Melbourne, in Derbyshire, became centres of vegetable production. Railways also made possible the growing of broccoli and early potatoes in

Cornwall, the extensive tracts devoted to celery, potatoes and other vegetables on the silts and fenlands of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, and the limestone area of the Gower Peninsula in South Wales. The rapid expansion of cities and towns in recent years has driven the cultivators of land, rendered supremely fertile by generations of tillers, farther afield to begin the process over again. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were market gardens bordering on the Vauxhall Bridge Road, the produce of which was conveyed to Covent Garden Market in wheelbarrows. Almost within living memory in the neighbourhood of Clapham Junction Station there were market gardens, and quite within living memory in Fulham 'fields' cauliflowers and lettuces were produced for delivery, not only to London, but to the Midlands and the North of England. Similarly, the growth of Birkenhead is absorbing the land at Wallasey once reclaimed from the sea by cultivators at great expenditure of labour and money, giving rise to an industry of vegetable culture that supplied Liverpool and Birkenhead. Birmingham, too, has submerged under bricks and mortar the lands from which it once derived supplies of vegetables.

The improvement in means of transport, the results of scientific research, and the increasing demand of a swelling population have completely changed the character, conduct, and localities of the industry. Vegetable crops once grown in little patches by gardeners are now produced in broad stretches on farm lands formerly devoted to the growth of cereals. The deepening cloud of depression which envelops agriculture seems as if it may shut out the light of hope of any future in corn growing. 'Market garden,' a term that has always defied definition, has now lost what significance it ever had. There are farms and there are small holdings.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Huguenots from France settled in Bermondsey and Wandsworth. They brought over a system of culture especially suitable to the growing of salad vegetables, and others that ordinarily would pay for intensive cultivation. The system, or modifications of it, spread, and became characteristic of the culture in Walham Green, Fulham, and out along the Thames Valley to Chiswick and Brentford on one side and to Putney and Barnes on the other.

The cheapening and improvement in the production of glass, particularly developed in Belgium, together with the growing refinement in taste, an increase in wealth, and the demands arising from greater spending power in large numbers of the population, led to the beginnings of cultivation under glass-houses about the middle of the nineteenth century. The man

who, about eighty years ago, constructed the first glasshouse 200 feet long was looked upon as a madman. If the house could be filled with produce, it was said, such produce could never find a market. From the tiniest beginnings great installations of glasshouses gradually began to cover the land on both sides of the River Lea, some such installations extending to 30 acres covered by glass. It is possible to see still standing the now crazy structure, covering a few square yards which was the nucleus around which glasshouses of modern construction—in some cases one house covering an acre—have grown. The sunny climate of Worthing and its sheltered position, nestling under the South Downs, attracted other pioneers of the industry and led to the growth of another concentration of the glasshouse section, second only to that in the Lea Valley. Glasshouse growers are now scattered over the country: at Basingstoke, at Hampton (Middlesex), at Langley, in Buckinghamshire, in Cheshire, and as far north as Northumberland there are important branches. Vegetables do not, of course, constitute the sole product, though tomatoes, cucumbers, beans, and mushrooms are all important crops. The following statistics show the importance which this department of agriculture has attained.

In 1925, when the last census of production was taken, the yield of tomatoes in England and Wales was estimated at about 47,000 tons, valued at 2,350,000*l.*; 50,000,000 cucumbers were produced, valued at 750,000*l.*, and 1,500,000 lbs. of grapes, valued at 130,000*l.* Other fruits and vegetables produced under glass were valued at 250,000*l.* The estimated total value of flowers grown under glass was about 1,350,000*l.* Roughly, 18,000 workers are regularly employed in glasshouses in England and Wales.

A series of articles appearing in a daily newspaper led to a boom in what is called 'French gardening.' This consists of very intensive methods of culture involving a liberal use of straw manure, both as a supplier of heat and a source of fertility, with glazed lights and frames and glass cloches for protection from weather. Many such gardens were started. With most of them the chief source of revenue was the 'taking in' of pupils. Few of these gardens now survive. It was soon found that the climate of England imposed modifications of method, and the superior standard of life enjoyed by workers here demanded larger margins than those endured by the French *marâcher*, who, with the members of his family, is content to work long days and seven-day working weeks, and to expend amazing skill in order to wring a pittance from perhaps half an acre of land.

The 'back to the land' movement of a few years ago, which resulted in legislation encouraging the establishment of

small-holdings and empowering county councils to acquire and hold land for this purpose—particularly the post-war efforts to settle ex-service men on the land—has had some effect upon the commercial production of vegetables by adding to the number of cultivators. But the early anticipations of enthusiasts have not been fulfilled. Many hopes have been shattered. Much disappointment was experienced and many losses were incurred before it was realised that the cultivation of vegetables for a livelihood on a small area of land is a highly specialised job which requires more knowledge and experience than can be gained by a short course at a training centre, and a range of personal qualities not possessed by everyone. The competition with imported supplies is particularly difficult in the case of small-holders operating under the necessity of disposing of the whole of their produce under conditions which render difficult the adoption of co-operative or any other means of effectively combating the competition of selected foreign supplies.

The same pressure of forces that has driven the cultivation of vegetables into new localities has led to a change of method. The spade has given place to the plough. In the sixties of last century many acres of land along the Thames Valley were trenched by the spade every winter. Gangs of Irish labourers came over and were employed in the market gardens. Now the plough has supplanted the spade, and the tractor drawing a two-furrow plough and even the five-furrow steam plough are seen on vegetable farms. The strings of horse-drawn waggons bringing their loads of fresh vegetables to the markets are gone, and the steam waggon and the motor lorry transport produce from distances out of range twenty-five years ago. The complete reliance of a past generation upon supplies of stable manure to produce and maintain fertility has had to be modified. There would not be enough of it now to go round. The scarcity has forced the price up and cultivators have been driven to seek fertilisers in other forms. The scientist and the merchant have provided a full range of alternatives.

Although railways and motor transport have made commercial vegetable growing possible at greater distances from markets than before, it is still necessary for the industry to keep in close association with centres of population, for it requires a constant supply of skilled and unskilled labour, both male and female. The extent of the demand for labour depends upon the intensiveness of the cultivation followed. In mixed farming the employment is about three to five men per 100 acres. In vegetable farming it is about twenty to thirty men per 100 acres. In glasshouse farming from 200 to 300 men per 100 acres are employed. Not every class of soil is suitable for intensive vegetable cultivation, and in any localisation

of cultivators the soil of the area will be found to have been an important factor in its selection. The thin chalks, as well as the heavy clays, are unsuitable. The most favourable are the alluvial deposits along old river beds, the deeper light soils on gravel, the better sandy loams, and the good loams on chalk. Soil has dictated the location of special culture in many instances: for example, the Woking sands produce the long Surrey carrot; the deep alluvial soil of the river bed at Colchester and the old abbey lands of Evesham have led to the production of asparagus, for which both districts are famous; the fertile plains of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire provide the best potato lands in England, and are equally good for broccoli, green peas, and other vegetables. The sands of Bedfordshire, made fertile by the expenditure of much patient labour and skill, were once famous for the production of onions, but, in face of foreign competition, principally from Egypt and Spain, the cultivators have turned to the Brussels sprout, and to parsley, parsnips, and other vegetables. In Essex the crop rotation followed on mixed farms on the light soils enabled some wideawake farmers to squeeze a crop of peas on the half-summer fallows without displacing the turnips for sheep feed, which is the rotation crop, and thousands of acres are thus employed in spring. The early new potatoes and spring broccoli of Cornwall, however, are due more to climatic advantages than to soil. Special circumstances have led to specialisation in other directions, which from small beginnings have expanded to important industries. This is the case with the rhubarb forcing of the Leeds district. The popular idea at one time was that the slender bundles of pink sticks crowned with yellow leaflets which begin to grace the windows of greengrocers' shops about Christmas time were grown in disused coal mines. No doubt the coal mines have a good deal to do with them, because it is both the cheapness of the fuel which the proximity of the mines makes possible and the complacency of the rhubarb plant to flourish in the atmosphere which obtains where mines and mills operate that enable the skilful cultivators to turn out successive crops from the specially constructed forcing sheds into which the 'stools' of rhubarb are placed after being grown in the fields.

Situated as our country is, there is, as might be expected, much competition from more southern climes. The period of most intensive competition is the spring of the year. Our springs are often laggard, and plants that have been carefully nursed in frames and greenhouses all winter, when planted out in the fields, are buffeted by cold winds or checked by frosty nights, so that not only are the numbers depleted, but the earlier maturing produce of milder climates, hurried by *grande vitesse* fast steamers, train ferry, or even aeroplanes, gets here first. So

the cauliflowers of Italy, the broccoli and cabbages of Brittany, the lettuces of France and Holland crowd our markets while the home crops are still struggling to attain maturity. Spain, too, sends us soon after Christmas 'new' potatoes grown from seed supplied from Britain, which our people prefer at 4*d.* or even 6*d.* a pound to home-grown potatoes at 1*d.* a pound, notwithstanding that experts say the food value of the latter is the greater. These supplies from foreign sources not only win the highest prices, but also take some of the keenness off the edge of the appetite of the consuming public. Despite these imports from warmer climes, however, a good deal of forcing of vegetables in heated pits and under glass is still carried on. Seakale is an instance. The 'crowns' of this vegetable, after being grown in the fields during summer, are lifted and laid in pits filled with soil under which there are heated pipes. Kept in the dark, they produce the blanched head from the forcing out of the provision which the plant had laid up in the preceding summer. Seakale is a valuable addition to winter vegetables, and is gaining increased favour, but it is not so well known outside the metropolis as it deserves to be. Under glass mint is forced, and early crops of beans, peas, and vegetable marrows are produced. After spring the country is nearly self-dependent for vegetables except in the case of tomatoes, which come from Holland in large quantities, as the figures below show :

		Cwts.		Value.
1924	.	381,547	.	602,471 <i>l.</i>
1925	.	445,149	.	572,886 <i>l.</i>
1926	.	431,562	.	750,364 <i>l.</i>
1927	.	444,072	.	691,183 <i>l.</i>
1928	.	491,854	.	701,374 <i>l.</i>

These imported Dutch tomatoes are glasshouse grown and come into direct competition with the produce of our own glass-houses. It may be asked how is it that with the market at his door the home grower cannot ignore such competition? To this there are several answers. First, social insurance and wages regulations, which are statutory here, have no counterpart abroad (however much this legislation deserves support as social amelioration, it does, in fact, represent additional items in the cost of production); secondly, our more northern latitude necessitates heavier expense for fuel; thirdly, the difference in distance does not give so much advantage to the home grower as might be imagined, for the loading of consignments for shipment which export necessitates enables the transport companies to give advantages, both as to rates and facilities, which the home grower is not able to share. Finally, the industry shares with

other home industries producing in competition with overseas supplies the handicap of the higher general level of taxation in this country.

The problem of transport, together with the allied one of distribution, constitutes one of the most urgent and difficult the growers have to face. The development that has taken place in road transport has been of great service, and is taken advantage of to the full. In the case of articles liable to such rapid deterioration after gathering as fresh vegetables, the facility afforded by collecting at the place of production and quick conveyance to the point of distribution without further handling or transference constitutes a valuable advantage. Notwithstanding this, a large proportion of vegetable produce is still rail-borne. The alternative offered by road transport has proved a valuable bargaining medium with the railway companies, but the enactment of the Road Transport Bills promoted by the railway companies is likely to destroy the Free Trade in transport upon which producers, who themselves have to face unrestricted world competition, relied in order to secure economic freight rates. More of the produce would be sent by the railways if those responsible for their management could see their way to accommodate their policy to growers' needs. An illustration of what those needs are is provided by one concession recently made by the railway companies, namely, the granting of reduced rates for bulked produce consigned to one consignee notwithstanding that the consignment so bulked consists of produce classified in several categories and on which formerly perhaps as many as half a dozen different rates would be payable. More privileges—if privileges they are—of this nature must be granted if the railways are to regain their popularity.

Distribution is chiefly along the line: grower-wholesale salesman-retailer-consumer. Some produce, though a diminishing amount, follows the shorter line: grower-retailer-consumer. There are those who think the ideal should be the direct line: grower-consumer. Some produce does, indeed, follow this line, but it can be only in small amounts, and is confined to postal deliveries and purely local transactions. In a few cases an additional step is introduced by speculation, and the line then is: grower-speculator-wholesale salesman-retailer-consumer. Sometimes the speculator operates between the wholesale salesman and the retailer. Here is the much-talked-of 'middleman' operating to the detriment of both producer and consumer. In the complexity of modern life, and with the world-wide range of the daily requirements of the average household, the wholesale market and the retail shop perform indispensable functions in the machinery of distribution. Salesmanship is becoming more

and more a science of itself in all departments of commerce, and the grower will be happy when he can devote his attention to production, difficult enough of itself, with the confidence that the selling of his produce is in the hands of competent and reliable experts. A great deal has been written and spoken about the gap which exists between the price which is paid by the consumer and the proceeds received by the producer. There is no doubt that a general lowering of the retail prices of vegetables, if it could be brought about without diminishing the already too low returns to the grower, would be a great boon to the whole community. The Linlithgow Committee received evidence upon this subject and reviewed it in their Report, but were unable to discover that, generally speaking, the gap is unreasonable, nor were they able to suggest means for bridging or diminishing the gap:

Fruit and vegetables are unique in the number and variety of intermediaries who may, at times, be engaged in handling the produce, and whose sole service is that of distribution. Occasionally there may be as many as six intermediaries between grower and consumer, as, for example, London commission salesman, London wholesaler, London commission buyer, provincial wholesaler, second provincial wholesaler, provincial retailer. This may involve as many as sixteen to twenty different handlings of the produce. Such cases are not general. They relate largely to produce reconsigned from Covent Garden to the main provincial markets, more usually two intermediaries, namely, commission salesman and retailer, or, at most, three are involved, and these serve a useful purpose in the system of distribution, their intervention being usually justifiable in the circumstances in which it occurs.

Thus the Committee reports. It is not to say that abuses do not exist, nor that it is not possible to suggest improvements in the working of the machinery of distribution to the advantage of producer and consumer alike. The telephone has introduced a new factor which is just beginning to tell. While it has become a great convenience in enabling a grower to know the state of the market before consigning, its first effect, in some cases, is to be more of a hindrance than a help. Some growers consistently consign all their produce to one salesman and seek to make a friend of him; others have a list of selected markets and salesmen, whose telephoned reports are received each day and reviewed before the consignments are apportioned. But many have no settled plan, with the consequence that when the telephone discloses that prices are good at certain markets there is a rush of consignments there to the point of saturation and prices slump, while at the same time other markets, neglected, may be short of supplies. The effect is bad prices to the grower and produce getting stale while it awaits buyers. The consumer cannot benefit. The remedy is the organisation of distribution through

an efficient intelligence service, so that instead of reconsignment from one market to another produce goes direct from the grower to the point of distribution to the retailer. But this needs first the standardisation of produce as to varieties, grades, packing and packages, a proposition which is very popular at present with the political mentors of the industry, but full of difficulties and pitfalls to those who attempt to apply it without full knowledge of and respect for the complicated conditions of the industry and its markets in this country.

A valuable first step in the direction of grading, packing, standardisation and research was taken by the glasshouse industry in the year 1922 in respect of tomatoes and cucumbers. Grades, grade designations, packing and package were agreed upon. These have now become standard. A further step was taken by a levy for the purpose of advertisement and propaganda. A trade mark was registered with the motto 'British and Best.' A research station at Cheshunt was established, which has been progressively enlarged, with the assistance and in co-operation with the Ministry of Agriculture, and has now, under the ægis of the Empire Marketing Board, been adapted to serve Empire as well as national needs for research into problems of glasshouse culture. The action of the Lea Valley growers has undoubtedly contributed to the popularity of the tomato, for it has furnished the retail trade with a continuous supply, during the season, of standardised produce which they could buy with confidence and display with satisfaction.

A further step was taken in 1927-28 by the establishment of a National Mark by legislation on lines first agreed between the Ministry of Agriculture and the National Farmers' Union, with the concurrence of the distributive trades, who all co-operate in the administration of the Act. The only vegetables to which at present the National Mark applies are tomatoes and cucumbers, and broccoli for export. There will, no doubt, be much more difficulty in bringing other vegetables within the National Mark scheme than in its application to apples, pears, and eggs, commodities already included. But these difficulties are not insurmountable, and its extension will be watched with great interest by the general public as well as by the agricultural industry.

The first effect of the National Mark scheme is to standardise the product into grade categories, which, as soon as they become known, afford the public a criterion of quality. Whenever a product is standardised it is lifted out of local limitations and given a national status. Quotations of prices have a recognised datum line and are comparable. Whenever invention shall provide a range of suitable non-returnable packages at economic prices, the produce will flow freely to wherever the demand

is greatest. Purchasers for retail sale will be relieved of the admixture of produce of inferior grade or no grade, the amount of which cannot be known at time of purchase and the loss on which must be passed on to the consumer. The general public will be gratified to find their vegetables presented to them in convenient forms with the neatness and attractiveness of presentation they are accustomed to look for in other articles of domestic economy. The National Mark itself is a silhouette of England and Wales with a medallion of the Union Jack in the centre, and the general public will do well to watch for and give all encouragement to it.

In 1926 a move was made in the canning of vegetables. Hitherto little had been done in this country, though increasing quantities of canned fruit and vegetables were being imported. The way this came about is interesting. The manufacturers of tinplate found the demand for their products falling off disastrously. Formerly the tinplate to make the cans for the American canning industry came from this country. The American Steel Corporation, however, captured the trade and kept it there. Gradually a similar process took place in other parts of the world as steel-making plants were established. The foreign market for tinplate was drying up. With the material for making the cans at home, why, it was asked, could not home products be canned at home? The co-operation of the Ministry of Agriculture was sought, and the National Food Canning Council was formed to encourage a home industry of canning by dissemination of information and propaganda. The advance in the canning of fruit has been phenomenal, though the only vegetable which at present is canned to any large extent is the green pea. Much research has been prosecuted into the scientific and practical problems involved at the Food Preservation Research Station of the University of Bristol, and knowledge obtained has been made available for manufacturers. The canned home-grown peas now put upon the market are unrivalled. As an instance of the growth of the industry, a factory, opened in 1926, during the canning season of 1929 dealt with the produce of 400 acres of peas. Next year the same factory will can the produce of 1200 acres. Consideration is being given to the application of the National Mark to canned produce, so that the purchaser can have a guarantee of home-grown produce processed under conditions agreed upon between the industry and the Ministry of Agriculture.

Two other matters need consideration to complete this survey. They are the diseases of the crops and the seed from which they are produced.

It will have been gathered that the margin upon which the vegetable grower works is exceedingly small and very precarious.

A spell of abnormal weather, misjudgment in marketing or mishandling in selling, or a glut of produce, may destroy it altogether. It is therefore extremely important that his chances should not be destroyed at the outset either by the depredations of disease or pests or by failure or impurity of seed. Every year many losses are incurred from these two causes. Research into diseases and pests is prosecuted at stations subsidised from Government sources. Notwithstanding the investigations that have furnished complete records of the life-cycle of many diseases and pests, methods of full control still remain to be found. The public should realise that the expenditure of public money upon this work is as much to the public benefit as to that of the grower. The complete control of all diseases and pests, if it can be obtained, will, indeed, save the individual grower from many initial losses, but with the general adoption of preventive measures, if and when these are discovered, competition will assuredly transfer to the consumer in the form of lower prices the benefit of the removal of the burden on the industry now represented by the incidence of disease and pests.

The industry is under a debt to our great seed firms for the enterprise and skill with which they have constantly improved old types and evolved new ones and for the purity of the seeds they offer. But there is no proprietary right in the names of seeds. Many names are given to the same variety. Thus a large American seed firm has stated that seedsmen's catalogues carry the names of more than 2000 names of lettuce varieties; while the number of distinct varieties known is about 200. Conversely different varieties are sold under the same name when it is found to be popular. The facility with which varieties of the same genus will become intermixed through the action of pollen-carrying insects imposes the necessity for great care on the farms devoted to seed producing. Where there is carelessness and want of conscientiousness impure lines are the consequence and the grower is mulcted in loss.

Good work is being done upon this difficult subject at the University Farm at Cambridge. It is much to be regretted that a scheme for the co-operation of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Royal Horticultural Society to establish a station and sub-stations to work out pure lines of vegetable seeds and establish standard varieties, similar to the scheme established for the testing of new varieties of fruit, failed to mature.

Whether it is regarded from the point of view of the amount of capital invested or the number of persons employed, or the contribution made to the nation's food supply, the commercial production of vegetables is an important industry. In common with all other sections of agriculture, it has, moreover, a unique

position as a producer of wealth. Every other producing industry transforms some natural product into an article of commerce, but in transforming it does nothing to replace it. The cultivator, on the other hand, uses the forces and products of Nature, and in the process replaces them in a form available for future use. His operations leave no empty caverns of used-up mines, no jagged escarpment of quarried hills. His co-operation turns to wealth Nature's forces of sun and rain and air, forces that run to waste on untilled land. Generations of tillage maintain and ever increase the fertility of the soil—there is no fear of exhaustion. Yet it is a fact—a fact which came home with startling suddenness to the nation in 1917, and held its attention for exactly eighteen months—that the production of the homeland is scarcely half the potential output, and yet that fractional production means in existing economic circumstances over-production. Meanwhile, the industry stands pilloried before the nation for the lowness of its wages, and capital fights shy of it, for its profits have always been precarious. Those who are charged with the responsibility of representative leaders are anxiously seeking for remedies for the existing state of things. They cannot complain of lack of advisers. Whether there are remedies, and, if so, whether they lie in the realm of politics or economics, one thing seems clear, and that is that it would pay the urban part of the population to give their attention to the condition of their basic industry.

W. G. LOBJOIT.

THE PROBLEM OF THE FAMILY

THE family has now become a problem. This is one of the outstanding facts of present-day civilisation. In the Victorian age, whatever else might be challenged, marriage and the family were taken for granted. Nietzsche said of Strauss that he broke away from orthodoxy while unquestioningly accepting the orthodox system of morals. That was typical.

Now the questioning has gone deeper, and we have drawn the whole sphere of sex ethics into its field. A glance at contemporary literature reveals the tremendous change that has taken place. In every other novel written by a man (and in three-quarters, at least, of those written by women) the institution of marriage is challenged. In the course of a somewhat extensive perusal of present-day periodicals I find it quite a rare event to come across any article dealing with marriage or sex questions that is not more or less definitely anti-monogamous. Such works as Judge Lindsey's *The Revolt of Modern Youth*, Mr. Calverton's *The Bankruptcy of Marriage*, Mr. Walter Lippmann's *A Preface to Morals*, Mr. Bertrand Russell's *Marriage and Morals*, Count Keyserling's *Marriage*, Professor Wieth-Knudsen's *Feminism*, as well as almost the entire literature of modern feminism, must convince all those who have studied the matter that there exists to-day what may fairly be described as a world-wide revolt against marriage and the family.

A whole series of influences now conspire to work against the family. Our modern economic system, as Olive Schreiner so clearly pointed out, has undermined the family by taking away from the home and transferring to the factory most of the activities which once made home life the centre of human interest. The education of children, too, is now increasingly being removed from the family to the school, kindergarten, and crèche. At the same time, the rapid decline in the birth rate tends to diminish the significance of the home to an immense number of women. One of the problems of life in England and America is the woman, no longer young, who has already brought up one or two children and is now left with nothing to do.

Further, the increased pressure of competition in the life of

to-day makes it difficult for men to marry; while the entry of a large army of women into the labour market creates a vicious circle—the more women who go out to work the fewer men can marry, the fewer men who marry the more women must go out to work, and so on. It would scarcely be too much to say that the entire structure of our social and economic life is such as to work against the family and to encourage the formation of temporary sex relationships.

Again, there can be no question but that the religious beliefs which lie behind the monogamous family have lost ground heavily during the last two or three generations; and the experience of history shows us that only a short interval (a 'time-lag') elapses between the decay of beliefs and the disintegration of the moral systems based upon those beliefs. We are now witnessing a gradual relapse (generally proclaiming itself as 'progress') back to pagan standards of morality. The standards of the Christian faith are high and difficult, and when the faith grows weak, people will no longer attempt to reach them.

These important matters are here merely mentioned in passing, since the purpose of this article is to deal more specifically with what Mr. Montgomery Belgion calls 'our present philosophy of life'¹ in its relation to the family. It would be an exceedingly difficult task to give an academically accurate definition of this new life philosophy; but it seems to me to consist, in essence, in a greatly intensified individualism. All definite ethical standards are repudiated, in the interests of a purely subjective life-outlook. The *individual* is made the measure of all things, and positive truth suffers a sort of deliquescence, so that everything becomes a matter of private opinion. Its catchwords are 'self-expression,' 'self-development,' 'the right to freedom.' It is necessarily anti-family and anti-monogamous. It has no clearly defined positive basis, because freedom alone is essentially negative. We have to-day a chaotic mass of loosely held private opinions resulting from the disintegration of positive Christianity, united solely in their common emphasis on the rights of the individual as against all authority and positive morality. We should not be very far wrong in saying that the 'present philosophy' marks the victory of the *ego-centric* life-outlook over the *sozio-centric*.

The family is inevitably a key position in the conflict between the new and the old philosophies; and, as Mr. Wyndham Lewis says in that very penetrating, if somewhat obscure, analysis of modern life, *The Art of Being Ruled*, the disintegration of the family under the incessant attacks of modernism is the central problem of our age.

A classical document of the new individualism, in its bearing

¹ Cf. *Our Present Philosophy of Life* (Faber and Faber).

upon the family, is *Marriage in the New World* (contained in Keyserling's symposium *Marriage*), by Dr. Beatrice Hinkle, one of New York's leading women doctors, from which I take the following typical passage: 'Woman's struggle to-day is the mighty birth-throes of a new self. The cult of the ego which dominates this age has produced its effect upon her, and she is becoming articulate and thinking—she is demanding recognition for herself as an individual, separate and distinct from man.' Man and woman have become 'two distinct personalities . . . the twain are no longer one flesh.' Here we have, in a nutshell, the marriage problem of to-day. The meaning of marriage, to those who have not broken with the Christian tradition, is the union of two personalities. Behind it lies the belief that neither of these two would have attained to their fullest development had they remained in separate distinctness. This quotation (as is indeed clear enough from the rest of the article) means much more than the freeing of woman from subjection. It implies a view of marriage that is the flat negation of the Christian view. It rests upon the entirely false assumption that each individual is a complete whole, and will best develop in the fullest possible independence. Like the whole literature of feminism, it denies the bi-polarity of humanity. Woman is not an individual separate and distinct from man. She is one half of the race, inseparably linked, for good or evil, with the other half, and fundamentally incapable (much more even than man) of achieving salvation through self-centred detachment.

Dr. Hinkle herself admits, with admirable candour, that the practical results of the new individualism are destructive, that marriage has been made immeasurably more difficult. But it is her belief that there can be no going back; the only way is forward through an ever-increasing individualism until at last the stage is reached when fully emancipated separate personalities have evolved a free ethic. The old ideals of duty to society and the family are 'gone, never to return.'

Assuredly no one to-day is going to deny woman's right to become 'articulate and thinking.' But what we have here is a totally false statement of the problem. On the one hand, lies (it is implied) subjection and no thinking; on the other, thinking and emancipation through separatism and the disruption of the family. The assumption that when women think they will at once perceive their complete separateness from men is as ludicrous as it is typically modern. Nowhere are women more keenly intelligent and more capable of thought than in France; and nowhere do women realise more fully how inseparably their welfare is united to that of man and the family.

I have dwelt upon Dr. Hinkle's contribution because it is

thoroughly typical. Recent works dealing with the family from a 'progressive' standpoint are mere restatements of the same *Lebensanschauung*. Thus in *Halcyon* (a recent book by one of the leaders of English feminism) we find the same questions answered in the same way. The goal is always self-development, and the argument is always based on the assumption that this development will be fatally hampered by positive social ties. There is never any perception whatever of the ancient truth that it is just exactly the acceptance of definite moral and social duties which may lift the individual above his petty selfhood into a larger life. The whole can be aptly described in the words Burke applied to the 'new conquering empire of light and reason' of the French Revolution, as a 'mechanic philosophy,' 'the offspring of cold hearts and muddy understandings . . . void of solid wisdom.'

At this stage some reader will exclaim: 'Why should we bother about a handful of intellectuals? Let them say what they like, we shall just carry on.' It is very important to reply to this objection, because it reveals a complete failure to grasp the modern situation.

It is, of course, perfectly true that millions of people take no notice of 'progressive' ideas. They continue to live, work, marry and bring up children. *But these millions are inarticulate.* They are almost entirely without influence upon the course of events. On the other hand, the circles that are self-conscious and artistically and intellectually creative are saturated through and through with the 'cult of the ego,' and from them the influence percolates downwards until it reaches, in one form or another, every stratum of the national life. To-day, thanks largely to the ubiquitous cinema, there is scarcely a boy or girl in the remotest village who has not caught some hint of the new gospel of self-development and erotic liberty. If the Churches are powerless to work against this influence, it is not least because they are themselves deeply permeated, in varying degrees, with modern individualism.

The new life-outlook is not a matter which can be regarded as confined to cliques of 'high-brows'; it permeates the entire life of the community, and is coming increasingly to dominate our social legislation. Things have already gone so far that a very well-informed critic, Mr. V. F. Calverton, writes: 'The attitude now dominant in Soviet Russia, which regards sex relationship as a matter entirely private and personal, with neither State nor convention as supervisor, is the attitude that is rapidly becoming accepted, in practice if not in theory, by the rest of the world' (*The Bankruptcy of Marriage*, p. 308).

If the State were really neutral the situation would be much less favourable to the new morality than it really is. But we

are now compelled to face the fact that the State is closely allied with the forces which attack the family.

The decay of the family brings with it certain evils (for example, the underfeeding of young children or the neglect of maternity). At once there is a call for State action. The State accordingly takes over these functions from the family, and the latter is automatically rendered superfluous. The best way to destroy a social institution is to supplant it. Year by year the State advances further and further into the field of the ever-weakening family. We see this going on, but we cannot stop it. In a short time, as time goes in national affairs, the family will have no *raison d'être*, save as a sentimental association.

Even a thinker like Mr. Bertrand Russell, who certainly cannot be accused of reactionary sympathies, views the impending extinction of the family with alarm. On page 162 of his new work *Marriage and Morals* he writes: 'Although the law means to uphold the family, it has in modern times increasingly intervened between parents and children, and is gradually becoming, against the wish and intention of law-makers, one of the chief engines for the break-up of the family system.' We may not agree with Mr. Russell's positive suggestions (which I will not here examine, as they are well known), but few will quarrel with him when he anticipates from the decay of the family a very serious impoverishment of emotional life, and a gradual cessation of parenthood. After all, as he pertinently remarks, why should people bother to rear children at all for the benefit of the State? It is the highroad to racial decay that we now tread in the name of progress.

In a short while, say in ten years, we shall in all probability see the introduction of family allowances (or some other endowment of motherhood). This will, of course, be another nail in the coffin of the family, because it marks a yet more advanced stage in the assumption by the State of parental function; that it would greatly reduce the interest of the father (especially) in his offspring is clear, for it tends to make him superfluous.

Such a measure will scarcely be upon the Statute-book (prophesies Mr. Russell) before an agitation (led by feminists) will begin on behalf of illegitimate children. In a couple of years, at most, they will receive allowances putting them on a level with legitimate children; for who to-day can resist an appeal on behalf of innocent children? It will then make little or no difference, economically, to a woman of the poorer classes whether she has a husband or not. The children will be the joint property of the mother and the State, after the style of the primitive matriarchies. Once this were accomplished, 'the family would probably cease, after a time, to be bi-parental, the father being

of no more importance than among cats and dogs' (Bertrand Russell, *ibid.*, p. 168).

Another step in the same direction (although one less imminent than family allowances) is the so-called *companionate marriage*—now the subject of a vigorous propaganda in advanced feminist circles. Couples are to be permitted, legally and socially, to live together as man and wife, without any legal responsibilities being incurred by the man, for a certain trial period (say two years); if at the end of that time no children are born, the union may be dissolved by consent; but if there should be children, there must be a marriage. In practice, it would soon come to mean that people would not marry at all unless they wished to have children. Why should a man undertake the responsibilities of a husband when, under this plan, he could enjoy a socially recognised union without them? It is sufficiently obvious that such a custom would speedily take us back to the moral level of the primitive semi-promiscuous matriarchy where girls live first with one man and then with another until they are pregnant, when their unions become somewhat more stable, the man's rôle being, throughout, that of a mere fertiliser of the female.

A 'trial trip' of this sort is not a trial marriage at all; it is a purely erotic relationship, stripped of the peculiar moral and racial factors and various atmospheric influences which make marriage a different thing from an irresponsible sex relationship. It is essentially individualistic, private and personal, and hence deprived of the vital, social, energising influences which help to make a marriage. The mere fact that the relationship was intended from the beginning to be experimental would give it an unstable psychological character, while the deliberate rejection of maternity on the part of the girl would introduce an element of cool calculation, preventing the full fruition of the emotional and instinctive possibilities of the union. There is a good deal of evidence (some of which has been collected by Mr. Ludovici in *The Night-Hoers*) to show that calculated sterility (especially at the beginning of a marriage) creates its own psychology, the diversion of sex instinct from its racial purpose causing morbidities (such as inversion and an extreme dread of maternity on the part of the wife, and inhibited development). After all, how many of the free sex relationships which are now common enough end in happy marriages? Very few. Why, then, expect so much more from the companionate marriage?

It is perhaps hardly worth while to attempt a refutation of proposals like these; but the mere fact that they are being seriously discussed on every hand is a rather startling indication of the ground we have covered since Victorian times.

One thing stands out clear: the various factors making for

the disintegration of the family are all closely interlocked; they are all phases or by-products of the same thing—namely, the individualistic and naturalistic life-outlook, the 'Rousseauism' of Mr. Irving Babbitt (author of *Democracy and Leadership*). Man is no longer regarded (from this standpoint) as a spiritual being rooted in a world of religious and ethical truth; he becomes a superior sort of animal—nothing more. His whole object in life is to gratify his desires and instincts. He must make money and enjoy himself; at the best, develop his mind. All positive moral values, all positive truth, and all clear moral standards vanish. What the individual does with his life is his own concern. If he is inclined to live polygamously—well, let him; if he is homosexual, there is really no valid reason why he should not satisfy his inclinations, and so on. This purely materialistic and ego-centric philosophy not only lies behind the economic welter of to-day; it is also the mental background of modern feminism (especially in the Anglo-Saxon lands) and of the whole of the movement for a 'new' morality.

The opposed view, that of traditional Christianity, still holds a considerable territory, and its strength is greatly underrated by its opponents. But the naturalistic ethic is coming more and more to dominate our practical life and social movements. The object of all present-day social reform is to make people comfortable in a material sense; it is entirely indifferent to moral standards.

It was upon the cultural level of primitive naturalism that the matriarchy arose, and as we are now returning (*via* science) to another, more sophisticated, naturalism, which rejects spirit, not from ignorance, but from supposed knowledge, it is not, after all, very extraordinary that the moral life of the age shows a marked tendency to follow the lines it took in pre-Christian and pre-patriarchal days. M. Briffault (author of *The Mothers*), the great authority on the ancient matriarchies, states plainly in his foreword to Mr. Calverton's work on marriage (see above) that the whole drift of modern civilisation is in the direction of a return to the moral standards and customs of the matriarchy. Mr. Bertrand Russell, although not using the same terminology, has already, as we have seen, envisaged this development, resulting from the concentration in the hands of the mother and the State of the powers in which the father formerly had a large share. So rapid has been the transference to the State of functions formerly exercised by the father that the man of to-day has not yet woken up to his changed position; he is, however, vaguely conscious of something wrong, but his own humanitarianism virtually compels him to acquiesce in each step in this direction, for these steps are represented as being necessary in the interests

of the child or the woman, or both (*cf.* family allowances), and in Anglo-Saxon civilisation the man comes after the woman and child. There is thus a kind of fatal necessity about the whole process.

It might at first sight seem that a serious contradiction exists between the 'cult of the ego,' the moral individualism to which I have referred, and the ever-increasing power of the modern Socialist State. In reality here, too, there is the closest possible connexion. The solvent power of individualism, which disintegrates all social nuclei (such as the family), thus destroying the organic unity of society, is just the very thing which compels the State to intervene in order to preserve, if only by mechanical means, some semblance of unity.

It is a seeming paradox, but what calls itself Socialism to-day is usually an outcrop of extreme individualism; it is a revolt by autonomous intellectualists against tradition and authority, and does not create a new social ethic transcending individual atomism. It does, however, tend to place in the hands of the State powers formerly possessed by the socially orientated individual, who now, in his ego-centricity, cannot be trusted to govern himself, but must be drilled and managed by the modern technical State. As Cardinal Gaspari recently stated, we have now reached a pass when there is no real choice, save between licence and force. On the one hand, lies a total disintegration through unchecked individualism; on the other, the forcible intervention of the State to save us from ourselves.

In the centre of the crisis stands the family. In proportion as this nucleus of personal and social life is broken up we fall into the hands of the impersonal, mechanical State.

MEYRICK BOOTH.

A TENTH-CENTURY FEMINIST

It is a common and a pleasing belief that we live in an age of enlightenment—a belief that is not without foundation, even though we have a long way yet to go before the whole human race shall be guided by the rules of pure reason and obey the laws of strict morality. But this belief is often accompanied, and partly vitiated, by a delusion. We consider, with just pride, the progress which the twentieth century in some directions has made, and we draw the false inference that because the tenth century, for example, knew nothing of wireless, of motor cars, of aviation and of poison gas, it was, therefore, a period of unmitigated gloom, a time when men lived as barbarians, when learning was regarded with contempt, and when the arts and sciences had almost ceased to exist. As regards literature, at least, this is a cardinal mistake. The practice of literary composition has been immeasurably diffused, and we have now a mob of ladies and gentlemen amongst us who write with ease. But diffusion has dissipated energy, and the conditions of modern life are unfavourable to that intense concentration which alone can produce work of permanent value. Here the tenth century has an advantage over the twentieth, and it may well be doubted if there is a single author, male or female, anywhere to-day who can equal some of the writers who were born soon after the year 900, in what is popularly known as the darkest period of the Dark Ages.

This phrase 'the Dark Ages' sums up an error which has been sedulously fostered by classical scholars. Our teachers have always rightly considered that the masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature are of vital importance, and that they alone supply us with a standard of comparison whereby literary excellence can be judged. But it is possible for the best to be the enemy of the good; and this is what has happened in our Greek and Latin studies. Greek literature for us has begun with Homer and ended with Aristotle; Latin has begun with Plautus and ended with Suetonius. Hellenistic Greek and mediæval Latin have until lately been regarded as definitely outside the pale, dangerous and deleterious stuff likely to corrupt the palate trained to appreciate the fine vintages of the Attic and the Augustan Ages.

The result has been that the great mass of Latin literature written in the twelve centuries between 200 and 1400 A.D. has for many years been most undeservedly neglected in this country, and that we are only now beginning to realise that all over Europe, during those centuries, there were centres where the arts flourished in spite of war and tumults; that there was a public capable of appreciating and criticising the various forms of prose and verse, and that authors then trained themselves for their task by a prolonged study of the masters of the past. There were periods when production slackened and great works were few; there were periods of mental activity that produced not one but many brilliant writers; there never was a time when the torch of learning was completely extinguished.

We speak of the Renaissance of the fifteenth century; and perhaps that marvellous efflorescence of all the arts deserves its exclusive title. But if we confine ourselves to literature alone, there were at least three occasions after the decay of Græco-Roman civilisation when a similar galaxy of great writers simultaneously appeared. The generation living at the beginning of the fourth century, who saw in 313 the establishment by Constantine of Christianity as the religion of the State, soon afterwards witnessed the birth of three distinguished poets, Ausonius, Claudian and Prudentius, of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, equally famous as theologian and as writer of hymns, and of the three men whose works were for many centuries the most widely read of all books—Jerome, the translator of the Bible into Latin, Augustine, of the *Confessions* and the *City of God*, and Martianus Capella, author of that encyclopædia of learning *The Marriage of Mercury and Philology*. These seven all came into the world within a space of forty years, and, outside the age of Pericles and the age of Augustus, it would be difficult to find any period of literature of equal length that could match this in productiveness of genius.

The next occasion, some 500 years later, is identified with the name of the only European ruler in all those centuries who deserves a place by Constantine's side. Charles the Great was not only a brave warrior and a wise king; he was also an ardent lover of learning, and in the course of his reign he gathered round him a brilliant circle of poets and historians. To give a complete list would be a tedious business, but even a few names will show the amount of talent then in Europe ready to respond to judicious encouragement. Theodulf, for example, the Pindar of the court circle, a Goth by race and born in North Spain, appeared at Aix about 781, and, as a reward for his elegant verses, was soon presented with the bishopric of Orleans. Alcuin, otherwise Flaccus, was brought by the Emperor from York to reorganise

and superintend the royal school. Einhard, the builder of churches, 'Bezaleel,' who wrote the life of his great master, came from the banks of the Main, and from across the Alps the grammarian and poet Peter of Pisa and his friend Paul Warnefrid, the historian of the Lombards. These men, and many others with them, all flourished at Charles' court, and the death of the great king in 814 did not altogether end the Carolingian Renaissance, for there is an afterglow of poetry, marked by the names of Raban Maur, Walafrid Strabo, Gottschalk and Sedulius Scotus, which lasted well into the middle of the ninth century.

The next revival came after no very long interval. The beginning of the tenth century was a period exceptionally unfavourable to peaceful pursuits. Saracens from the south, Danes from the north, Hungarians from the east were all busy harrying and plundering the politer communities of Central and Southern Europe. But once again civilisation triumphed over barbarism, and under Otto the Great of Saxony we have what is called by German scholars 'Die Ottonische Renaissance,' in which Hroswitha and Liudprand are the two brightest stars, Gerbert, Widukind, Rather and Flodoard the lesser luminaries.

Otto, like Charles, was crowned as head of the Holy Roman Empire, and, like Charles, he was as anxious to encourage the arts of peace as he was to extend his power by force of arms. Of literature he was an enlightened and generous patron, and, although the great writers of his period are not quite so numerous as those of Charles' time, Hroswitha and Liudprand are of such remarkable quality that they would make any age illustrious. Liudprand, the Bishop of Cremona, is that rare thing, a historian who is also a humorist. Hroswitha, the nun of Gandersheim, is a playwright who is also a moralist, having for her chief object the spiritual edification of her audience. Liudprand is perhaps the more entertaining of the pair; he was a traveller and a scholar, a courtier, diplomat and bishop, and the varied interests of his life are reflected in the vivid pages of his *Antapodosis* and *Embassy to Constantinople*. But Hroswitha is the finer and the rarer genius, for she draws all her material from her inner consciousness and lived the whole of her peaceful life within the precincts of the Abbey of Gandersheim.

Gandersheim is now a quiet little town nestling in a wide Brunswick valley, and is chiefly known for the excellent beer which it brews. But in the tenth century it was a place of importance, the seat of an authority, both spiritual and temporal, which, though always in a woman's hands, gave that woman power of life and death over all the males of the district. The Abbess of Gandersheim held direct from the king; she had her own law courts, her own mint and coinage, and her own men-at-

arms. As a feudal baron she had a right to a seat at the Imperial Diet—a right which was exercised as late as 1803 by Dorothea Augusta of Brunswick—and on many occasions she was a member of the royal house of Saxony. But she was also the head of a great religious and educational establishment where the rule of St. Benedict was strictly observed and all worldly luxuries prohibited. Her nuns, as a mediæval chronicler tells us, 'were forbidden to eat away from the common table at the appointed times, except in case of sickness. They slept together and came together to celebrate the canonical hours. And they set to work together whenever work had to be done.' To preside successfully over such a community required qualities of a very high order, and we know from Hroswitha herself that the abbess in her time—Gerberg, niece of the Emperor Otto—was not only a good woman and a great administrator, but also a sound classical scholar: 'Younger in years than I, but far older in learning.'

The phrase comes from the preface which Hroswitha wrote for what seems to have been her first literary production, the set of poems on the Christian martyrs. These pieces, which include an account of Christ's nativity and ascension, are mostly in leonine hexameters with internal rhyme, and to all lovers of martyrology they are of great interest. The material is usually drawn from ancient records, but Hroswitha adds many touches of her own. Her story of the martyrdom of St. Agnes, for example, whose presence purified the house of ill-fame to which she was consigned and whose chastity shamed its frequenters into repentance, is a most vivid piece of writing. Even more striking is the tale of Pelagius, which Hroswitha heard from an eye-witness. Pelagius lived at Cordoba in Hroswitha's time, and was so comely of person that the Caliph Abderrahman, who then ruled in Spain, wished to make him his minion. The Christian youth, of course, indignantly refused, and was thereupon handed over to the executioner. He was first shot from a catapult, but escaped unhurt; then he was beheaded and his body thrown into the river. The manner in which fishermen found his head and the miracle that followed form the conclusion of the poem.

The third section of Hroswitha's works, also in verse, is less exciting than this, but possesses considerable historical value. It consists of two long hexameter poems, the first containing a history of the Abbey of Gandersheim from its foundation in 850 by Liudulf and his wife Oda down to the writer's own times; the second, now incomplete, relating in epic style the chief exploits of the Emperor Otto I. But Hroswitha's poems, whether mystical or historical, are not her true title to fame. They are chiefly important as showing that a woman in the tenth century, without any distinct poetical gift, had sufficient training

in literature to write better verse than most of our contemporary bards can achieve. Her real genius is revealed in the six prose plays that come second in the manuscript found by Conrad Celtes at Ratisbon in the fifteenth century,¹ the *Gallicanus*, *Dulcitius*, *Sapientia*, *Calimachus*, *Pasnutius* and *Abraham*.

Of these, the first, and least significant, three deal with the conflict between Christianity and Paganism, and their plots are briefly as follows: In *Gallicanus* the hero, one of Constantine's generals, claims the Emperor's daughter in marriage as the reward of his military services. Constantine dare not refuse him openly, but knows that his daughter has taken the vow of virginity; and finally, at her suggestion, he delays his answer and sends her two chaplains to attend the general on his next campaign. Their ministrations are successful. Gallicanus becomes a Christian, and on his return regretfully abandons his plans of marriage and allows his intended bride to remain a virgin.

The second play in this group, *Dulcitius*, differs from the rest in being distinctly humorous in parts. Dulcitius, a governor under Diocletian, has three Christian virgins handed over to him for examination. Enraptured by their beauty, he orders them to be confined in his scullery among the kitchen utensils; and when night falls he, with the worst of intentions, pays them a secret visit. Fortunately, in the darkness he mistakes the round pots upon the walls for the virgins' swelling bosoms, and, embracing them tenderly, covers himself with soot and grime. So changed, indeed, is his appearance after this amorous encounter that his own soldiers fail to recognise him, and he is driven off as a vagabond. Thus far the play is broadly comical, but the later scenes are serious. The virgins still refuse to renounce their faith, and two of them are burned alive, while their younger sister, rescued from shame by angelic intervention, is shot on the mountain to which she escapes, and dies praising Christ.

If Hroswitha shows some levity in *Dulcitius*, she makes full amends when she brings the lamentable story of *Sapientia* upon the stage. The scene is set in Hadrian's palace at Rome, and the action begins with a complaint laid before the Emperor by a Roman patrician. A certain foreign woman, it appears, named Sapientia, 'Wisdom,' has come to Rome with her three daughters—Faith, Hope and Charity—and is persuading the Roman matrons to refuse all their marital duties. Hadrian summons the foreigners into his presence, but on questioning the mother about her daughters' ages, he himself has to submit to a long and highly ingenious lecture on the qualities of numbers. Brushing this information aside, the tyrant orders the three young girls

¹ The best modern edition of Hroswitha's complete works is that of Winterfeld—*Hrotsvithae Opera*. (P. de Winterfeld, Berlin, 1902.) Vol. CVII—No. 636

to offer sacrifice to his gods, and on their refusal has them put to death by the most cruel tortures. Their dead bodies are given to their mother, and in the last act Sapiientia lays her children in the grave, and then, in a magnificent speech, prays that she also may die and falls lifeless by their side.

The three remaining plays deal with another conflict, the eternal struggle between the spirit and the flesh, and show, to the best of Hroswitha's ability, the evils that unlawful love brings in its train. Their aim is entirely moral, but the author thinks it prudent to write an apologetic preface:

You will find some Catholics, and I cannot entirely hold myself guiltless, who, attracted by the charm of a polished style, prefer the empty foolishness of pagan literature to the useful lessons of the holy scriptures. There are others who, although they cling to the sacred pages and despise most pagan authors, yet too frequently peruse the plays that Terence invented, and while they find pleasure in his delightful dialogue, pollute themselves with the knowledge of things unspeakable. Therefore, I, the Strong Voice of Gandersheim, have not hesitated to imitate, on the stage, an author whom others cherish in their studies. He deals with the shameless profligacy of wanton women: I, to the best of my poor ability, use his method to glorify the laudable chastity of Christian virgins. One thing, however, has often embarrassed me and brought a hot blush to my cheek—the form of my work has compelled me to set forth the detestable madness of unlawful love and the poisoned sweetness of such lover's talk. These things, which we are forbidden even to mention, I have had to imagine for my plays and give as themes to my dutiful pen. Still, if from modesty I had passed all this by, I should not have fulfilled my purpose nor should I have set forth to the best of my power the praise of innocence. The more seductive a lover's blandishments, the more sublime we prove the glory of our heavenly helper and the more wonderful the triumph of our victory. And this is especially true when it is female weakness that wins the day and manly strength that is put to confusion.

Of these feminist dramas *Calimachus* is the most tragic and has the strongest plot, although it is not written in Hroswitha's most characteristic manner. Fired by love for the saintly Drusiana, Calimachus confesses his passion to her, and Drusiana, who has even refused her husband's lawful embraces, in her horror prays to Christ that she may die. Her prayer is granted; she is laid in her tomb, and one of her servants set to guard her. Calimachus, still maddened with desire, comes to the grave, and, bribing the servant, is about to take the dead body in his arms when a monstrous serpent appears and kills both men. Their corpses are found by the husband and the Apostle John, who, in a final scene, revives Drusiana and recalls Calimachus to life and repentance. Even the wicked servant has the same mercy shown to him, but on returning to life he refuses to repent and is handed back again to his master, Satan. *Calimachus*, in spite of some crudities, is a very remarkable work which has success-

fully stood the test of a London performance, and any critic who was present at the Haymarket Theatre one afternoon some years ago, when it was acted side by side with two plays by modern dramatists, had then a practical example given him of the difference between genius and talent.

Pafnutius also comes into comparison with modern work, for the same story has been treated by Anatole France in his *Thais*, from which Massenet drew the libretto of his opera. France was acquainted with Hroswitha, and in an essay in *La Vie Littéraire* he extends to her his usual bland patronage; but perhaps he scarcely realised that her simple play will survive when his laboured novel has been long forgotten. *Pafnutius* begins with a delightful dialogue in which the hermit tells his disciples of his resolve to disguise himself as a pleasure seeker and to convert the notorious Thais. Then come the wonderful scenes in which the courtesan accepts Christ and humbly follows her new guide to the convent where she is to pass the rest of her days doing penance for her sins. Three years elapse, and in the last act Pafnutius, assured of the sinner's pardon, returns to the convent, finds Thais dying, and stays by her side until her soul has winged its way to heaven.

The plot of *Abraham* is in some respects similar to that of *Pafnutius*, but there are subtle points of difference. When the play opens, Mary, the niece of the hermit Abraham, is a child of eight living in the desert under the care of her uncle and his old friend Effrem. Ten years pass, and a stranger beguiles her away. Then, after long searching, Abraham is informed that Mary is living a life of shame in a neighbouring city. He therefore disguises himself, borrows a horse and some money, and goes to save the lost sheep. How he finds her in the pimp's house may be read in Miss St. John's excellent translation of the six plays,² but perhaps the conclusion of that recognition scene may be given here:

ABRAHAM. Now the time has come to take off my disguise and show her who I am. Mary, my adopted daughter, you who were half of my soul! Do you recognize the old man who reared you like a father, and betrothed you to the Son of the King of Heaven?

MARY. What shall I do! It is my father Abraham, my teacher, who speaks.

ABRAHAM. What has come to you, daughter?

MARY. Bitter trouble.

ABRAHAM. Who deceived you? Who led you astray?

MARY. He who ruined our first parents.

ABRAHAM. Where is that angel's life you once led on earth?

MARY. Gone, gone to perdition.

² *The Plays of Roswitha*, translated by C. St. John. (Chatto and Windus, London, 1923.)

ABRAHAM. Where is your maidenly modesty? Where your lovely chastity?

MARY. Lost, lost.

ABRAHAM. If you do not come to your right mind again, what reward can you expect for all the toil of your fastings, prayers, and vigils? You have fallen from the heights of heaven and plunged yourself in the depths of hell.

MARY. How wretched am I!

ABRAHAM. Why did you not trust me? Why did you leave me? Why did you not tell me of your fall? My beloved Effrem and I would have done a worthy penance for you.

MARY. When I was fallen and sunk in sin I did not presume to approach your holy presence in my filthiness.

ABRAHAM. Who ever lived that was free from sin, save only the Virgin's Son?

MARY. No one.

ABRAHAM. To sin is human, to persist in sinning is devilish. We cannot justly condemn those who fall unawares: we should rather blame those who refuse to rise as soon as may be.

It is difficult to represent in English the stark simplicity of Hroswitha's Latin, but even a translation will make plain the manner in which she deals with a situation which has led many a modern author into false pathos and mawkish sentiment. *Humanum est peccare, diabolicum in peccatis durare*: such is the moral of the play, and Mary is no hardened sinner; she leaves the city, goes back with her uncle to the desert, and in repentance finds happiness.

Much nonsense has been written in the past, and will doubtless be written in the future, about the inferiority of the female to the male mind as revealed in literature. It has even been asserted that women are, by nature, incapable of producing a really great work of art. The fallacy lies in identifying greatness with size and in supposing that the grandiose must, of necessity, take the highest place. A lion is larger than a bee, but a hive is a much greater work of art than is a lion's den. The truth seems to be that women artists have always preferred to work in a restricted sphere and have relied on simplicity as their chief instrument. Sappho is a great poet; the *Hymn to Aphrodite* is not as long as the *Iliad*, but it is its equal in sublimity. Jane Austen is a great novelist: she does not attempt the 'big bow-wow' style of Sir Walter Scott, but the author of *Waverley* knew where the truth lay. Hroswitha is in the same case: she is a great playwright, and certainly the most sympathetic of all the Latin dramatists. She has not the boisterous humour of Plautus nor the urbane wit of Terence, but she has other qualities which they do not possess. Her prose dialogue is more lifelike than their verse can ever be; she has a deeper insight into character than

they usually show; above all, her Christian charity puts to shame the one's careless levity and the other's cynical indifference. Hroswitha not only creates her characters, she loves them. She does not wish merely to please her readers, she desires to make them better men and women.

F. A. WRIGHT.

TIME, IMAGINATION AND THE MODERN NOVELIST

A WRITER in the September number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* has remarked that the most interesting developments in modern fiction are concerned with the question of Time. This is true, and it opens up avenues of speculation. These may end in tangles which are for us insoluble—the present writer, at any rate, makes no pretence of solving them—but they are of absorbing interest alike for the artist and the plain man. We are immersed in the flux of Time, and we long, not only for happiness, but for permanence. The imaginative writer creating a world of his own gives, or tries to give, to this impression and to this desire a sharper and intenser form than can be found in commonplace experience. This has always been so, but in our modern age, at once more self-conscious, more analytic and less confident than the old, the effort has taken on a more complicated and, in some ways, a more poignant character.

Roughly speaking, there are three questions about Time which for the purposes of this paper may be taken as the most important. And they are all connected. The first is bound up with the profound difference felt to subsist between happiness to come and happiness that is gone; the next with the impression of momentary events continually slipping away, and with the suspicion whether, none the less, all these elusive moments may somehow have a vital link; while the third involves the search for something of enduring value springing up in a world where everything on the surface is appearing and disappearing.

The plain man and the poet are at one in feeling that what matters in Time is not the first, but the last, not the beginning, but the end. This is the fundamental reason underlying the simple-minded wish for 'a happy ending.' And the prophets support the poets and the plain men. 'Let the dead past bury its dead.' 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.' This is the same note, only deeper, as we hear in Meredith's line, 'Thou art thy future, not thy past,' and in Dante's sigh over 'sorrow's crown of sorrow.' It means the whole difference between Hope and Regret. And yet this obvious fact, on which all practical life

depends and all the thrill of drama and story is overlooked by most philosophies. They assume that the relation of the Future to the Present is, in quality, just the same as the relation of the Past. The difference is merely one of position; it is only that the Future comes later and the Past came earlier in the series, as though the moments of Time were nothing better than a row of billiard balls and it did not matter from which end we began.

And this leads to the second question: Why should we suppose that the flux of Time in which we are all immersed is a mere series of separate moments? Probably the reverse is the truth, and the Present Moment vitally connected with every other both in the Past and in the Future. Its connexion with those in the Future is different from its connexion with those in the Past, but it is a connexion all the same. Now this is certainly the sort of belief we all act on in ordinary life: we do everything with an eye to the Future, and we know that everything we can do is, to some extent at least, fixed by the Past. The most vital moments in our experience are those in which our whole past character, acting in the Present, flings itself forward to meet the Future. These are also the vital moments for the imaginative writer creating characters, whether as novelist, dramatist or epic poet. And it is in this sense, I believe, that the first of all critics, Aristotle, urged his poets to remember the Unity of Time. He was thinking, it is true, of drama in the narrow sense of the word, and the conditions of the stage limit him—or he felt they limited him—to one brief closely-connected complex of actions which could be taken in, so to speak, and, as he says, 'at a glance.' But the essentials are the same even when the stage is not to be considered at all, or when its conditions are disregarded.

We can see this if we compare three works which we may take as typically modern: Ibsen's *Doll's House*, Mrs. Dalloway, by Virginia Woolf, and the great phantasmagoria that fills the bulk of Goethe's Second Part to *Faust*. *The Doll's House* is an admirable model of construction on strictly Aristotelian principles: the series of actions can be taken in at a glance and summed up in the answer to the question, 'What will Nora do when her Doll's House is broken, when she realises that her husband will not help her out of the tangle into which she has got through her childish ignorance of life?' And Ibsen handles the problem so that, step by step, what the characters do and say throws a full light on their unrepresented past and lets us forecast in some measure their future. It is just the same method that was used, though by an infinitely greater genius, in Sophocles' masterpiece, *Œdipus the King*. There the question is, 'How will Œdipus handle the situation when his city is cursed and he discovers that he himself is the unconscious culprit?' The process of the action, which,

even in real life, could only have lasted a few hours, does reveal to us the whole nature of the man in the past, and how he ran his head into the terrible net that has caught him, and how he has the greatness of character that will in some measure surmount it.

Ibsen, like Sophocles, does not in *The Doll's House* go beyond action and the speech possible to action. But the modern novelist and the modern poet can avail themselves of much more than action, and they take their opportunities. Virginia Woolf in *Mrs. Dalloway* has, it is true, limited herself strictly to one day, but she has allowed herself full scope in entering without disguise, as a novelist should enter, into the hearts and memories of her characters, and, beyond this, she has set side by side people who never even speak to each other, but whose lives touch each other suddenly, closely, even mortally. Mrs. Dalloway, charming, good and brilliant, the wife of a man whom, up to a point, she has loved, and who deserves her love, the mother of an exquisite daughter just growing up, gives a party, and at the party there may be, and there is, a former lover. In that one day she realises what has been growing within her for years, the knowledge that she has married the wrong man, that her love is dying of inefficiency, that the pith has gone out of her existence, that she has no longer the inward fire which could make her face life and exult in death. And this mortal knowledge is driven home to her, not only by the meeting with her former lover, but by the chance remark of one of her guests about an ex-soldier who has killed himself in an outburst of insane despair. This assault from Time reveals the weakness of her inner defences. And the intensity of the assault is made perceptible to the reader by the vivid pictures of the terrors and delusions surging through the mind of the soldier unknown to Mrs. Dalloway, terrors and delusions near enough to all our own fears and weaknesses for us to sympathise with them while they bear the very stamp of madness. The surface of Time for the modern individual in its breadth, as in its flux, is given here with a startling power. Only the question of the Future is left blurred and indistinct, and this perhaps is the one criticism to be made on a most remarkable and finely finished work: all we feel for certain is that after that one evening nothing can be the same for Mrs. Dalloway any longer.

Still more noticeable in its divergence from the classical model in externals and its compliance with the same model in essentials is the 'Helena' in the Second Part of *Faust*. Goethe's theme was that of a modern man who, desiring with all his force to develop the best that is in him, realises that he can never do this until he has grasped for himself in mind and heart all that was of permanent value in the Greek conception of harmonious life. And once he has done that, once he has sunk himself in

this dream of the Past, he finds a spirit born of it driving him back again into the workaday world of the Present. There is a real and a deep unity in this conception, and a unity which, as Goethe said himself, 'is a Unity of Time in the higher sense.' The modern mind, when it enters actively on its inheritance, does hold an immense store of what has come to it from a Past before its birth. There are moments, and those among the most important of its life, when it can only grow by commerce with this Past if it is to be of any practical use in the Future. In Goethe's drama the process and result of this inner union was symbolised by a device of his own. Faust is spirited to Hellas on Mayday night, and there wins Persephone's consent to woo the shade of Helen for his love. By subtle touches in the poetry we are reminded incessantly that Faust's experiences, exciting and transforming as they are, are yet not actions in the ordinary sense of the word. They are the dreams of a seeker:

Dreams are they, dreams or memories?

Goethe was here, although in a manner entirely his own, anticipating some of the most significant efforts to-day, efforts at representing the cluttered content of the modern mind when it is faced with the most characteristic and pressing of its problems about life. The modern man cannot escape being the heir of the ages; and this brings him both wealth and bewilderment. If imaginative artists are to present him truly at his most critical moments, they will present him with his mind haunted by echoes of the Past as well as by the insistent appeals of the unborn Future. It is typical of our period that a modern poet should have flooded *The Waste Land* with streams of quotations. The same feeling, though in a lighter vein, runs through Mrs. Woolf's *Orlando*, the sense of the long inheritance down the centuries that may come to life in a modern being, the men of the Past re-incarnated in a woman, the women in a man.

The fulness and variety of modern consciousness appear in another form. Layer on layer of impressions are felt to be crowding together, all of them pressing for recognition—some vague, some vivid, some important, some trivial. It is a constant preoccupation of our novelists to give the sense of this full-charged stream, smooth on the surface, turbid below, rushing ceaselessly forward whether to cataracts or to peace. To a certain extent, no doubt, every imaginative writer dealing with human character has tried to do this. But to nothing like the same extent. And in earlier attempts it has usually been done indirectly, not, as now, by describing the surge of perception travelling through one particular mind. The massive sweep of human life in the *Iliad* owes little to self-analysis, the actual scene is crowded and the

poet is content with drawing the chief characters strongly enough to let the listener imagine for himself, at least in outline, the inner effect of the constant movement, a movement that scarcely rests at all, and by its fatefulness and significance illuminates both the past and the future of the men and women who make it and are made by it. The action of the *Iliad* lasts only a few days, but the implications of it embrace years.

A similar method, almost always indirect, but hardly ever ineffective, is typical of the Elizabethan drama. The dance at the house of Capulet in *Romeo and Juliet* heaps bundle after bundle of impressions upon the spectator, and indirectly we realise how complex is the experience of Romeo, aware at once of the light brilliance in the company round him, the fussy hospitality of his testy host, the risk of the whole adventure when the underlying feud is all but ablaze, while through it all his passion for Rosaline, which he had fancied overmastering, is now slipping away faster than he can comprehend before the new passion for Juliet. But the effect of this complexity is gained, as it were, from the outside. What Romeo says himself—and he says little here—is taken up with the main drift of his thoughts. There is scarcely a touch of self-analysis, though Romeo is fond of analysing himself. If we contrast this with almost any scene of a party in Proust's astounding novel, we find ourselves in a world where analysis of the inner feelings is the essential matter. Proust hardly tells us a thing that any of his characters say without telling us also why they said it, how much else they were thinking of as they were saying it, and, usually, how little they meant it. It is like the difference between floating on the surface of a great stream with the sky above us and being sunk under the water itself with all the strangeness and horror of the new experience. Certainly no writer has ever given so vividly the sense of the current of Time, the crowded and continual movement carrying so much that is trivial, and somehow, even in that triviality, so much that is arresting and enchainning. It is partly for this reason that he makes so strong an appeal to modern writers. Nothing is more characteristic of them than the determination to face the whole of life and leave nothing out, however commonplace, mean, sordid or repellent. To get the very movement of life as they find it, that is their aim of aims.

Along with this keen sense of the lapse in Time goes inevitably a sense keener than ever of the pathos in the disappearance of the Past. Again, no doubt, this sense has been universal for all poets from the days of Homer and Ecclesiastes downwards. The trees put on another birth in the spring, but the generations of men are gone like the leaves that fell in the autumn. The silver cord must be loosed and the golden bowl broken. The days will

come when the grasshopper is a burden. But Proust brings to the analysis of old age and its progress all his merciless insight and all the horrible power that baffled desire may awaken in a craving temperament, if that temperament belongs to a genius. Even more horrible is the dissection of a dying love, if love is the proper name to give to a passion which aims at nothing but possession, so horrible and so powerful that to travel with Proust under the waters of Time is to travel in a Hell as appalling as Dante's, and even more sinister because less dignified.

Yet, if this were all, I doubt if I should have referred to Proust for the purpose of this paper. Something else runs through the book, the desire for the permanent and the eternal, the hope, faint, but strangely persistent, that in some way this is attainable. It is significant that the title of the whole huge work is 'The Search for the Past,' but the close of it is called 'The Finding of the Past.' Here, once more, it may be said, and, indeed, should be said, we have a repetition in a new form of what has haunted poets in every age. The gods are immortal if man is not, and there are men whom they take for their own and bring to the Islands of the Blest. Moreover, as the world advances, more and more the poets, and the imaginative writers generally, come to insist that this eternity of their desire is somehow bound up with the Time that seems so fleeting. How it can be so bound up they do not profess to explain, but the sense of the union is the spring for their most characteristic utterances, extravagant, even, in the effort to express what is perhaps inexpressible. To Keats the nightingale is 'immortal,' a bird 'not born for death'; to Shelley the skylark is not a bird at all, but a spirit at the gates of heaven. What is the meaning of this, if not that in some way the permanent can well up in the transitory, eternity in time? And it is the same hope that makes so many who are not poets turn with eagerness to any philosophy, whether they can understand it or not, which, like the writings of Bergson or the theories of Einstein, at least suggests that the ordinary way of looking at Time as something that comes, goes, and is for ever gone is not the whole truth about the matter.

But closer to the plain man than these abstruse speculations are the works of imagination, especially the imagination of a novelist, because his themes are drawn expressly from daily life. And thus it is of extreme interest to see how a novelist of genius like Proust, perverted, but still a genius, addresses himself to the quest. He finds what he wants in that imaginative power of the artist which can recognise across a gulf of Time the essential quality of a reiterated impression, the link of identity which unites the Past and the Present, and which, experienced for however brief a part of Time, lifts the man above its limitations. There must be

something more in him than what is carried away incessantly by the lapsing of events if he can in this fashion grasp the essential likeness of two things, one present and the other past. 'One minute freed from the bondage of time sets free the man who feels it.' 'Une minute affranchie de l'ordre du temps a recréé en nous pour la sentir l'homme affranchi de l'ordre du temps,' (from *Le Temps Retrouvé*, at the beginning of the last volume).

In this power is a sign and seal of the real self. The self may have seemed dead, but when it recognises the truth of things across the current of Time it 'awakes and lives again, fed by the celestial food that it has found.' The food is celestial because it is true, and, so Proust appears to think, it is only through this comparison between Present and Past, through this recognition of something 'common to both and much more significant than either,' that man can attain to truth. When he is immersed in the Present he is far too much occupied with his selfish interests: he cannot see the thing as it is and rejoice in its real character; its essence is veiled from him by his own petty concern with it. It speaks to him by the impressions it produces on him, but he cannot understand the meaning of those impressions until he sees them, or, rather, feels them, with the detachment of a man looking back on his past.

Hence Proust's extraordinary insistence on analysing the detail of sentient life as it drifts through the mind and yet need never leave the mind. Always he is exultant over this power, and sometimes exultant enough to speak as though it could free a man from the fear of death. If he can thus rise above Time, why should he fear the future? ('Situé hors du temps, que pourrait-il craindre de l'avenir?') Then this confidence passes: these moments when the artist seems to be, indeed is, beyond Time, do not themselves endure; 'the contemplation, though a contemplation of eternity, is itself fugitive.' None the less, such moments give the writer his 'one real and fruitful joy' in life through this power of lifting him consciously above what is fleeting and in and through that lifting showing him the truth.

Mr. Clive Bell, to whose brilliant little book on Proust this article must acknowledge itself indebted, speaks of Proust as no philosopher, and disparages the connexion with Bergson, Proust's 'intellectual master' and relative by marriage, that may underlie this way he has of looking at things. But a man may be 'no philosopher' and yet on the right track in philosophy, while, right or wrong, the view is undeniably stimulating. All the more so because of its remarkable, if limited, likeness to the creed of a very different writer and a very much greater and saner man, Goethe. Goethe, too, had a vivid sense of the flux of Time and of men as borne down by its flood, and Goethe, too, held fast to

the conviction that through Art and Thought they could lift themselves above the waters, finding, through the power of poetry, a deathlessness—not a deathlessness of glory or any trash of that sort, but the deathlessness of active truth and love. The Muses may be trusted:

They keep their promise when they sing of
A deathlessness to find,
They store the Meaning in the heart
And the Form in the mind.

The words 'heart' and 'love' mark a difference between Goethe and Proust at least as important as the likeness. To Goethe love was vital even for the understanding of any one thing. 'We cannot learn to know a thing unless we love it.' More than this, love was vital for the completion both of the universe and of man. Both of them were growing, and love was the spring and crown of the process, cosmic and personal. Love was in and behind and beyond the fugitive appearances of Time: it initiated all that was of value in them, and it led them to their goal. But to Proust a man's love, for all its intensity and allure-ment, is nothing but another illusion: the joy that he heard promised by great music, 'noble, clear, ineffable,' had nothing to do with love. That was reserved simply for understanding. Hence the aridity and desolation of his monumental book, in spite of the wonderful figures of 'Grand'mère' and 'Maman,' who do love unselfishly. What has happened to this man, the reader asks, dowered so richly with insight, sensitiveness and creative power; what has happened to twist him into this perverted view, blind him in his search for the doors of escape? One, it is true, he has opened, the door to the understanding of evil, but he only hears echoes from the others. He gives the lie to Shakespeare when Shakespeare speaks in his own person, not as the murderer Macbeth. Love, Proust says almost in so many words, is 'Time's fool,' is *not* 'the star to every wandering bark,' shining beyond the seaman's comprehension, though guide to the ship's course, 'Whose worth's unknown, although his height be taken.'

Proust's 'hero' excuses himself for faithlessness in love because his own qualities alter, and so, he argues, he himself alters. But there is a philosophy of love profounder and closer to the plain man's intuition, a philosophy which recognises that love deals with personality and that personality is more than any bundle of qualities. It is the source of those qualities, expressed in them partly, but not wholly, and true love grasps the personality. 'These are her gifts,' the poet says:

as tongue may tell them o'er.
Speak low her name, my soul, for that says more.

In grasping this 'more,' the lover grasps a formative power of the universe, an enduring force which makes men, and that is why true love has always been thought of as eternal:

Who ever loved that did not love for ever?

If this be error, and upon me proved
I never writ, nor no man ever loved.

That is why crimes and pettinesses are, in a sense, irrelevant to love of the true quality. They can make the lover miserable, but that is a different matter.

There is a second way of escape, one which Proust hardly touches at all, and this is the more surprising because of his sensitive and instructed taste. It is the way of beauty. Every real artist has at bottom the conviction that in making something beautiful he is also making something truer and deeper than appears on the surface of ugly appearances. And if he begins to analyse what he means by 'truer' and 'deeper,' he usually finds that he means something permanent, something beyond the fleetingness which at first sight is all that we can see. Of course, it is not mere permanence that the artist desires, it is permanence of something glorious, but my point here is the artist's belief that in his vision permanence is an essential element.

Now there is a theory of Beauty which, whatever its defects and limitations, does take serious account of this belief. It is the theory that Beauty is another of the formative influences in the universe, working in ways beyond our comprehension, but not eluding entirely our apprehension. It has the power, when working freely, of making every detail absolutely satisfying in itself, and also absolutely essential to the whole of which it is a part. The spirit of man, when it sees this Beauty in the world, cannot understand and put into words the causes of his satisfaction; it springs from a source deeper than his logic can attain, but it comforts his whole mind because it speaks of a harmony which, in its way also, his intellect desires. Natural beauty suggests for its explanation a something sublime which controls appearances; and is more enduring than they can be. And the same Power, according to this theory, is working in the creative artist, though with individual differences. The artist is making new forms of beauty other than could ever appear in Nature, but his belief that he is making something permanent is justified because he is dealing with the same lasting principle that is working in Nature itself, and his works, if he makes them properly, are discoveries of infinitudes. They may be slight or they may be huge, for there are small infinitudes as well as large. What

matters is to get through appearances to the power that produces them.

Virginia Woolf has been chosen for this paper as typically and finely modern, and it may end appropriately with a mention of two points in what is perhaps her subtlest book, *To the Lighthouse*. For they touch directly on our subject. She gives, it is true, no hint that she would accept any philosophy of the kind here very crudely roughed out, but few prose writers have expressed with so much terseness, delicacy, and intensity the artist's passion to grasp that which endures throughout change. The painter, Lily Briscoe, is tormented by the struggle to achieve this, to drop all the trivial concerns of life and encounter 'this other thing, this truth, this reality, which suddenly laid hands on her, emerged stark at the back of appearances, and commanded her attention.'

It is even more interesting to find a writer who understands so intimately this strenuous and lonely search of the artist perceiving that it corresponds, closely and deeply, with the power that certain elect spirits possess of making a unity in the trivial things of ordinary life by the human gifts of a sympathy which, plunging into the chaotic drift of littlenesses, lifts out of them something permanent. Lily Briscoe, wrestling with her painter's vision on the shore that looks towards the lighthouse, and remembering, with a poignancy into which the reader has been made to enter, the bitter lapse of what had once been lovely, remembering, moreover, the irritating flux of perpetual detraction and disparagement, remembers also, and above all, the dead Mrs. Ramsay who could unite and bring together for a wonderful unending moment on the seashore two human beings who had done nothing but exasperate each other.

But what power was in the human soul! she thought. That woman sitting there, writing under the rock, resolved everything into simplicity; made these angers, irritations fall off like old rags; she brought together this and that and then this, and so made out of that miserable silliness and spite (she and Charles squabbling, sparring, had been silly and spiteful) something—this scene on the beach, for example, this moment of friendship and liking—which survived, after all these years, complete, so that she dipped into it to refashion her memory of him, and it stayed in the mind almost like a work of art.

Here, in this tiny memory and in default of the great revelation which had never come to her, Lily finds one of the

little daily miracles, illuminations, matches struck unexpectedly in the dark; here was one. This, that, and the other; herself and Charles Tansley and the breaking wave; Mrs. Ramsay bringing them together; Mrs. Ramsay saying 'Life stand still here'; Mrs. Ramsay making of the moment something permanent (as in another sphere Lily herself tried to make of the moment something permanent)—this was of the nature of a

revelation. In the midst of chaos there was shape; this eternal passing and flowing (she looked at the clouds going and the leaves shaking) was struck into stability.

Here, and finally, we come once more in touch with Goethe. To Goethe it was precisely the business of man thus to make the moment eternal:

Er kann dem Augenblick
Dauer verleihen.

He could do this, so Goethe believed, following Spinoza and interpreting him in a poet's way, because every moment was a fragmentary manifestation of a divine plan running through all Time, and with this plan, this 'Idea,' he could co-operate consciously and rejoicingly, although he could never say in full what it was. He saw enough to work by, and, working by it, he could say with authority to the Moment, 'Stay yet a little while, thou art so fair!' In that lies the significance of the famous wager between Faust and the Devil. The Devil bets that he can make Faust believe it possible to give this command in his service. The Devil fails, and was bound to fail unless he could blindfold the man's spirit.

Readers of our Poet Laureate's latest and greatest work, his gospel of Beauty, his legacy of greeting and worship to the glory, visible and invisible, of this world, will be aware of how he, too, strikes the same full chord, combining in one organ roll of majestic music the sense of human love and of the lovelinesses that depend for their very existence on the passing sequence of temporal events, but all of them singing of something more than temporal as we understand, and very imperfectly understand, that imperfect word. For Robert Bridges 'first Love' is

as the ocean-tide of the omnipotent Pleasur of God,
flushing all avenues of life, and unawares
by thousandfold approach forestalling its full flood
with divination of the secret contacts of Love,—
of faintest ecstasies aslumber in Nature's calm,
like thought in a closed book, where some poet long since
sang his throbbing passion to immortal sleep—with coy
tendernesses delicat as the shifting hues
that sanctify the silent dawn with wonder-gleams,
whose evanescence is the seal of their glory,
consumed in self-becoming of eternity;
till every moment as it flyeth, cryeth "Seize!
Seize me ere I die! I am the Life of Life."¹

F. MELIAN STAWELL.

¹ *The Testament of Beauty*, by Robert Bridges. Reproduced by kind permission of the Poet Laureate and the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



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THE NAVAL CONFERENCE OF 1930

It was at St. Louis on February 3, 1916, that President Wilson made his momentous pronouncement of the new naval policy which was intended to safeguard 'genuine' neutrality against German submarine warfare and against the Allied blockade. Congress voted the funds for the 1916 programme, which started on its way impelled by what may be called a 'neutrality motive.'

America entered the war; her fleet grew steadily bigger, till in 1919, when the Versailles Conference opened, its shadow loomed darkly across the Atlantic. It became a formidable obstacle to the peace negotiations. In March 1919, at Paris, Mr. Walter Long, the First Lord of the Admiralty, expressed his alarm to Mr. Daniels and stated that Mr. Lloyd George could not support the idea of a League of Nations unless the United States would agree to cut the big naval programme.¹

Lord Robert Cecil was equally perturbed, and on April 8, 1919, wrote to Colonel House urging abandonment on the plea

¹ *America's Naval Challenge*: Frederick Moore (1929), pp. 26, 27.
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that a competition in armaments between the two chief supporters of the League must doom it to complete sterility or worse.²

France supported the League of Nations on the definite understanding that the United States and Great Britain would guarantee the security of France. The Senate rejected the League, and France did not receive the guarantee of security, which still haunts her and remains the basis of her demands.

There followed the Washington Conference of 1921,³ where Mr. Hughes dropped a bombshell by making a definite and concrete proposal for the destruction of a number of specific ships. To say that the French were not pleased⁴ at the Conference is a mild statement of their feelings. But the American proposals were sound and practical. The aim of the United States was parity, and when the Conference ended the American people thought that it had been achieved in all classes of ships. This was not the case. A definite proposal had been presented by the United States to limit the total tonnage of cruisers and destroyers to 450,000 tons for the United States and Great Britain, but a thorny discussion on submarines intervened and the whole question was shelved; Earl Balfour made a statement⁵ accepting parity in the battlefleet, but adding a phrase which appeared to include cruisers, but did not actually do so.

The Conference ended with parity in battleships with Great Britain and the ratio (5—5—3—1½—1½) for the five Powers. It limited the size of the individual cruiser to 10,000 tons (10,160 tons metric) and its guns to 8 inches (206 millimetres). The United States proceeded to scrap twenty-eight battleships (fifteen building and thirteen old ones), and Great Britain followed suit with twenty built and four building. This was a big achievement, but it left France dissatisfied with the ratio allotted to her.⁶

Great Britain and Japan proceeded, not too wisely, as one can now see, to design and lay down 10,000-ton cruisers. By 1926 they were both definitely superior to the United States in this class. Suddenly America woke up to the fact that they had only two 10,000-ton cruisers against the British eleven and Japanese six, and all the naval geysers there began spouting hot and cold.

² *America's Naval Challenge*: Frederick Moore (1920), p. 30.

³ See *The Times*, November 18, 1921.

⁴ Mark Sullivan, *Great Adventure*, p. 100.

⁵ *Brassey's Annual*, 1928, p. 67: 'Taking these two, the battleships themselves and the vessels auxiliary and necessary to the battle fleet, we think that the proportion between the various countries is acceptable.'

⁶ See articles on 'French Naval Policy' by Paul Chack in *Brassey* (1928) and 'Evolution of French Navy' by Lieutenant Guichard in *Brassey* (1930), both well-known French naval writers.

Briefly, a large body of opinion thought that America had been tricked out of parity. The President, resorting once more to his constitutional armoury, proposed another Conference, where another attempt could be made to lay the grim spectre of competitive armaments. France and Italy sent polite refusals, but Great Britain, the United States, and Japan met at Geneva on June 20, 1927. It was found difficult to reconcile the different views. The United States wanted twenty-five 10,000-ton cruisers, which seemed to Great Britain too many; Great Britain asked for a tonnage in cruisers, destroyers, and submarines of 590,000 tons, which seemed to the United States too much. America wanted size (8-inch guns) rather than numbers; Great Britain wanted numbers (6-inch) rather than size. The Conference came to no conclusion and broke up in August 1927.⁷

The Conferences, both at Washington and Geneva, were dominated by the idea of parity, which in its turn rested on the belief of America in maritime power and in its determination that the word 'neutrality' should have a definite meaning. This may be called the 'parity approach,' and it was hampered by the view that parity, unlike charity, should begin at the other person's home. Meanwhile the League of Nations was approaching the question of disarmament along a different road.

THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

For seven years it had been busy with the question. In its councils France pinned her faith to the word 'security,' seeking, so to speak, to pool the security of the world in a great collective pact of mutual obligations. The Protocol of 1924⁸ is a product of this school of thought. Round it gathered a whole jargon of its own in terms of 'graduated obligations' and 'regional pacts' which, under new names, are closely akin to the old pattern of group alliances. They are the same breed of dog with a new name. Peace is to be maintained by the menace of war.

It is the business, however, of the League to discover some path to disarmament, and it is for ever seeking some formula that will reconcile disarmament with security. Elaborate questionnaires have been framed for the purpose, and in the thorny region of their technicalities one may wander for days and years. On the road lie the remains of the Permanent Advisory Committee, the Temporary Mixed Commission, and all sorts of minor resolutions.

Finally, in December 1925, there was constituted by the Council of the League the Preparatory Committee for the Dis-

⁷ For story of Geneva Conference see *Brassey's Naval Annual*, 1928.

⁸ *League of Nations, Fifth Assembly*, November 2, 1924, in British Cmd. 2273 of 1924.

armament Conference.⁹ It was constantly being pestered to get on with its work.

In July 1928 the British and French Governments agreed to a proposed basis for discussion in which 10,000-ton cruisers were to be subject to limitation.¹⁰ The American Press obtained the terms of the proposal and published them (September 21, 1928). An immense outcry arose in America against any restriction on the 10,000-ton cruisers that she wanted. Later came a frank note from the United States. The distinction between classes of cruisers was rejected. The Preparatory Committee in 1928 had run into the wreck of the Geneva Conference of 1927. One side was seeking for Parity by means of conference, the other for Security *via* the League of Nations.

To clear the line there came the Kellogg Pact signed at Paris on August 27, 1928, in which all the leading Powers renounced war 'as an instrument of national policy.' It was followed by the American Cruiser Bill, providing for fifteen new cruisers and an aircraft carrier, which was signed by the President on February 13, 1929. Of 8-inch gun cruisers built and building previous to its passage the United States had eight, Great Britain fifteen, and Japan eleven. In April 1929 the Preparatory Commission met again to endeavour once more to discover a formula that would reconcile disarmament and security. One of the questions constantly revolving round and round was that of global tonnage *versus* categories—in other words, whether naval strength should be measured in terms of the total tonnage of all ships or in terms of so many individual battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. This question depends largely on the functions performed by these different classes. Each nation has its own ideas on the values of the different classes, but the Preparatory Committee is hampered by the idea, strong at Geneva, that one can be secure from war only when each is stronger than his neighbour. The problem is closely associated with the relative functional values of the different classes of ships.

BATTLESHIPS

The three principal maritime Powers are already pledged by the Washington Conference to a specific relative strength (15—15—9) in battleships, but this involves heavy expenditure in replacing the older ships. The British Government's proposals of February 7, 1930, express a wish 'that battleships will in due time disappear altogether, as it considers them a very doubtful proposition in view of their size and cost and of the efficiency of

⁹ Met in First Session May 18, 1926.

¹⁰ Cmd. 3211, 1928, p. 34.

air and submarine attack.' In the meantime it suggests that the question of their replacement should be deferred for the consideration of a further Conference in 1935, and that new battleships should in any case be limited to 25,000 tons. Further, it suggests advancing the normal scrapping programme by adding to it five of the British, three of the American, and one of the Japanese older battleships.

In view of America's pronouncement to go as far in reductions as the strongest Power, of Italy's readiness to consider the abolition of the capital ship, and of the principal Japanese delegate's statement in favour of battleship reduction, it seems curious that the British Government, whilst expressing a wish to see the large battleship disappear, should have put forward no big concrete proposal on the subject. It is probably swayed in this matter by naval opinion, which is opposed to the abolition of the large ship. Naval opinion, however, is not infallible, and the conventional view of the professional man may very well be wrong. A battleship merely represents the ultimate expression of fighting power that can be put into one ship. Her task of holding the ring against *corresponding* ships can be done just as effectually by smaller ships, which have, as a matter of fact, fought actions even more decisive than the larger ones. At Trafalgar the largest ship was about 1200 tons; at the Yalu (China and Japan), 7000; at Tsushima (Russia and Japan), 15,000; and at Jutland, 30,000. The continual growth in size has arisen, not from any functional necessity, but solely from rivalry and competition.

The introduction of the 'Dreadnought' type by Lord Fisher illustrates the process. After expending enormous sums on these leviathans and super-leviathans the relative strength of the German and British navies remained practically unaltered. If those two countries had agreed in 1900 to limit their warships to 6000 tons their relative power in 1914 would have been much the same.

On the other hand, though submarines, aircraft, and mines have greatly limited the activities and uses of the large battleship, they do not, and probably never will by themselves, justify its abolition. So long as one side possesses them the other must follow suit. They represent the necessity of a concentrated force. This is the backbone of naval war, and no one can doubt that if the British battle fleet had been defeated in the late war the Allied cause must have collapsed like a house of cards.

It is the principle of limitation in size, and not the submarine nor aircraft, that has doomed the large ship. After the war we built the *Hood*, of 45,000 tons, and had plans ready for much larger ships, costing immense sums. At Washington a purely arbitrary limitation of 35,000 tons was accepted, and the number

of battleships was cut down by about 50 per cent. At Geneva we suggested reducing the maximum tonnage to 30,000, and now the Government suggests a still further reduction to 25,000 tons. Is there any magical virtue in this figure to prevent its further reduction?

The larger ship, if larger ships are built, does unquestionably protect the smaller cruising ship from the enemy's larger ship. But remove it from the board and the cruiser then becomes the ultimate expression of tactical power and takes on herself the functions of the battleship. Even the humble torpedo-boat destroyer can effectually control a particular area until something more powerful appears over the horizon, and in a war between two countries possessing nothing larger, would fulfil the rôle of the battleship, just as the *Mimi* and *Fifi*, two little motor launches, commanded Lake Tanganyika in 1916.

There is, however, a limit in the downward scale. Vessels are required with sufficient sea-going qualities and fuel endurance to keep the seas for a reasonable period and to operate in the oceanic spaces. They must also have sufficient speed and gun power to protect the trade and transport routes from raiders and enemy warships. All these qualities can be combined in a vessel of 6000 tons, of which the British *Delhi* class may be taken as an example and certainly in a vessel of 10,000 tons.¹¹

Maximum tonnage of all ships might be reduced to that figure by stopping all replacements of larger ships and scrapping them as they reached the age limit, and an agreement on these lines would not endanger the security of any Power.

A concentrated force as the backbone of naval war would still be necessary, but would consist of ships of 10,000 tons carrying 8-inch guns. Naval expenditure would be greatly reduced, and a number of small ships now engaged in protecting monster battleships would be set free to protect trade.

At the back of the big battleship is the big battleship designer, who is constantly seeking after the will-o'-the-wisp of absolute immunity. When after the war a battleship of 50,000 tons was projected to cost 10,000,000*l.* this was given as the lowest possible tonnage on which immunity from submarines and mines could be obtained. Precisely the same argument is now put forward for the 25,000-ton ship. The expert who believes in size and weight must face the fact that if we endeavour by heavy expenditure to build something very special in 25,000 tons others will do the same and we shall come round again to the same point. The present commotion has all arisen from the technical expert trying to do something special in the line of 10,000-ton

¹¹ See 'Capital Ships,' by Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, K.C.B., *The Times*, November 22, 1929.

cruisers, with the result that America started a competition in that type. This is a hard, stony, and expensive road. Defence is necessary, but we must endeavour to eliminate from it the sulphurous element of rivalry.

A certain section of naval opinion is, however, so enamoured of expense that it actually states that a smaller ship must be made so perfect that it will be very expensive. The abolition of the large ship is apparently to involve an enormous expenditure in smaller ones. In other words, a small navy is to cost as much as a large one! The argument does not hold water. The exceptional cost of the German 'pocket battleship' *Ersatz Preussen* is simply due to the severe limitations placed on German construction by the Treaty of Versailles. They are allowed to have only one ship, and so they put a large sum into it.

The construction of this ship does, however, show that any agreement for limiting size of ships and calibre of guns must either be extended to all countries, or signatory Powers must be allowed to retain a number of heavily gunned ships to deal with the corresponding ships of non-signatory Powers.

The foregoing may be summarised by saying that the size of the capital ship is entirely a relative question, and that the cult of enormous size and the tendency to accept the infallibility of experts on this subject are twin fetishes mutually supporting and assisting one another in maintaining the naval expenditure of the world at its present high level.

CRUISERS

The number and size of battleships are governed by the battle-fleet strength of possible opponents, but the number and size of cruisers mainly depend on the interests they have to defend. As this country is more dependent on oversea trade than any other, there is a strong logical argument for British superiority in this category. But relatively to the United States two other factors have to be considered. First, America is determined to have parity, and parity is essential to any agreement. Secondly, by placing an embargo on her exports and stopping our Canadian and Mexican trade she could strike a blow against this country which all the cruisers in the world could not parry.

America on two occasions in her history has been dragged into war by high-handed interference with her ships, contrary to the accepted conventions of international law. Lord Balfour's statement at Washington that he accepted parity was construed by Americans to mean parity in all classes of ships. This is an entirely reasonable demand, and, whether reasonable or not, is going to be fulfilled. We may have parity if we like, and if we

do not like we can whistle for it. There remains, however, Continental considerations. The Pact should be one, not of parity alone, but of parity and security. Any agreement on cruiser tonnage should permit of alteration in the event of a serious deterioration in the international situation, subject to a year's notice being given to America, so that she might proceed to lay down an equal number.

DESTROYERS AND SUBMARINES

The destroyer is really a small cruiser required for purposes of torpedo attack and defence with the battle fleet, for anti-submarine duties and the protection of trade in the terminal areas. The British proposal for 200,000 tons seems to be reasonable, subject to reductions if submarine programmes are curtailed. In order to obtain parity in destroyers America will have to scrap about 90,000 tons.

The submarine question will be much more difficult to re-solve. The British and American desire to see it abolished is presumably based on the German campaign against merchantmen in the late war.

But it remains a perfectly legitimate weapon, and moreover a very powerful weapon when used legitimately against warships. The British note of February 7 states that 'in war conditions it is a weapon of attack.' But are not battleships, cruisers, and destroyers weapons of attack? Certainly the submarine attack on the *Leon Gambetta* in April 1915 successfully defended the Adriatic, for the French fleet never entered it again. Similarly, the entry of a submarine into the Mediterranean in 1915 successfully defended the Dardanelles from the *Queen Elizabeth's* guns, for it sent her hurrying home with all despatch. Again, the submarine attack on the *Nottingham* and *Falmouth* on August 1916 helped to defend the High Sea Fleet from Lord Jellicoe's pursuit. The smaller naval Powers are fully aware of these facts. Their history is before them in our own official Histories. They might, however, as suggested by the Italian Delegation, agree to the abolition of the submarine as a *quid pro quo* for the larger battleship. But even so there are a large number of small Powers¹³ possessing submarines who are not represented at the Conference, and it would entail asking them to abolish their only naval weapon. To foreign Powers there is something in the British and American suggestions to abolish the submarine slightly reminiscent of the proposal of the bears that the bees should abolish their stings.

¹³ Jugo-Slavia, Greece, Turkey, Poland, Finland, Peru. For the requirements of the smaller naval Powers, see 'Conference of Rome,' 1924 (*Brassey's Naval Annual* (1925), p. 44).

THE CONFERENCE

The final decisions on these knotty problems are still in abeyance and can only be gathered from the pronouncements in the Press. One of the most important of these is the French Memorandum,¹³ which leans heavily towards Security as opposed to Parity. According to the French view the discussions at London are to be considered only as a basis for a further convention for the limitation of armaments. Mere ratios¹⁴ do not permit of rational application—in other words, the Washington ratios cannot be regarded as a basis of relative naval strength. A close interdependence exists between armaments at sea and on land and in the air, and finally the French Government would take fully into account any guarantee for security against aggression on the basis of Article XVI. of the Covenant. But these difficulties, in the opinion of the French Government, are not insuperable, and it looks upon the Conference as paving the way towards general negotiation.

The objection to this outlook is that it is very difficult to make it anything more than an outlook. It is impossible to find a formula that will equate the period of service of an Italian conscript, the birth rate of Germany, the geographical position of Italy, and the height of the Alps with the tonnage of the latest French submarine. The American and British approach does at least get somewhere towards immediate disarmament, and the acknowledgment and assurance of America's claim to parity is an assurance also for the peace of the world. The French seem to be animated by a veritable passion for security, interpreting the word in the narrowest terms of howitzers, poison gas, aircraft, and prospects of war. The best security is the cultivation of friendly feelings. The meek will certainly inherit the earth in the end, if the strong men, in their search for security, persist in cutting one another's throats.

The Conference was opened on January 21 in the gallery of the House of Lords by His Majesty the King, whose speech was heard over the whole civilised globe—an achievement of science far surpassing its work in the production of instruments of war.

Two questions strove with one another on the agenda. On January 27 the French delegation desired to discuss the old problem of the measurement of strength by global tonnage or by categories of ships. The Italian delegation asked that the relative rates of strength should be taken first. The question of global tonnage was given precedence.¹⁵

¹³ *The Times*, December 27, 1929.

¹⁴ 'The unjust tyranny of mathematical formulæ,' M. Tardieu at Calais, February 1, 1930 (*The Times*, February 2).

¹⁵ Third Plenary Session, January 30 (*The Times*, January 31).

The same day an official announcement was made that the orders for two new British 10,000-ton cruisers (the *Surrey* and *Northumberland*) had been cancelled. In the question of global tonnage *versus* categories of ships the Geneva compromise of M. Paul Boncour was accepted—namely, that tonnage should be divided into categories, with a subsequent limited power to transfer from one category to another after giving previous notice to other signatories.

In pursuance of an incorrigible Geneva tendency to manufacture jargon, this proposal to transfer allotted tonnage from one class of ship to another has been called the French 'transactional' proposal.

The categories suggested by France were ¹⁶:

- (1) Vessels exceeding 10,000 tons displacement or with guns of more than 8 inches.
- (2) Light surface vessels with guns exceeding 6 inches.
- (3) Light surface vessels with guns not exceeding 6 inches.
- (4) Submarines.
- (5) Aircraft carriers.
- (6) Special vessels, minelayers, aircraft transports.

Those suggested by Great Britain were somewhat different, namely:

- (1) Capital ships.
- (2) Aircraft carriers.
- (3) Cruisers (a) with guns of 8 inch or over; (b) with guns of 6 inch or under.
- (4) Destroyers.
- (5) Submarines.

The difference between these two classifications will no doubt be reconciled.

France apparently wishes to build up to a total tonnage of 724,000 tons by 1936. This may be compared with her total tonnage of 797,000 tons in 1914. Under the Washington Conference she was allotted a battleship tonnage of 175,000 tons. Her present situation is largely governed by her Naval Statute of 1924, which provided for a 'light ship' fleet of 390,000 tons to be completed by 1943, including 96,000 tons of large submarines and 30,000 tons of smaller ones. Of this about 45 per cent. is built or building.

The United States outlook has been expressed in an important pronouncement made by Mr. Stimson ¹⁷ on February 6, embody-

¹⁶ *The Times*, February 1.

¹⁷ This was not issued in its entirety (*The Times*, February 11).

ing the unanimous view of the delegation on the discussions with Great Britain and Japan. The United States look for:

- (1) Immediate parity with Great Britain in every class of ship.
- (2) In larger 10,000-ton cruisers the United States to have eighteen and Great Britain fifteen—an advantage of 30,000 tons; in smaller cruisers Great Britain to have 42,000 tons more, but leaving each country the option of duplicating exactly the other's cruiser fleet.
- (3) In battleships the equalisation of the fleets in 1931 instead of in 1942.
- (4) In destroyers and aircraft carriers an equality of tonnage.
- (5) In submarines the lowest tonnage possible and in favour of their total abolition.

On February 7 the British Government followed suit with a statement ¹⁸ of its policy. The proposals offered were:

- (1) Agreement not only by global tonnage, but on the size of individual ships in the various categories.
- (2) It might be convenient to allow the transfer of a percentage of tonnage, but not a general transfer. It was opposed to transfer in regard to capital ships, aircraft carriers, and submarines. In the case of cruisers it would be ready to agree to transfer from the 8-inch class to the 6-inch class.
- (3) The number of capital ships laid down at Washington (namely, 15—15—9) to be reached within eighteen months instead of in 1936.
- (4) No replacement of ships before the next Conference in 1935.¹⁹
- (5) A reduction in battleship size from 30,000 tons to 25,000 tons and of guns from 16-inch to 12-inch.

As Great Britain has now twenty capital ships and the United States eighteen, this proposal means the scrapping by Great Britain of five and by the United States of three capital ships.²⁰

According to one report America is in favour of maintaining the right to build a battleship of the British *Rodney* type (nine 16-inch), which would give her in 16-inch guns thirty-three against the British eighteen. This report gave rise to a merry game of 'Dreadnought' arithmetic on both sides of the Atlantic,

¹⁸ Cmd. 3485 (*The Times*, February 8).

¹⁹ This would save the laying down of five ships costing probably some 7,000,000l. a-piece.

²⁰ The five oldest British are *Iron Duke*, *Marlborough*, *Emperor of India*, *Benbow*, and *Tiger*, and the three oldest United States ships are *Florida*, *Utah*, and *Arkansas*.

but any technical subtleties of this sort are probably well within the power of reasonable settlement.

In capital ships France asks for 209,257 tons ²¹ by 1936, which would increase her Washington ratio from 33 per cent. of the American and British strength to about 47 per cent., and she also offers to forego the replacement of 105,000 tons up to 1933 if a naval 'holiday' is agreed to. Her demand amounts to something like one more battleship, and does not appear to be unreasonable.

In cruisers the French ask for ten 10,000-ton ships and a total of 124,859 tons against their present strength of seven 10,000-ton ships and present total of 136,963 tons.

The Japanese ask for a large cruiser tonnage of 126,000 ²² tons against the 180,000 tons of the United States, giving her a ratio of 70 per cent.

The following are the tonnage proposals to date ²³ of the British Empire, United States, France, and Japan :

TONNAGE PROPOSALS 1930

(Figures in brackets are number of ships)

	British Empire.	United States.	Japan.	France.
Battleships .	[15] 473,650	[15] 464,000	[9] ²⁴	209,267
Cruisers (large) .	[15] 146,000	[18] 180,000	126,000	124,850
Cruisers (6-inch).	192,000	149,000	100,000	258,297 ²⁵
Destroyers .	200,000	150,000	165,000	
Submarines .	63,320	82,000	78,500	

One might seriously ask if, when all these figures have been laboriously adjusted and finally added up, some wizard of relativity could not persuade everybody to make a further cut of 20 per cent. in every section. It might be possible with a portion of the money saved to start a school for European diplomacy, where the old-world tricks of that trade might be unlearned, a task even more necessary than that of naval disarmament.

There remains the more difficult question of the abolition of submarines which was discussed at the Fourth Plenary Session opened on February 11.

²¹ She has at present nine battleships of 194,544 tons.

²² Includes two of 8800 tons.

²³ *The Times*, February 15.

²⁴ Japan has at present ten of 289,400 tons (*Brassey's Annual*, 1930, p. 309).

²⁵ One category in French system of classification.

The United States and Great Britain are both in favour of their total abolition on the ground that it is an offensive weapon. France and Japan are opposed to its abolition. On strictly logical grounds the terms 'offensive' and 'defensive' belong rather to the use of a weapon than to the weapon itself. Even a shield designed primarily for defence may become offensive if hurled at someone's head. On the other hand, the wholesale abolition of one class of vessel, notorious for its inhuman use in the late war, would register a great step forward in the cause of peace. Italy regards it as a useful weapon of defence, but is prepared to favour its abolition.

The strengths in submarines at present are :

	Built.	Building.	Total.
British Empire	53	10	63
United States	122	5	127
Japan	64	7	71
France	52	47	99
Italy	53	14	67

France, which is building a large number, is in favour of the agreement signed at Washington in 1922 to regulate its use against merchant ships, which requires passengers and crew to be placed in safety before the ship is sunk.

It would be as well to lay down firmly that the submarine itself is not to be regarded as a place of safety, for many a man taken prisoner on a submarine had to suffer the danger of attack from British destroyers on his way home.

It is just as well, too, to grasp the fact that in France leading journalists, like Pertinax, regard the proposal as a piece of 'pharisaical policy' on the part of Great Britain and the United States, who desire on easy terms the naval hegemony of the world; they see even in the scrapping of battleships the British merely making a virtue of grim economic necessity. It is useless to combat this line of old-world thought. Such writers evidently do not grasp that in Great Britain and the United States there is a solid phalanx of opinion gradually crystallising against the immense place filled by the idea of war in the polity of nations. In the end of ends those who act in direct opposition to the strivings of these two great nations for the cause of peace may find themselves unable to wage war for lack of the supplies of war.

The best reply, perhaps, to these arguments would have been for Great Britain to offer a drastic reduction in battleship strength—say, to 10—10—6 for the United States, Great Britain, and

Japan. One might well offer, too, the abolition of that cumbersome expensive vessel the aircraft carrier, a monster of doubtful value which no one would have thought of building if we had not started it, and which in its turn requires cruisers and destroyers to protect its helplessness.

One thing is certain, that armament and disarmament have become questions of international polity, and even France, which is quite excusably the strongest exponent of the old mentality, clearly does not like to be left in diplomatic isolation as the principal advocate of the more drastic instruments of war.

The suicidal idea that countries can only ensure peace by being stronger than their neighbours is in itself a potent instigator of war. At bottom, no doubt, war is caused, not by armaments in themselves, but by bad faith and tricky diplomacy; but excessive armaments aggravate the strain and bring it more quickly to breaking point on any provocation. Competitive building is an encouragement to war and is maintained by a belief in war. It is precisely this attitude of mind that the Kellogg Pact is intended to disperse. If the London Conference does no more than abolish competition between the British Empire and the United States it will have done a great work by the removal of a virus of ill-will and suspicion, and it may open the way to an era of further disarmament and possibly to a new international outlook. In all civilised countries there is a growing current of opinion against the futility of war. Those who think that the best protection against a neighbour's birth rate is to be found in howitzers, aircraft, and poison gas are condemned to a fatal stupidity which all the military talent in the world can never mask. It is this fatal frame of mind which, perhaps, the London Conference, by bringing the great nations together in friendly deliberation, will do something to dispel.

The principal difficulty at present lies in the high tonnage demands of France in cruisers, destroyers and submarines, which give the British Empire a superiority in cruisers and destroyers of only about $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 (538,000 tons to 383,147 tons), and in submarines an inferiority of 6 to 9. If Great Britain can feel secure with a French superiority in aircraft of something like 2 to 1, then France need not be disturbed by the idea of parity in submarine tonnage with Great Britain and by a British superiority in cruiser tonnage of, say, 2 to 1.

For practical purposes, the French policy amounts to this—that when Great Britain reaches an agreement with the United States on a level of parity and reduction, France puts forward demands, forcing Great Britain to put up her requirements to a point where America asks whether the Conference is for parity in disarmament or parity in increased armaments.

It can only be hoped that the British Empire will cling to General Dawes' motto of 'One thing at a time' and hold fast to parity with the United States, leaving France to do what she likes in her desire for impregnable security in the air, on land, at sea and under the sea, in contrast to Italy, who has shown a most reasonable and temperate attitude sincerely helpful to the cause of disarmament.

Armies and Navies may be an expression of greatness, but they do not in themselves constitute greatness.

What constitutes a State?

Not high raised battlements or laboured mound,
Thick walls or moated gate,
Not cities proud with towers and turrets crowned,
Not bays and wide spread ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, great navies ride;
No—men, high-minded men.

K. G. B. DEWAR.

THE INDIAN SCENE

THE publication of the Simon Commission's Report, which is expected in the early months of this year, will act like the spotlight of a theatre and focus the attention of all political parties in this country upon the problem of government in India. India is likely to become a political issue of the first importance for the remainder of the year. Before the limelight is turned on, and while it is still possible to discuss the issues detached from the specific recommendations which it will be the duty of Sir John Simon and his colleagues to make, it may be convenient to take stock of the situation and to examine the scene upon which the spotlight will so soon be cast.

There has been a perceptible hardening of opinion on the constitutional question, both in England and in India, during the last few months—protest against undue concessions in England, protest against inadequate concessions or undue delay in India. This is perhaps an inevitable preliminary to the struggle which will shortly commence. The matter is being treated as a bargaining transaction. Both sides are nervous lest their representatives may give away too much, and in true Eastern fashion are putting their terms as high as possible.

The circumstances which have led to a discussion of the Indian problem in anticipation of the Simon Commission's Report deserve a careful examination. In the summer of last year the Viceroy came home on leave. Though his decision to come home was taken before the General Election, and his object was principally to obtain a much-needed rest, yet the change of Government in England made the visit particularly opportune, and during his stay in England Lord Irwin was able to hold some valuable conferences with the new Secretary of State. In the first two and a half years of his term of office, Lord Irwin had experienced, as others have done before him, the great difficulty of convincing Indians of the sincerity of British professions of sympathy with their national aspirations. Being himself a man of transparent sincerity, he was grieved to find himself involved in a fog of suspicion and mistrust, which he was quite unable to dissipate. It was not merely a question of failing to satisfy a few

extremists as to the value of the constitutional changes made in 1919, or as to the rate of progress towards the admitted goal. Even men of sober judgment and reasonable expectations professed serious misgivings as to the definition of the goal itself, and as to the sincerity of British intentions to assist its early attainment. At the same time equally serious misgivings were expressed by Indian princes as to the effect upon their States of the reforms already carried out in the administration of British India, and of the extravagant demands of extremist politicians.

This atmosphere of suspicion and uneasiness was largely due to the vagueness of the phrases used from time to time by responsible authorities when referring to the goal of British policy in India, and was increased by the circumstances in which the Simon Commission was appointed. The misgivings of the princes were due to the fact that they could get little information about the position they were to occupy in the future Constitution of India. Lord Irwin's principal object, therefore, in the discussions he held with His Majesty's Government was to secure their approval of a final attempt on his part to dissipate, if possible, this atmosphere of mistrust before the Report of the Commission was published. The policy by which he sought to attain this object had two features. The first was a declaration, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, that the ultimate attainment by India of the status of a Dominion was implicit in the declaration of 1917 and the preamble of the Act of 1919, and the second was an announcement that the publication of the Simon Commission's Report would be followed by a Conference, in which three parties would be represented—the British Government, the Indian princes, and British India—to discuss freely and fully the whole situation and the constitutional changes which it would then be possible to undertake. In due course this policy was approved, and carried out in the publication of the correspondence between Sir John Simon and the Prime Minister and in the statement issued by the Viceroy from Delhi immediately after his return to India. Evidence of the wisdom of the Viceroy's policy is to be found in the unanimity of approval which it secured in India from all sections of opinion, both British and Indian. The more important of the two features of this policy—namely, the announcement of the tripartite Conference—was equally favourably received in England, but the reference to Dominion status—due to a misunderstanding, which it is difficult to believe was not a deliberate misrepresentation—aroused a storm of protest in the Press and acrimonious debates in both Houses of Parliament. This misunderstanding was caused by rumours, widely circulated before the statement appeared, that the Government had decided to

promise immediate Dominion status to India in advance of the publication of the Simon Commission's Report. The result was that one sentence in the Viceroy's statement, which was almost unnoticed in India, was singled out in England as evidence of the wicked intention of the Government to forestall the recommendations of the Commission.

If any justification were needed for the statement which has been so much criticised, it may be found in the debates which took place in Parliament last November. In the House of Lords three ex-Secretaries of State took part in the debate, and a perusal of their speeches will show what good ground Indians have had for their anxieties about the ultimate goal of British policy and the rate of progress which they might expect towards the realisation of their own ambitions. Lord Birkenhead declared that it was 'crude ignorance' to give India 'an indication never made before, not sanctioned by the Simon Commission, that it is your goal that she shall attain Dominion status,' and he added that no sane man expected to see such a condition realised within a hundred years. Lord Peel, another Conservative ex-Secretary of State, also considered it unwise to define as Dominion status the ultimate goal of British policy in India, because, 'considering the differences between the political problems you meet there and in the Dominions, considering also the historical past on which institutions rest in India, as compared with those in other Dominions, it might quite well follow that precisely the same political development is not the best for India.' But the most remarkable sentence of all was used by Lord Crewe, a Liberal ex-Secretary of State, who, after associating himself with the protests made by others against the use of the phrase 'Dominion status,' went on to define what he himself understood to be the ultimate goal of British policy. 'I should have preferred,' he said, 'to put it in this way, that the goal we have in view as the ultimate state of things in India is one by which all Indian affairs should, so far as is compatible with the continuance of British India as part of the British Empire, be managed by Indians in India with the very minimum of interference by Parliament here.' If that, then, is all that is understood by these responsible authorities as the ultimate goal of British policy in India, as the fulfilment of the declaration of 1917 and the preamble of the Act of 1919, 'in the fulness of time,' 'with evolutionary development,' that a state of affairs would be reached in some dim and distant future, when 'Indian affairs will be managed with the minimum of interference by Parliament here,' is it surprising that Indians, not merely extremist, but moderate and sensible Indians, should feel some misgivings about the value of the future for which they are invited to wait indefinitely?

Here let me point out that the words which have excited so much controversy are 'Dominion status,' not 'Dominion constitution' or 'Dominion government'—a fact which both Lord Birkenhead and Lord Peel overlooked. No one can say as yet precisely what form the Indian Constitution will ultimately assume, to which of the existing Dominion constitutions it will most nearly approximate, whether it may not, in fact, differ fundamentally from them all, yet can anyone doubt for a moment that when India finally attains 'the full responsible self-government,' 'the equal partnership within the Empire,' 'Swaraj within the Empire,' or 'the liberty enjoyed by the other Dominions,' to mention a few of the phrases that have been authoritatively used in the past, her status will be the same as that of the other self-governing Dominions? Does anyone conceive of 'equal partnership' or 'full responsible self-government' without Dominion status? If Lord Irwin was justified in thinking that 'it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion status'—if, moreover, he knew that some Indians felt a doubt as to whether this was so—it was natural that he should wish to make the matter clear once and for all. That he had justly estimated the requirements of the situation in India is shown by the approval which his statement met with from every section of opinion in India. That he did not equally well estimate the effect his statement would have upon opinion in this country was not surprising, as it is almost impossible for anyone to keep equally well in touch with opinion in England and in India. If he had realised how easily his statement could be misrepresented, and how little support he would receive from those whom he had a right to regard as his friends, he would have been wiser to have omitted the passage about Dominion status from the statement dealing with the proposed Conference, which was an announcement of a new policy, and to have made this declaration on another occasion, in reply to some invitation (which is never lacking in India) to reconcile the goal of British policy with Indian aspirations. It would have been worth avoiding the recent parliamentary debates, which have done nothing but harm and have to a large extent destroyed the value of the Viceroy's action in India.

Both the criticism and the defence of the Government have been unfortunate. The criticism that the recognition of Dominion status as an ultimate goal was equivalent to a promise of its realisation in the immediate future played directly into the hands of the agitators and mischief-makers in India; Mr. Benn's reluctance to admit that his policy did not differ from that of his predecessor in office seemed to justify the suspicions of his English

critics, and finally the definite assurances of the Prime Minister and the Viceroy that there has been no change of policy has discouraged their friends in India. Quite obviously the more precise definition of the ultimate goal could not alter or diminish in the slightest degree the limitations as to time and method contained in the preamble of the Act of 1919. Equally obviously the willingness to be precise and frank about the nature of the goal represented a change, if not of policy, at least of mentality, from that of the men who had refused such frankness and precision.

The suggestion that the Viceroy's statement could either in intention or effect be embarrassing to Sir John Simon and his colleagues does not really bear examination. The statement had no bearing on the subject-matter of Sir John Simon's inquiry. It defined somewhat more explicitly than has hitherto been done the goal of that policy which had been foreshadowed in 1917 and embodied in the Act of 1919. The Simon Commission is not required to state what that policy was: it is asked to express its opinion as to whether, in the light of ten years' experience, that policy was wise or unwise—if unwise, how it should be altered; if wise, how it should be developed. If any ambiguity existed as to the precise aim and tendency of such policy, and if such ambiguity has been removed by the Viceroy's statement, it will render the task of the Commission easier, not harder. If, moreover, the statement of the Viceroy succeeded in dispelling mistrust and restoring confidence in India (and that was avowedly his object in making it), then the Report of the Commission would be assured of a better atmosphere at the time of its reception. In either case the object of the statement was to help, not to embarrass, the Commission, and those who say that it should not have been made till after the publication of the Commission's Report fail altogether to understand Lord Irwin's object in making it.

The only redeeming feature in the two debates, which were otherwise mainly harmful, was the speech made by Mr. Baldwin. The value of this great speech almost outweighed the mischief of all the others, and showed that the leader of the Conservative Party realised what the leader of the Liberal Party did not, that, though he was speaking in the House of Commons, his words would be reported in India, where they would have a greater and more lasting effect than that which they produced in this country.

Such being the effect of recent events in this country, let us now see what their reaction in India has been.

To understand the action of different groups in India it is necessary to remember certain features which are at all times characteristic of the Indian problem. In the first place, it is important to bear in mind that the aspiration to see established

an Indian State, politically free, governed from within itself, independent of outside control, controlling its own administrative machine, responsible for its own defence, and able to speak for itself among the other States of the world, is not merely the claim of a small group of Congress extremists, but is common to all sections of Indian opinion—Swarajists, Liberals, Hindus and Moslems alike. Even the lower castes who have gained most from British protection, and have most to fear from the withdrawal of that protection, share that dream. To them it may not seem immediately realisable, but the educated members of these lower castes have conceived of a State governed as this country is governed, and share the delusion that such a State can be created by a legislative enactment with special clauses for their protection. Even Indian princes who are most critical of democratic forms of government have had visions of a free and independent Indian State, in which their authority would not be diminished, but increased. This spirit of nationalism, which means different things to different people, is common to all, and is the result of the political unity which India has acquired under British rule. The ideal, therefore, which has been proclaimed by the Indian National Congress for about fifty years, however unrepresentative that body may be shown to be, has evoked a certain measure of sympathy in the minds of all educated Indians, even when their proposals or their methods have been condemned.

Some people believe—and Indian Swarajists are not alone in this—that to want a political condition constitutes a right to it, and that the assertion of a right establishes the possibility of its attainment. Many Indians are wise enough to recognise the difficulties that beset the realisation of their dream, but are nevertheless sanguine enough to believe it realisable. The basis of this common ideal is not a desire for a better government, or the belief that the government of an independent State would be more efficient—indeed, the functions of government receive little attention from any section of Indian opinion—but the belief that the form of its government constitutes the hall-mark of a nation's freedom. Criticism, therefore, of the lowering of the standard of efficiency or integrity, which it is feared would result from the changes proposed, or which it is believed has resulted from the changes which have taken place—and such criticisms are natural enough from experienced officials—have little weight in India, because they have no relevance to the basis of the Indian nationalist ideal. Archbishop Magee once said that he would rather see England free than compulsorily sober. So most Indians feel to-day, that they would rather see India free than India compulsorily well governed.

The result is that though there is almost unanimity of opinion in India, with regard to the Nationalist ideal, agreement goes

no further. Local interests, racial interests, communal interests, caste interests, are immediately found in conflict the moment any attempt is made to translate this ideal into political machinery. The form of government with which the national ideal has come to be associated in recent years as the result of British influence in the country and the education of Indians in this country—namely, parliamentary government on a representative basis—is a particularly difficult one to adapt to Indian conditions. A representative system involves the selection of a few individuals by larger bodies to represent them and transact business on their behalf. But such a system implies the confidence of the larger body in the individuals so selected, and the willingness of the selected few to exercise responsibility and act according to their own judgment in the interests of those by whom they have been selected.

These necessary conditions are rarely satisfied in India. We are constantly reminded that India is a mere *colluvies gentium*—a collection of different races, speaking many different languages with different religions, communities and castes. But this has not prevented the welding of those diverse elements into a single political State, and it need not prevent such a State acquiring in time the characteristics of a nation. To accomplish this, however, a spirit of conciliation is required and a readiness to co-operate for a common good. This spirit is at present conspicuous by its absence in India. Co-operation is what the Indian finds it hardest to concede. Therefore, he has made a political virtue out of a temperamental necessity, and non-co-operation is now proclaimed as the test of true patriotism. The Swarajist politician professes that it is only with a 'satanic' Government that he will not co-operate. In practice it is not so. He finds it just as difficult to co-operate with his own countrymen. Every Indian claims to speak in the name of India, but there are few subjects on which other Indians will accept his authority. Not even for the sake of India will the Hindu make any concession to the Moslem or the Moslem to the Hindu, the Brahmin to the non-Brahmin or the man of caste to the outcaste. The Sikh is disowned by the Mah-ratta, the Madrassi by the Jhat; the man of the hills has nothing in common with those of the plains, and the Bengali will not co-operate even with himself. This lack of confidence makes all representative machinery unworkable. Conferences are summoned of representatives of Hindus and Moslems to compose some difference between their two communities; but the representatives of each side consider themselves bound by some resolution or programme of their constituent bodies, refuse to budge an inch, and the conference fails. Ministers are selected from the majority in a Legislative Council, and find after their

appointment that their followers expect to give instructions, not to receive them. The representative in India is, in fact, never more than a delegate.

If India were prepared to accept the good offices of a mediator between her conflicting interests, Mr. Gandhi could have rendered immense services to his country in that capacity. As a social reformer he is a genuine idealist. As a politician he is impotent, being easily duped by astute party managers. His dislike of violence is sincere, but he is readily persuaded that conciliation or compromise will drive the uncompromising elements into violent action as a counsel of despair, and that the best way to prevent violence is for him to champion the most extreme demands.

If these general features of the situation are remembered, there has been nothing surprising or disturbing in recent events in India. All the characteristics I have mentioned have been exhibited, as was to be expected. The Viceroy's statement was at once recognised and welcomed, as both a satisfactory recognition of the Indian national ideal and as a practical contribution towards its attainment. The free and open round-table conference has always found favour in India. It has often been asked for since 1919. It has never yet been offered. In so far as the policy of the declaration affected the ideal, therefore, it was eminently satisfactory to everyone. The moment its practical application was considered the inevitable difficulties of the Indian problem asserted themselves. The Congress Party discovered in the offer of a Conference an invitation to co-operate, and co-operation is not permitted to them unless it is purchased by the Government at the price of some humiliating concession. 'Had the Government, in fact, conceded anything?' they asked themselves. The matter must be put to the test. So they immediately formulated conditions which they knew would be unacceptable and invited the Government to accept them. The Conference was not to be called to hear and discuss the practicability of alternative proposals, but to draft a Dominion constitution, and to ensure a draft which would be acceptable to themselves the Congress was to be assured of a majority of its members—a claim truly characteristic of the Congress politician! In order to fortify themselves with a rejection of their demands, Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru asked for an interview with the Viceroy immediately before the meeting of the Congress at Lahore. To grant the interview in the circumstances was clearly a mistake in tactics, but Lord Irwin, as they knew, does not give much consideration to questions of tactics. The interview was granted on December 23, with the inevitable result. The way was now clear. The Congress met unembarrassed by a Government concession and heartened by a fresh rebuff. The usual

violent speeches were indulged in, and the ultimate goal was once more satisfactorily pushed beyond the range of any possible concession. An ultimate Dominion status having been admitted, the claim to complete independence was established in its place. Civil disobedience was once more threatened, with the cautious proviso that the time and the place for its inauguration were to be left for future consideration. Quotations from the speeches and the text of the resolutions were duly telegraphed to this country, and provided those sections of our Press which are opposed to any further concessions to the claims of Indian nationalism with a justification for counter-threats and recrimination. Thus the Indian extremists, true to their traditions, at a moment which seemed to their friends in this country propitious for the championship of their cause, took the course best calculated to frighten back into hostility opinion that only wants a little encouragement to be friendly. Indian politicians are accustomed in their speeches and writings to represent political crime and hostility as the consequence of repression. Historically the exact opposite is the case. In recent years crime and violence have always followed concessions, and repression has, of course, followed crime.

So much for the Lahore Congress. Nothing happened there which anyone with knowledge of Indian conditions could not have foretold. The Congress Party in India does not wish to help; its one object is to obstruct, and even in this object it cannot remain united. Because of personal differences, Messrs. Sabash Bose, Srinivasa Iyengar, and Satyamurti felt compelled to break away and form a new Congress Democratic Party, thus assuring internal dissensions and criticisms within the Congress itself. The obstructive tactics of the Swarajist members in the Indian Legislatures have hitherto been embarrassing. This is now to cease, and the futile policy of the boycott, which embarrasses no one, has been renewed. Even in this there is no unanimity. The whole of the Hindu Mahasabha group have decided to remain, but the solid block of Swarajist opposition is now reduced to an impotent handful. The strength of the independence movement was put to the test all over India on January 26, and proved a complete frost. The response of the country to the new appeal was shown to be negligible.

Let us now turn to the activities of other parties. The proposed Conference has been accepted by the Indians of the Liberal Party and also by the Mohammedans, and their various organisations are making vigorous preparations for the presentation of their case. These parties at least differ from the Congress Party in that they are genuinely anxious to help; but here also the usual characteristics are being shown. Nowhere is there any

evidence of the selection of trusted representatives to whom authority would be given to attend the Conference and confer freely with the other parties. On the contrary, the various organisations are busy holding meetings and passing resolutions intended to fetter as closely as possible the discretion of their delegates. What hope of success would any Conference have which met in such conditions? Nothing is more needed at the present time than a real round-table conference of the leading representatives of all sections of Indian opinion, whose interests would be affected by the proposals of the Simon Commission or by any changes in the Constitution which might result therefrom. But for the success of such a conference it would be necessary for the representatives attending it to face facts instead of trying to argue them away, to make a serious effort to reconcile differences by making concessions instead of asserting claims of which no modification is permitted, to exercise their individual judgment, wisdom and responsibility, instead of merely voicing the formulas of a mandate from which they have no authority to depart. There is still time for preparations to be made for a conference on these lines, but the omens at the moment are not very hopeful.

The scene is now set, the actors are arrayed in their stage costumes, and all are waiting for Sir John Simon to ring up the curtain on the next act. How far in that act the drama will progress towards its *dénouement* depends on others than Sir John Simon and his colleagues. Indian politicians are fond of asking the Government for a change of heart. The use of the phrase is comforting to them, for it suggests that the Government alone is responsible for any delay in their progress, but we are daily reminded that there are many hearts in which a change would be beneficial. British statesmen would find it easier to help India if her public men were less insistent on the fact that the interests of the two countries were necessarily antagonistic. The urgent need of the moment is to find the lines along which the interests of both countries can equally be served. That will be the main purpose of the Conference which is to meet this year. The British Government, the Indian princes and British India all have different interests, and if their differences alone are insisted upon there can be little progress. But they also have much in common, and it will be the duty of each to pursue courageously and exclusively their common gain. The realisation of India's national ideal would also be the triumph of British statesmanship, but if the practical difficulties, which are enormous, are to be overcome, Indians will have to show greater confidence in each other and realise that a nation cannot be created out of criticism alone. British statesmen, too, must remember that responsibility has to be imposed before it can be exercised. Advisory functions and

supervised authority are no training in the exercise of responsibility, and it is in such a school that India has hitherto been expected to graduate.

The task which we have set ourselves to accomplish in India is one which has never yet been accomplished in the history of the world. To ignore the difficulties, to be blind to facts, is to court failure. To exaggerate the difficulties, to be lacking in faith, is to court despair. Let the facts and the difficulties be boldly faced, but let faith and experience lead us to overcome them. Religious divisions we have known ourselves; they have produced strife, but they have forced toleration. Invasions and conquests we have experienced from without, but our Constitution we have evolved from within. We cannot impose upon India a written Constitution that will suit the conditions of a country of which but few of us know anything. We can but help to produce the machinery that will enable Indians to mould their own Government to satisfy the conditions of their country.

The present Government has taken the wisest course open to them. 'We shall shortly have before us,' they have said, 'the recommendations of a Commission that has devoted two years to its task. Before we commit ourselves to any decision upon its Report, we invite representatives of the Indian princes and of various communities in British India to confer with us freely and openly upon the whole problem.' No fairer offer could be made. The world is watching with interest the response which India will make, the use she will make of so great an opportunity. Those who have replied, 'We will not confer with you, we will neither contribute any suggestions ourselves nor listen to anyone else,' have already shown themselves to be a negligible element in the solution of the problem. Again, if any representatives attend the Conference and say 'We will state the case of those whom we represent, but we will listen to no other,' they will make but a poor contribution to the discussion. But if India sends her best men, and they apply their best judgment to a consideration of the practical difficulties and the reconciliation of the conflicting interests involved in the problem, the present year may prove to be the beginning of a new and brighter chapter in the history of their country.

LYTTON.

THE COAL MINES BILL

At the time of writing this article the Coal Mines Bill, introduced by the Government, has passed the second reading, and is before the House of Commons in committee stage. Consideration of Part I. of the Bill, which relates to the marketing of coal, has been deferred until the other parts have been dealt with. Many amendments to the Bill have been set down and will be proposed and debated, some of which, if passed, will considerably alter its complexion. Indeed, it may emerge from Parliament an Act bearing but small resemblance to the Bill as introduced. The Bill is divided into five parts, namely:

Part I., relating to the production, supply and sale of coal;

Part II., dealing with hours of work;

Part III., referring to the setting up of a Coal Mines National Industrial Board;

Part IV. deals with the subject of amalgamations, provides for three Commissioners, since amended to five. This was not contemplated in the first draft of the Bill; and

Part V., which contains certain general provisions, including an interpretation clause.

It is with the provisions of Part I. that the present writer is chiefly concerned. Part I. of the Bill really embodies the conclusions arrived at by the majority of the colliery owners in certain districts, the genesis of which was the original 'Five Counties' scheme, as the working arrangement operative in the Midland Area was termed. To the Five Counties scheme, as well as to the scheme as extended, there has been all along strong opposition by a minority of the coal owners and miners' leaders. In adopting the majority view, with other matters added thereto in which the colliery owners were not in agreement, there can be no doubt the Government was animated by the high motive of bringing peace and prosperity to the industry. The present writer, when the Five Counties scheme was mooted, was at first inclined to regard as both practicable and desirable the principle of giving to each constituent member, whether district or national, a tonnage quota, believing that in the long

run the quota of each coal district would be decided by low production costs and that the colliery which was able to produce below the cost upon which controlled quotations were based would maintain, and probably increase, its quota and make a better profit. But a fuller investigation of the facts, and more mature consideration of the subject, disclosed the untenability of the proposition.

The Bill sets out that each coal-mining district is to have a scheme, to be worked by the colliery owners themselves, with a central co-ordinating scheme for the whole of Great Britain, which schemes, when approved by the Board of Trade, shall have statutory effect. The production from each coal-mining district and each colliery in a district is to be limited, a maximum output being fixed. In the words of the explanatory memorandum to the Bill, the schemes are to be so framed 'as to ensure that, within reasonable limits, the quantity of coal offered for sale by a colliery and the price charged for it shall accord with the state of current demand'—a somewhat indeterminate statement; for who is to decide what are 'reasonable limits' and what are the factors for the ascertainment of the 'state of current demand'?

Sub-section 6 of section 1 (Part I.) reads: 'any scheme for the time being in force shall have effect as if it were enacted in this Act,' which is to say that the Five Counties scheme, being now in force, would have statutory sanction on the passage of the Bill, and would be compulsorily applied to the present non-members. Will, one is led to ask, those firms who are brought into the scheme in this way receive less favourable treatment than those which have joined voluntarily?

The Bill contains no definition of 'standard output' or 'standard tonnage,' which are vital factors in the case, seeing that the 'quotas' subsequently to be fixed are merely a ratio or percentage of the 'standard tonnage.' Clause 6 (c) makes it clear that the 'standard tonnage' is to be determined by the provisions of the district scheme, so that the 'standard tonnage' has been fixed in respect of those coalfields where the Five Counties scheme is operative, but fixed in an unreal, artificial, and unfair manner. To prove this, let us see what the procedure is. It is, in the first instance, to allow members to take for their 'datum' or 'standard' the best single year between 1912-1927 for each pit. Thus, one firm took 1913 for pit A, 1925 for pit B, and 1927 for pit C, or the best year in that period for each pit, the aggregate output so arrived at being far in excess of any average year. The first quota was 67 per cent. of the standard thus determined. The anomaly is made clearer when it is stated that, in the case in point, 67 per cent. actually represented 105 per cent. of the real average output of the undertaking. Apply the method

with the Act in force. 'Yorkshire would be allowed x of the 'standard tonnage' for the county. The present members would retain their quotas (since there is no obligation to review), and members brought in by the Bill be given an unfair quota.

We are informed that the public interest is protected by the fact that all details of every scheme must be approved by the Board of Trade, and, further, by the provision made in the Bill for the formation of a National Committee and district committees of investigation, including representatives of consumers. The erection of such committees was not contemplated, and is being vigorously opposed by the colliery owners as an unjustifiable interference in their industry. The answer to this opposition is, of course, that the coal-mining industry differs to a large extent from other industries in that it is basic in character, as it is concerned with the production of a material upon the existence of which other forms of industrial productive effort are fundamentally dependent. How far the public is protected under the provisions referred to will be seen from an examination of the personnel of the committees. The National Committee is to comprise nine members and the district committees five members each. In the case of the National Committee two of the members are to be representative of the owners and two of the miners. In that of the district committees there is to be one of each. The other halves are to be representative of the consumers' interests, the chairman being the odd man. The Board of Trade appoints the committees. The representatives of the colliery owners and miners will probably unite to maintain a high price level. Much will depend upon the view taken by the chairmen (the interests, if any, of which they are representative are not stated); clearly they should be impartially minded persons and hold the balance between the equally divided high and low price elements in the committees.

If the complaints reported by the committee to the Board of Trade concerning the operation of a scheme in any district are not rectified, the Board may direct that the scheme shall cease to have statutory effect. The Central Investigating Committee is to investigate matters concerned with the central scheme and the district investigating committees matters relating to the district schemes.

In this connection, an outstanding anomaly of the Bill may be pointed out. Whereas under the Bill a majority of the owners may impose the provisions of a scheme upon their unwilling neighbours, on the other hand, if a majority of the owners (as for example in Scotland) refuse to work a scheme imposed by the Board of Trade, the Government has no power to enforce such scheme on the owners.

The machinery is very cumbersome. The investigation committees, apparently, do not get to work until a complaint is lodged. They do not act of their own volition. Their position is not enviable, for presumably frivolous complaints and complaints from disgruntled persons will have to receive attention as well as valid complaints. The period that must elapse before a *bonâ fide* complaint is fully met will be extensive, the order being as follows: first, complaint; second, complaint investigated by the committee; third, report of the committee to the Board of Trade; fourth, consideration of the report by the Board of Trade, 'and if, after considering the report and consulting such persons as appear to them to be affected, the Board agree with the opinion of the committee, the Board shall make recommendations to the council or executive board charged with the duty of administering the scheme with a view to the rectification of the matter complained of.' But this is not all, for the Board of Trade may hold inquiries for the purpose of assisting them to consider the report of a committee of investigation—a long-drawn-out business. The fact of the matter is that if once fixation of prices, with its necessary corollary, the artificial quota in production, is instituted, flexibility, so important in an industry like the coal trade, if not destroyed, is seriously impaired by the machinery necessary to prevent the abuse of the system and to protect the public.

The promotion of Part I. of the Bill is evidently due to the supposition that the demand for British coal is considerably less than the productive capacity of the collieries. In this connexion reference may be made to Professor Jones' interesting article in the issue of *The Nineteenth Century* of last month, where he states that the productive capacity of British collieries has increased since 1913 from approximately 290,000,000 tons (the actual output for that year was 287,000,000 tons) to approximately 330,000,000 tons per annum at the present time, 'while,' says he, 'the demand for British coal has fallen from 290,000,000 tons to approximately 250,000,000 tons,' adding, 'Such is the problem to be solved.'

But are these statements based on sound reasoning? All that can be stated positively is that 287,000,000 tons were raised and sold in the year 1913 and about 256,000,000 tons (not 250,000,000 tons) were raised and sold during 1929. The probability is that more than 287,000,000 tons could have been raised in 1913. Owing to the concentration upon and the intensive working of the most available coal during the war, the limitation imposed on the supply of plant and machinery, and the consequently restricted development, the productive capacity of the collieries after the war was for some years certainly much

below that of 1913. The probability is that at the present time it is about equal to that of 1913.

The school favouring price fixation and restriction proceeds, then, on the assumption that the productive capacity of the mines is greatly in excess of the demand, hence competition by the collieries for the largest share possible compatible with their production capacity must bring down the price realisable to, and indeed below, the line of the cost of production. Consequently it is argued, the only way to meet the situation is to diminish production, bringing it to the level of demand, to establish minimum selling prices, and to parcel out the production to meet the demand, district by district, and colliery by colliery, enabling all to get a profit. This is really the old attitude of the miners, who used to advocate restriction of output in order to force up wages, an attitude which was condemned by the colliery owners, but is now to be applied by them to their own case. If this is not the process of reasoning followed, it is not possible to understand the *raison d'être* of the Bill. That this ratiocination is based upon an imperfect knowledge of the industry and of economics is not difficult to establish: those who pursue it are putting the cart before the horse. They are attacking the problem from the wrong end.

To advance in support of the Government and other similar marketing schemes, as some persons do, the case of the Westphalian Syndicate is beside the point. The cases are not fairly comparable. The Westphalian Syndicate covers but one field; the other German fields, with one exception, produce quite a different kind of fuel—namely, brown coal, of a vastly lower calorific value than true coal. The two classes of fuel do not enter into competition with one another. The brown coal is not exported, being mostly consumed near the point of production. The brown coalfields are far distant from the Westphalian field, and into their area but little true coal is carried. The other true coalfield, Silesia, is distant from the Westphalian field over 500 miles as the crow flies, whereas in Great Britain we have numerous coalfields separated from each other by comparatively short distances. Professor Jones states, in his article already referred to, that the syndicate during the British coal stoppage in 1926 did not charge exorbitant prices. That is so; but it did what was as bad for us—it insisted on long-term contracts, greatly to the detriment of the British coal trade. Some of these contracts have only recently terminated.

Whilst on the subject of Germany, attention may be called to the fact that that country is, as was predicted, making reprisals in regard to the Five Counties Scheme in that steps are being taken to prevent the unregulated importation of subsidised

(through an inland levy) British coal. At this very moment the Five Counties plan is crumbling. Exports from Hull and Humber ports have rapidly diminished during the last few months.

On reflecting over the subject before us one arrives at five definite conclusions which are both axiomatic and fundamental. These are :

(1) That the price of fuel is one of the principal items in the cost of living. In this respect fuel is only second in importance to air, water, and food ;

(2) That the world demand for coal is constantly on the up grade ;

(3) That the extent of the demand for coal is in very large measure governed by the price at which it is available ;

(4) That the limitation of output—i.e., the introduction of the artificial quota—leads to the enhancement of the cost of production ; and

(5) That the fixing of selling prices is an instrument making for decreased demand.

The examination of the costing accounts of almost any manufacturing concern will make evident the very important part which power, heat, and light—in other words, fuel—plays in the cost of production. In many cases this item is second only in importance to that of labour. The increase of only a few pence per ton in the price of fuel has a marked effect in the cost of many commodities—e.g., gas, electricity, steel, metals generally, and chemicals. The price of nearly every sort of raw or manufactured thing is, though gradually falling, higher now than in pre-war days. The downward grade towards the establishment of a general economic level will be assisted materially by a reduction in the price of fuel. But the effect of Part I. of the Bill would be to make one of the links in the vicious circle stronger. If we take the latest figures available—namely, those for the quarter ending June 30, 1929—and compare them with those for the 'boom' year 1913, we will find that the selling price is now 60 per cent. and the cost of production 115 per cent. higher than in 1913. But if the comparison is instituted between present-day figures and those in respect of a normal pre-war year the difference is still more marked.

The visualisation of the situation as of a fixed world demand for coal and all coal-producing countries as struggling for the biggest possible share of it is an erroneous point of view. The world's production—and presumably, therefore, the measure of its consumption (seeing that coal only within very small limits is a storable article)—is on the up grade. Let us take four years—namely, 1900, because it was a purely normal year ; 1913, because it was a 'boom' year in the British coal trade (a decline

set in early in 1914), when the record output of 287,000,000 tons was attained, and because it was the last complete year before the war (the war period 1914–1918 inclusive, it will be agreed, should be omitted as being entirely abnormal, as also the years immediately succeeding the war, as being a period of feverish activity, to be followed by one of intense depression), and the year 1928, though a year of depression, as it witnessed the beginning of improvement in the coal trade in Britain and elsewhere ; and, finally, as indicative of the most recent trend in production of coal, the figures for the last year, as based on the first six months, are given. The figures in long tons are :

For 1900	.	.	.	.	.	765,000,000
" 1913	.	.	.	.	.	1,324,000,000
" 1928	.	.	.	.	.	1,430,000,000
" 1929	.	.	.	.	.	1,490,000,000

It will be seen that the world demand for coal during the year 1928 was 106,000,000 tons in excess of the 'boom' year 1913, when Great Britain produced her maximum output, and that for 1929 60,000,000 tons in excess of 1928. The upward grade in coal consumption, it should be remarked, continues in spite of the increased consumption of such substitutes for coal as oil and hydro-electric power—substitutes the advent of which is largely, indeed mainly, due to the high price of coal—and in spite, also, of the more scientific and economic use of coal. That the more economic use of coal cannot be relied upon as a check to consumption—indeed, the effect is quite the reverse, seeing that economy in use conduces to cheapness in generation of power, and the cheaper anything is the more of it there is consumed—was shown to be true by Jevons in his well-known work on the Coal Question. Coal is too dear in Great Britain. If the price is lowered the consumption will increase. The up grade in world consumption since the war has proceeded at a slower rate than before it. The reason for this is obvious ; the post-war price of coal, as in the case of nearly all commodities, is considerably greater. The problem for solution is not how to meet a reduced demand by fixing higher selling prices and restricting output—as intended under Part I. of the Coal Mines Bill—but how to decrease the cost of production so as to enable us to sell at a lower price, if need be, and so to increase the demand for our coal. In the words of an eminent Scottish colliery owner, Mr. Wallace Thorneycroft, in one of a series of articles published by the *Glasgow Herald* on January 8, 1930, 'We must reduce our costs in order to get someone to buy what we can make at prices that yield some profit to the heavy industries. The standard of living ultimately depends upon production per head of population, but that pro-

duction must be at a price that enables us to command our share of the world's markets.' Mr. Thorneycroft is, of course, quite right. The standard of living does ultimately depend upon production per head of population, and upon the power consumption per head of population, in which respect it is interesting to institute a comparison between Great Britain and the United States of America. In the latter country the amount of power used per worker is 56 per cent. more than in the United Kingdom; and if we eliminate workers in trades where the use of power is limited, or even impossible, we shall find that in the United States the use of power where it *can* be used is nearly double what it is here. In the United States not only is the standard of wages higher than in the United Kingdom, but living conditions are better. Incidentally, the best cure for low wages is more motive power. Or, from the manufacturer's or colliery owner's point of view, the chief offset against the increasing cost of labour is the more extensive use of motive power. Hence the importance of procuring cheap power produced with the greatest economy of fuel.

What is not generally recognised by the lay public is that deductions made from the comparison of a coal mine with a factory, from the point of view of production, are entirely unreliable, inasmuch as the comparison is not one of like with like. Whereas in the case of a factory it is possible to diminish the output of the manufactured articles with but slight, if any, increase of cost per ton by merely cutting out a section of the works, it is not possible to do so in a coal mine. In the latter instance whatever the output—within, of course, certain wide limits—the same length of main roadways has to be maintained, the full ventilation has to be produced, the same amount of water has to be raised, nearly the same number of boilers have to be kept up, and the dead rents have to be paid. Many, one might say most, collieries can only be worked at a profit on the basis of a full output. Continuity of operation is essential if cost per ton is to be kept down. The allocation to many collieries of an artificial quota well below the capacity of production would spell ruin unless the price realisable per ton produced was considerably advanced, hence the reason for fixing selling prices and for the cutting out of competition. But inasmuch as higher selling prices must conduce to a decrease in demand, with consequently a smaller quota, the price will have to be still further advanced, and so on and so on—a sort of 'rake's progress.' Under the scheme, if the export trade in coal is to be maintained in the face of foreign competition, it must be at the expense of the home consumer, which is tantamount to saying that the export must be preserved by means of taxation of the British public for the benefit of the foreign con-

sumers, who will be given the advantage of cheap coal in competition with the British manufacturer. As Mr. A. Allan Paton said in his admirable and lucid address at the annual meeting of Martins Bank at Liverpool on January 28 last, this would 'inevitably lead to the dumping of more foreign material into this country, thus reducing the home production of iron and steel and thereby increasing unemployment.'

Having shown the inadequacy of Part I. of the Bill to meet the situation—especially in view of the fact that, under Part II., it is proposed to reduce the working time of the miners by half an hour—it is incumbent on the critic to point out the real cure—if he has one—for the ills under which the industry is labouring. In other words, how are costs to be reduced so as to permit of cheaper coal being forthcoming with resultant increased demand? The answer is by organising from the operative source—that is, from the productive end—instead of from the selling end, and instituting more effective cheap and business-like distribution.

As the writer has said elsewhere,¹ 'I, personally, am firmly convinced that the coal mining industry of Great Britain can be placed on a profitable basis, and that in the not distant future; but to accomplish this drastic reorganisation will be required, the first move being in the direction of the combination of the collieries into groups of like natural and trade conditions.' The Samuel Commission, after an examination of the evidence for and against, and by their presentation of the working results of colliery undertakings of different sizes, came to the definite conclusion that amalgamation made for cheaper production. Indeed, when we consider the many and various advantages resulting from the combination upon a proper basis of a number of small production units in a given district, one is surprised that such combinations have not been more widely carried into effect. Where they have been brought about, usually, owing to the desire of overcoming opposition and following the line of least resistance, the capitalisation has been excessive. It is essential, in order that the combinations may be economically effective, that they be on the basis of a present-day valuation and on that of a willing buyer and a willing seller. Inflated capitalisation is subversive to the best interests of the industry, and conducive ultimately to trouble between capital and labour.

If we were to assume that every small railway station on a railway system was left to evolve its own destiny, without control from a central authority at headquarters, we would have

¹ 'The Future of the Coal Mining Industry,' an address delivered at the annual meeting of the British Science Guild, April 1926, and since brought up to date and published in *Progress* of April 1929.

something akin to the system of separate units prevalent in the coal-mining industry. Let us consider in more detail some of the savings which would result from district amalgamation, *i.e.*, from a system of collective production as opposed to the present system of numerous small enterprises.

(1) In the Working of the Collieries. Mechanisation and electrification is very far from complete at our collieries. To take one instance alone. It is reasonable to conclude from the available statistics that of the total horse-power at collieries a considerable proportion remains still unconverted into electricity which might be so converted, probably 1,000,000 horse-power, a figure which would still leave 750,000 horse-power of steam-driven plant at the coal mines. There were in 1924 (the figures are given in respect of 1924 merely because the Census of Production relates to that year) over 337,000 horse-power of reciprocating engines driving electric generators at coal mines. It is probable that a substantial proportion could be replaced by steam turbines, either live steam or mixed pressure, with a reduction of 50 per cent., probably more, of the steam consumption. Fresh capital is needed to enable this to be carried out. Under a system of amalgamation the necessary financial arrangements would be simplified, especially if the Government were to revive, or extend to collieries, the 'trade facilities' principle, making amalgamation on an approved basis a condition precedent to the granting of the financial credit in respect of carrying out an approved scheme of development, mechanisation or reorganisation.

Furthermore, inasmuch as under combinations of collieries the working of coal would be concentrated in the cheaper and more easily worked units, the cost of production would fall not only to the present lowest level, but, seeing that the output from these more cheaply worked collieries would be vastly increased, it would tend to fall *below* the present lowest level.

(2) Centralisation of (a) Pumping Water and (b) Washing and other treatment of Coal for Market would be possible and result in very considerable savings in overhead charges.

(3) The Central Purchasing of Materials for Collieries would make for efficiency and economy. It must be apparent that some 1400 separate concerns (some 2500 collieries) purchasing materials independently cannot do so as effectively or cheaply as if they were a few corporations.

(4) Displacement of Vested Interests. The number of directors would be greatly reduced, as also the number of managing directors, consulting engineers, and general managers. The middlemen—selling agents—would largely disappear and the number of clerks be reduced.

(5) In respect of Privately Owned Railways, Rolling Stock

and Shipping Staithes the reduction would be considerable under a system of common user, with resultant saving in transport costs.

(6) Saving in Freights. There would be control of freights to an extent impossible to a number of small separate units.

(7) Distribution. The principle should be established that coal should be consumed as near the actual point of production as possible, with great resultant saving in transport. This can only be achieved by setting up a system of central control. There are some 700,000 privately owned railway wagons hampering the railway companies by reason of special shunting and marshalling of rolling stock. The system has the effect of increasing colliery costs owing to the amount of shunting they have to do.

In the actual work of marketing coal great savings can be effected. Taking Cardiff, Liverpool, Manchester and London and Southampton, and eliminating *transport* entirely, the cost of distribution was before the war 5s. 9½d. per ton in the aggregate, since the war 12s. per ton. In the Report by the 'Advisory Committee for Coal and the Coal Industry on the possibility of effecting Economies in the Costs that make up the Price of Coal to the consumer,' 1923, it is stated: 'While on the evidence before us we accept the figures, we are bound to remark that those responsible for the distributing trade should take immediate steps to render considerable reductions possible in most of the items.' Nothing has been done. Under such a system as has been adumbrated the work of distribution would be rendered comparatively easy and vastly cheaper.

With the desire of the Government to reduce the hours of work of the coal miners one has every sympathy, but to effect this at the cost of crippling the industry by increasing the cost of production would be a suicidal policy. At the time of writing the reduction from eight to seven and a half hours has been assented to by the House of Commons. It must be remembered that not all collieries are working on an eight-hour basis. One of the results of the reorganisation along the lines indicated in this article would be to render the reduction possible without crippling the industry. The interregnum between the present state of affairs and the coming into full operation of the amalgamations could be met by a loan to the collieries at a small rate of interest and repayable by instalments.

The proposal under Part III. of the Bill to establish an Industrial Board of seventeen members to investigate and report upon disputes as to wages and conditions in the event of failure to settle in the district has been passed in committee, and, let us hope, may prove helpful in bringing peace to the industry. But when it has inquired and reported, will matters be greatly

advanced towards a settlement unless with the combatant the wish for settlement is present ?

The British coal-mining industry is the most harassed, unsettled, and legislated for branch of industrial activity in Great Britain. But there are many persons in that industry of conspicuous ability who are 'instinct with self-reliance, and confident, even in adversity, of winning through to success.'²

R. A. S. REDMAYNE.

² A quotation from a recent leading article in *The Times*.

UNIONIST PARTY POLICY

THE historian who tries in the far-off future to classify and define the outlook of the three parties in the first quarter of the twentieth century will be confronted with some puzzling paradoxes. He will have to explain how Mr. Lloyd George, who has never accepted the Socialist philosophy, led the Liberal Party from the arid sands of *laissez-faire* into the morass of diluted Socialism without his flock noticing any change of pasture ; he will have to explain how Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, without ever admitting any flaw in Socialism as a theory, became head of an Administration which treats coal-owners, railway companies, and discount houses with the reverent fear of a worshipper before a shrine. He may study the personnel of the two Administrations of 1929 and spring to the conclusion that the General Election was chiefly significant as showing the country's desire to be ruled by Eton and not by Harrow. But what will be to the historian of the future an academic problem is one of vital importance to the younger school of Unionists who find themselves so much in agreement with many of their opponents, and so much out of sympathy with the older school in their own party, that they often doubt just where they stand and what they stand for.

Temperamentally the Unionist and the Socialist are akin, because they both believe that men are actuated by emotion rather than by reason ; but the emotion to which the Unionist appeals is at best patriotism, at worst jingoism, while the Socialist appeals at best to Christian charity, at worst to class hatred. Both are instinctively distrustful, like the elector, of intellectual ability, and like to see power in the hands of country gentlemen or trade union officials. Both parties now sadly recognise that they must hire intellectuals to do their dirty work for them, but they hardly conceal their deep-rooted aversion. That is why the Tories form the 'stupid party' and Labour men 'the silly party.' It is only in the Liberal Party that the Morleys and the Asquiths, the Birrells and the Ramsay Muirs, the Keynes and the Simons, the Samuels and the Fishers can find the rarefied atmosphere in which they float like disembodied intellects. It is no wonder that this thin, small voice of reason fails to make any great appeal to the present electorate.

There is an instinctive antipathy between the Tory and the Radical mind which makes any real union between the two parties unthinkable until the far-off day when the Labour Party will try to bring in Socialism in our time. There is not the same antipathy between Socialists and Tories, but Tories cannot associate themselves in any way with a party which relies so largely upon the support of the feckless, the improvident, the loafer and the half-witted. If it is made a reproach against Conservatives—not without some justification—that they are unduly influenced by the possessing classes, it is an equally justifiable reproach to the Labour Party that they rely upon the support of the lowest section of the community.

Where, then, does the Conservative Party stand? It must discharge the duty to which the Liberal Party has been false of urging economy, the importance of private enterprise, and the freedom of the individual to follow his own will and to retain his own property. It must also discharge the duty to which the Socialists have been false of putting the national interest above vested interests: Breakages, Limited, is already a sinister influence in politics.

It is the chief merit of the Tory Party that it has never allowed itself to become irrevocably committed to any political nostrum; it has never seen the fulfilment of a Divine purpose in unrestricted individualism nor in unqualified Socialism. It is therefore in the happy position of not having to recant, but with enlightened opportunism adapts its policy to circumstances instead of trying to adapt circumstances to a *priori* theory. The strength of the Conservative Party lies in its being always the inevitable alternative Government. Whenever the rash experiments of Liberals or Socialists have alarmed the country and it wants safety first for a little, it always calls the Conservatives back to office. It has been tacitly understood for a century between John Bull and the Tory Party that whenever he wants safety first he will turn to the Unionist Party. The error of making 'safety first' a slogan at the last election was that John Bull felt it to be a breach of confidence for the Unionist Party to publish to the world for the first time a private and a confidential understanding.

The great division of opinion in the Conservative Party which is causing it most uneasiness is the old fiscal problem. Lord Grey said truly that Protectionists always tend to drift into the Conservative Party, and they appear to be preparing a new bid for control. The vital issue is not whether Mr. Baldwin is to remain leader; that is not really in dispute. If he were a less modest man he might quote to the candidates for his office the words of Charles II. to his brother: 'They will never kill me,

James, to make you king.' It is only because two newspaper proprietors happen to dislike him that his personal position has become a subject of discussion in the country. Mr. Baldwin is important chiefly because he determines whether the Protectionist or Free Trade section of the party shall dictate policy.

The Protectionists are right in saying that never before was the country so disposed to try a tariff policy as it is now. So long as Great Britain was prosperous, and every year increasingly so, the arguments in favour of Free Trade were obvious: good health is a strong reason for not going to a quack doctor. But when a man has been long sick, and his family doctor has not been able to cure his complaint, the desire to try any desperate remedy becomes increasingly great. There is always the temptation to discard the qualified practitioner without duly weighing the probability of the quack making matters worse.

Free Trade Unionists recognise with satisfaction that safeguarding has done good to a number of industries, and they do not follow the doctrinaire Liberal assumption that necessarily they must have done harm. They agree that tariffs are a drug and not a food, but strychnine has proved a valuable heart stimulant and saved many lives. Properly and scientifically administered tariffs may do good and no harm, but the cases where they can be beneficially used are few. In particular they will usually raise prices, or (what is equally important) prevent prices from being lowered, and if the article safeguarded is a raw material for anything else the enhancement in price is likely to damage the subsequent industry to at least as great an extent as it benefits the primary one.

So long as safeguarding is restricted to gas mantles, lace, gloves, cutlery, music instruments, etc., there is no reason to suppose that much harm will be done, and the volume of employment in this country may be to a minute extent increased. But is it worthy of a great party to make the safeguarding of gas mantles and music instruments and a heterogeneous collection of other articles reminiscent of a jumble sale catalogue a prominent feature in its programme?

The answer in which everyone concurs is 'No,' and the Protectionists draw the moral that everything ought to be safeguarded—some, indeed, except agriculture, the largest British industry, preferring prudence to logic—and would like to begin with iron and steel. Now here they usually desert the argument that safeguarding does not raise prices to the consumer, and spring nimbly into an adjoining boat with the argument, probably true, that if the British steel industry were guaranteed the home market it could reduce the price of British steel. Without, however, a reduction in the price of foreign steel, the state of such

depressed industries as tin-plating, engineering, and shipbuilding would be made still worse than it is now. As these industries are even more dependent than the steel industry on export markets, the drug of safeguarding must here at least lose its potency. Into the old Free Trade *versus* Protection arguments it is not the purpose of this article to go, but Conservative Free Traders summarise their arguments as follows :

- (1) They believe Protection to be unsound for any country—
- (2) Especially for a country like Great Britain dependent upon and organised for a large export trade ;
- (3) They note that unemployment is chiefly due to the loss of foreign markets, for which the home market can never be a substitute ;
- (4) And they do not see why their party should perform the unprecedented feat of committing suicide for a third time in a lifetime to give their Protectionist friends another chance to convert the electorate.

While opposed to a general tariff, we do not deny that safeguarding in special circumstances may prove beneficial, and India would seem to have shown the way. The Indian Fiscal Commission's Report, which was accepted and is acted upon by the Government of India, provides for the creation of a permanent Tariff Board, and all claims for protection put forward by any industry are referred as a matter of course to that board for examination, and its reports are really valuable and impartial documents commanding general confidence. The principles by which it is to be guided are laid down by the Fiscal Commission as follows (par. 97, at p. 54) :

In dealing with all claims to protection the Tariff Board should in the first instance satisfy itself that the following three conditions are fulfilled :

- (1) The industry must be one possessing natural advantages such as an abundant supply of raw material, a sufficient supply of labour, or a large home market. . . . The natural advantages possessed by an Indian industry should be analysed carefully, in order to ensure as far as possible that no industry is protected which will become a permanent burden upon the community.
- (2) The industry must be one which without the help of protection either is not likely to develop at all or is not likely to develop as rapidly as is desirable in the interests of the country.
- (3) The industry must be one which will eventually be able to face world competition without protection. . . . The protection we contemplate is a temporary protection to be given to industries which will eventually be able to stand alone.

If safeguarding were limited on the lines recommended for India by the Fiscal Commission, most Unionist Free Traders and not a few Liberals and Socialists would regard it as a wise and unobjectionable measure.

The whole question has, however, taken on a new aspect owing to the stunts of two noble journalists. Lord Rothermere's campaign is of no particular interest, as it follows the general lines of Mr. Baldwin's policy in 1923. There is nothing new in the practice of assassinating a man and subsequently stealing his clothes, but in this case the motive for the assassination would seem to have been malice, and robbery has been a belated after-thought.

Lord Beaverbrook's Empire Crusade is on a different footing, and is a source of exquisite embarrassment to Unionists. They welcome the Empire Crusade, because it cannot fail to educate the Mother Country to the immense importance of the Dominion markets, but to have a discovery they made a quarter of a century ago represented as a new idea which will solve all problems puts them into the false position of having to depreciate what they regard as the chief plank in their platform.

When the idea of Empire Free Trade first sprang in all her lovely crudity from the brain of Lord Beaverbrook it definitely included the abolition of Dominion tariffs for British goods and a tax on foreign food and raw materials imported into Great Britain. The scheme was excellent, except that the British electorate will not tax foreign food and the Dominions will not untax British manufactures.

It is extraordinary that Lord Beaverbrook, a Canadian, should ever have pretended that there is any possibility of the Dominion of Canada agreeing to the free importation of manufactured goods from Great Britain. The two great parties are both Protectionist, and only the Progressives, in importance and numbers not even comparable with the English Liberal Party, are Free Traders. The Progressives represent the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and they stand for Free Trade, whether universal or Imperial, because Protection raises the cost of living all through the Dominion, while the grain that the prairie provinces export only obtains the price it will fetch in the world market. In those three provinces the party, whether called the Progressive or the Farmers' Party, is immensely strong, but at Ottawa it is always swamped by the Protectionists, whether Conservative or Liberal, from the manufacturing provinces of Quebec or Ontario. That this is inevitable is shown by the fact that Quebec returns sixty-five and Ontario eighty-two members to the House of Commons, while the three prairie provinces together return only fifty-four. Free Trade is no new idea in Canada, but it never has triumphed, and is never likely to triumph, over the vested interests of capital and labour entrenched in industrial Ontario and Quebec.

Precisely similar conditions obtain in Australia. There more

than half the population are concentrated in the six capital cities engaged in industries artificially built up and kept alive by high tariffs. Is it likely that Australia will agree to scrap these industries created at such great cost in order to admit British goods free of duty?

The high standard of living of the Australian people is almost entirely paid for by the agriculturist, and he, like the Canadian farmer, realises that his cost of production and living has been raised by Protection, while his own products have to face the cold blast of world competition outside the snug tariff walls which pamper the town dweller. The Country Party in Australia is in much the same position as the Progressive Party in Canada, and is not much more powerful, except when the hazard of the elections gives it the deciding voice between the two great Protectionist parties. If there were any doubt as to the unwillingness of Australia to agree to Empire Free Trade two recent pronouncements by the Prime Minister, Mr. Scullion, should have ended it. On January 31 he said: 'There is no hope in life of getting Australia to agree to allowing the goods of every part of the Empire to enter free.' He has even refused to send an Australian representative to the Tariff Conference at Geneva because 'it was the intention of the Government to go right ahead and strengthen its tariff walls wherever it could.'

The Tory Party has been preaching Imperial Preference for twenty-five years, and even the modest instalment proposed in 1923 was rejected by the electorate. It is a little provoking for men who have been labouring painfully and at no small cost for a lifetime to bridge a river to be accosted by a newcomer who accuses them of not having realised how valuable a bridge across the river would be, and with having overlooked the simplicity of making it. Faith may move mountains, but even the faith of Crusaders will not remove tariffs.

Lord Beaverbrook appears now to be convinced that Free Trade with the Dominions cannot be brought about at once, but, casting around for some raft to save him in the shipwreck, he has noted the dependent Empire. He rightly draws attention to the present importance and vast potential value of the British Colonial markets. In Africa there are 36,000,000, in Asia, excluding India, 14,000,000 under our rule or influence, and scattered over the other continents are territories which we administer. He rightly draws attention to the deplorable hold which foreign manufacturers have obtained in these markets which are kept secure by Britain, and which are increasing in value because of our enlightened and beneficent administration. The present writer has often noted while travelling in British Dependencies the disappointingly small share that British commerce enjoys in

those countries. Does this lead to the conclusion that we should close the trade of the dependent Empire to foreign countries?

To that school of thinkers who glory in the name Imperialist, the Empire is not an estate to be exploited by Great Britain in order to solve her economic problems. To us the subject Empire is in the strictest sense of the world a sacred trust. Our pride in the Empire comes from what we have given to it, not from what we have got out of it. The labourer is worthy of his hire, and we realise thankfully that what we have done to establish peace and good government in our Colonies, to educate and enrich and civilise the natives of those territories, has resulted in great markets springing up in which we enjoy a large share of the trade. We bitterly regret that that share is not larger. But we will have nothing to do with a policy which aims at compelling the Nigerian native to pay a higher price for cotton goods made in Lancashire than he would pay if he bought a loin-cloth made in New England.

New England—the very name reminds one that Lord Beaverbrook's new policy is the old policy which caused the American Colonies to secede. The authors of historical text-books write of Lord Beaverbrook's policy as it was applied two centuries ago:

English statesmen strove so to regulate colonial trade that the greatest benefit should be conferred on England. From what we have seen of Mercantilist ideas, it is easy to lay down the principles applied. Colonies were encouraged to send home raw produce, such as sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo and dyes which could not be produced in England. But as colonies were to be used for the advantage of the mother-country, this advantage would be greatest if these goods were cheap and plentiful; accordingly these articles were 'enumerated' and prohibited from being sent to any but English ports. On the other hand, colonial export of such manufactured goods which could also be produced at home was held to be mischievous, and even those manufactures by which the colonies supplied their own wants were stopped. Thus the American colonists were not allowed to make beaver hats, though they could make them at little over one-third of the cost of the imported hats, because by doing so they diminished the market for English goods. . . . Thus hampered by restrictions as to what they exported, and where they sent it, prevented from selling in the best market, and forced to buy dear for the sake of a mother-country which many of them had never seen, the allegiance of the American colonists was exposed to a strain.

Many people who never tire of emphasising the vast field for British trade within the Empire will in no circumstances agree to fostering it by a method they regard as morally wrong, politically unwise, and economically unsound.

The cry for 'a policy,' good, bad, or indifferent, must be resisted by the Unionist Party, and Mr. Baldwin never showed greater statesmanship than in his speech at the Coliseum on

February 5. Great pressure was brought to bear on him, but he refused to commit his party to any nostrum, but outlined a sound but unspectacular programme.

There is now a need, and there will soon be a demand, for sane and intelligent administration, as opposed to legislative fireworks. Economy is becoming a pressing necessity, and some party must have the courage to call a halt to further social reform. More can be done to retain the home market by a policy of reorganisation and rationalisation than by any cunningly devised tariff, although temporary safeguarding duties need not be ruled out of the statesman's pharmacopœia. Improved marketing will go a long way to relieve the present depression in agriculture. The wise placing of capital and the development of research in connexion with agriculture, marketing, and packing will do more to promote inter-Imperial trade than any resuscitated mercantile policy. Whatever a Government can do must be done to cure the two principal causes of unemployment—lack of enterprise amongst employers and high labour costs. The latter will rarely be reduced by lowering wages, but can be reduced by increasing the efficiency of labour and by the substitution of mechanical power for muscle power.

A programme of this kind is not likely to arouse the wild enthusiasm of the masses, nor make sensational headlines for the cheap newspapers, but the Conservative Party can never hope to outbid the Socialists in popular programmes. We shall return to office when enthusiasm for the Labour Party has turned to bitter disillusionment. We do not need a policy in order to return to power: that we shall do automatically. The great need is for a policy to apply when we are again in office.

HUGH MOLSON.

SLUM CLEARANCE

ONE of the real difficulties in the way of dealing effectively with the slum problem to-day is the popularity of the phrase 'slum clearance.'

There is a growing determination on the part of the public to get rid of the slums. Owing to this unfortunate slogan, most people, including even members of housing committees and members of Parliament, instinctively think, not of the right solution, which is the building of new houses for the slum-dwellers, but merely of pulling down the existing slums. Even *The Times*, in a recent long leader,¹ rejects as of second-rate importance the building of new houses, and concludes that the Government's Bill will be a good Bill only if it abstains from spending money on the building of houses at low rents and devotes itself to the subject of slum clearance. But surely it requires very little reflection to see that the mere pulling down of houses is a simple and easy task. If this were all, then, in the words of the *Manchester Guardian* of January 24, 'with what robust and joyous blows of the pick and hammer would we smash up whole rows and terraces of wretched, badly built, and often already nearly ruinous houses.'

The really difficult task which confronts us is, not the mere destruction of slums, but the building of good houses into which we can move the 2,000,000 children who now live under slum conditions. That is our real social tragedy to-day. In spite of the immense efforts which have been made since the war, it is roughly true to say that there were about 2,000,000 children living under slum conditions at the time of the Armistice; that there are about the same number living under slum conditions to-day; and that the condition of the slums has, owing to the increasing age of the houses and the lack of adequate repairs, become substantially worse now than it was eleven years ago.

Even as regards overcrowding the condition of affairs has hardly improved. No local authority has, so far as I know, made any serious attempt to estimate the total amount of overcrowding in its slum areas. Two inquiries have, however, recently been

¹ *The Times*, January 18, 1930.

made in Manchester, one into 648 houses, the other into 1000 houses, and in each case it was found that no less than 27 per cent. of the houses were overcrowded in the worst sense; bedroom accommodation was so inadequate that young men and women were forced to sleep in the same room.

To illustrate concretely what this may mean, here is a case met with the other day in Salford by an experienced investigator. In a 'one-up and one-down' house lives a family comprising nine persons. In the only bedroom there are sleeping the husband and wife, three girls of twenty-two, six and two, and four boys of eighteen, sixteen, twelve and eight. The living-room opens directly off the street and is unsuitable for sleeping in, and in any case it is not the custom in provincial towns to use ground-floor rooms as bedrooms. This is an unusually bad case for Salford; for a father and mother, daughter of twenty-two, son of eighteen, and five other children to share one small bedroom is fortunately rare—at least, outside London and Glasgow. But it is no exaggeration to say that, quite apart from other forms of overcrowding, something like one-fourth of all the slum houses in the country fail to provide the necessary bedroom accommodation to separate adolescent boys and girls.

There is unanimous feeling in all sections of the public and among all political parties that these conditions must once and for all be swept away.

But the difficulties are tremendous. They are largely due to the astonishing development during the last twenty years of public opinion on the whole matter of slums and housing. This change of opinion has intensified the problem in two ways. On the one hand, bad housing and overcrowding, which existed before the war without raising much public protest, are to-day more and more strongly resented.

On the other hand, whereas we should have been content in pre-war days if the slum-dwellers could have been transferred to rows of the cheapest type of house, with no bath and no garden, to-day a completely new standard of working-class housing has been set. The adoption of the now well known 'Tudor Walters' type of house as the minimum house in which a working-class family should dwell is the greatest achievement of the post-war housing campaign. Public opinion now demands that, by a gradual process of building new houses and pulling down bad ones, the standard of housing should be raised until in the course of a generation or so every family should be living in a 'Tudor Walters' house—every child growing up in conditions compatible with full and healthy development of its bodily and mental powers.

We are faced, therefore, with an increasingly severe con-

demnation of slum houses and of overcrowding, and, at the same time, a great rise in the standard, and therefore in the cost, of the new houses which must be built.

In the meantime real wages have risen little, and the amount which workers are willing and able to pay as rent is, at least in the case of the poorer workers, quite inadequate to pay the economic rent of what is now regarded as the cheapest adequate family house.

A strenuous effort has been made since the war to meet these novel and difficult demands, and we have actually succeeded in building nearly 1,500,000 houses. The magnitude of this national effort will be appreciated when it is realised that, if we continue building houses at the present rate for another two or three years, we shall have spent on our national post-war housing campaign a capital sum of no less than 1,000,000,000*l.* It is tragic that, in spite of this colossal building programme, we have as yet hardly touched the fringe of the slum problem.

The reason for this failure is simple. None of the houses which have been built has been cheap enough for the poorer slum-dwellers to occupy. They have been let at inclusive rents of 10*s.* and upwards, and are occupied mainly by the clerk and artisan class. An analysis has recently been made of the occupations of the tenants of the 12,000 houses built by the Manchester Corporation since the war. No less than 40 per cent. of them belong to what may be called the clerk class, who occupy on the whole the parlour houses and the more expensive non-parlour houses; 50 per cent. belong to the artisan class, and just over 10 per cent. are labourers. Of these labourers it may be taken that most of them have very small families and are working in the sheltered trades where labourers get from 50*s.* to 60*s.* a week.

Those who have benefited by the national expenditure of nearly 1,000,000,000*l.* and by the very large subsidies which have been granted have been the fairly well-off; not the poorest classes who need most help—especially not those members of the poorer classes who have large families. Even municipal authorities, when they come to let houses, tend, like any other landlord, to forget the slum problem and to let the houses to the most eligible tenant—that is to say, to the applicant who has most money and fewest children.

To sum up, therefore, we have gone a long way to meet the housing problem of the artisan and the clerk; as regards the labourer, we have provided houses for a few of the labourers in sheltered industries with small families; we have done nothing for the more poorly paid unskilled worker, and have done nothing to reduce the number of children living in the slums. Those

children form the crux of the housing problem. If they could be removed from the slums into good houses, with space to live and play, with plenty of sun and light and air, we could regard the housing problem as solved. The removal of these 2,000,000 children from the slums is by far the greatest public health reform that remains to be carried through.

There is, then, general agreement as to the object we have in view—to clear the 2,000,000 children out of the slums. When, however, we come to consider the means of doing this, we find that there are, unfortunately, two diametrically opposed views, which we may call, for want of better names, the *laissez-faire* view and the constructive view respectively.

The *laissez-faire* view was well set forth in the leader in *The Times* already referred to, which states that 'the housing situation is really not unhealthy, if measured by the needs of the present and the achievements of the past. . . . There is really no reason why the price of houses should not be brought down to 260*l.* At that price the economic rent works out at 6*s.* a week.' The writer draws from this the conclusion that there is not much trouble about building new houses; what is wanted is the reconditioning of existing houses, better compensation for owners of good property in slum areas, and an active policy of demolishing slum houses.

The advocates of the *laissez-faire* policy recognise as clearly as anyone else that slums can only be pulled down after the inhabitants have been transferred to new houses. Their advocacy of immediate slum clearance is based, as shown in *The Times* leader, on the belief that cheap houses within the means of the slum-dweller can be built without further State help. If this were so, all housing reformers would accept their view. Unfortunately, however, the figures given by *The Times* leader writer are based on a series of mistakes, and are very far from the truth.

(1) He has taken the cost of the family house to be 260*l.*, whereas in fact the average cost is about 340*l.*, and, according to authoritative opinions, there is no reason to expect any substantial reduction of this figure unless the size or quality of the house is cut down.

(2) He has omitted the cost of the land, roads and drains, which average about 60*l.*, so that the real cost of the house for purposes of calculating the rent is not 340*l.*, but 400*l.*

(3) He has omitted to include rates, which average 3*s.* a week on such a house.

By this astonishing series of errors *The Times* arrives at an economic rent of 6*s.* a week. The actual economic rent is shown in the following table :—

	s.	d.
Interest on 400 <i>l.</i> at 5 per cent..	7	8
Sinking fund at 6 per cent.	0	10
Maintenance, etc.	2	6
	11	0
Rates	3	0
	14	0

If the case of those who believe no further subsidies to be necessary has to be bolstered up by so extraordinary a series of miscalculations it seems fairly obvious that the case must be a weak one.

But there is another, and perhaps more dangerous, variation of the *laissez-faire* policy. There is a school of thought which holds that there are two distinct problems—housing on the one hand, and poverty on the other. We should concentrate our efforts on raising wages, and the slum problem would then solve itself. Good houses should be built for those who can afford to pay an economic rent; those who cannot afford it are the defectives and derelicts, who should be dealt with by the public assistance committees.

Let us consider for a moment the case of the engineering labourer whose wages average just over 40*s.* a week. He is, generally speaking, as industrious a worker and as good a citizen as anybody else; he is in his present position mainly because he never had the chance of an apprenticeship which would enable him to become a skilled worker. And yet, if he has a wife and three children to maintain, it is utterly impossible for him to keep his family fit and healthy and at the same time pay more than the slum rent of, say, 7*s.* a week.

It is easy to say that his wages should go up; but engineering is an export trade, and wages are determined largely by the world level. Our keenest competitors are the Germans, and the engineering labourer there gets, not 40*s.*, but 30*s.*, a week. In these circumstances we are slowly losing our export trade to Germany, and so long as German wages remain at the present level our wages are more likely to move downwards rather than upwards.

To say, therefore, that we should wait for wages to rise is simply to leave things as they are, and to ensure that every engineering labourer with a family shall continue to live in a slum house. This policy is nothing more nor less than an evasion and postponement of the whole difficulty.

The alternative view, held by the great majority of those who

are determined to abolish the slums, and who have thoroughly studied the problems involved, is that the solution depends almost entirely on the provision of good family houses at rents which the present slum-dwellers can pay, and built in places where the cost of transport will not be excessive.

This view is set out in a pamphlet, *A Policy for the Slums*,¹ published a few months ago by a special committee of the National Housing and Town Planning Association, which included members of all political parties and persons with experience in nearly all branches of housing. That under such conditions the report was unanimous must give it considerable weight.

The broad conclusions of the report were to the effect that we needed a large number of family houses at from 10s. to 15s. inclusive rent, to house the artisan class, and another large number at from 6s. to 10s. inclusive rent to house the families of the unskilled workers. If during the next ten years 500,000 of each of these types of houses were built by the municipalities, and were let, as far as possible, to parents of large families, then the back of the slum problem would be broken. There should be by that time between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 children living in those houses, the greater portion of whom should have come from slum conditions; the overcrowding in the slums would have largely disappeared, and the process of pulling down the old houses could then be tackled with full vigour.

The report estimates that with the present subsidy a decent family house can be let at about 10s. inclusive rent. The 'artisan' problem can therefore be solved without further action by the Government; all that is needed is for the municipalities to take full advantage of the present subsidy and build family houses to be let at an inclusive rent of 10s.

In this connexion I would point out that Birmingham and many smaller towns are to-day building and letting family houses at 10s. Other towns are charging not less than 12s., and in some cases 14s., thus putting the houses beyond the reach of many who need them most. For instance, in Manchester the non-parlour house, which (including land, etc.) is costing about 400l. on the average throughout the country, is to-day actually being built at a cost of about 500l. No doubt the house is a better one, but the rent is about 15s., and it is not serving the purpose of housing the artisan, who in many cases cannot afford more than 10s.

Further than this, many municipalities, instead of giving preference to the large family, are, as above stated, giving preference to the 'good' tenant—the tenant who can be most safely relied on to pay the rent regularly; and, unfortunately, the larger the family the harder this is to do.

¹ P. S. King & Son, Ltd. (6d.).

These two lines of policy must be reversed by the local authorities if they are going to clear the children out of the slums; more houses must be built at lower rents, and a preference must be given to the largest families. I hasten to add that although Manchester, in my opinion, errs in these matters, there are many municipalities which are to-day pursuing the right policy in both directions.

The report referred to proceeds to consider the case of the labourer's house, which should be let round about 7s. a week inclusive. The 'artisan' house is, according to the report, the cheapest family house which should be built to-day—the 'minimum standard house.' The labourer's house must therefore be the same house let at a lower rent. This cannot be done without new legislation. The question is, what is the cheapest form of subsidy under which the minimum standard house can be let at 7s. inclusive rent?

The conclusion of the report is that this can best be done by some system of rent allowances based on the number of children in the family. The extra subsidy is only required in the case of large families, and should therefore be confined to these families. Further, the larger the family the harder it is for the father to find money for the rent; therefore the larger should be the subsidy. If it is desired to get the large families out of the slums, and to do it as cheaply as possible, an examination of the economic situation makes it clear that this can only be done by basing the subsidy on the number of children.

This is a conclusion which most people, on first consideration, instinctively dislike. There were about thirty members of the committee which was responsible for *A Policy for the Slums*; probably twenty-five of them were hostile to the system of children's rent allowances when the committee first began to sit. After several months' consideration they unanimously signed the report strongly recommending the adoption of such a system.

There is no space here to go into the whole of the arguments for and against children's rent allowances; I hope that all those interested will read *A Policy for the Slums*, in which they are fully set forth. I believe that anybody who closely studies this question will, by sheer force of economic facts, be driven to the conclusion that some such system is inevitable if we are to get the children out of the slums, and if we are to do it as economically as possible.

The Times concludes its leader on 'The New Problem in Housing' by saying that the Government's new Bill will be a good one only if it concentrates on the clearance of existing slums. This summarises the attitude of the *laissez-faire* reformers. Those whom I have called the constructive housing reformers

regard this as the exact reverse of the truth. We believe that the Bill will be a good one only if it concentrates on providing good family houses at low rents, and on making such arrangements that the 2,000,000 children will be drawn from the slums into these houses; and we believe that this can be done most effectively and cheaply by a well-devised system of Children's Rent Allowances.

E. D. SIMON.

RETRENCHMENT AND PROSPERITY

PEACE, Retrenchment, and Reform: where do they stand to-day? Peace is the universal platform, whatever mental reservations old-fashioned statesmen may make here and there, and what is everybody's slogan is nobody's. Reform, in the sense that made it a burning question a century ago, has worked itself out to its logical conclusion in man and womanhood suffrage. And Retrenchment? Hear Viscount Grey:

The whole situation has changed. To-day the three parties are not really opponents, but competitors, and, for reasons which we all sympathise with and understand, they are all advocating progressive policies. What happened at the last election? . . . Parties are outbidding each other in the race for expenditure, and each Government comes in pledged to add to the public expenditure. It seems to me we ought to realise that great change in our politics and the danger of it. We are drifting, I think, into a very unsafe and dangerous commitment as regards public expenditure. (January 14, 1930.)

Individual election addresses may still pay the traditional homage to economy, but it is no longer a power in the policy of any party because the 'practical politician,' whatever his colour, believes that only a direct appeal to the voter's pocket will win.

As an arithmetical text for Viscount Grey's discourse, take the following figures, from the Statements circulated on recent Budget nights:

Head.	Description.	1914.		1929.	
		£ millions.	Percent- age of total.	£ millions.	Percent- age of total.
1	Interest on debt . . .	17	8	305	37
2	Sinking Fund . . .	7	4	50	6
3	Pensions and insurance .	27	13	140	17
4	Grants, including Ireland	37	18	115	14
5	Post Office and Road Fund	26	13	77	9
6	Defence . . .	74	36	96	12
7	Civil and other services .	16	8	39	5
		204	100	822	100

Figures which might well have inspired any new Government with determination to set a better example. But so true is it that economy has fled from Westminster, that a Government without a majority has already been allowed to increase expenditure by 8,000,000*l.* this financial year and 19,000,000*l.* next; and almost entirely in ways that appeal directly to the pocket: 12,000,000*l.* for the unemployed, 5,000,000*l.* for widows, over 1,000,000*l.* for Government servants by waiving reductions of pay due for lower cost of living, and annual paid holidays for wage-earners. Codlin's the friend, not Short. Mr. Snowden, who once condemned anything over his own modest 1924 total of 790,000,000*l.* as extravagant, now joins enthusiastically in the big break competition. He may make more play with the red, while Mr. Churchill shows more fondness for cannons, but they both play in free style, and Mr. Snowden's next visit to the table is eagerly awaited by his backers.

In comparisons with 1914 allowance must, of course, be made for the rise in price-levels, and for a rough measure of the growth of the taxpayer's burden we may add 55 per cent.¹ to the 1914 total, making it 316,000,000*l.* The 1929 burden of 822,000,000*l.* is thus more than two and a half times as heavy, without Mr. Snowden's last straw. What prospects are there of retrenchment under the several heads?

1 and 2. *Service of the Debt.*—This year's Budget set up a fixed annuity of 355,000,000*l.* for amortisation of the debt (7,600,000,000*l.*), starting with 304,600,000*l.* for interest and 50,400,000*l.* for Sinking Fund. A slow start, with so big a total; but if it could have been carried out, the 50,000,000*l.* for capital redemption increasing year by year as interest diminished, we should before long have made a real impression on the debt and the national credit would have improved, enabling us to convert loans to lower rates of interest and so to accelerate the process. But though Mr. Churchill for five years provided (on paper) an annual 50,000,000*l.* or more for redemption, the charge for interest this year will exceed the 305,000,000*l.* in his first Budget, and the actual extinction of debt will fall short of the programme. The national credit stands so low that his successor has had to exchange 5 per cent. War Loan for a longer-dated 5 per cent. security at par. Mr. Snowden must clearly make a fresh start, at a figure which can hardly be lower in any event than 355,000,000*l.* There is no present prospect of relief under these heads.

3. *Pensions and Insurance.*—The total of 132,000,000*l.* for 1929 shown in the Budget Statement included 54,000,000*l.* for

¹ About the mean of the general increase in wages (70 to 75 per cent.) and the rise in wholesale prices other than food (34 per cent.). (Board of Trade figures.)

war pensions, 17,000,000*l.* for other Army, Navy and Air Force pensions, 35,000,000*l.* for old age pensions, 4,000,000*l.* for the State contribution to the 1925 scheme of 'national' pensions to widows, etc., and 4,000,000*l.* for other pensions, mainly Civil Service, together with 18,000,000*l.* for grants to health and unemployment insurance schemes: but 4,000,000*l.* for Post Office pensions were left under head 5 and 4,000,000*l.* for teachers' and police pensions under head 4. The reasons for this difference of arrangement have no application to our present purpose, and the 8,000,000*l.* are here included.

In 1924 the fact that the war pensions (then 69,000,000*l.*) must disappear in two generations was the one strong feature in the position. What a foundation for a sinking fund! 'Instead of which,' the Conservatives converted the burden into a perpetual charge by their scheme of 'contributory' pensions, which soaks up the savings as war pensions die out; and now 5,000,000*l.* a year is clapped on by going back to pick up widows whose dates had excluded them. This 5,000,000*l.* is not permanently added to the cost of the scheme and will taper off as the old-date widows die; but for years to come the annual charge is made heavier. Grants of war pension were subject to periodical revision for cost of living, but on the first occasion it was announced that so wealthy a nation would forgo the adjustment. No subsequent Minister could fall short of this generosity, and the provision is a dead letter. The new Government (as already mentioned) has extended the precedent to cases without the special claims of the wounded warrior.

The 'service' pensions of the fighting forces must increase for years to come, because it takes forty years or more for an increase in strengths to produce its full effect on them, so that the growth of the Army and Navy at the turn of the century is still being felt, and the Air Force pensions are scarcely begun. Higher rates of pension were also granted after the war, so that those now added to the list are larger than those terminating; and the convivial service pensioner, whose habits made his life as short as (let us hope) it was merry, has been replaced by a later pattern, enjoying the proverbially long life of the annuitant. The same causes, with the rapid growth of the Civil Service and the grant of pension rights to new classes, make the prospects in that direction equally unfavourable to the Budget. The prolongation of middle age—the average man of to-day can give his grandfather five years and a beating at any physical test—would justify extending the working life to pay for the longer pension, but the tendency is all the other way. Early retirements are popular with the majority in all services because they stimulate promotion, and with administrators because they ease the diffi-

culty of the moderately useless man—the eternal problem of all public employments. In addition, the working hours of life are curtailed by the shorter week, and now again by the coming prolongation of the school period; and there is with us no such increased productivity in industry as might enable the longer unproductive periods to be supported. We are burning the candle at both ends and scraping it down in the middle.

The insurance (health and unemployment) contributions here included are those ordinarily due by the State under the contributory schemes. Special grants and doles to those out of insurance fall under heads 4 and 7; but the distinction has become blurred, and we may note here the fresh addition of 12,000,000*l.* for 1930. There is no going back, and the large automatic increases on this head form the worst feature in a critical situation. The palm for heedless extravagance must go to the Conservative Government of 1925, though they may plead that, had either of their competitors had the chance, as bad or worse might have happened.

4. *Grants*.—Of these contributions to services administered by local authorities the largest are education (47,000,000*l.*, excluding pensions), the old local taxation accounts (15,000,000*l.*), housing the new contributions for rating relief, etc. (15,000,000*l.*), police (13,000,000*l.*) and police (6,000,000*l.*, excluding pensions). Among the numerous minor items is one of 2,000,000*l.* for special unemployment grants and loans. Grant expenditure is mainly governed by Acts of Parliament defining the taxpayer's liability as a fixed sum or proportion of total expenditure, or on some other principle, and is thus not directly controllable by Parliament from year to year, but subject to review at intervals as a matter of policy. Education grants must be considerably increased by the higher school-leaving age, with maintenance grants. Housing consists of various annual subventions, with now from fourteen to fifty years or more to run, and there is a serious risk of increase in connexion with slum clearance. Some of the minor grants may drop out or be reduced before long, but the line between rates and taxes ceased to be logical long ago; for the majority of voters the ratepayer's interests outweigh the taxpayer's, and there is constant pressure to shift the line against the latter on the plea that incidence of the burdens is unequal. A special feature next year will be the new rating relief contributions, which will then come into full operation. A rough idea of the effect is given by the statement that if the scheme had been fully applied in 1926 no less than 29,000,000*l.* in England and Wales would have been shifted from rates to taxes, to say nothing of Scotland. Owing to Mr. Churchill's forethought in raising money in advance for a flying start—which Mr. Snowden rather ungraciously represents as robbing the Sinking Fund—the latter will have

funds in hand for 1930, but warns us that, having then swallowed his plum, he will want an extra 15,000,000*l.* in 1931. Thus this head, as a whole, is pledged to a large and permanent increase.

To be seen in proper perspective the figures under heads 3 and 4 should be read with the annual *Return of Total Expenditure on Public Social Services*, a document which instead of being sold on demand at 3*d.* a copy ought to be posted in broadsheet form on all places of worship and municipal buildings. The following figures are taken from it:

GREAT BRITAIN

Year.	Total Expenditure, excluding Capital out of Loans.	Money found from			
		Taxes.	Rates.	Contributions, Fees, etc.	Total.
	£ millions.	£ millions.	£ millions.	£ millions.	£ millions.
1911	55	28	31	4	63
1925	338	177	79	91	347
1927	383	170*	97	123	399*
1928	366	181*	89	113	383*

* Each of these figures includes the sum of 4,000,000*l.* paid annually from the Exchequer into the Treasury Pensions Account under the contributory pensions scheme. These payments are noted in the return, but not included in the totals.

We already spend over a million a day on various forms of Public Assistance, of which the taxpayer bears almost exactly half and the ratepayer a quarter, while the potential beneficiaries and their employers contribute jointly something more than the remaining quarter, the surplus (under health insurance) being carried forward to meet the actuarial liability to more sickness in the later years of life. The unemployment fund instead of a surplus has accumulated a deficit in the neighbourhood of 40,000,000*l.*

5. *Post Office and Road Fund*.—Of these services, classed in the Budget as 'self-supporting,' the former earns from the public (at monopoly rates) enough to cover all its expenses (including pensions) and 9,000,000*l.* of net revenue besides. It employs more than half the Civil Service and is continually expanding as its work grows. As to whether it could work more cheaply, it is in the same position as the rest of the Civil Service, which comes for consideration under head 7; but here there is no possibility of saving by reducing the work itself. It will continue to grow, but with good management the net (as well as the gross) revenue should grow with it. The Road Fund is merely a reversion to the bad old custom of assigning particular revenues (motor vehicle duties) to particular services (grants for making and maintaining

roads). Nothing is earned, so that there are possibilities not only of cheapening the work, but of reducing it, for this would not lessen the produce of the duties. The outcry against Mr. Churchill's decision to allow the taxpayer some benefit from the duties would doubtless be repeated, but in this crisis of our finances it is neither necessary to spend over 22,000,000*l.* a year in perpetuity to make and keep roads fit for high-speed traffic, nor arguable that there is no taxable element of luxury in motor transport. More vehicles are bringing more receipts, and the net balance (now 4,750,000*l.*) taken to revenue might well be increased, unless the expenditure is kept up for the purpose of creating employment.

6. *Defence (excluding Pensions).*—The figures show a nominal increase of 23,000,000*l.*, or 31 per cent. of the 1914 figure, but adding 55 per cent. to the latter for price levels, there is really a reduction of 17,000,000*l.*, or 23 per cent.,² though defence is now a problem in three dimensions, not in two. Mr. MacDonald in his broadcast message to America on January 22 gave our contributions to disarmament, already effected, as 50,000 men off the Regular Army of 1914, and in the Navy capital ships reduced from 69 to 20, cruisers from 108 to 54 and submarines from 74 to 53. These figures are a warning that we have already gone as far as we ought towards disarmament, unless by international agreement. Even then, the discharge of fighting men, stoppage of recruiting, or restriction of shipbuilding and munitions all increase unemployment unless both men and money are reabsorbed in productive industry; and if the money saved is not added to the Sinking Fund, or in other ways returned 'to fructify in the pocket of the taxpayer,' but spent on extra doles, there is no reabsorption. Social services may be the economic equivalent of digging holes and filling them up again, just as truly as the building and manning of warships. While, therefore, there are future possibilities of retrenchment under this head, especially on the naval side, to expect any large immediate relief would be sanguine.

7. *Civil and all other Services.*—In this 39,000,000*l.* are included 4,500,000*l.* for works and buildings, 3,000,000*l.* for beet sugar subsidy, 1,000,000*l.* for training and transfer of unemployed, and various other small items totalling 5,000,000*l.*, 11,000,000*l.* for tax collection, and 14,000,000*l.* for the cost of civil government generally, including judicial, diplomatic, financial and administrative functions. The beet subsidy and some of the other minor items should fall out before long, giving savings if the money is not taken for new expenditure. Of the two large

² This is rather an understatement, as for this particular class of expenditure the large increases of pay to soldiers and sailors raise the price level more than 55 per cent.

items the principal ingredient is the cost of the Civil Service. Mr. Churchill's dream of 1928, that by reducing the number of officials he would make savings to balance the automatic increases to which he had become alive, has vanished. With continual additions to the work of the Service, caused by fresh legislation and more searching taxation, with constant pressure from below for better conditions, the cost is increasing and will increase so long as the present methods of work and administration continue. A Royal Commission on the Service is sitting, but, as far as can be judged from published reports, its attention has not yet been directed to possibilities of economy; and Mr. Snowden, as we have seen, is not prepared to hold the Service to the prescribed reductions for cost of living. There are only two possibilities of appreciable economy: to persuade Parliament that some of the work it has piled upon the Service is not now worth its cost, and a radical reform of its methods of work, especially financial. The Treasury exists to control all Government expenditure, and, urged by the Public Accounts Committee and the Audit Office, its able officers make superhuman efforts to do it in minute detail, at heavy cost in excessive centralisation, vain repetition of work and multiplication of higher officials, who, owing to the consuming passion for Treasury authority, are denied responsibility adequate to their status. I believe these possibilities to be important; but they open questions too big to be discussed here. Without such action there is small prospect of retrenchment on this head as a whole.

To sum up this analysis, our expenditure falls into three broad classes: that to which the nation is finally pledged; that over which Parliament retains, in the shape of periodical review, some share of control; and that which in theory it can vary from year to year, downwards as well as upwards. The figures, not including Mr. Snowden's additions, are:

Class.	Heads of former table.	1914.		1929.	
		£ millions.	Per cent. of total.	£ millions.	Per cent. of total.
I.					
II.	I and 3	44	22	445	58
III.	4 and 5	63	32	192	25
	6 and 7	90	46	135	17
	Total	197	100	772	100

Sinking fund is here omitted because, though one element in taxation, it is not expenditure, but a promise to apply a surplus, if realised.

More than half of our expenditure is entirely beyond control, except in the sense that a man can control his debts by paying them; and only one-sixth of it is even in theory under full control, as against almost half in 1914. Reckless mortgaging of the economic future for the political interests of the moment has brought us within reach of the vicious circle: only lower interest on the debt can reduce our expenditure, and only reduction of our expenditure can lower the interest on the debt.

Twenty years ago, when the health and unemployment insurance schemes were started, the national income and accumulated wealth at home and abroad were rapidly increasing, under taxation that now seems incredibly light. If the shadow that then hung over Europe would not allow us to meet the cost by savings elsewhere, there were large available reserves of taxable capacity. But to-day the situation is altogether changed. We are over-taxed; the produce per penny of the income tax, the total income assessed to super-tax and the yield of that tax are alike falling. Slackness of trade is not the only cause. The steeply graduated taxation of large incomes and accumulated capital, under the great redistribution of the national income that has taken place since 1914, is beginning to defeat its own ends; for with a given total national income, if there is a downward movement from the top of the scale towards the bottom, the produce of the taxes grows less and less without any change in the standard rate; and if the top rates are increased to balance the shrinkage, the process is only hastened. A large mass of wealth has in fact moved towards the exemption end of the scale; the wage-earner has gained proportionately more than the professional man and the unskilled wage-earner than the skilled. Satisfaction at the under-dog's luck must not obscure the financial effects, and the immediate loss of revenue to the Exchequer is not the only drawback. Wealth is like heat; evenly distributed it is excellent for comfort, but however much of it you may have, you can get no power out of it unless there are inequalities; uniformity means stagnation and death. So with uniform distribution of wealth (which would only add a few shillings a week to average wages) industrial progress would cease, for that depends on the continual accumulation of fresh capital, which, in the world as we know it, means saving by individuals; and, without claiming moral excellence for savings made from overflowing incomes, it is certain that if all shared alike the general level of consumption would rise to that of production and there would be no savings worth mention. This is not mere theory; the tendency is operating to-day, as all authorities agree. Sir Josiah Stamp recently said 'at the present time we are suffering from capital-hunger. Our rate of progress could and should be more rapid if capital were more

abundant'.^{*} The president of the Royal Statistical Society, calculating from the 1924 Census of Production, has found that national savings per head of population are now over 40 per cent. below the 1907 level. Further confirmation is found in the figures for 'balance of trade,' in which the excess of the 'visible' outgoings (imports) over the incomings (exports) is set against the 'invisible' net income derived from shipping, investments abroad, and other monetary transactions, to show the net results of our dealings overseas. A favourable balance of 54,000,000*l.* in 1925 had become an adverse balance of 12,000,000*l.* in 1926—an abnormal year, but a result so disquieting that Sir Robert Kindersley investigated afresh the 'invisible' items, which are not on record, but have to be estimated by experts from various data. He made the balance for 1926 9,000,000*l.* in our favour, and for 1928 149,000,000*l.*: less alarming figures, but as 'invisible' income is nearly stationary and the adverse balance of visible imports over exports for 1929 (382,000,000*l.*) is some 30,000,000*l.* greater than for 1928, we seem to be still losing ground; at all events, prosperity has not returned.

In handling this position we have for years been treating the symptom unemployment, and not the disease which causes it. It is a step in the right direction that the luckless Minister told off to redeem the gaily-given election pledge that a cure was ready to hand has frankly owned up that there is none; but it still remains to get at the root. Our statesmen have set out to create a new heaven and a new earth by relegating to Saturn political economy, 'the dismal science.' They have derided it as an inhuman gospel teaching that the whole duty of man is to buy everything, including labour, in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, whereas it does not claim to be a code of ethics, but to demonstrate the 'laws' by which, so far as men are moved by economic motives, certain consequences may be predicted from certain antecedents. Left to the free play of these laws, things have ways of righting themselves. Thus, under the law of 'supply and demand,' scarcity raises prices, high prices stimulate production, and the scarcity is relieved; superabundance lowers prices, low prices discourage production, and overstocking ceases. In the Great War uneconomic action sank our ships till high prices for food could not increase the supply, and the law threatened to equate demand with supply in a grimmer way—by starvation. As the only alternative, a vast system of Government rationing and control had to be elaborated to produce an artificial distribution, equitable indeed as between man and man; but what a contrast between the quiet efficiency of economic self-regulation and the fuss and officialdom and cost of 'Dora'! Forty years ago

^{*} Evidence before the Licensing Commission, February 1930.

employment had also a self-righting tendency. Any trade can find profitable employment for more men at lower wages than at higher, because low prices of its products stimulate consumption. When the employer's selling prices fell, the unions were strong enough to see that he did not simply cut wages; but if profits fell to the point at which he must shorten hands or lose money the workmen had to choose at the risk of their own funds whether to accept lower wages till things were better or to stand firm and face unemployment. The time factor was important, and a reduction promptly accepted before the market was lost might pay the workman better than nominally higher wages with short time or unemployment. When the market improved, it paid the employer to get his plant back to full running at the old wages, unemployment ceased, and with further improvement the demand for labour would raise wages still higher. The economic regulator thus outlined was not a 'ratchet' mechanism, moving wages only downward, but a 'governor' acting up or down as circumstances required. But the provision of unemployment benefit, largely at the cost of the employer and the Exchequer, greatly increased the resources of the workmen; the war soon enlarged their political influence and important trades lost all sense of the relation between profits, wages, and a competitive world market. Short of a strike (when unemployment benefit is not paid) the men and their unions could bear a considerable percentage of unemployment for long periods; wage negotiations stiffened and were prolonged till Government should intervene. The economic governor has ceased to act, or is delayed until the market is lost, and it is harder to recapture a market than to retain it. We see the results of what Professor Cannan has described as 'proposing remedies for economic pressure without considering whether the pressure may not be an integral part of the existing organisation, which cannot be removed without causing disaster unless some efficient substitute is provided'; and we have provided none.

Lassalle's 'iron law' that capitalist wages must always be at or near 'subsistence level' may be quoted to prove that no reduction of wages, even temporary, can be contemplated; but those words, in their plain sense of 'sufficient to keep body and soul together,' being obviously untrue, are interpreted by up-to-date Socialists to mean the conventional standard of life at a given time and place.⁴ Very well; but then the famous law is the mere truism that spending follows close on spending-power—the very cause (as we have seen) of the drop in national savings. But the facts are not so depressing. Measuring from the 1914 level, the rise in cost of living, which in 1920 had been 149 per

⁴ *The Modern Case for Socialism* (A. W. Humphrey).

cent., was in 1928 66 per cent., and continues to fall. In the same period the general average of wage rates rose by 70 to 75 per cent., so that real wages (the things money wages will buy) have risen, notwithstanding the existing severe depression and a very general reduction in hours of work. In sheltered industries, such as building, railways, docks, printing, wage rates rose 100 per cent. or more, while great exporting industries such as coal, iron and steel, engineering, shipbuilding, fared much worse; but in all industries the workers profited by the vast expenditure on social services. Allowing for a 60 per cent. rise in prices since 1911, the increase in these services, after deducting the workers' own contributions to insurance, has added more than 200,000,000*l.* to their emoluments.

The above figures bring out a second maladjustment from which industry is suffering owing to the intrusion of political forces into the economic sphere. The world prices our exports realise, which are not governed by the conditions in these islands, have to be shared by the producing industries with sheltered industries, such as building, railways and docks, which take their toll as a first charge on the prices, production keeping the balance. The high sheltered wages thus depress those of the miner or factory hand as surely as a reduction forced on him by his employer, but without the better employment or competitive power which the latter might bring. The pegging of railway rates at a level to enable the companies to pay wages out of proportion to the general prosperity of industry is acting like the clumsiest of export taxes. With a fairer distribution between sheltered and manufacturing or mining wages, the average level, with the social services provided in kind and the shorter hours, would leave plenty of room for a contribution by the worker to the restoration of the self-adjusting principles in industry. This does not mean abolishing unemployment benefit; but it should be confined to what can be provided by a real insurance fund with strictly limited powers of borrowing to meet the temporary depressions of the trade cycle; and neither taxes nor rates should be held liable to support indefinitely men in idleness when the plain fact is that the union rates of wages, under the working hours, limitation of individual output and other conditions insisted upon, have outrun the productivity of the industry concerned.

It is now suggested that a return to some economic regulator for wages is the first or only remedy required at the pass to which we are now come. Rationalisation by aggregation of uneconomic units, technical improvements, cutting of losses already made but not faced, and on the side of the workmen by full acceptance of such methods of lowering labour costs without reducing wages as piece work or other forms of payment by results—all these are

called for. But such methods, as well as combinations to create prosperity by contriving scarcity, are not new in themselves, though the present need for their simultaneous application is unprecedented; and when, with their help, industry has been set once more on its feet, the same political pressure to raise the standard of living still higher—'this is only an instalment,' Ministers have told us—will again produce the same economic disasters unless some regulating mechanism is included in the organisation of industry itself. You cannot indefinitely repeat 'rationalisation' at the expense of capital, for no one has yet discovered a sure method of confining that to an island; and ultimately the question must be faced whether wages at a standard fixed extrinsically are (as Socialism would have it) in all circumstances the first charge on the products of industry, or whether (as the existing system postulates) the standard must in the long run be determined by the abundance of the products. The unlimited inflation of public assistance belongs logically to the Socialist scheme, which, when it can no longer live parasitically upon a 'capitalist' host in process of decline, must in some way which nobody has ever quite succeeded in explaining or putting into practice, balance such extravagances by obtaining the advantages of capital without paying for them. For the present, Socialism is busy distributing to its supporters the promised rewards, leaving to the future this difficult problem of capital. The two old parties, both pledged to the main lines of the existing system, have nevertheless tried to graft on to it the popular features of their rivals' programme and have shirked the unpopular job of getting 'Industry, Limited' back on to a sound basis by either increasing the earnings or reducing the distribution. So it comes about that, English fashion, all three parties take a middle course combining the expensive features of both systems. No plan so illogical can be followed much further without ending in disaster, whatever party may be in office; and that (as it seems to me) is the real disease of which our present inveterate unemployment is only a symptom.

As we stand we can hardly retrench even enough to meet the automatic growth of present commitments; and to pull through at all we should resolutely avoid all new expenditure, while we work to restore prosperity to industry, rationalising not only in the share markets but in the works themselves, and looking hopefully for new light from the Economic Advisory Council and the organised conferences of employers and trade unionists. But if we are to avoid relapses we must also rationalise the financial methods of Parliament. They have so long been held up as a model that we do not realise how completely obsolete and futile they are under present conditions; and it is impossible not to ask whether

their peculiarities have not something to do with our present plight. Other peoples, strangers neither to democracy nor to advocacy of Socialism, have control of their expenditure through their elected representatives, and are not steering for bankruptcy; on the contrary, both France and Germany are considering substantial remissions in taxation already lighter than ours. We alone of nations constitutionally governed must bear whatever expenditure may be decreed by a Cabinet only one member of which can be expected to look beyond the political and administrative interests of the immediate future. 'So far as the direct control of expenditure is concerned,' writes Sir Herbert Samuel, 'the Estimates might as well not be submitted to Parliament at all'⁵; and a writer well acquainted with the theory and practice of our system sums it up as 'a whited sepulchre hiding the corpse of national economy.'⁶ The Estimates are laid without the slightest intimation as to how much new revenue they involve. This absurdity is wrapped up, under the attractive name of 'secrecy of the Budget,' with the necessity of not divulging intended new duties lest merchants should manipulate clearances. Once laid, the Estimates must be voted without altering a figure, under threat of resignation and dissolution. The value of our Estimates Committee appears from the fact that Estimates are voted without waiting for its reports. That there is no Second Chamber revision makes a real committee stage essential. The ancient prerogative of the Crown to determine the rewards and punishments of its servants is invoked to cover the announcement by Government, without consultation with Parliament, of any change, however costly, in their emoluments. Successive Governments proclaim the House incapable of controlling expenditure and laud Treasury control instead—with tongue in cheek, for Treasury control over Ministers cannot exist. What evidence of such control was there in the excessive post-war increases of pay to the fighting services, in the great growth of cost of the Civil Service, in Mr. Snowden's new *largesse* to all, or even in the gift announced in 1926 of 200,000*l.* to the Civil Service for sports grounds, which the good sense of the Service declined? Was ever the shy maid Economy in such fashion wooed? On all these points they do things better in France. No father should proclaim his son unfit to be trusted with money unless he has had opportunity of learning how to manage an income. Especially with an era of three-party government in view, it should be possible to create in the House a strong non-party movement towards economy, if all but questions of essential policy in the Estimates are left to the free vote of members, on the report of a real Estimates Committee, retaining

⁵ Preface to *Parliament and the Taxpayer* (E. H. Davenport).

⁶ *Ibid.*

the good rule that only Government can initiate new expenditures.

It cannot be expected that a party which believes in Government expenditure as a good thing will carry out such a reform; but when the nation is again tired of parasitic Socialism an opportunity will come to the two old parties to lay anew the foundations of prosperity by putting our polity on a coherent basis. That neglected, it may prove too late. For, change as the world may, the Sibyl still conducts her bookselling business on her own primitive rendering of the law of Supply and Demand.

C. HARRIS.

AFTER HATRY

THE public memory is proverbially short. In the nature of things Clarence Hatry will soon be forgotten, or, worse still, will become a legendary character. The purport of this article is therefore to draw some conclusions from this *cause célèbre* before it is too late. Those of us in the City who are left outside prison walls have not a few lessons to learn from the Hatry case. There are practical reforms which can be made and constructive ideas which can be discussed. There are abuses which can be legislated against by the Stock Exchange as well as by the House of Commons. I do not suggest that it is possible, by parliamentary or financial machinery, to prevent a fool parting with his money, but there are undoubtedly opportunities which can be seized here and now of making the financial world a safer place for the investor.

We must first get our ideas about Clarence Hatry right. I have met people in London who are convinced that he only did what Mr. J. H. Thomas is anxious that all the City fathers should do—finance 'rationalised' industries; that he was a hard-working financier who cared more for success than for money; and that it was his absconding partner, Gialdini, who was the real villain of the piece. On the other hand, I have met an American, still sore from his market losses, who was convinced that Hatry was the cause of the Wall Street crash and could not believe enough bad about him.

I have no doubt that Clarence Hatry was a remarkable man. The common or garden swindler—and there were many promoters of unsound and trumpery companies in the 1928 boom in new issues who were morally, if not legally, swindlers—is content to let his promotions fail and the consequent losses to fall impartially on City houses and the public. He does not indulge in forgery to support the shares of his own companies. He just sneaks quietly away to live in France or South America until the scandal blows over. It was certainly no ordinary swindler who could walk into Sir Gilbert Garnsey's office and declare that certain 'irregularities' had taken place for which he took sole responsibility, and that his companies had failed for about 20,000,000*l.*

But if Clarence Hatry is to be cast in the heroic mould, the maker and loser of millions in the realm of 'high' finance, no one will ever take any steps to prevent the recurrence of his amazing career. And if nothing is done by way of reform it is quite likely that the idea will get abroad that the whole City is a 'ramp' and that Clarence Hatry is only to be distinguished from other rogues in City clothes because he took himself and his promotions so seriously that he forged and swindled to 'make good.'

Let us get down to facts and away from legend. Clarence Hatry and his associates Daniels, Dixon, and Tabor were convicted at the Old Bailey on January 24 after pleading guilty to forgery and uttering and conspiring to defraud. Against his sentence of fourteen years Hatry is appealing on the grounds of severity, and on this, of course, I can make no comment. But certain facts of his career and crime must be kept in mind if we are to draw our conclusions correctly and grasp the lessons to be learned. Hatry first came prominently to the notice of the City after the war as a promoter of company amalgamations. He may be called the apostle of 'rationalisation' in its most irrational form. His ideas of combining companies operating in the same industry may have been theoretically or economically sound, but his financial practices were invariably and fundamentally unsound. Instead of writing useless capital down he wrote it up. He left his amalgamations hopelessly over-capitalised. It must be assumed that his eye was fixed, not on the 'rationalisation' of an industry, not on the more economic and efficient creation of real wealth, but on the promoting profits.

The making of money for money's sake is a common form of madness. If Hatry really believed that he could go on making and cashing in millions out of successful financial promotions in the City, he was doubly insane. Every pound which the promoter puts into his pocket as profit has to be earned somehow by industry or trade. If a company is promoted with a lot of 'watered' capital and its profits do not advance sufficiently to give the 'watered' capital an earnings value, free market dealings on the Stock Exchange will sooner or later bring down the shares of that company to a 'rubbish' price. The promoter may 'cash in' his profits when the company's shares are first introduced to the Stock Exchange, but in the end his sins against economics—that is, his taking of profits which have not been earned—will be found out. So it was with Hatry.

His biggest industrial promotions after the war were British Glass Industries and Jute Industries. The capitalisation of both showed the usual extravagance of Hatry's schemes. British Glass Industries came to a disastrous end in 1924, when its paid-up

capital was written down from 3,659,709*l.* to 914,927*l.* Jute Industries has struggled on under new management, but was compelled in February 1929 to write down its capital by 2,850,000*l.* The Commercial Corporation of London, registered originally in 1920 as the Commercial Bank of London, which Hatry used as the medium for developing his schemes of industrial amalgamations, finally went into liquidation with a loss of over 2,000,000*l.*

Whether Hatry really believed that he could *create* wealth by over-capitalised industrial amalgamations—which is financial jugglery—is a moot point. I think he did. He was not a highly educated man, and it requires a little effort of pure thought to realise the distinction between money and wealth and the way in which wealth can be created or earned. But the financial unsoundness and extravagance of his grandiose promotions, exemplified in the collapse of the Commercial Corporation of London, should have taught the City a lesson—that it was unsafe to follow Hatry or adopt Hatry's propositions.

At this point it is necessary to bring home an unpleasant truth—that if the creditors of the Commercial Corporation of London had recognised that Hatry's methods and schemes were not to be trusted, the second crash which we have just witnessed would never have occurred. Hatry ought never to have been allowed to get again into a position in the City where he could work so much financial havoc. It is not generally known how this happened. In the illuminating story which the *Sunday Express* published on January 26 entitled 'The Road to Ruin by Clarence Hatry,' which was described as 'extracted from the survey of his City activities which he drew up for his legal advisers,' Hatry declared that he proposed to the biggest creditors of the Commercial Corporation that, instead of allowing that company to be compulsorily liquidated, he should form a finance company which should issue to the creditors of the Commercial Corporation income stock certificates entitling the holders to three-quarters of the finance company's profits, the ordinary shares (50,000*l.*) being issued to himself free of cost. He suggested that this finance company should be provided with 100,000*l.* as working capital, and that he should have a salary of 3600*l.* a year and devote his whole time to the business of the company, which was, in effect, to make profits to repay the creditors of the Commercial Corporation. It may seem incredible to us now, with the scenes of the Old Bailey trial in mind, but, according to Hatry, the creditors of the Commercial Corporation, with claims up to 1,400,000*l.* out of a total of 1,500,000*l.*, accepted his scheme. One firm, which was a creditor for about 500,000*l.*, put up the working capital—nearly 100,000*l.*—in the form of a 6 per cent. debenture issue. The finance company was later called Austin Friars Trust.

If this story of Hatry is true, it is a deplorable business. Suppose a millionaire had had his strong-room broken into by an expert 'cracksman,' who had contrived to get all the millionaire's bonds and valuables out of the country. Suppose the rich man had discovered the burglar and had come to him and said: 'You are a very clever financier. You have burgled my house and I have lost 1,400,000*l.* I will not give you over to the police, but I will make you into a company and will finance you with 100,000*l.* working capital. You will obtain the best burglary outfit in the kingdom and the best assistants that money can buy. Go out and break into other people's houses and pay me three-quarters of your profits.'

Now, the creditors of the Commercial Corporation of London had no reason to suspect that Hatry was not a perfectly honest financier. They had no doubt been greatly impressed with the fact that he had thrown in, on his own statement, a personal fortune of 750,000*l.* (and his wife's 70,000*l.*) to support the companies he had promoted, and that he had personally assumed the obligations and assets of the Commercial Corporation of London although he was neither morally nor legally obliged to do so. They were perhaps somewhat mesmerised by his extraordinary self-confidence and had a genuine belief in his capacity to make money. It explains much to find the following passage in Hatry's story in the *Sunday Express* of January 26, which referred to his 'come-back' after the Commercial Corporation smash: 'Such was my optimism and the confidence I had in myself that I believed I could make a new fortune and one of sufficient magnitude to pay off the liabilities I had taken over without relying on any of the securities I had been holding as collateral.' This extraordinary and abnormal self-assurance was no doubt infectious. We will agree that the creditors of the Commercial Corporation must have been impressed with Hatry's capabilities. But they must equally well have known that they were dealing with a species of financial burglar. They had plenty of evidence to show that Hatry was an unsound promoter; that he organised companies characterised by excessive over-capitalisation and invariably doomed to commercial failure; that he contrived to take inordinate profits in the shape of 'watered' capital which he unloaded on the Stock Exchange at inflated prices after 'rigging' a market; and that he would probably go on propounding rash and extravagant schemes in the future as he had done in the past. Knowing the character of his financial business, was it a prudent or social act to set him on his feet again and let him loose among the houses of the City? It is easy, of course, to be wise after the event, but it is obvious that if the creditors of the Commercial Corporation of London had not taken such a step,

the second Hatry crash would never have occurred. British Glass Industries, Jute Industries, and the Commercial Corporation of London would have been the tombstones, not the milestones, of Hatry's career.

For a time Hatry made money for his creditors. His 'come-back' was apparently a brilliant success. The Austin Friars Trust became the centre of a group of promoting and financing companies. The most dazzling and profitable of its ventures was the promotion of the Drapery and General Investment Trust (later called the Drapery Trust), which was formed to acquire various departmental stores throughout the country. The Drapery Trust made a public issue under the Austin Friars Trust auspices in 1925, and in December 1927 control was sold to Debenhams, Limited. This deal must have brought in enormous profits, if we may judge from Hatry's inflated ideas of market values. Another audacious enterprise was the formation of the Corporation and General Securities, Limited. This company was formed in December 1926 in order to invade the privileged field of home corporation loans. This class of issue was in the hands of three old-established Stock Exchange firms—Nivison & Co., Mullens Marshall & Co. (the Government brokers), and J. and A. Scrimgeour & Co. Mr. Collins, the financial adviser of the home corporations, thought that it was dangerous for these firms to have a monopoly of the corporation issue business, and this view, I believe, was supported by some of the 'big five' joint stock banks. Mr. Collins approached the only man who had nerve to attack the monopoly. To quote Hatry's words from the *Sunday Express*: 'I felt convinced I could succeed although so many others (outside the monopoly) had failed, and I assured Mr. Collins of this.' Hatry did succeed. He made more than twenty home corporation loans. He broke the monopoly by undercutting the rate for commissions and by undertaking to issue the loans at dearer prices. He succeeded, in other words, at the expense of the subscribers to the loans. In this business he was just as lacking in conscience towards the investor, just as prodigal of other people's money, as he was in his over-capitalised industrial promotions. He was true to type as financial burglar.

The Stock Exchange boom in 1928 gave Hatry a further opportunity to continue his industrial promotions through the Austin Friars Trust. The biggest and most impudent of these gambles was the promotion of the Photomaton group of companies to exploit a simple device of automatic photography. The 5*s.* shares of Photomaton Parent were introduced on the Stock Exchange and in the same year attained a market value of 18*s.* (When dealings were suspended they were 3*s.* 9*d.*) The capitalisation of the Photomaton Parent was fantastic. It paid

1,400,000*l.* in fully paid shares for the world rights outside Russia and America of an automatic photographic machine. It floated 'offspring' companies to acquire its rights in various countries. Its assets were valued at 4,671,000*l.* in a circular which Hatry issued in December 1928 as purporting to come from the directors. Yet it has been estimated that if every man, woman, and child in Great Britain went every year to have their portraits taken by the Photomaton machine the company could not have earned a dividend on its enormous capital. Other financial promotions of Hatry were Retail Trades Securities and Associated Automatic Corporation. The latter was formed in November 1928 to acquire shares in automatic machine manufacturing companies, and its shares, like those of Photomaton Parent, were 'introduced' on the Stock Exchange.

Finally Hatry turned his attention to a bigger field—the iron and steel industry. All the time I imagine he was getting more cocksure, more mesmerised by his success, more blindly confident in his financial 'star.' If to pursue money for money's sake is a form of madness, I feel sure that financiers who think and work in millions acquire a species of that disease called megalomania. Hatry knew nothing about iron and steel. He did not inquire how the iron and steel industry could earn the big promotion profits which he expected to put into his pocket. He just determined to make the 'new fortune,' on which he had set his mind, in a spectacular deal which would be the talk of the City and the 'sensation' of the national Press. In March 1929 the Austin Friars Trust amalgamated certain companies producing cast-iron goods and called the combine Allied Ironfounders. In April came the big coup. Austin Friars Trust offered to purchase for cash the entire issued share capital, debentures, and obligations of United Steel Companies, Limited, and the preference shares of United Strip and Bar Mills, Limited, and to find 1,000,000*l.* of new money. The finances of the plan were hopelessly prodigal—an invariable feature of Hatry's promotions. The terms offered gave the stockholders 20 per cent. more than they could have obtained by selling in the open market. The total cash involved amounted to some 8,000,000*l.* An option was given the stockholders to exchange into a new holding company—Steel Industries of Great Britain (which was to be the nucleus of a 'rationalised' steel industry)—but they wisely and eagerly applied for cash. To meet these cash liabilities Hatry and his associates raised 4,800,000*l.* by pledging the steel shares acquired, but 1,500,000*l.* of this sum was used outside the steel scheme. This was the beginning of his downfall. The misappropriated 1,500,000*l.* was used chiefly in maintaining in a falling market the prices of the shares of the Hatry companies.

It should be appreciated that every pound of the Hatry group's resources was mobilised to pay out the stockholders of the steel companies. The Photomaton, the Retail Trade Securities, and the Associated Automatic shares, of which the Hatry trusts were large holders, were all pledged as collateral for loans, and if their market value depreciated, the lenders, who included some of the 'big five' joint stock banks and some trust and finance houses well known in the City, were bound to demand more cover for their loans. The shares did, of course, depreciate and the lenders did increase their demands for cover. At the same time the stockholders of the steel companies had to be paid out. Hatry saw at once that his great schemes were in jeopardy. An eleventh-hour attempt was made to dispose of his steel purchase, but it failed. Then, as a last resort, he stooped to forgery and swindling to obtain the funds to support the market in his shares and to complete the steel purchase.

The swindling and the forgery were so simple. The Corporation and General Securities had issued loans for Wakefield, Gloucester, and Swindon. The corporation treasurers did not require all their money at once, and did not press the issuing house for payment. Such an accommodating spirit enabled Hatry to convert 322,000*l.* belonging to Wakefield, 250,000*l.* belonging to Gloucester and 250,000*l.* to Swindon to his own uses—a total of 822,000*l.* Next he forged some of their scrip. This was, again, a simple procedure, because he had only to ask the printers who had printed the provisional scrip to print some more—namely, 250,000*l.* for Gloucester, 250,000*l.* for Swindon, and 400,000*l.* for Wakefield. Of course, he asked the firms with whom he deposited this scrip as collateral for further loans not to press for final registration—that is, for definitive certificates signed and sealed at the offices of the corporation treasurers—and only one firm was so ungracious as to do so, which did not matter as long as the others did not press. Hatry raised 795,000*l.* by these forgeries. But stealing even 1,617,000*l.* was insufficient. He raised further sums by duplicating the shares of certain companies which he had promoted and by making out bogus transfers of blocks of shares which he did not possess. This, again, was not difficult, because he controlled a company, Secretarial Services, which acted as registrars for all the Hatry companies. He raised another 700,000*l.* by such irregular dealings in the shares of Drapery Trust and Associated Automatic Machine. That he intended to redeem the forged scrip when his gamble had succeeded was the defence, as Mr. Justice Avory remarked, of any office-boy who robs the till to back a winner. The crime was a very common one, but because it involved millions of money and colossal impudence, because the swindler had been called a financial

genius, the sentimentalists complain that it is a shame to lock him up when he could be employing his brilliant talents in the making of money for the State!

Sir Gilbert Garnsey estimated the total havoc wrought in the crash of Hatry and his group at about 13,750,000*l.* The gross liabilities of the six Hatry finance companies—the Austin Friars Trust, Corporation and General Securities, Dundee Trust, Oak Investment Corporation, Retail Trade Securities, and Aylesbury Trust—were some 29,500,000*l.*, not counting 3,110,000*l.* of share capital. Of that total some 10,000,000*l.* represented inter-company liabilities. Thus there remained about 19,500,000*l.* of outside liabilities, of which 12,550,000*l.* is expected to rank as unsecured, apart from 1,200,000*l.* of the share capital held by the outside public.

The morals of this unique scandal are plain. I would summarise them under four heads—lessons for the banks, for the Stock Exchange, for the municipalities, and for Parliament.

It should be a lesson to the 'big five' banks to reorganise their loans' departments, to attend more to the quality and character of their accounts than to their size, and to collaborate more with one another instead of competing. Four of the 'big five' were involved. Including the bad debts of clients involved in the smash, Barclays confessed to losses which may reach 330,000*l.* and Lloyds to a potential loss of 500,000*l.* No bank can escape losing money from time to time from acts of forgery, but the joint stock banks could have avoided giving Hatry and his companies banking support for his incursion into home corporation issues, which would have saved the unfortunate ratepayers of Wakefield, Gloucester, and Swindon. Without the knowledge that the joint stock banks were supporting him, I doubt whether the treasurers of the corporations would have had any dealings with Hatry. Why were the banks taken in?

Everyone knows that if Hatry had gone to Rothschilds or Barings, or any other of the big private banks in the City, and had asked for a loan on collateral for one of his promotion ventures, he would have been refused. Why? Because the affairs of the private banks are managed by their partners, men of experience and standing in the City, who would have known Hatry for what he was—a speculative promoter with no sound business to his credit. Why, then, was he accepted by four of the 'big five'? Partly because the directors of the joint stock banks do not or cannot give personal attention to the work of the advances department, but leave it to officials who may not have the necessary experience and contacts to judge good form and bad form in the financial world, partly because the competition for accounts between the 'big five' (the only competition which survives in

the banking world) is so severe that the character of the account is not investigated in the rush to obtain it. It was stated in evidence that one of the banks which had acted for the Hatry companies had had about 100,000,000*l.* through its hands as a result of his operations. It is easy to understand why a bank may extend far more deference and latitude to an adventurer on a big scale than to an ordinary client of unimpeachable character; but that does not excuse such reprehensible conduct.

But even if the size of Hatry's business rather than its character was responsible for the banks' support, nothing can excuse the light-hearted acquiescence with which some of their advances were made. For example, according to Sir Gilbert Garnsey's evidence, practically the whole of the money received by Iron Industries was returned at once to Austin Friars Trust. There was no evidence of any genuine transactions being carried out by Iron Industries. Yet the total number of shares pledged was 2,190,000 against loans of 1,205,000*l.* The banks who lent money on these shares could never have investigated the industrial standing of Iron Industries or verified that the company was not performing the functions it purported to do.

Moreover, the fact that each of the Hatry finance companies was raising loans direct from different banks by the deposit of what seemed to be a sufficient amount of collateral meant that the banks were being tricked into providing an inflation of credit for the Hatry group. One finance company would obtain a loan on the security of shares in a Hatry company and would then proceed to use the loan by buying the shares of another Hatry company and so raising the market price. Another of the finance companies would then proceed to obtain a loan from another bank on the increased market value of these shares. In other words, the joint stock banks were inflating Hatry's credit without knowing it. Surely a little collaboration on the part of the directors of the banks would have stopped that kind of swindle. Indeed, collaboration among the officials of the different banks would probably have exposed the fact that vast sums of money had been raised on duplicated stock. Some defect in organisation, some failure in the personnel, some unwillingness to collaborate, must have been responsible for the banks' losses in the Hatry case. It should not be difficult to put it right.

What are the lessons for the Stock Exchange? It is a disquieting fact that the shares of two of Hatry's promotions—Photomaton Parent and Retail Trades Securities (the first the most impudent of the lot)—were 'introduced' on the Stock Exchange. This means that the companies concerned had given the Stock Exchange Committee as much information as, if not more than, is required under the Companies Act for the issue of a

public prospectus. And yet the Stock Exchange Committee was apparently satisfied with the particulars and did not attempt to exercise its discretionary power to refuse a quotation. It would appear that the Stock Exchange Committee is nervous of using its autocratic powers. The Stock Exchange is a private institution, and it need only give facilities to deal in stocks and shares of approved companies and institutions. It need give no reason for refusing 'leave to deal.' Of course, it is important that the Stock Exchange should be an international market and should provide the widest possible facilities for exchange in securities. But why should it not take action to prevent its machinery from being abused? It must have been obvious that Hatry and his associates had always abused the Stock Exchange facilities. Industrial and trading companies had been promoted, not to develop the wealth of this country, but to afford an opportunity of making profits by share market manipulation. Nor were Hatry and his associates alone in this game. A number of new issuing or promoting houses in the 1928 boom repeated and sometimes excelled Hatry's market performances. It is quite easy for the Stock Exchange to put a stop to this game. It should make it a rule—(1) that vendors' shares shall not be dealt in until a balance sheet and income account have been issued for a year's trading (this suggestion is before the Committee at the present time); (2) that shares of new companies formed to exploit and develop a new patent or process which has not been commercially tried out should not be dealt in until accounts have been issued for a year's operations. These rules would have prevented 'leave to deal' being given to the Photomaton companies and would have thwarted one of Hatry's least deserving gambles.

Sometimes the Stock Exchange Committee has used its powers promptly in defence of the interests of the investor. It refused, for example, to give 'leave to deal' in the case of Totalisators, Limited, because it was not known whether this company's system would be used by the Betting Control Board in Great Britain. Surely it is a short-sighted policy of the Stock Exchange Committee not to use its autocratic powers more often and in a more enlightened manner for the protection of the investor. It does not do nearly as much in this direction as the New York Stock Exchange Committee. To allow dealings to take place in worthless shares which are hoisted by pool operations to extreme and ridiculous heights and are then heavily sold, is to cause grievous losses to fall on the unsuspecting public, with the result that more and more people are driven away from the Stock Exchange. Hundreds of small investors are 'out' of the Stock Exchange to-day for this very reason. If the Stock Exchange had been more jealous of the proper use of its machinery it would

not be experiencing such a severe slump in business as it is at the present time.

Next, what lessons are to be learnt on the subject of municipal borrowing? First, it is clear that issues in which public credit is being pledged should be made in a form and manner authorised by the Treasury. The suggestion was made in the *Liberal Yellow Book* that the scope of the Local Loans Fund should be enlarged to cover all borrowing by public authorities. In any case, it seems advisable that the home corporations, even if they are left free to decide the amount of their borrowings, should issue their loans only through the Bank of England, which should advise them on all questions of the time and the terms of issue. Apparently the home corporations had an unofficial adviser in Mr. Collins, who deemed it prudent to get Hatry to break down the monopoly of three Stock Exchange firms. This was, in principle, a right and proper advice, but it was unfortunate that Mr. Collins was not a better judge of Hatry's character. If the Bank of England had been the borough treasurers' adviser it is difficult to believe that Hatry would have been allowed to handle public funds.

In the second place, it was clearly improper to treat Corporation and General Securities as a bank and to leave the ratepayers' money on loan in its hands. One legal opinion has declared that the action of Newcastle Corporation in leaving money on loan to Corporation and General Securities at all was illegal and a breach of trust. It is incredible that any corporation should have thought that one of Hatry's companies, however skilful as an issuing house, was a suitable banker with whom to deposit a large sum of public money. It was the usual practice of the brokers, who had been handling these issues hitherto, to arrange for one of the joint stock banks to handle the physical side of the issue. To treat Corporation and General Securities as issuing house and banker in one showed a laxity of procedure which is deserving of the strongest censure. This matter will no doubt be receiving the attention of the Government.

Finally, there is a lesson for our legislators. One of the evils of the system of 'boom' finance, of which Hatry was not the only exponent in the City, is the interlocking of companies whose balance sheets are designed to conceal their mutual relations. Under this system it is possible to buttress up the credit of A company of the group by B company of the group operating in A's shares on the Stock Exchange. Such methods of finance cannot always be detected or eliminated, but the investor will be better protected if the Companies Act required—(1) a holding company to publish a consolidated balance sheet and income account, bringing into one statement all the assets, liabilities and

earnings of the companies of the group; (2) an interlocking company to publish in its balance sheet details of shares held in other companies of the group; and (3) such particulars to be published also in the prospectuses of any holding or interlocking company. The new Companies Act, which came into force on November 1 last year, undoubtedly tightened up the system of company finance and introduced a number of important reforms, but unfortunately it failed to require a holding company to publish a consolidated balance sheet and income account or an interlocking company to publish details of its holdings. It is, of course, impossible to legislate the unscrupulous promoter out of the City, but his operations would be rendered less easy if an amendment to remedy this defect of the Companies Act were brought on the Statute-book.

It is well to repeat, in conclusion, that no power on earth—not even the hidden powers of the joint stock banks and the Stock Exchange Committee—can protect the investing public completely against its own speculative instincts or stupidity or against fraud. Indeed, it would be one of the greatest misfortunes of the Hatry case—worse than all the losses so far recorded—if the speculative instinct were to be killed. If nothing but Government and other trustee securities were to find a market on the Stock Exchange national stagnation would be complete, and not even Lord Beaverbrook's new party could bring business back to life. It is essential for investors to take risks and for promoters to show enterprise, but we do not want the 'boom' type of finance which Hatry and his kind created for a world bereft of its financial senses. It should not be left to financiers of the burglar type to amalgamate companies in the drapery business or to develop a new patent or to attempt to rationalise the iron and steel industry.

Fortunately there are signs of a change. The Bank of England has even called in economists to advise it upon trade affairs with a view to its participation in industrial reconstructions. This I take to be a call to the great private banks and finance houses in the City to show a little less conservatism and a little more enterprise—a change which would surely put an end to 'Hatryfied' finance.

E. H. DAVENPORT.

CHARING CROSS BRIDGE

It is in the nature of a tragedy that when the time has come for the greatest reconstruction of London since the time of the Great Fire, when there seems to be an opportunity of putting into practice the dreams of artists and reformers of the past half-century, the decision as to the actual carrying out of the proposal is so prejudiced as to prevent any adequate discussion of the merits or demerits of the scheme and of its effects upon London as a whole.

A bridge at Charing Cross for the double purpose of creating a new traffic artery and for making possible the development of the Surrey side of the River Thames has been the ideal of most people taking a keen interest in London as London, and of artists who have portrayed a south-side Embankment reaching, in the minds of some of them, from the Tower to Battersea Park.

The London Society has done good work by bringing together on two occasions in public exhibition a large number of the designs which have been prepared in connexion with the bridge and of Thames-side development. Some of these were flamboyant, some possibly impracticable, some obviously too expensive to be thought of in a workaday world; but all of them had vision—all had a definite purpose in view and were designed to serve the public good.

It is little less than disastrous that the Charing Cross Bridge proposal of the London County Council seems to fit into none of the desirable categories. There is no consideration of beauty, although we are promised that when the bones of the carcass are all definitely fixed the architects shall come in and be allowed to suggest how they should be dressed. There is no proper consideration of traffic, and no single voice has been raised in support of the nightmare proposals which will precipitate the concentrated burden of the streets into one of those parts of London least able effectively to receive it. Town-planning considerations are not only ignored, but are flouted: undesirable *culs de sac* are formed, some roads are covered in for a length of over 400 feet, the resultant tunnels being only 17 feet and in one case only 15 feet high. The actual road distance from the Embankment to the

bridge above the river is some 1200 yards, in consequence of the circuitous route to be followed by way of Northumberland Avenue and the Strand; and the prospect of development of the Surrey side is put back for generations, if it is not, indeed, fatally blocked.

There is no part of London more depressing than that area facing Charing Cross across the river, and this fact is almost entirely due to the network of railways, which has held up through traffic routes and stultified development. A glance at the map vividly illustrates how South London has had to pay for the railway lines running through it, and for the viaducts and embankments which were formed in the 'fifties and the 'sixties. The new proposals add to this gloomy prospect yet new sets of rail and road embankments to a length of nearly 1400 yards, and provide nearly 400 yards of tunnel over that very stretch of land where a century ago

silent, bare,
Ships, towers, domes, theatres, and temples lie
Open unto the fields, and to the sky.

A properly conceived bridge and roadway, with thoroughfares which should open up this hinterland and an embankment so built as to encourage ambitious architecture behind it, would transform the area, which, after all, is geographically as much in the middle of London as is the Strand, and is the centre of the biggest population in London. Not only does the new bridge fail to do this, but over a considerable proportion of the area it will make the task difficult for many years to come.

Another point of municipal economics which seems to be lost sight of is that of the destruction of land values. The embankments and bridges which have followed upon railway development on the south side have sterilised whole districts, and it is in connexion with these, and not in some of the older parts of London, that we find the worst slums and blind alleys with which the housing reformer of the future will have to deal. The conception of the bridge is parochial in the extreme. It begins and it ends. As to where the traffic is coming from, or where it is going to, apparently nobody knows and nobody cares. This is not a matter affecting merely Lambeth and Westminster—not a matter affecting merely London itself. The whole problem of the traffic of the home counties ought to be brought into review when so great a question is being dealt with. It is even more than a town-planning matter; it is a regional planning matter, and it would be interesting to know whether the views of the supreme town-planning authority have been considered. For the built-up area of London, of course, at present no town-planning authority exists. But have the Ministry of Health been con-

sulted? We know there is the Greater London Regional Planning Committee, who take within their purview an area with a diameter of 25 miles from Charing Cross. This advisory body, called into existence to encourage and to co-ordinate the town-planning of the home counties, does represent the whole of the 140 local authorities within the area. It is able to formulate a detached view of the problem and to bring to bear upon it the experience of each district. Besides the advice of the local officials, the Regional Committee is advised by its own town-planner, who is one of the most famous of his generation, and this influential body has expressed the opinion that the bridge as planned is a mistake.

Not only is there the north and south through traffic to be considered, but there is a further point not often realised—that together with this bridge there should be considered also a means of facilitating traffic between Westminster and the City and so of relieving the Strand, a much longer route. The sweep of the Thames at this point, which inspired Wordsworth a century and a quarter ago, still awaits adequate treatment. It does not need a master mind to picture that bend clothed with architectural dignity, bordered by a noble embankment and opening on to a replanned South London, where the recoupment value would make the cost look trivial.

The number of millions of pounds which would have to be spent on the scheme is not really very important. Chicago, despite its reported financial position, is spending hundreds of millions at the present time on improvement schemes; New York and Paris have programmes on foot that dwarf the figures which look so formidable here. What really matters is, What is to be secured for the money? And in this connexion the expenditure of 15,000,000*l.* may be much less economical than Chicago's 300,000,000*l.*, because instead of creating value values are being destroyed. Coutts's Bank, Gatti's Restaurant, the Old Vic, all go without compensating advantages. These things represent money. Their destruction would not matter so much if something better were put in their places, but the most careful consideration on every side of the official proposal fails to reveal the provision of a single noble building plot on which recoupment can be earned. The site dictated by the railway company on the river frontage is the one potentially valuable piece of land, and that will not be available for commercial purposes. As already stated, hundreds of yards of roads, meaning double that amount of frontage, will be in tunnel, and not only is there no recoupment value created, but the existing values will be lost. The roads leading to the station are on an embankment or on steep gradients, and there is no recoupment

value there. The gaunt, flank walls which are going to add to the tragedy of South London seem to have only one potential value, a huge bill-posting station. Villiers Street and Buckingham Street will go; their values will be lost. Belvedere Road becomes a nightmare. Both ends are blocked, and to get to the new levels it will be necessary to climb three flights of stair at one end and two flights at the other. What future can there be for such a *cul de sac* in such surroundings—entered at one side only and dominated by the mass of road and railway embankment? And it was in 1803 that Wordsworth sang 'Earth has not anything to show more fair.'

This degrading of the district is due entirely to the position of the railway station. In their first report the engineers consulted recommended that the transferred Charing Cross should be beside Waterloo Station, and there does not seem to be any other opinion among those who have been consulted. For the convenience of passengers, access to the tubes passing under the Thames, consolidation of traffic, ridding the area of embankments and the hindrance of railway lines, opening up the south side for through traffic, preserving to London its long withheld heritage of a Surrey-side embankment, everybody has envisaged this site. Now the railway company comes along, and not only ignores the considered opinion of two generations, but is able to override the technical advisers of the London County Council and of the Ministry of Transport, and to persuade that somewhat masterful person, the Minister himself, that the autocratic demands of this concern are more important than the well-being of a big tract of London.

In the mile and a quarter of distance between ground level on the one side of the new bridge and the ground level on the other almost every architectural, town-planning, and economic consideration seems to have been ignored. This part of London, which offers the most beautiful views of the City, so near to some of the best buildings that we have, demands dignity, composition, the most careful planning: as dictated by the railway company, the opposite effect is inevitable. The whole thing fails when analysed from the point of view of treatment. The angles of roads, their direction and shape, their junctions; the meaningless bits of land that are left; the maddening truncated westward spur on the north side, all make one wonder why this scheme was ever promulgated. Possibly it is the result of a mind that has grown up with an idea that the present ugly railway bridge at Charing Cross would persist and that a high level bridge was necessary to carry road traffic above it. The designers seem to have lost sight of the fact that that railway bridge is to be done away with, and that what they are really concerned with is the

provision of a means for crossing the river. All the curves and ramps, the steep gradients, the precipitation of traffic into one of the most crowded quarters of the world—all of these would have been avoided if the simple question of crossing the river had been adequately considered. Traffic could be collected and distributed in half a dozen different streams on either side if advantage had only been taken of existing thoroughfares. One half of the cost would be saved and the irreparable injury which is threatened would not have menaced London. After the Great Fire Wren, Evelyn, and others prepared plans for a future London of beauty and of vision. None of these plans was carried out. There is an urgent need to-day for a new plan of London and a scheme and time-table of development. The first thing to be done is for a survey to be made and a plan prepared. 'Improvement schemes' come and go—here a little and there a little; each one considered by itself; each one carried out without regard to another. There is no co-ordination; there seems to be no vision. With a survey of London's needs, with a plan showing their co-ordination, with a programme emphasising their relative importance, the colossal blunder of the official plan of Charing Cross could never have been perpetrated. These things still require to be done, and one of the greatest benefits that could be conferred upon succeeding generations would be the preparation of such a programme in our time.

Out of all this turmoil over the bridge may yet emerge good if attention can be focussed upon this very simple, but very much neglected, expedient of bringing order and method into our dealings with municipal matters. The ground has already been broken and the war-time work of the R.I.B.A. Committee is on record. The cost would be trifling compared with the lasting benefits to be secured, and it would appear to be essentially a matter which would command the support of all citizens of good will.

EWART G. CULPIN.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ROUMANIA

A NEW chapter in the political history of Roumania was opened when, in the autumn of 1928, the National-Peasant Party, under the leadership of Dr. Iuliu Maniu, came into power. The event was hailed by the Press of Great Britain and of other Western States as a triumph of democracy. An early reorientation of Roumanian policy towards Western forms was forecast, and a rapid improvement in Roumania's economic situation was prophesied. The downfall of the Bratianu *régime* was greeted as the end of an autocracy and the guarantee of an imminent de-Balkanisation of Roumania.

To-day, some eighteen months later, the National-Peasant Party are still in power. To what extent have the confident anticipations of the foreign Press been realised? What is the real significance of the advent of the Maniu Government? What is the political situation in Roumania to-day? Before attempting to answer these questions a warning must be uttered to those who are interested in Roumanian affairs. Information concerning Roumania appearing in the Press must be treated with great caution. Some of the news which filters through is specially inspired for export purposes only, and some of it is mutilated in transit. Moreover, even direct quotations from Roumanian newspapers are apt to be misleading, inasmuch as liberal Press laws have given rise to a free exploitation of journalistic sensationalism. It should be added, however, as a tribute to Roumania's sense of political æsthetics, that her foreign propaganda service is on a much smaller scale, and perhaps less mendacious, than that of several of her neighbours.

The growth of the National-Peasant Party was the inevitable result of two revolutionary changes in modern Roumanian history—namely, the expropriation of the large estates, and the great accessions to Roumanian territory which occurred after the war. Dr. Maniu's party seeks to express the two new needs which arose—that of representing the newly-created peasant proprietor, and that of consolidating the new provinces and the Old Kingdom into a unified State. In certain respects the National-Peasant Party of Roumania may be compared with the British Labour

Party. Both came into being as a result of a change in social stratification, and both have risen to power with extraordinary rapidity. Here, however, the parallel ends, and it is a mistake to suppose, as certain members of the British Labour Party have supposed, that a Government elected by a peasant proletariat bears any close kinship to one representing industrial workers. Socialism, indeed, is almost non-existent in Roumania.

Now, if the rise of the National-Peasant Party may be readily explained on historical grounds, its final success in 1928 depended in a large measure on fortuitous causes. In fact, from the standpoint of constitutional politics, the most interesting aspect of the Maniu Government is the manner in which it came into office. The two most potent of the immediate causes leading to the victory of the National-Peasant Party were the deaths in 1927, in rapid succession, of King Ferdinand and of Ionel Bratianu. To understand this rightly a brief review must be made of the structure of the Roumanian political system.

In theory that system is no less elaborate and complex than that of the Western States upon which it was too hastily modelled. Except that the head of the State has the power to summon and dismiss his Prime Ministers irrespective of parliamentary majorities, the Roumanian constitution is conceived on the broadest democratic lines. In practice, however, the system depends for its satisfactory working upon three conditions—namely, a judicious evasion of constitutional rules, a sagacious King, and a firm Prime Minister. The constitution is unworkable in practice because of the illiteracy of the peasants and the lack of political horse-sense among the educated classes. These ills are remediable; the one may be cured in a generation, and the other so soon as Roumania is allowed to develop herself in tranquillity and without the volcanic disturbances (not of her seeking) which have characterised her history. It is, perhaps, already a sign of incipient political wisdom that the Roumanian people accept without any sophistical protest the violation in practice of a constitution which only academic myopia or a youthful tendency to imitation could have created. Those foreign observers who focus their attention upon the corrupt aspects of Roumanian public life do little credit to their powers of understanding; they should remember the long and painful method of trial and error whereby sanctions have been invented in their own countries to prevent some of the more glaring manifestations of human peccability.

During the post-war period up to 1927 Roumania was ruled by two men—King Ferdinand and Ionel Bratianu. It is true that Bratianu was not in power during the whole of that period, but the brief intervals during which he was out of office were deter-

mined by himself and cannot be considered as political defeats. Ionel Bratianu, a man without rival in the personal political power which he wielded, systematically 'made' the elections whenever called upon by the King to form a Ministry. Moreover, it was to him that the King invariably turned when the other Administrations had shown their incompetence. It is probable, therefore, that, had the Ferdinand-Bratianu combination endured, the National-Peasant Party would not have had their opportunity as early as in 1928. But the hour of the Liberals' first real downfall was struck when King Ferdinand died, leaving in his place a regency; it was confirmed when, a few months later, Ionel Bratianu died too, leaving as his successor his able but far less forceful brother, Vintila.

In due course the regency decided that the Liberal *régime* should be exchanged for a National-Peasant Government. To-day Roumania is ruled, not by the two strong personal forces which her political development demands—a King and a powerful Prime Minister—but by a Regency Council, and a politician who, although the leader of the most progressive element in Roumania to-day, has never attempted nor desired to emulate the autocratic proclivities of Ionel Bratianu.

Let us examine in turn the present positions of the regency and of the National-Peasant Government. In the realm of constitutional history the question of the regency is the most troublesome of Roumania's unsolved problems. Never a satisfactory way out of the difficulty created by Prince Carol's exile, it is becoming increasingly manifest that the Regency Council is not capable of fulfilling the functions which it was destined to perform. The present Regency Council suffers from two serious defects—first, being tricephalous, it is acephalous; secondly, none of its three members has had any adequate training in the difficult art of government. Neither of these defects will be easy to remedy, for there does not appear to be in Roumania at present any outstanding personality whose impartiality would inspire confidence among all sections of the community.

Until recently the Regency Council consisted of Prince Nicholas (King Ferdinand's second son), the Roumanian Patriarch Miron, and M. Buzdugan. Prince Nicholas may be supposed to be influenced by his strong-charactered mother, Queen Marie, but his youth and inexperience are obvious handicaps. Moreover, he has found it difficult to achieve that measure of personal popularity which is indispensable to the prestige of a dynasty. He may be looked upon, however, as the most permanent member of the Regency Council, for it is unlikely that Queen Marie would permit him to resign, thereby losing some of her power over the Council. The patriarch's position as head of the Roumanian

Orthodox Church makes it somewhat embarrassing for him to discharge temporal functions which might not be universally approved. Furthermore, the declarations of high ecclesiasts do not carry the same weight in Roumania as in many other countries. The Church has never been considered a career for the sons of the rich and educated classes: it has not, therefore, been able to establish any very strong hold over the minds of the people. M. Buzdugan was the strongest of the three regents. What he lacked in political experience he made up by his dignified personality. It is said that it was he who was chiefly instrumental in bringing the National-Peasant Party into power.

M. Buzdugan's death a short time ago caused a constitutional crisis which is liable to be repeated at any time. No clear provisions had been made for the appointment of his successor. The Government claimed the right to fill the vacancy. Their opponents declared that this would be unconstitutional. After some heated negotiations, in the course of which, unfortunately, Queen Marie was concerned, the Government nominee, M. Saratzeanu, was appointed. Like M. Buzdugan, the new regent is a jurist by profession. It cannot be denied that the Regency Council, never very strong, is weaker to-day than it has ever been before.

How is Roumania likely to solve the problem of the weakness of the ultimate source of executive power in the State? A prominent ex-Liberal Minister has told me that, in his view, it would have been far better for Roumania if the Regency Council had never been brought into existence. Instead, a foreign dynasty should have been imported. Such a step would have secured general approbation, since a foreign head of the State would not have been subject to the influences of importunate office-seeking friends. Naturally, for good or for ill, the days for such heroic remedies are now past. There are three other possible lines of development. In the first place, an opportunity may present itself in due course for the replacement of one or two of the present regents. But, as I have already said, apart from party politicians, Roumania is suffering at present from a dearth of public men of sufficient eminence and prestige. The few names which suggest themselves are none of them entirely suitable. Queen Marie, perhaps the most dynamic personality in Roumania to-day, is handicapped by her sex; in any case, her direct influence over the conduct of the affairs of the State might damage the reputation of the dynasty for impartiality. Professor Iorga, General Averescu, and M. Lupu have all lost ground with the decline in the fortunes of their little parties. M. Titulescu, the most brilliant Roumanian of to-day, appears to show no inclination to leave London and Geneva.

Secondly, the Government may gradually come to increase its constitutional powers. The appointment of M. Saratzeanu was an indication of this tendency. On the other hand, it is pretty certain that, if the present Government were to proceed too far in this direction, the Liberals would immediately exercise all the powerful influences which they still possess to prevent such a development. Finally, there is the possibility of the return of Prince Carol. It is not necessary to recall here the domestic incidents which led to the heir-apparent's exile and to the renunciation of his rights to the throne in favour of his infant son, now King Mihai I. Nor would it be safe to predict what would happen if, when the ban automatically expires in a few years' time, Prince Carol were to return to his country. All that need be said is that the wildest rumours have been circulating in Roumania recently concerning Prince Carol's imminent return. In certain circumstances it does not seem impossible that, if this were to materialise, Prince Carol would be joyfully acclaimed by the peasants and supported by the army. A *coup d'état*, however, must not be expected, for, whereas the army is undoubtedly predominantly Liberal in sentiment, the Liberal Party does not desire Prince Carol's return. Moreover, a new factor has arisen (reminiscent of the Sokols in Yugoslavia) in the Government's organisation of 'Voinici.' On the whole, therefore, both Government and Opposition may be relied upon to act with extreme discretion. There is no fear of public order being jeopardised: indeed, there are few populations in Europe to-day so opposed to manifestations of physical force as the Roumanian peasantry. The fact that the figure of Prince Carol has again risen on the Roumanian political horizon is significant chiefly as a sign of the unsatisfactory position of the Regency Council. One may conclude, on the whole, that the wisest solution of the regency problem would be to appoint in due course as one of the members of the Council a certain member of the present Cabinet whose name was mentioned when the last vacancy occurred, and who, previous to 1928, had kept himself aloof from party politics.

I turn now to examine the other dominant factor in Roumanian public life to-day—the National-Peasant Government. Dr. Maniu's Administration is more than a party Government. The National-Peasant Party represents the second stage of the movement for the emancipation of the peasant which began when the large landed proprietors grudgingly ceded their estates to the State for distribution among the peasants. Unfortunately, this second stage, that of giving to the peasant the status of economic and political manhood, should have been made a third stage. The second stage should have been the education of the peasantry. Nevertheless, in spite of a certain chronological anomaly, the

Government now in power in Roumania represents a force which has become an integral part of the social and political structure of the country. The *raison d'être* of the National-Peasant Party will disappear, however, if there is any failure to educate the peasant to an understanding of his new civic responsibilities.

What of the present and the immediate future? The plain fact is that after eighteen months of National-Peasant rule Roumania is still in a distressing economic situation. In spite of the foreign loan, negotiations for which were initiated by the Liberals, the greatest need of Roumania to-day is capital. Without money she cannot exploit her immensely rich natural resources or rationalise her principal industry—agriculture. This is not the place to discuss why Roumania fails to attract sufficient foreign capital for her requirements. Doubtless a certain instability of legislation during the past few years has been a factor in causing foreign investors to fight shy of Roumanian enterprises. On the other hand, investors have themselves been guilty of an astonishing lack of initiative. The sense of political security which foreign capital demands was never so strong in Roumania as it is to-day. Yet even if the necessary capital cannot be found abroad, it may not be impossible for certain internal measures to be taken which would improve the economic situation. The economies which Dr. Maniu set out to establish might be pushed even further; and a campaign might be instituted with the object of inculcating habits of saving among the wealthier classes of a people whom a checkered history has rendered notoriously extravagant and improvident.

Public dissatisfaction with the economic position of the country has been fanned by the considerable increase in taxation which the Government have been compelled to impose in order to enable them to carry out the reforms on their programme. The Liberals have been the first to profit by the impotence of the Government—a situation which is probably due rather to a decade of Liberal sins of omission than to a year of National-Peasant sins of commission. They declare with the utmost confidence not only that they are ready to take up the reins of office again, but that the Maniu Government shall remain in office only so long as they desire. Their policy at present is to allow the Government to involve itself still more inextricably in the tangle which it is creating and then to compel the regency to dismiss them. Events may prove, of course, that this Liberal optimism is justified. At the moment, however, it is merely a return to the traditional Liberal attitude of looking upon all Governments save their own as essentially transitional between two terms of Liberal administration. This, I think, is now a fundamentally unsound attitude,

for even if the National-Peasant Government were to be overthrown in the near future, they would constitute a formidable Opposition and would in due course return to power. Moreover, it is by no means so certain as the Liberals declare that an imminent change of Government will take place, except in the unlikely event of a Liberal *coup d'état*. In the first place, no party is anxious to conduct a winter election campaign in a country where communications are impeded by the snow. Secondly, if the regency dismissed the present Government, it would lose nearly all its remaining prestige in the event of the National-Peasant Party being returned again by the country. This is a risk which the Liberals cannot afford to run, for it would strengthen the demand for the return of Prince Carol. Thirdly, the peasants, having once tasted free elections, are not likely to submit passively to any organised bullying at the hands of the Liberals. Fourthly, the peasant has had a good crop, and may not be so vociferously discontented with the new *régime* as are the overtaxed town bourgeoisie and the Liberal upper classes. On the other hand, even the peasant no longer displays any great enthusiasm for his new masters. The crowds of peasants who flocked about the entrances of the Ministries a year ago with a delightful air of childish importance are no longer to be seen. Even the popular Minister Mihalache, who never appears in anything but peasant costume, has lost his little throng of admirers. The great peasant demonstration which the Government organised in Bucharest last November passed through the streets with depressing sobriety, thinking only of the 100 lei (half a crown) which each of them was to receive in addition to free railway transport.

It is in the realm of foreign affairs that the National-Peasant Government has been most conspicuously successful. Under the guidance of M. Mironescu the Roumanian Foreign Office has succeeded in establishing better relations with other countries than have ever existed before. The prestige of Roumania abroad to-day stands higher than ever. This is no small achievement for the Foreign Minister of a country which during the last few years has been systematically attacked by one of the most highly organised and expensive propaganda services in Europe. When Roumania's political alliance with Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia becomes an economic reality, and when this co-operation among the Danubian States is extended so as to include Hungary (not an unlikely development since the Hague settlements), a new era of prosperity may be inaugurated in Central and South-Eastern Europe.

A last word. There has recently been formed in Roumania a Feminist Party whose up-to-dateness should be the envy of the

older feminine organisations of the West. The talent of Roumanian women diplomats is already well known. Let us now watch with interest the achievements of Roumanian women in home politics, and, if necessary, let us not be ashamed to learn any lessons which they may have to teach!

F. CHALMERS WRIGHT.

THE NEW ROMAN INDEX

THERE are few bodies which know so little of their own past, beyond those particular things which it is convenient they should know, as the Roman Catholics. And nothing is so directly responsible for this ignorance as the system of censorship, culminating in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. The emperor Augustus, so Tacitus tells us, was the first in Rome to legislate against written or spoken words, as apart from deeds. This may not mean all that it seems to mean at first sight; unpopular talk was doubtless often punished by the populace without formal law. But at least it indicated, roughly, a universal tendency in politics. A Government strong in its appeal to human nature and common sense can afford to grant much licence of speech; a Government uncertain in its foundations must be severe on that point, sometimes even to ferocity. And the governmental foundation may be shaky not only in itself, but relatively; there may be quite enough popular consent to support any ordinary authority, but dictatorial rule throws far more burden and stress upon such general consent, and must therefore rely proportionately upon artificial supports. The Roman Emperors naturally committed themselves to this policy of censorship. The Christian Church, though it had not altogether waited until the State took it into partnership, inevitably became less tolerant of free speech in proportion as it imitated the Imperial organisation, and was able to appeal for support to the secular arm. In process of time, therefore, when the popes had advanced their claim to wield both swords, and had organised in the Inquisition a most elaborate machinery of repression, it became as dangerous for a man to speak freely his fullest thoughts as it is now, if report be true, in Moscow.

The stages of this natural progress are fairly simple. Gelasius I., in 494 and 496, was the first pope who can be said to have drawn up an Index of prohibited books; his second decree was later incorporated in the *Corpus of Canon Law*. Gradually, after the barbarian invasions, when intellectual life revived, and heresies gained force, prohibitions multiplied. The Bible, especially, was fenced round; and, though no pope promulgated

any explicit and universal decree forbidding its study by the common people, yet vernacular versions were so little encouraged at best, and so strictly condemned at the worst, that even Sir Thomas More, in that *Apology* against Tyndale, in which he does all he can to justify this negative policy, confesses sadly that the positive side was being neglected, and that religion suffered from the lack of some authorised version which might take the place of the condemned Wycliffite Bible.

University lectures had often been strictly censored in the Middle Ages. When, quite recently, Leo XIII. suspected Monseigneur d'Hulst of teaching a philosophy other than that of Aquinas at the Institut Catholique of Paris, and when the Pope compelled the Monseigneur to go all the way to Rome and produce the actual manuscript of his lectures in exculpation, he was simply following mediæval methods.¹ Moreover, so long as the Church could call upon the secular arm for support, the directest methods were employed. As the *Catholic Encyclopædia* puts it, in its article on 'Censorship,' 'down to more recent times, forbidden books were got out of the way in the simplest manner, by destroying or confiscating them.' Gregory IX., St. Francis's friend, ordered in 1239 the burning of all copies of the *Talmud*. He sent letters round to the kings and archbishops of France, England, Spain and Portugal; but apparently France alone obeyed. There were similar holocausts by order of Innocent IV. (1244), St. Louis (1254), Clement IV. (1267), Benedict XII. (1415), the Roman Inquisition (1555), and three succeeding popes. The Jewish religion was, in certain senses, tolerated; but it seemed too much that Jews should be allowed to possess directly anti-Christian books. The Council of Trent permitted them to survive only under strict expurgation. Such destruction did, indeed, prove impossible in the complete sense in which more than one of the popes had commanded it; copies were hidden at whatever risk, and became the parents of later copies. Even when this destructive policy was tried within the Franciscan Order, with far less excuse, it just failed of finality. The majority of the Order, especially after the saint's death, had trended in certain directions, contrary not only to the spirit, but even to the letter, of the saint's rule. There were biographies and early memorials which, to any reader of the later thirteenth century, marked a striking contrast between the then friar and the earliest Franciscan brethren. Those documents, naturally, were appealed to by the small minority who cherished—and no doubt exaggerated in the heat of conflict—the simplicity and unworldliness of the earliest ideal. After serious quarrels, St. Bonaventura was elected Minister-General of the Order, as a strong and wise man

¹ *Life of Leo XIII.*, by Julien de Narfon (London, 1911, p. 201).

not too definitely committed to either party. He then wrote, soon after 1260, an 'official' biography, in which the difficulties were naturally glossed over as much as possible. Then the General Chapter of 1266, under his presidency, decreed 'that all legends of St. Francis hitherto written be destroyed,' in favour of the new official *Life*. This decree was so far successful that the earliest and most valuable Franciscan records disappeared almost entirely. Of Celano's first *Life of St. Francis*, written at the command of that pope who had been his intimate friend, only twelve copies are known to have survived the Middle Ages. His second *Life*, almost equally official in its own day, exists in only two manuscripts; and his *Treatise on the Miracles* was discovered in a mutilated copy only the other day. We have some indications that this oblivion had overtaken them already in the later Middle Ages. Yet without them our idea of the real St. Francis, and of his earliest disciples' actual doings and thoughts, would have been diametrically opposite, on certain important points, from that which we gather from those all-but-destroyed early and authentic records. We shall never know how much of our ignorance of the Middle Ages is due to the deliberate destruction of inconvenient evidence.

But with the invention of printing destruction became more difficult. That kind of university censorship which we have seen Leo XIII. renewing was becoming insufficient then as it is insufficient now; the written and printed word began hopelessly to overflow the spoken word, and the new problem called for new methods. It is significant that systematic censorship after the modern pattern did not begin with Rome. The city of Rome had no theological school worth speaking of in the Middle Ages, and comparatively few books were printed there. The birthplace and busiest focus of printing was on the Middle and Lower Rhine; and the first beginning of modern censorship was at Cologne. There, in 1479, the Pope granted plenary powers to the authorities, while praising their past zeal in checking the printing or sale of irreligious books. Then, in 1487, a bull of Innocent VIII. prescribed a universal censorship for the whole Western Church—a censorship which each bishop was bidden to exercise within his own diocese. But here, as 250 years earlier, it was found that episcopal initiative, and even episcopal obedience, left much to be desired. As, therefore, in 1231 the bishops' too untrustworthy action against heresy was superseded by the Papal Inquisition, so in 1542 this same Inquisition was entrusted with the main responsibility for censorship of books. In 1559, for the first time, an official list of prohibited books for the whole world was printed in Rome. It has since passed through about a hundred editions and many forms; and here, at the end of 1929, we have the

latest, furnished with every official guarantee. The preface, by a significant innovation, is now in vernacular Italian; and it will doubtless be translated officially into other tongues.

Hell, writes the Cardinal Secretary in his very first sentence, is now stirring against the Church a far more terrible battle than those of the earlier centuries, when martyrs sealed their faith with their blood. For 'the evil press'—*la stampa cattiva*—is a more perilous weapon than the sword. St. Paul, as we know, set the example of censorship; he caused evil books to be burned (Acts xix. 19). St. Peter's successors have always followed this example; nor could they have done otherwise, for their Church, Infallible Mistress and sure guide of the Faithful, is bound in conscience to keep the press pure. Free-will is one of God's greatest gifts to man; but it degenerates into libertinage in those men who are 'infected with that moral plague which goes by the name of "Liberalism."' Civil Governments have employed preventive censorship, especially in recent times, 'with a rigour unknown to the Church'—an allusion, apparently, to the Soviet *régime*. Men have so misunderstood the Bible that 'popes and councils have more than once found themselves constrained to regulate, and even sometimes to prevent, the divulgation of the Scriptures in living languages.' On this point, however, she has been cruelly maligned; 'it would not be just to say that the Church has absolutely forbidden the Bible in the vulgar tongue; it is enough to recall the fact that, in the seventy years between the invention of printing and the publication of Luther's German version, more than 200 editions of the Scriptures, in various current languages, duly approved by the Church, were disseminated among the peoples.'

But what authority can possibly be quoted for these '200 editions'? There were, I believe, only twenty-one editions of the vernacular Bible in all Europe before Luther's: fourteen German, four Dutch, two Italian, and one French. We could, indeed, get up to 200 or thereabouts by counting every edition of the Psalter alone, or of the little volume containing just the Gospels and Epistles for Mass; but what responsible person can maintain that such a volume constitutes an 'edition of Scripture,' or, as the meaning of *Scrittura* would be more exactly conveyed in English, 'of the Scriptures'? In that sense we carry two editions of the Scripture in one hand whenever we take a prayer-book to church. It seems incredible that a statement so deceptive, if not so patently false, can be made in this solemn official publication, under the authority of a pope whose main pre-papal distinction was the librarianship of a great library, and whose suspicions as a bibliographer ought at once to have been aroused. Moreover, the second statement is worse than deceptive—it is categorically false; and, here again,

it is a simple matter of bibliography. Not one of these twenty-one Bibles, I believe, bears the least mark of official approbation; on the contrary, we have every reason to believe that they were more or less contraband. For instance, a Latin Bible printed at Cologne in 1479 bears the approval of the university censor; a Dutch Bible printed there in 1480 bears no such token. No Roman Catholic critic, I believe, has ever ventured to impugn Miss Deanesly's verdict that 'the printing of German Bibles was done without the approval of the Church.'² Unless Cardinal Merry del Val is ready to produce hitherto unsuspected evidence, it would seem that we have here one of the most striking examples of the falsehoods naturally generated by a system which struggles so consistently to shelter itself from healthy open criticism.

The comic side of the Index (for censorship is a tragi-comedy) is brought out more directly in an article of the *Quarterly Review* for October 1902, and indirectly by J. Mendham's *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*, which is still valuable after 100 years, and can often be picked up for a few shillings. It comes out also in G. H. Putnam's solid *Censorship of the Church of Rome* (two vols., 1906) and, though less obtrusively, in the monumental *Index der Verbotenen Bücher* of Professor Reusch, one of the great German scholars who declined to accept the Infallibility Decree of 1870. One of the most interesting studies is that of comparing the books pilloried with the books that have been spared, or, again, of following a condemned book until it is let loose again. Montaigne's essays have been forbidden to the faithful for centuries, and are forbidden still. That this is not a question of morals, but of dogma, is shown by the case of Rabelais, who was proscribed in 1559, but is now let loose upon the public. So is Boccaccio, though the early censors were troubled about him, especially at the Council of Trent. One of the shifts adopted was to publish an ecclesiastically authorised edition in which all the piquant indecencies remained, but the actors were transformed from priests and friars into lawyers and other laymen; a copy of this may easily be consulted at the British Museum, in which all the changes are carefully noted in ink. It may be pleaded that these authors are sufficiently forbidden by the general prohibition against immoral writings, but in that case, why specify names at all in this random fashion? Balzac, who at one time was condemned *en bloc*, is now forbidden only where his novels treat of love: *omnes fabulæ amatoriae*—a phrase which is applied to George Sand also. Certain earlier absurdities have certainly disappeared from this Index of 1929. We no longer find booksellers pilloried by mistake as authors, or whole lists taken at random from German Protestant booksellers' catalogues and mutilated by Italian printers; nor, again,

² *The Lollard Bible* (Camb. Univ. Press, 1920, p. 130).

is it now sinful to read the two orthodox bishops Critius and Macer, who had combated Luther and had thus been mistaken for Lutherans by the random inquisitors who helped Paul IV. to draw up his Index. Several time-honoured names have been released also, as we have seen with Erasmus. Dante's *De Monarchia* may now be read without moral guilt; and the faithful have had permission for nearly a century to dip into the early astronomers—Kepler, Copernicus, and Galileo. Charles Darwin, strange to say, has never been condemned, though Erasmus Darwin's *Zoonomia* is still on the list. So also are a host of authors whom the world will never forget—Descartes, Spinoza, Malebranche, Kant, Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, Locke, Hobbes, Gibbon, J. S. Mill, Taine, Bergson, Bossuet, Lord Acton, Döllinger, Samuel Richardson, Addison, Goldsmith, Heine, Victor Hugo, and, piquantly enough, one of the latest subjects of Roman canonisation, the Blessed Robert Bellarmine. Of course, not everything of all these men is condemned—Bossuet, for instance, only in one of his least known writings, and not in that monumental book in which he marshalled the historical evidence of the Catholic centuries against Papal Infallibility. Bellarmine, also, was condemned for one book only, and for a very short time; but on the other hand we must not forget great men like Mabillon, who have escaped the Index only by private influence or by luck.

If all this story reads rather like history from the moon, and if this Index of 1929, in one sense the newest thing of the moment, seems in another sense the most prehistoric, suggesting nothing but stale antiquarianism or idle curiosity, let us now consider the actual working of this system in our own day. Newman, the greatest Roman of them all, admitted freely that he found his fellow-Romanists less educated than outsiders; some distinguished Frenchmen and Germans are ready to confess the same, but the ordinary apologist, especially the recent convert, always asks us to take his word for the contrary. Here and there you may find Roman Catholics enumerating, with some pride, the scholars for whom they claim world-wide, as apart from merely sectarian, eminence. Dr. Rifaux is, or was, an intellectual layman deeply concerned for the future of his Church. He enumerated in 1905, among its great men who could hold their own anywhere, ten biblical critics and theologians, eleven Church historians, twelve philosophers, six men of letters, and six scientists. Of these last I doubt whether even the name is known to the majority of living English scientists. Of the other thirty-three a startlingly large proportion have incurred, in virtue of their approach to the standards of non-Romanist scholarship, the serious disapproval of the hierarchy. Since 1905 eight have been actually put on the Index and five more have suffered almost equal degradation. One

of the most distinguished, Mignot Bishop of Albi, on the testimony of a friend, 'dared not reprint in a volume his letters to his clergy, lest the book should be put on the Index.' Another, Vacandard, the historian of the Inquisition, saw many inferior men put over his head, and died recently in comparative obscurity. Duchesne, the greatest of recent Roman Catholic Church historians, is on the Index; F. X. Kraus, almost as good a scholar, escaped it only by adopting pseudonyms and similar subterfuges. Brunetière, though not condemned by name, was so evidently struck at in person by Pius X. in the encyclical *Pascendi* that it exposed him to insult and broke his heart. Ermoni was excommunicated, and died practically of starvation. Loisy's fate would have been similar if his talents and learning had not earned him a professorship in Paris when the Church cast him out. Lagrange has had writings officially condemned, and, unless he had submitted, would doubtless have been indexed. Thirty per cent., therefore, of these boasted Roman scholars have found it impossible to work without outstepping, sooner or later, the Roman limitations.

These facts accord ill with the frequent assurances we receive from within, and especially from converts. Mr. Leacock, in one of his most amusing essays, describes his experiences with a medium. One great man after another is evoked—Napoleon, Lincoln, and so on—and each, through the medium, begins with the same stereotyped assurance: 'Oh! if only you knew what it is like to be here!' Somehow, however, uniformity fails to carry conviction; we feel here, what the pious Romanist Duggan has confessed, that there is something seriously deceptive in this outward unanimity displayed in the face of outsiders.³ Not that we need suspect personal insincerity: in the nature of the case, those who come forward to testify are a select few; and Messrs. Belloc and Chesterton and Knox (to name only three distinguished champions of the moment) may mean every word they say, yet convey a distorted impression of the whole system. It is a question of different idiosyncrasies and varying proportions. Nobody can study the Roman Church without realising how great an institution it is in many directions, and how much scope it can afford to any soul that happens to be in pre-established harmony with those particular directions. But not all of us are born to such pre-established harmony; nor are we likely to find what some of these converts have found. There is no reason to question the substantial accuracy of their description of their own feelings on this point. For some minds, even though no such doctrines as the Roman had existed, it would have been necessary to invent

³ Duggan's *Steps towards Reunion* is on the Index, but I know enough of his life and character to speak advisedly of his piety and his unconsciousness of any real unorthodoxy in his opinions.

them. And a great many others can play about within certain definite limitations without feeling the pinch of those limitations by personal experience. A bluebottle fly impresses us with thorough content and enjoyment in the freedom of an inn parlour. He runs up and down the window like a spark in the chimney, he threads an infinity of airy mazes round our head; he takes advantage of our baldness, but that adds piquancy to his sport; and we reflect that whatever seems least reasonable in his evolutions may, after all, be providentially ordained. Even in an inn parlour the bluebottle is among the most wonderful of God's creatures. Yet there are other flies who feel the irresistible need of open air and wider space, and who would far rather take the risk of a predatory swallow than of the spider's web and the slimy fly-trap that crowns the parlour ceiling.

Therefore, writers more distinguished even than the three already named have delivered their testimony in words which seem to agree far more exactly with ascertained and undeniable facts. Melchior Cano, one of the greatest of the Fathers at the Council of Trent, pilloried the shortcomings of censorship of his own day. He knows of a priest (he tells us) who 'is fully convinced that there is no falsehood whatsoever in anything that has been printed,' since it is unthinkable that the authorities would not only license falsehoods, but even fortify them with copyright. 'The multitude reads these books all the more incautiously, because it sees them approved not only by the civil magistrates, but even by the official censors of doctrine in Christ's Church.' And the men who supply fiction in answer to popular demands 'imagine that they have the more liberty in the matter, since they see most famous authors taking it as a true rule of history to write those things which are regularly accounted as true.' So far Cano; now let us hear another contemporary.

'How can you dream of publishing new books,' wrote the orthodox Latinus, in January 1559, from Rome, to his friend Masius, 'in a time when nearly all the old are taken away? For years to come, I fancy, none of our people will write anything but letters.' . . . The Council of Trent acknowledged that [the previous Index] had laid an excessive burden on learned men.⁴

Again, a pathetic letter from an orthodox scholar in Germany to Cardinal Baronius points out that the Index forbids him practically all the dictionaries and scientific editions which he needs for his researches; he begs most abjectly for some freedom, in reward for the help he has been able to give Baronius.

When we come to modern times the story is still the same. Newman's letters show his bitter disillusion; and (what is still

⁴ *Quarterly Review*, loc. cit. p. 597. The whole page is well worth reading from this point of view.

more important) they reveal to his friends the very things which he was trying not only to hide, but even to deny, at almost the same moment, in his *Apologia*. He writes: 'How can I fight with such a chain on my arm? It is like the Persians driven to fight under the lash.' And he echoes that old cynical proverb on the general stupidity of the ruling authorities: '*Quantula sapientia regimur!*' W. G. Ward, the next greatest among that great batch of converts, complained in a private letter to Newman that 'a line of philosophical thought which is substantially true and most important may find its way into the Index for a time'; the remedy is 'external submission and silence.' Loisy wrote: 'My mind would no more be able to live in the intellectual atmosphere of [Pius X.'s] encyclical *Pascendi*, than my lungs could breathe at the bottom of the sea. This full and entire submission, of which Mgr. Merry del Val speaks, could be nothing but a lie on my part . . . a shameless gesture, contrary to all morality.' His friend the Abbé de Meissas wrote: 'The Roman Index forbids all books which might lead to the light, or might at least put us on the way to it.'

Father Tyrrell was one of the most original English-speaking thinkers in the Roman Church since Newman; perhaps he exceeded all except Friedrich von Hügel, who himself owed immunity from the Index mainly to his social prestige and his prudent diplomacy. Tyrrell, when he left the Jesuits, wrote to his own General that Roman clerical education was out of date by three centuries, that the censorship was engineered by men 'who know literally nothing . . . of any *living* subject whatever'; and that 'it would be indeed strange, or even miraculous, if such men had an intelligible answer to questions whose very terms they had studiously made themselves incapable of understanding.' Two others who left the Jesuits after many years' experience, Count v. Hoensbroech and Mr. Barrett, bear similar testimony. The former was himself censor for the German province in 1890 and 1891; he writes: 'When the interest of the Order is opposed, not the smallest regard is paid to personal freedom, nor to the results of scientific investigation or individual ability. The censorship deletes and the author submits; the punitive authority punishes and the culprit remains dumb.' Mr. Barrett writes: '[The author] may entirely disagree with the views thus foisted upon him [by the censor], but he has no alternative but to submit. . . . A Jesuit scientist, therefore, can never freely publish his real opinions on scientific questions.' Mr. Joseph McCabe, who was distinguished in the Franciscan Order as Father Anthony, tells us that the censor 'has to exercise a judgment of an unusually delicate character. The result is confusion and tyranny . . . so it is with science and philosophy;

the best English and German scientists are heterodox, and when a priest pays his visit [to a family] and sees their works lying about, he not infrequently demands that they be destroyed.' In 1898 the Abbé Harrent wrote a book on *The Schools of Antioch* in the fourth century. His bishop demanded that he should submit it to the censor. He replied: 'I am not one of those who write history to order, and who are ready to falsify it in order to save what they call their "principles."' The bishop insisted on his rights; Harrent resigned his benefice and left the Church. But such revolts, naturally, are very few in proportion. The Roman Catholic cleric has been carefully educated to be fit for no other livelihood; moreover, he, like the layman, is often very naturally and sincerely attached to the Church, even when he is most indignant with the hierarchy. His defection may mean the rupture of his strongest and oldest social ties; the sacrifice is enormous in money, in social prestige, and in human affection. That is why the large majority conform, even among those who have read enough and thought enough to feel the galling burden of this censorship.

True, there are far more rebels than the public often suspects. Houtin records the startling fact that Paris has more priests on the streets—*sur le pavé*—than in office. The formation of an ex-priests' society showed that it was possible to enrol 500 members—working now as cabdrivers, artisans, etc. For such waifs and strays naturally drift to the capital; naturally, also, a large proportion of them have not gone out for mainly scientific or religious reasons. Yet Houtin's own case is illuminating in its revelation of the conflict between religion, science, and censorship. The son of a peasant, like most of his fellow-priests, he became a steady and industrious pupil, and thence a teacher, at the seminary of his native province, Anjou. There, by ill-luck, he became interested in the early bishops of Angers, and undertook to write their history. A study of the sources convinced him, as Duchesne had already convinced himself independently, that the most famous of these early bishops, and especially St. René, were purely legendary, and had probably never existed. This, however, was not to be endured; therefore the authorities, unable to meet his facts, tried to muzzle him by coercion. He discovered that there were reasons in the background. On the strength of the legend that St. René, in his boyhood, spent seven years in the grave and was then raised from the dead, a fraternity had been formed which collected money for the souls of unbaptised infants—a proceeding very difficult to reconcile with orthodox theology, and certainly incompatible with the historical evidence, or rather want of evidence, for St. René's existence. In the face of this and similar vested interests Houtin's struggle was of course hopeless. From that time forward there was a steady conflict between his

ecclesiastical superiors and his historical conscience; first he went out and earned his living as a free-lance journalist, and finally he left the Church. His recent autobiography ought to be in every public library; it has been translated into English under the title of *A Priest's Life* (Watts & Co.). His bias is natural; but he was a man who had schooled himself to accuracy, and none of his adversaries, I believe, has ever convicted him of any serious misstatement of fact. Houtin's autobiography is a strange story, but no stranger than that of George Tyrrell, nor than those articles of St. George Mivart in *The Nineteenth Century* and the *Fortnightly Review*, which led to his dying excommunicate.⁵ Robert Dell, at the same time, wrote of his hierarchy, 'their rusty and antiquated weapons have failed them; they have been driven back into their own entrenchment, and as a last hope they have taken refuge from the modern artillery in our underground cavern, the atmosphere of which is becoming so stifling though they can no longer control their subordinates, who are forced to come out one by one into the open air to escape from being asphyxiated.' Tyrrell's own expression is that he gradually realised he was in a prison, none the less a prison because he had gone in of his own accord and thrown the key away. His simile has gained added interest from the fact that Mr. Chesterton has since borrowed it and has attempted, by that legerdemain of rabbits and billiard-balls which we now know by heart, to twist it in the opposite direction.

A German contemporary, Mumbauer, expressed his sense of nausea and suffocation even more emphatically. We Catholics, he wrote, are shut up in a Ghetto; we may not attend ordinary schools or universities; we must be taught by ourselves, separately from the rest of the world; the result is, that civilisation goes on its own way and leaves us shut up in our own back street. About the same time a number of German Catholics published a formal complaint demanding that they should no longer be outlawed, but allowed to mix freely with their fellow-men; and that, as a preliminary, the Index should be scrapped. Yet the answer to that was a new edition of the Index by Leo XIII.; and now this republication of a few weeks ago, 'revised by command of His Holiness Pope Pius XI.' and with a vernacular preface. There, we discover that no Frenchman who values his soul may refer to that current modern encyclopædia in which he is most likely to find whatever information he needs on the spur of the moment, Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire*

⁵ *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. xlvii. (1900), pp. 51 and 425; cf. Robert Dell on p. 669. *Fortnightly Review* vol. lxvii. (1900), p. 24. Le Page Renouf, one of the few English-speaking scientists in the Roman Church of that day, is also on the Index.

Universel. It is piquant to note how many great French authors are forbidden by name, quite apart from those who are excluded by general rules, as adversaries or critics of the Roman faith. If it were really possible to deprive a whole nation of these books, and of the 'orthodox' books which owe most of their value to those forbidden predecessors, it is hardly too much to say that the result would be a population of dunces.

But, it will be answered, there is no such fear; the thing is physically impossible. That is true; and therein lies the best apology for the Index. A correspondent sends me his own experiences of many years in the Jesuit Order. Although the cardinal repeats on p. xvi., after the example of his predecessors, that these prohibitions hold good for every part of the world, and for every language into which the books may have been translated, yet my correspondent is certain that only the most insignificant minority of Romanists, in a free country like Britain, know the provisions of the Index. He instances Montaigne and the *Religio Medici*, concerning which the chief Jesuit organ in this country, the *Month*, has in recent times printed essays calculated to attract readers to those books; and he adds: 'I myself never knew that they were forbidden, and I am quite sure that my superiors had not the faintest idea of it.' But, however futile these rules may be in certain directions, the spirit which animates them is deadly for real learning. Most poisonous of all is its direct inheritance from the Middle Ages, when discipline rested on a foundation of spying and tale-bearing. Just as it was accounted criminal in heretics not to have betrayed their fellows, and as the Inquisition was willing to welcome, or even at a pinch to compel, the evidence of a ten-year-old boy against his father, and as this is also the age-long tradition of many Roman Catholic schools and of all their seminaries, and as it formed an integral part of Pius X.'s anti-modernist campaign, so it is still enshrined in the most recent code of Canon Law, and is quoted from thence in the Cardinal's preface to our present Index (p. xvi.). All the faithful are bound in conscience to report to their bishop or to the Pope whatever books they judge to be mischievous; and they are assured that the names of the informers will be kept under seal of secrecy. It must be borne in mind that no reason is ever given for the condemnation of any particular book; the damnable sentence is peremptory and irresponsible, and the victim has no real chance of explanation. It is this 'stabbing in the back,' this deliberate encouragement of espionage and tale-bearing, which arouses my correspondent's bitterest indignation, as it aroused that of Tyrrell and Barrett and Hoensbroech; moreover, this was one of the saddest disillusiones under which Newman suffered, together with many other converts of his generation. Therefore, however

inoperative this serio-comic list may be in detail, the pressure behind it is crushing. Even out of Newman it crushed half the life-force. Not only may a bishop condemn writers by his own authority and force them practically to choose between falsification of their real opinions and revolt—as Houtin's diocesan said to him, 'A bishop does not discuss, he condemns'—but even the ordinary parish priest is commissioned to lay his leaden hand upon literature and science (p. xxv.). To quote for the third time from my correspondent, who in effect is only repeating to me what many Roman Catholics have put into print already: 'It is difficult to see how any conscientious Roman Catholic can take any sort of post in a modern printing or publishing concern, or work in a public library; for nearly all such concerns print or distribute forbidden books.'

On reflection, it will be seen how nearly this concerns the movement, to which a considerable number of members are pledged beforehand in this present Parliament, for erecting and financing Roman Catholic schools out of public money. But that is far too wide a question for consideration at the end of an already lengthy article.

G. G. COULTON.

THE FUTURE OF THE BLASPHEMY LAWS

THOSE who believe that they live in an age of toleration may wonder why the House of Commons should have devoted its time, as recently as January 24, 1930, to consider and vote in favour of the second reading of a Bill for the abolition of prosecutions for schism, heresy, blasphemy, blasphemous libel, and atheism. For there is a very general impression that any law there may be on this subject is rarely put into operation, or, if it is, that the law has reached a stage which is reasonably practicable and fairly just; and accordingly that proposals for its abolition or alteration are entirely unnecessary.

One object of this article is to demonstrate that this impression is ill-founded.

I

At the outset it is necessary to state briefly how the English law on irreligious expressions stands to-day.

By a statute of 1547 it is an offence, punishable with fine and imprisonment of unlimited extent, to 'deprave dispise or contempne' the Sacrament, by words or in any other manner. By an Act of 1558 the laity may be punished (there are special penalties for the clergy) on a first offence by a fine of 100 marks, or in default by six months' imprisonment, on a second offence by a fine of 400 marks, or in default by one year's imprisonment, and on a third offence by imprisonment for life and forfeiture of all goods, if they speak 'in the derogation depraving or despising' of the Book of Common Prayer or any part of its contents. By an Act of 1698 (as amended in 1813) any person educated in the Christian religion who, by writing, printing, teaching or advised speaking, asserts that there are more gods than one, or denies the Christian religion to be true or the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be of Divine authority, becomes, on a first conviction and in the absence of recantation, *ipso facto* incapable of holding any office, ecclesiastical, civil or military, and on a second conviction must be sentenced to three years' imprisonment and deprived of many of his civil rights. And, in addition to the statutes which provide for the summary

conviction of persons who profanely curse or swear or publish profane words or libels in the streets, the Burial Laws Amendment Act of 1880 makes it a misdemeanour to use a funeral as an occasion for bringing the Christian religion or religious organisations or persons into obloquy.

Then, by the common law, it is a misdemeanour, punishable in theory with unlimited fine and imprisonment, to publish to a single person spoken or written words about the Deity, the Bible, or religion, which are so scurrilous as to pass the limits of decent controversy, with the intention to insult believers in or sympathisers with Christianity; or (probably) to commit blasphemous actions; or to conspire to commit a blasphemous offence.

Further, the ecclesiastical courts have a remnant of their old jurisdiction over some forms of irreligious expression which they may punish by excommunication, and, by an Act of 1813, by sentencing the excommunicate to imprisonment for six months.

II

The impression that the law relating to religious offences is rarely put into operation is to some extent justified; indeed, of the older statutes on this subject, Professor Kenny has happily remarked that they 'have lingered into longevity only through having been left in lethargy.' But they are still in force, and, subject to the limited restrictions of the Vexatious Indictments Act, they may still be enforced by any person (not necessarily an official of the Crown) who cares to set the machinery of the law in motion and to run the faint risk of being sued for malicious prosecution. That the possibility of someone instituting such proceedings is not too remote for consideration is illustrated by the actions of Hetherington in 1840. He was prosecuted for blasphemous libel, and, ostensibly to demonstrate the fact that the common law was never put into operation against persons of substance, he prosecuted a number of reputable publishers for the same offence. Of these Moxon was convicted of having published a poem which nearly twenty years before had been held to be a blasphemous libel—Shelley's *Queen Mab*. It is true that Moxon was never sentenced, for then the court exercised the discretion which it has in the case of common law misdemeanours and more recent statutory offences. On prosecutions for some of the old statutory offences, however, there is no such discretion. If, to call attention to the continued existence of these Acts, or from mere malice, someone chooses to prosecute those who speak in derogation of the Book of Common Prayer (and unfavourable comment has not been directed exclusively to the deposited

book), or those who deny the inspiration of the Bible which they have been taught to believe (and this teaching must usually have preceded discovery of what is known as the higher criticism), on conviction the judge must pronounce the sentences provided by the respective statutes.

That there are persons willing to prosecute for religious offences may be gathered from the fact that in the last twenty years there have been at least eight convictions in England for the common law offence, and a number of summary convictions for profanity in the streets. And in the old statutes one may see, loaded and primed, antiquated yet still deadly blunderbusses, ready to the hand of malice, folly, bigotry, and zeal.

III

The impression that the present law is both practicable and just seems to exist largely because the statutory law is forgotten. Yet it would be difficult to find an intelligent adult prepared to justify the continued existence of these Acts. On the one hand, if there is no justification for the common law, there is none for these statutes. On the other hand, if there is any justification for the common law, so far as the statutes merely duplicate the common law they are unnecessary; and so far as they go outside its scope, either in the severity of their penalties or in the nature of the offences created by them (except perhaps in cases of swearing and street profanity), they are felt to be the relics of an intolerant past. It is a truism that there are fashions in belief, and there is a current belief in some degree of toleration among those who have never turned to Milton or to Mill for a rationalisation of their views. It is unnecessary to ask how this belief has arisen. It is as impertinent to call it the result of apathy as it is grandiloquent to call it the Spirit of the Age. That it exists may be shown by pointing out that the reasons which induced our forefathers to enact these prohibitions are no longer accepted as valid. He who was most likely to deprave the Anglican method of administering the Sacrament was not the infidel, but the Papist; he who was most likely to despise the Book of Common Prayer was not the atheist, but the dissenter. The Acts of the sixteenth century were part of a system of enforcing religious conformity, or at least of suppressing open nonconformity; but that attempt has long since been abandoned. One of the reasons for enacting the Act of 1698 (suggested in its preamble) is that profanity might provoke Almighty God to acts of retribution upon the nation which permitted it—an idea which the strictest orthodoxy would now hesitate to proclaim from the housetops; another reason was to exclude

from office men of heterodox religious views—a policy which has been deliberately reversed by Parliament within the last century. Some such considerations as these, no doubt, as long ago as 1889 led Sir E. Clarke, then Solicitor-General, to admit, 'these statutes might very well be repealed,' and various Home Secretaries in the present century to reiterate that view. And these Ministers would not have been regarded as revolutionary if they had included in this suggestion the repeal of the Act which permits the moribund ecclesiastical courts to order the imprisonment of excommunicates.

But the common law itself is neither just nor practicable.

As a natural result of the history of the common law offences of blasphemy and blasphemous libel it is not an offence to attack any specific religion other than Christianity, or any organisation of religion other than the Established Church. Attacks on other religions or other organisations, unless they amount to a summary offence against order in the streets, or involve the publication of a defamatory libel, are legally blameless. In the capital of an Empire which has millions of dissenting and non-Christian subjects, and prides itself on the equality of all its subjects before the law, it is a special offence to sneer at such religious dogma as a Laodicean member of the Anglican Church may remember from his confirmation in adolescence, and yet permissible for that very member of the Church to make with impunity the most provocative attacks upon the religious organisation of fervent nonconformists or to scoff coarsely at the beliefs of the most devout Mahometans or Jews.

Then the common law is directed only against those who express themselves vulgarly. So long as the decencies of controversy are observed it is no offence to attack the very fundamentals of Christianity. Anyone with sufficient education to string the words together may say that there is grave doubt about the doctrine of the immaculate conception; but to say the same thing vulgarly—*i.e.*, plainly or in the only language habitually used and understood by a large proportion of the population—is to commit a crime. Vulgarity is not confined to the poor, but plain speech is more common among them than among others; and though in many cases there is little sting, because little truth, in the gibe that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor, it is true of blasphemous offences. The framers of the eighteenth-century statute against swearing provided a heavier penalty for gentlemen than for common soldiers; by a curious irony the nineteenth century reversed this intelligent policy with respect to the common law. When in 1883 Lord Coleridge insisted that to deny the truth of Christianity was not criminal *per se*, he was propounding the

liberal view of the law; but it may be doubted whether he foresaw the consequences of that view. It is now the street-corner pedlar or tub-thumper, and not the opulent author, whose blasphemy is punished. From this aspect the common law of blasphemy is no respecter of opinions, but merely of persons. It has become genteel.

One consequence of this standard of criminality is that the trial of a defendant charged with publishing blasphemous words or libels at common law puts an honest jury in the intolerable position of having to decide questions not only of fact, but of taste, and of taste upon a topic which they are peculiarly unqualified to judge. The writer has shown elsewhere that the present test of guilt is not too clearly defined¹; but it may be said that in normal cases the jury have to decide whether the defendant published the matter complained of, and if so whether that matter so violates the decencies of controversy that the publisher must be taken to have intended to insult believers in or sympathisers with Christianity. The majority, if not all, of the jurors are presumably Christian, for unless they demur they will have been sworn upon the Gospel; and they would probably resent the suggestion of inferiority in themselves which any attack on their beliefs would convey. The kind of matter which now forms the subject of indictments almost invariably contains ridicule of beliefs or persons connected with Christianity, for, as Sir James Stephen pointed out years ago in condemning the law of blasphemy, ridicule is one of the weapons of controversy. How are the jurors, setting a higher collective standard in public than any one of them might adopt in private, and this without any consciousness of inconsistency or deliberate partiality, to disavow their repugnance to a gross attack upon Christianity from their natural dislike of any attack upon Christianity? What prospect is there of any such jury, which contains only one member with the mentality of the seventeenth century, acquitting the publisher of attacks on Christianity of the charge of intending thereby to insult believers?

IV

Of the numerous objections to the law as it stands to-day enough has been said to demonstrate that it is unsatisfactory. But what is the remedy?

This subject is unfortunately clouded with religious and political prejudice. The former needs no explanation. The latter arises from the parliamentary history of the last decade. Some few years ago, following an agitation against Communist

¹ Nokes, *A History of the Crime of Blasphemy* (1928), pp. 95—102.

Sunday schools, the House of Lords passed the Seditious and Blasphemous Teaching to Children Bill, the name of which, unlike that of many statutes, explains itself; and in 1927 a similar Bill reached a third reading in the Commons and only failed to become law because the Government could not spare time for a non-Government Bill. As a counterblast to these Bills members of the present Government party have at least four times since 1923 introduced a Bill in the terms of that debated this session; and, as was the case when Bradlaugh backed similar Bills in the 'eighties, until this last occasion some of the unpopularity attaching to the political ideas of its sponsors seems to have been transferred to the Bill itself. The question, therefore, whether the existing law should be extended or abolished is not free from party considerations. And it will always be difficult to dissociate this matter from political prejudice, because at the root of any suggested alteration in the law there lies this question—what is the object of the law of blasphemy? And this in turn involves the question—what is the function of the State towards discussion on religion?

The time has fortunately passed when those in authority could act on the simple principle that they would punish merely because they were displeased. It may be conceded with Mill that 'the manner of asserting an opinion, even though it be a true opinion, may undoubtedly be very objectionable, and may justly incur severe censure'—but not necessarily the censure of the law. The Legislature dare not now openly adopt the attitude of the old woman who sees or hears something of which she disapproves, and exclaims 'Shocking; there ought to be a law against it!' Even under the Commonwealth, when unlawful assemblies took upon themselves to punish blasphemers, though their brutality suggests that they were actuated less by reverence for a merciful Deity than by anger at the affront to vengeful humanity, they never avowed such a motive.

It is a peculiarity of the laws of blasphemy that throughout their history men have sought to justify them. No one, unless infatuated with the notion that all crime is pathological, troubles to discuss whether murder or theft should be punished. Though discussion on the appropriate punishment of these crimes may never end, little is heard of whether they ought to be treated as criminal—for the simple reason that they are obviously anti-social. In the case of blasphemy, however, the lack of any obvious detriment to the State or its subjects is so pronounced that even the most pious have to explain why blasphemy should be penalised. This has produced a great volume of explanation, justification, or excuse.

A consideration of all but the most fantastic of these justifica-

tions supplies a clue to the answer to the second question asked above. They all presuppose that blasphemy involves some secular consequence harmful to society, and the true answer to that question seems to be that the only function of the State towards discussions on religion is to punish such discussions when they involve a secular consequence inimical to the State.

It has been shown that some of the reasons for the early statutes no longer have any validity; and the same is true of the earlier legal justifications for the common law offences. They were regarded as closely akin to seditious offences; indeed, in some cases the same words were described as both blasphemous and seditious. The logical justification for this description was that it was seditious to speak or write in subversion of the law, Christianity was part of the law, and therefore to speak in subversion of Christianity was a seditious offence. But both the premises of this proposition have now gone. It is no longer seditious merely to speak in subversion of the law, and Christianity is no longer part of the law. Then again it was said that blasphemy struck at the sanctity of oaths, and that as these were the basis of the civil fabric blasphemy amounted to an attack upon the State. But the permission which Parliament has given to substitute affirmation in almost all the cases where oaths were essential has rendered fallacious an argument which never had much to support it.

Then later it was suggested that blasphemy depraved 'the morals of the people'; that attacks on religion destroyed belief in those religious sanctions upon which morality was assumed to depend. Yet, since all but gross attacks on religion have been in fact permitted to pass unchallenged by the law for more than half a century, it is open to those who now maintain this view to produce evidence, first of an increase in immorality during that period, and, secondly, to demonstrate the connexion between that increased immorality and such attacks. Others will take the view of Lord Sumner, who in 1917 said: 'In the present day reasonable men do not apprehend the dissolution or the downfall of society because religion is publicly assailed by methods not scandalous.'

The words 'by methods not scandalous' may have been added in deference to or in recognition of the existing common law; but Lord Sumner's statement would have been equally true without them. If, as experience shows, the subtle permeation of a considerable part of society by disbelief in religion does not involve the dissolution of the State, it is difficult to see how the same disbelief expressed scandalously in public could have that result. The nearest approximation to such a consequence might be a riot caused by a crowd hostile to one who scandalously

assailed religion. A breach of the peace is thus the only secular consequence inimical to the State which can reasonably be anticipated to flow from the publication of unorthodox religious matter.

The tendency of such publications to cause a breach of the peace has always had a fascination for those who found it necessary to justify the existence of blasphemous offences. It may be questioned whether all who spoke of a breach of the peace intended to convey the same idea; some no doubt thought of an assault or riot following publication, some perhaps contemplated the dissolution of society through the weakening of faith in religious sanctions, but others probably did not clearly distinguish between a breach of the public peace and a breach of their own peace of mind. The reiteration of the phrase has had its effect. A jury, in considering whether the publisher of blasphemous matter intended thereby to insult believers in Christianity, must now also consider whether, in the circumstances, publication was likely to cause a breach of the peace. But it is not, and never has been, necessary to prove that an actual breach of the peace occurred; for example, the last man to be convicted of blasphemous libel at common law was selling pamphlets in a London street and two purchasers remonstrated with him. But violence was neither used nor threatened; indeed, the seller was arrested for obstruction, and might never have been charged with anything more serious if it had not been discovered that he had already been convicted of publishing blasphemous libels. Admittedly it is impossible to say what might have happened if the seller had not been arrested.

Here the religious riots of India are usually called in aid as an example of the effect of the resentment roused by religious attacks. But India's years of religious hostilities and traditional methods of dealing with religious insult are elements entirely absent from the English situation. In England no such conditions exist, and there is probably a higher proportion of the population whose religious sincerity would induce them to treat assaults on religion, if not with silent disapproval, at least with dignified remonstrance. Experience shows that the publication of blasphemous matter in England in the twentieth century does not usually provoke a breach of the peace. It cannot be denied, however, that both sincerely religious men of quick passion (and probably the greater their emotional response to religion the quicker their passion) and the loungers and roughs, to whose stunted intelligence and atrophied emotions religion can make little or no appeal, but to whom any excuse is good enough for a row, might make common cause against one who assailed religion in public.

If this contingency is the sole reason for the punishment of blasphemy it does not seem sufficiently serious to demand any special law to meet it. It is true that in some cases the law must take preventive measures. If, for example, after the publication of a seditious libel urging the populace to overthrow the Government by force those responsible for prosecution were to wait until the libel took effect, there might then be no Government and no law. But such a case provides no analogy with blasphemy.

Finally, the argument that the mere existence of a law against blasphemy lessens the likelihood of a breach of the peace when that law is broken—that readers or an audience, knowing that the blasphemer may be prosecuted, will not take the law into their own hands—has the solitary merit of ingenuity. On any rare occasion when a mob is bent on violence against a blasphemer the prospect of seeing their quarry prosecuted is not likely to act as a restraint. On all other occasions this precaution is superfluous. Though it may be admitted (if rarely avowed) that one of the reasons for the existence of a criminal law is the necessity for avenging the resentment of the injured, lest they should avenge themselves, it may be doubted whether there are many crimes for whose existence no other reason can be advanced. The illogical result of pretending to punish an action solely to prevent private vengeance may be observed in the law of defamation. Apart from the anomalous defence of justification of matter published in the public interest, the crime of defamatory libel bears some resemblance to the crime of blasphemy—for, when there is no repetition, only scurrilous defamatory libels are prosecuted, and the jury has to consider the possibility of a breach of the peace. Yet, as it is not a crime to speak, face to face with the person defamed, those words which, if written and sent by post from the other end of England, could be indicted as a defamatory libel, it is obvious either that undue emphasis is laid upon the prospect of private vengeance or that the State can afford to risk that possibility in many cases. That the State can afford to risk it in cases of blasphemy is shown by the fact that the law has abandoned the office of avenging the resentment caused by all but scurrilous attacks on Christianity; and an attack couched in polished language may be no less offensive than street-corner crudities. It is further demonstrated by the fact that the State has found it unnecessary to prevent private vengeance arising from resentment of attacks on any other religion; and, as Lord Sumner has pointed out, 'to insult a Jew's religion is not less likely to provoke a fight than to insult an Episcopalian's.'

Thus for the existence of the impracticable and unjust common

law there appears to be no more logical justification than for the continuance of the statutory laws against blasphemy.

V

But public opinion is not based on logic ; and those who are unconvinced that it is desirable to abolish all prosecutions for this crime will probably agree that it would be possible to devise improvements of the existing law.

It has been suggested that the law should only punish the publication of blasphemy when it actually results in a breach of the peace. In such an event a Gallio might be willing to treat both the provoker and the provoked with an equally contemptuous indifference ; a philosopher might treat them as jointly blame-worthy ; a pedant might treat him who was so provoked that his religion was no brake upon his violence as the more blame-worthy ; but a police-court magistrate or bench of justices, wishing to act upon the general assumption that the provoker is to blame, might discover, in the absence of a specific prohibition of blasphemy, that it was the provoked who had committed an offence (assault, for example), while the provoker had committed none, and perhaps in strict law could not even be bound over. And it is unreasonable to create an offence which must depend for its commission upon the actions of persons provoked by the party accused.

A proposal not infrequently made is that the common law should be replaced by a measure similar to that contained in the Indian Penal Code, by section 298 of which, ' whoever, with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word or makes any sound in the hearing of that person, or makes any gesture in the sight of that person, or places any object in the sight of that person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description ' (*i.e.*, rigorous—with hard labour—or simple) ' for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.'

Such a provision would remove that partiality in the common law which excludes many religions from its protection. It would also remedy the partiality which convicts the vulgar but acquits the cultured, for, as has been stated already, it is possible to accomplish the deliberate intention of wounding religious feeling without resort to scurrilous language. But this involves the abandonment of the advance which the common law made when it established the rule that merely to deny the fundamentals of Christianity was not criminal ; that advance inevitably involves the distinction between cultured and crude attacks on religion ; and, unless the whole law on this subject is abolished, it must

always remain necessary to choose between the partiality which penalises vulgarity and the impartiality which makes every unorthodoxy criminal. No reasonable man is now prepared to return to the latter alternative, and in this respect, and others, the Indian provision is objectionable as being too wide. It is also objectionable on the ground that it would perpetuate one common law element of criminality, and therefore would involve a jury in much the same difficulties as they now experience.

Any alteration in the law should, it is submitted, include the following matters :—

The abolition of the existing law of blasphemy, including swearing. This would involve the repeal of the statute law and some bye-laws, and a prohibition of prosecutions for the common law and ecclesiastical offences, save, as to the latter, when committed by the clergy.

A provision making it an offence to publish blasphemous words or libels to, or to commit blasphemous actions in the presence of, more than one person.

A definition of blasphemous as (*a*) relating to any recognised religion, the Deity thereof, or its revered writings ; (*b*) being grossly offensive to any reasonable professor of that religion ; and (*c*) being in fact grossly offensive to the persons complaining.

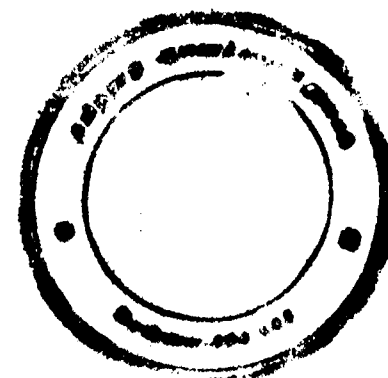
A definition of publication which would preserve the existing law as to privilege, and exclude solicited statements—*i.e.*, genuine replies to apparently genuine questions or arguments.

A provision requiring the evidence of the persons complaining of being grossly offended.

A provision giving jurisdiction over the offences to courts of summary jurisdiction, with power to sentence on conviction to a fine of not more than 10*l.* or to imprisonment for not more than fourteen days for a first offence, or to imprisonment for not more than six months for any subsequent offence.

The application of the existing power to destroy blasphemous libels in the disposition of the person convicted of blasphemous libels as here defined.

G. D. NOKES.



THE SARACENS IN SWITZERLAND

AMONG the crowds of travellers to Switzerland who visit the hospice and pass of St. Bernard, how many realise that, early in the tenth century, Saracens seized this dominating position and held it with a stranglehold for half a century? Such, however, was the case, but before narrating these dramatic events we must turn for a while and examine the troubled state of Europe at this period which permitted the irruption.

An important date in history is the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor in 800. Fourteen years later he died, the unchallenged ruler of an empire which stretched across Northern and Central Europe and included many provinces of Italy. Consequently, under Carolingian rule, Switzerland, for the first time since the fall of Rome, formed part of a great empire. She thereby regained her importance as the guardian of the central passes of the Alps.

The death of Charlemagne was followed by decadence, due mainly to the disputes and incapacity of his heirs, aggravated by the unwieldy size of an empire which lacked the communications which Rome had constructed and maintained. In 843, by the Treaty of Verdun, the empire was divided into three sections from east to west, one prince receiving the middle section, which included the provinces which constitute modern Switzerland and part of Italy. The countries beyond the Rhine constituted the eastern section, and the western section included most of modern France.

The break-up of the empire proceeded with increased momentum, and in 888 Rudolph, Duke of the Transjurane duchy, which included the districts of Geneva, Lausanne and Sion, declared himself king. His contemporaries were Louis of Provence, who held the valley of the Rhone as far as Lyons, while, in Italy, Guy, Duke of Spoleto, contended with Berenger of Friuli for the throne of Italy.

We now come to the amazing episode of the Saracens in Switzerland. The rise of Islam, the religion preached by the Prophet Mohammed, was one of the greatest events in history. After his death in A.D. 632, the Arabs, swarming out of their

deserts, overthrew the Persian Empire and, under their Caliphs, conquered eastwards and westwards, until they created the greatest empire that the world had seen, an empire which stretched from Central Asia to Morocco on the Atlantic Ocean. Nor was the force of the movement spent, for, utilising the burning zeal of Berber converts, who served as the rank and file, the Saracens, as they were termed in Europe, landing at Gibraltar, conquered Spain, crossed the Pyrenees, and, destroying Lyons, Macon and other cities, marched as far north as the valley of the Loire. There they suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of Charles Martel in 732, exactly 100 years after the death of Mohammed. Gibbon, who perhaps exaggerated, estimates the importance of the Battle of Tours by remarking that, had the Saracens won, the Koran would have been preached from the pulpits of Oxford.

Towards the end of the ninth century the beautiful Riviera suffered incessantly from the attacks of Saracen pirates, who raided the coast in force, burning the towns and killing or enslaving the unfortunate inhabitants. One band, originally driven by a storm to take refuge in the Gulf of St. Tropez, situated about half-way between Toulon and Cannes, was so pleased with its amenities as a harbour and base that it decided to form a permanent settlement in the country in or about the year 888. Having established themselves on the coast by the usual methods of massacre, they moved inland and constructed a stronghold in the heart of the mountains, which was known as the Grand Fraxinet. The ruins of this fortress, now termed La Garde Freinet, still exist, while Aleppo pines cover the slopes of the range, which commemorates Saracen domination in its name of the 'Mountains of the Moors.' A few words absorbed into the language, a persistence of traits proving Arab blood both in the villagers and in their horses and goats, may also be noted. At Nice the invaders are not forgotten, since one of its quarters is the Canton des Sarrasins. Starting from their new base, the invaders spread rapidly over Provence and Dauphiné, and in 906 crossed Mont Cenis and occupied Piedmont.

According to the chronicles, on which I mainly rely, the Saracens occupied the pass of Mont Joux in 920. This name was a corruption of *Mons Jovis*, so called from a temple dedicated to Jupiter. Incidentally I would mention that it was not until the eleventh century that the pass acquired its present name from the foundation of the celebrated hospice by St. Bernard.

The history of Switzerland from one point of view is the struggle to control the main north to south route from Flanders to Rome along which passed merchants with their furs, tissues, and slaves. Pilgrims, monks, students and soldiers of fortune

were all drawn to Rome, who, in return, spread her civilisation and wares in Northern Europe.

The Saracens, having occupied this key position, soon began to rob and kill travellers. Curiously enough, among their earliest victims were a band of Gauls and *Transmarinorum*, who are obviously Anglo-Saxons, and these pilgrims suffered heavy losses in killed and wounded. In the same year the invaders descended the valley of the Upper Rhone and destroyed the Church of St. Maurice, celebrated as being the first Christian edifice to be built north of the Alps. Another contemporary writer mentions that he visited St. Maurice, where the abbey had recently been burnt by the Saracens, and that he found it desolate without any sign of its former inhabitants. The invaders penetrated far and wide, reaching Lake Constance to the north, while their raids in the canton of Vaud, especially in the fertile district of Gruyère, are still remembered. At this time the country was ruled by Bertha, the widow of Rudolph, on behalf of her son Conrad. She was evidently unable to oppose the Saracens, and was forced to take refuge at Neuchâtel.

It may be asked why the Count of Provence made no effort to destroy the invaders before they took root. It appears that he did attack them, but that when he became a claimant for the throne of Lombardy in 943 he actually enlisted the Saracens to hold the Alps against his rival Berenger. This arrangement was not successful, as Berenger became King of Lombardy in 950.

The state of Europe was pitiable at this period, as it was ravaged by Magyars, who were an even worse calamity than the Saracens, in view of their greater numbers and mobility. But, according to local tradition, there was a gleam of sunshine in 950. In this year Conrad, by promising his support to each side, contrived that the two hordes should meet on the field of battle. The struggle was long and bloody, and finally Conrad had the agreeable task of falling on the survivors. He did not, however, extirpate the Saracens, although their position must have become insecure.

In 972 they filled the cup of their iniquity to overflowing by the capture of St. Mayeul, Abbot of Cluny, at the village of Orsières, situated near Martigny in the valley below the Mont Joux pass. The letter of the saint has been preserved and runs: 'I am a helpless prisoner loaded with chains; the torrents of Belial have surrounded me, and the snares of death have seized upon me.'

This outrage stirred the conscience of the people, and from every quarter the Saracens were attacked. At Trois Torrents below Champéry, on the plateau of Vero, they were massacred

in such numbers that the stream ran red, while the prisoners were blinded with hot ashes by the women. In this connexion the name Vero is believed to commemorate the battle-cry of the Christians: *Pro vero deo!* Elsewhere the women cut their hair, dressed in men's clothing and attacked the Saracens with pitchforks and scythes. The final scene of the act was the capture of Fraxinet a few years later. The Saracens fought with the courage of despair, but at last, after an occupation lasting some eighty years, they were all killed or captured.

It remains to inquire what was the impression left by the Saracens. It was deep, so deep that Guillaume de Nangis, whose chronicle deals with the latter part of the thirteenth century, actually heads one of his chapters with the words: '*Ci commencent les chroniques de tous les rois de France, Chrétiens ou Sarrasins.*' In other words, 'Saracen' is synonymous with 'pagan,' and this appears constantly in the *Chansons de Geste*. To go back further, the town wall of Avenches, the Roman stronghold Aventicum, is still termed *La Muraille des Sarrasins*, and as late as 1690 a deed describes the fishermen of Vallamand as Saracens.

In the Upper Rhone Valley the universal belief exists that certain districts are inhabited by descendants of the Saracens. During a visit which I paid to the historical little town of Sion, whose bishop went to England as Papal Legate in the reign of William the Conqueror, I made inquiries of the curator of its museum. 'You ask about the Saracens,' he said; 'the Val d'Hérens (to the south of Sion) is populated by them. There are no Swiss there.' Needless to say, I visited Evolène, its chief village, where the tradition is still strong.

Again, many families are called Sarrasin. I have inquired, and have ascertained that they believe in their descent from the invaders. Their women in some cases, and also portraits that I have been shown, prove that this belief is not unfounded. A few local names of places, miniature châteaux, *maisons Sarrasines*, and wild vines (*vignes Sarrasins*) all testify to the fact that the Saracens stamped themselves indelibly on the country. A friend has informed me that between the Zermatt and Sass valleys are peaks termed Mischabel, Alphubel, and Allalin, and that at the top of the Sass valley is the Monte Moro Pass, by which the Saracens are believed to have entered the valley. The names of the three peaks are believed to be of Arabic origin, and certainly "allalin" might well be the Arabic word signifying "high." In any case, the names given above and the tradition are of considerable interest in view of the fact that these valleys open into the valley of the Rhone.

To conclude, Henri Bordeaux tells of a colony of Saracens who

established themselves in an inaccessible valley in neighbouring Savoy and his description of their descendants runs :—

Les traits de ces femmes sont d'une surprenante régularité, quelquefois accentuée, nez busqués, mentons volontaires. On prétend que la race a gardé du sang sarrasin. Elle est brune d'habitude et elle a une noblesse d'allure, une aisance de geste, qui sont exceptionnels dans nos campagnes.

PERCY SYKES

MOUSSORGSKY THE REALIST

THE composer of *Boris Godounov* and *Khovantschina*—two of the finest operas of the nineteenth century—is of all the great musicians of the last hundred years the one about whom we know least ; but a biography by a German critic, Oskar von Riese-
mann, has recently appeared, which gives, if not a complete portrait, at least a vivid sketch of this extraordinary man. Moussorgsky was born in 1839. His grandfather was a nobleman, and, like most of the Russian old nobility, he traced back his descent to the half-mythical Rurik who, about the year 862, did for the Slavonic tribes what the bastard William of Normandy did for the more civilised English—provided them with an aristocracy. Moussorgsky's paternal grandmother was a serf named Irene Yegorovna, and it was not until the year 1820 that Moussorgsky's father, born before wedlock, was made legitimate by ukase of the Senate, and in 1865, thirteen years after his death, his name was permitted to be enrolled on the scroll of the nobility of the Government of Pskov ; so that, in spite of his descent from Rurik, the composer remained for the first twenty-six years of his life an illegitimate nobleman. This did not save him, however, from the destiny of ' a younger son of a noble house.' In spite of his showing unusual musical gifts, at an early age he was sent, after being two years in a good classical school, to an army training establishment, and then in 1852 to the Guards' Cadet Academy, where he remained four years, emerging as an ensign in the famous Preobrazhensky Guards. It was then, in the year 1856, that he met in the guard-room a young military doctor who was no other than Alexander Borodin, an amateur musician like himself, who later became one of the famous group of young Russian musicians known as the ' Powerful Coterie '—consisting of Balakirev, Borodin, Moussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov and César Cui. Russian music, like Russian literature, began with the nineteenth century. Pushkin (1779–1837) and Gogol (1809–1852) were the first great Russian writers, and similarly Glinka (1803–1857), described by Liszt as the ' Prophet-Patriarch of Russian music,' and Dargomijsky (1813–1869) were the first great national composers. It was in the winter of 1856 that a

regimental comrade took Moussorgsky to the house of Dargomijsky, where he met Balakirev and César Cui.

Dargomijsky was in the habit of giving musical parties, and from contemporary memoirs Mr. von Riesemann gives the following account of these evenings :

Dargomijsky himself is its central figure, surrounded by a crowd of graceful young lady singers, whom he taught free of charge and with whom he was so infatuated that he used to declare that he would never have become a composer had there been no lady singers in the world . . . his father, a stiff old aristocrat . . . kept jealous watch to see that strict silence was maintained during the performance, and at the slightest noise would come down upon the offender with a loud ' Ssh ! ' The composer's sisters, too, were always present—the one old-maidish, despotic and keenly critical, the other young and pretty, with a graceful way of handling the harp. The musical performances were generally good, even distinguished, for Dargomijsky spent much time in getting them up and conducted them in person. Such was the circle into which the seventeen-year-old Moussorgsky was introduced. He used often to say in later life, as Stassov tells us, that his real musical existence dated from this time. Nevertheless, Dargomijsky, who was then still himself in the stage of development—his master works *Russalka* and *The Stone Guest* were not yet written—had at first no marked influence upon Moussorgsky. . . .

The feature of these evenings which distinguished them from the usual musical parties of cultivated amateurs of music at that time in Petersburg was the performance of Russian music ' simply, naturally and without any striving after effect—in a word, as our departed friend Michael Ivanovitch (Glinka) loved to have it done.' Moussorgsky quickly became intimate with César Cui, who was twenty-two years old, and with Balakirev, who was twenty-one. With Cui he played the symphonies of Schumann as duets on the pianoforte, but from Balakirev he took regular musical instruction. What this instruction amounted to we can see from Balakirev's own account communicated to Stassov after Moussorgsky's death :

As I am no theorist I could not give Moussorgsky instruction in harmony (as Rimsky-Korsakov, for instance, now teaches it), so I confined myself to explaining the different forms of composition ; with this object we played through all Beethoven's symphonies and many of the works of Schumann, Schubert, Glinka and others as pianoforte duets. I pointed out the technical structure of their compositions as we went through them and got him to analyse the various musical forms. So far as I remember, there were few actual professional lessons ; these came to an end for one reason or another and were succeeded by friendly exchange of opinions.

Balakirev, who was the leader of the ' Powerful Coterie,' is known to the European public chiefly as the composer of the symphonic poem *Thamar*, or *Tamara*, which Mr. Serge Diaghilev

has made popular in its ballet form. He was practically self-taught, but he had exceptional opportunities as a boy upon the estate of a famous landed proprietor and amateur of music, Oulibishev, who kept a private orchestra capable of playing the first four symphonies of Beethoven, which Balakirev at fifteen years old used to conduct. When Balakirev arrived in Petersburg in 1856, at the age of twenty-one, he fascinated everybody. Rimsky-Korsakov, who joined the ' Powerful Coterie ' five years later, in 1861, has left a vivid description of Balakirev in his *My Musical Life* :

One obeyed him without questioning, so amazing was the compelling magic of his personality. A young man with wonderfully restless eyes which flashed fire, a small neatly trimmed beard, and a peculiar incisive authoritative unvarnished way of talking—ready at any time to give a fine and technically perfect improvisation at the pianoforte, able to play everything he knew from memory, to memorise any new work after a bare hearing, he could not fail to cast a unique spell. Although he cordially recognised the smallest sign of talent in others, he could not help feeling his own superiority, which the others were quite ready to acknowledge. His influence on those around him knew no limits.

It is probable that all these young men influenced one another, but Balakirev's potency was partly due to his superior musical technique and partly to his temperament, for in actual musical genius we can hardly consider him nowadays the superior of any one of them, with the exception of César Cui, and he is certainly not to be ranked with Moussorgsky. It is difficult to assess how much Moussorgsky gained and lost by his discipleship of Balakirev. Rimsky-Korsakov gives the following account of Balakirev as a teacher :

Balakirev, who not only had never gone through a regular course of harmony and counterpoint, but had never even touched on them, apparently did not see the necessity for such studies. A distinguished pianist, an excellent reader at sight, with an astounding power of improvisation, endowed by Nature with a feeling for correct harmony and part writing, he possessed the technique of composition in no ordinary degree : part of this was born in him, part had been acquired by his own practical experiences. Counterpoint, sense of form, a knowledge of orchestration—everything, in fact, that a composer needs—he had at his fingers' ends ; all these had been developed by an extensive course of musical reading and his extraordinary power of memory, which was faultless and unfailing. This is one of the most important foundations of sound musical criticism, and as a critic, especially of technique, Balakirev was astounding. He was aware, as if by instinct, of every technical defect, of every imperfection, however insignificant, in the form. When we youngsters played over our attempts at composition to him he would at once detect every fault in harmonisation, form, modulation, etc., and without further reflection would illustrate our mistakes on the pianoforte while he showed us how to alter—i.e., to improve—the offending passage. . . .

No doubt a great deal could be learnt from such a man, but the defect of a musician with Balakirev's particular gifts is that he may not realise that men with a different kind of musical talent need instruction and training when he needed none. As Rimsky-Korsakov points out, 'as Balakirev himself had never gone through a strict course of training he denied that it was necessary for others to do so; he thought that a composer did not need any preparatory studies—all he had to do was just to compose, to create, and to get experience from his own work.' Balakirev was a perfect example of the most common and the least fruitful and important form of musical genius. It is a mark of the executive rather than the creative gift to find no technical difficulties in expression, and I should be inclined to believe that the richer and more original the creative genius, the more such a genius needed a thorough and exhaustive training. Moussorgsky, at any rate, who possessed far more creative genius than Balakirev, floundered helplessly when Balakirev found no difficulties at all. In a letter to Balakirev dated February 25, 1858, when struggling with the sonata form, he writes: 'I must confess, to my great shame, that the *allegro* is not yet ready—so I must do as you bid me, however much it goes against the grain, and write to excuse myself for having not yet finished the beastly thing.'

The year 1859 was the turning point in Moussorgsky's life. In order to devote himself to music he retired from military service in spite of the remonstrations of his friend Stassov, who quoted the example of the great poet Lermontov, who had remained an officer of the hussars until his death: 'I am not Lermontov,' said Moussorgsky; 'he, I dare say, found it possible to combine the one thing with the other, but for me it is not possible.' In this year we also get evidences of Moussorgsky's supersensitive temperament. He suffered from morbid nervous attacks which he describes as attacks of mysticism. What the exact nature of these attacks was is not made clear by von Riesemann, but Moussorgsky describes them in two letters to Balakirev. The first is dated October 19, 1859:

DEAR MILI,—You reproach me with two peculiarities that you assume to be present in me. I will begin with the first, the mysticism or, as you rightly express it, the mystic strain in my nature. Two years ago, as you know, I was in the grip of a terrible illness, which attacked me with extraordinary violence while I was staying in the country. The cause of this was mysticism, aggravated by cynical thoughts about the Deity; it got much worse after I came to Petersburg. I managed to conceal it from you, but you must have noticed its effect upon my music. I suffered greatly—became fearfully sensitive—even morbidly so. Then—either as a result of distractions, or thanks to the fact that I gave myself up to fantastic reveries, which held me captive for a long time—my mysticism began gradually to disappear, and when my reason had gained the upper

hand I took steps to get rid of it altogether. I have made a great effort of late to conquer the thing, and fortunately I have succeeded. At present I have put mysticism far from me—I hope for ever, since it is incompatible with a healthy, intellectual and moral development.

The second letter is dated February 10, 1860:

Thank God, I seem to be making some recovery from my heavy, heavy suffering, moral and physical. You remember, Mili, how two years ago we were walking down Garden Street together—you were going home—it was summertime. We had just been reading *Manfred*—I was so wildly excited by the sufferings of that lofty spirit that I cried out: 'How I wish I were Manfred!' I was quite a child at the time, remember! Fate thought fit, apparently, to grant my wish—I became Manfred for the time, literally—my spirit slew my flesh! Now I must have recourse to every kind of antidote. Dearest Mili, I know you are fond of me—then for God's sake keep a tight rein on me when we are talking together and don't let me kick over the traces! For the time being, too, I must give up all my musical activities and avoid every kind of work that tries the brain, if I am to get better. My rule must be: 'Everything must be done for the material cure, even at the expense of the moral.' The reasons for my nervous excitability are clear to me now. It is not only the result of my illness, which was merely contributory, so to speak—the chief causes are as follows: youth, an immoderate capacity for enthusiasm, a strong unconquerable desire for omniscience, exaggerated introspection, and an idealism that even went so far as to take the dream for the reality. I see now that at the age of twenty the physical side of me is not sufficiently developed to keep pace with my forced moral growth. My illness accounts for the check in my physical development—the moral force in me has stifled it. We must come to its assistance; distractions—get as much rest as possible—gymnastics, cold baths—these must be my salvation.

In September 1860 he writes again saying that his illness had lasted until August; but that now 'the fire of youth has grown cold, everything has settled down—there is no more talk of mysticism . . . thank God, Mili, I have completely recovered.'

There are two interesting descriptions of Moussorgsky by Borodin which ought to be quoted here. The first gives his first impression about the end of 1856:

There was something absolutely boyish about Moussorgsky at that time; he was very elegant and looked like a lieutenant in a picture book; his uniform was spick and span, his small feet were turned neatly outwards, his hair curled and scented with the utmost care; his exquisitely manicured hands might have served as a model for a 'grand seigneur.' His manners were elegant and aristocratic, and he spoke with a slight nasal twang, employing a large number of French expressions, sometimes a little *recherché*. He was not without a touch of foppery, kept well within bounds, but unmistakable. His good breeding and courtesy were conspicuous. All the ladies smiled upon him.

The second was in the year 1859, when Moussorgsky had left the service :

He had grown much more manly and rather stouter in appearance ; every trace of military smartness had disappeared. The distinction in his dress and manner was the same as before, but not the slightest hint of dandyism remained. . .

Borodin goes on to say that he discovered that Moussorgsky was rather contemptuous of Mendelssohn, and that he was enthusiastic over Schumann's symphonies and played some of the E flat symphony from memory ; when he got to the middle movement he stopped, with the remark, ' This is when the musical mathematics begin.' He also gave Borodin on the pianoforte some idea of a scherzo for orchestra he had written, and when he came to the trio he ' hissed through his teeth : " Now here is something in the oriental style ! " ' I was absolutely amazed at the strange new elements in his music.' This scherzo in B flat was performed in 1860 at one of the first series of symphony concerts under the direction of Anton Rubinstein. It was favourably reviewed by the famous critic Serov, who said it showed talent and compared favourably with a work in the programme of the ' famous maestro ' Meyerbeer.

To have an orchestral work publicly performed under Rubinstein at the age of twenty is not a bad beginning for the career of a composer ; how is it, then, that Moussorgsky's life became a complete failure from the worldly point of view, and that—to quote his biographer—' born into the high life of the aristocracy he sank, in the course of a comparatively short existence, almost to the lowest depths of the underworld ' ? There were many causes, but chief among them, I think, was the financial ruin of his family due to the ukase by the Tsar Alexander II. issued on February 19, 1861, liberating the serfs, which destroyed many of the lesser country estates. Owing to this disaster Moussorgsky had to take a subordinate Government clerkship, by which he barely supported himself until the last year of his life, when he resigned. His biographer suggests that it was Moussorgsky's complete lack of interest in this work which prevented him from rising in the Government service, but I doubt it. A man does not climb up the ladder of success by hard work or absorption in his duties, but because he is the climbing sort, and Moussorgsky was not. He was one of those men to whom freedom is more precious than anything else, and, since his independent character compelled him to earn his living, the only way to keep himself intact in his bread and butter occupation was to turn himself into a mere automaton during those hours. It was in these conditions that Moussorgsky composed *Boris Godounov*. Owing to the influence

of a woman (Madame Platonova, who was to play the part of Marina) with Gedenov, the director of the Imperial theatres, *Boris Godounov* was produced on January 24, 1874, in spite of its having been rejected by the advisory committee. If *Boris* had been a success it might have saved Moussorgsky ; but, although it had a great popular success, the critics damned it, and after a few performances it suffered the same fate as Pushkin's drama had originally done—it ' silently vanished from the repertoire.' Most professional musicians shared the opinion of the critics about Moussorgsky's music. Laroche complained that the composer used too frequently ' keys with many sharps or flats,' and there were complaints of *gaucherie*, coarseness, cacophony—such as original music invariably provokes. Tchaikovsky wrote in a letter to his brother on October 29, 1874 : ' As for Moussorgsky's music, it can go to the devil for all I care—it is a low, vile parody of the real thing.' It is interesting that in a letter to Frau von Meck on December 24, 1877, he writes :

You are right in thinking that Moussorgsky is done for. He is perhaps the most talented of all of them, but he is a man who has no desire to make good his own deficiencies, and is altogether too deeply impregnated with the absurd theories of his little circle, as well as by a belief in his own natural genius. He belongs, moreover, to a rather low type, which loves what is coarse, unpolished and ugly. . . . He is in love with his own lack of culture and seems to be proud of his ignorance ; he writes just whatever comes into his head, with a blind belief in the infallibility of his genius. It is true that he often has very original ideas. Although the idiom he speaks is not beautiful, it is new, in spite of its vulgarities.

It is amusing that in a letter to Stassov in 1872 Moussorgsky speaks of Tchaikovsky thus :

MY DEAR GENERALISSIMO,—For some days past I have been in the company of the worshipper of *absolute beauty* in music and our conversation has left me with a strange sense of an internal void. . . .

It was natural that Tchaikovsky should not have liked *Boris*, since he belonged to the opposing and rival camp, the eclectic school. But everybody expected that César Cui, an intimate friend of Moussorgsky's, and, like him, one of that national group, the ' Powerful Coterie,' would champion *Boris* and help the public and the musicians to understand it. Cui was a brilliant writer and the ' literary spokesman ' for the Balakirev circle, and so his article in the *Petersburg News* was eagerly awaited. But von Riesenmann says :

The result was a big surprise for everybody and a cruel blow to Moussorgsky. Of course Cui praises *Boris*, but his praise is so interwoven with spiteful and venomous attacks on not merely the details, but the essential quality of the work as utterly to nullify his expressions of approval. . . .

Moussorgsky comments on Cui's article in a letter to Stassov dated January 28, 1874:—

MY DEAR AND WELL-BELOVED GENERALISSIMO,—Yes! in spite of all! —I was mad—furious and raging like any jealous woman . . .! Now I am only a little red and angry. What is one to say about Cui's article? I will begin at the end; no decent well-bred man would behave as Cui has done, in his efforts to be witty—it was disgraceful to make fun of women whose courageous conduct (as I have heard) deserved nothing but sympathy . . . and then to charge me with 'self-complacency'! Doesn't he know that I have always failed through excess of modesty? . . . 'Self-complacency'! 'Slap-dash way of composing!' 'Immaturity'! Who is immature, I should like to know! . . .

The failure of *Boris* doomed Moussorgsky to continue for the rest of his life in his drudgery. But it did not daunt him or stop him composing, although he was constantly complaining that his official duties delayed his work on *Khovantschina*—of which he wrote every line of the libretto as well as the music. During a short holiday in 1876 he wrote to Z. I. Shestokova:

. . . I sat on the balcony and thought about *Khovantschina* and with good results. If only I could get leave of absence my pen would simply gallop over the music paper. It is high time! Nearly everything is composed—I have only to peg away at the writing out. But my duties don't allow of it.

It is not surprising that after the production of *Boris* the 'Powerful Coterie' broke up. Borodin, in a letter dated April 1875, written to Madame Karmalina, expresses his opinion that it was the inevitable result of individual development; but it resulted in Moussorgsky becoming more completely isolated than any of the others, although for a time there were occasional meetings, mostly accidental, as, for example, that described in a letter to Stassov dated August 7, 1875:

I met the Roman (*Rimsky* in Russian means 'Roman'). We both jumped down from our droshkies and embraced with a will. Then he informs me he has written fifteen fugues, each one a greater tangle than the other—just this and nothing else!

'Oh that the ink had dried up quite
Before it helped the quill to write!'

César (I can't keep away from Rome to-day), they say, has finished the third act of *Angelo*. I have not been to see him. I am afraid—not of him, but of his third act. I did not even ask the Roman about César. When will these people, instead of writing fugues and conventional third acts, read sensible books and mix with reasonable men—or is it now too late? That is not what we expect from art to-day. That is not the mission of the artist. *Life*, wherever it is shown; *truth*, however bitter; speaking out boldly, frankly, point-blank to men, that is my only aim, that is what I want, and that is where I am afraid of making a blunder. . . .

In another letter dated October 19, 1875, Moussorgsky thanks Stassov for sending him a photograph of his portrait painted by Riepin:

I often look at you. You are gazing with strained attention into the distance, as if you scented something there. Power and knowledge of the truth speak in every feature—bravo, this Riepin! . . . It is this honest living gaze *into distances—forward*—that inspires me. When I think of certain artists who are now stuck fast 'behind the barricade' I am overcome not only with impotent wrath, but with nausea. The whole aim of these gentlemen is to express themselves, as it were, *by drops*, one drop after another, all nicely measured. They enjoy it, but a real man is wearied and enraged at it. Oh, do manage to get out of yourselves, my dear sirs, something that will show that you are alive! Show whether you have claws or web feet, whether you are beasts of prey or amphibians! . . . Without understanding, without any will of their own, these 'artists' have voluntarily allowed themselves to be bound in the fetters of tradition, they are nothing but walking examples of the law of inertia and yet they fancy they are doing great things. All this would be merely uninteresting and slightly annoying but for the fact that they—these artists—had once hoisted another banner and tried *to bear it proudly aloft before men*. Caught up in Balakirev's eagle talons they breathed the upper air for a time with him . . . now the iron grip of Balakirev has slackened—and they feel suddenly that they are tired and want a rest . . . the 'Powerful Coterie' has broken up into a horde of soulless traitors, its scourge has proved a child's toy-ship. I say that in the whole world there is nothing more deadly, nothing more useless to the art of to-day than such a set of—artists!

How deeply Moussorgsky felt his isolation is shown by the fact that he recurs to the subject in a letter to Z. I. Shestakova, the sister of Glinka, dated February 28–9, 1876:—

You have comforted me greatly with your kind, splendid letters. You are right, it is so; there *must* still be true men in the world, even though we have to suffer horribly from those who play us false—and almost everybody plays false in our glorious age, in which everything progresses—except *humanity*. . . . All that I am writing now came to my knowledge in your house; I felt it in your house. 'Truth loves not the company of liars.' There was no lying item at your house, neither on our side nor on theirs—and even the walls told no lies on that memorable evening; all was *truth*, and what truth! The gentlemen in question (Cui and Korsakov) have finally abandoned the most sacred aim of art—to speak to humanity in the language of truth. . . . I am almost sure Borodin would not have taken their side; but it is now too late to settle that, and it would do no good. *Oh, if Borodin could only get into a rage!*

Moussorgsky died 'on the morning of his forty-second birthday, March 16, 1881,' in the Nikolai Military Hospital in the Smolna suburbs of Petersburg. In order to get admission he was entered as an 'officer's servant,' but he was given a private room. Madame D. M. Leonova in her *Recollections* writes:

It is probable that two causes undermined his health: his moral sufferings (especially in connexion with the boycotting of *Boris Godounov* by the directors of the Imperial Theatre) and his material privations. He was living in terrible poverty. One day he called on me in a state of great nervous excitement; he confessed to me that he did not know what to do, that he had no means of support. . . .

Rimsky-Korsakov, in *My Musical Life*, says that Moussorgsky's illness was 'the white fever'—in other words, *delirium tremens*; and there is plenty of evidence that Moussorgsky in his later years frequently drank to excess. Von Rieseemann points out that there is very little material available for a psychological biography of Moussorgsky, but it seems clear that most of his friends dropped him on account of his drinking habits. Von Rieseemann says:

Moussorgsky sank ever lower in the scale of society. How high the others had risen! Stassov, Cui, Borodin were now Excellencies, Rimsky-Korsakov a professor. The gulf that had opened between them and him grew ever wider and deeper. . . .

Nevertheless, in spite of his drinking habits, Moussorgsky kept on working to the end. The first scene of the fourth act of *Khovantschina* is dated August 5, 1880, and on August 20, 1880, a few months before his death, he writes to Stassov: 'Moussorgsky is true to the principle that he has always proclaimed—with a new and unexplored path before me, am I the man to falter? Never! Forward! Full speed ahead!' He succeeded in completing *Khovantschina* in the pianoforte score, but the only pianoforte edition ever printed was that arranged from Rimsky-Korsakov's version. According to von Rieseemann, Moussorgsky's original pianoforte score 'has remained till now in safe keeping in the Public Library at Petersburg awaiting its resurrection, which we hope,' he adds, 'will not be too long delayed.'

It was not my intention in the present article to discuss Moussorgsky's music. Most critics to-day are agreed that Moussorgsky is the greatest composer Russia has so far produced; but the time has not yet come for a complete estimate of his work, for the simple reason that so much of it in its original form is still inaccessible. It is worth while, however, to give one or two extracts from Moussorgsky's letters in which he says what his aims are. In a letter dated October 18, 1872, he writes:

The artistic presentment of beauty alone, to use the word in its material sense, is sheer childishness, only fit for the babes and sucklings of art. To trace the finer characteristics of human nature and of the mass of mankind, resolutely to penetrate into these unexplored regions and to conquer them—that is the mission of the genuine artist. 'To unknown shores' must be our cry. . . .

All resolute seeking after truth inspired Moussorgsky with admiration. 'I am reading Darwin,' he says:

and am enraptured. It is not the power and the clarity of his intellect that chains me to him—with those aspects of his colossal genius I was already familiar in his earlier works. No, it is this that holds me captive: while instructing man as to his origin Darwin understands exactly (how could he help it?) the sort of animal he has to deal with; accordingly he forces him (without his even noticing it) into the vice-like grip of his own intellect, and so mighty is the power of his colossal genius that the conscience not only does not struggle against this act of violence, but on the contrary is sure of nothing but joy and bliss during the process. When a strong and passionately amorous woman clasps her lover tight he is conscious that he is suffering violence; yet he has no desire whatever to free himself from the embrace, since it is the very violence that makes him 'taste the cup of rapture' and 'sets the young blood boiling.'

Moussorgsky was a realist in the best sense of that word. In spite of his intense sympathies with the Russian masses (in a letter his brother Filaret writes: 'In boyhood and youth as well as in later years my brother Modest had a special predilection for everything connected with the people and the peasantry. Even the Russian moujik was a human being in his eyes'); he never sentimentalises, and falsifies them in the fashion of some 'democratic' artists. Dostoevsky's words apply strictly to Moussorgsky: 'They call me a psychologist—that is not true; I am merely a realist in the highest sense—i.e., my business is to portray the soul of man in all its profundity.' But contemporary musicians, in von Rieseemann's words, 'raged against the "audacity," the "shameless impudence," of *Boris*.' We can understand better Moussorgsky's bitterness at the collapse of the group founded by Balakirev when we realise that Moussorgsky looked upon artists as a band of devoted fellow-seekers after truth. When Stassov went to Europe and wrote to him of his meeting with Liszt, Moussorgsky replies:

. . . you have managed, thank God, to bring the mighty form of the great European artist to my mind in living reality, to set the cells of my brain working on all he has done, to bring me near him in spirit, to let me speak to him, hear him answer. Without your help I could not have projected myself into Liszt's presence in this way and have seen him so vividly. Such a vision is vastly important—how important I know now, especially since he, as Bessel's brother tells me, has come to know me musically (Liszt had expressed his admiration of Moussorgsky's song-cycle *The Nursery*), though of course only in part. That was what I wanted to tell you, my friend! You may call it pure Platonism if you like; but the important thing is that it has stirred up my brains—which is always good for Russian brains, since every Russian (where'er he be) is like the Petersburg donkey-drivers who fall into their sweetest slumbers as soon as they have got a fare.

Moussorgsky certainly drank to excess and ended his life in poverty, but he never fell into those 'sweetest slumbers' which are more destructive to the artist than any form of excess.

W. J. TURNER.

1930

A CONVERSATION AT BURLINGTON HOUSE

It was on the occasion of one of the musical *soirées* which are being held at Burlington House, presumably because all art, as one of our æsthetic writers has observed, 'naturally tends to approximate to a condition of music.' The last item on the programme had been, I remember, a toccata of Galuppi's, so charmingly and sympathetically rendered that either the music or more probably Browning's lines about it had succeeded in conjuring up for me the vision of Venice earning and spending joyously in art and song, of 'balls and masks begun at midnight, burning ever to midday.' I suppose I must have been looking at some of the Venetian pictures as well, for I found myself repeating the lines

Dear dead women, with such hair, too—what's become of all the gold
Used to hang and brush their bosoms? I feel chilly and grown old,

and then suddenly I realised that the air was chilly, the music had ceased, the room was rather dark, and that I seemed to be the only person in it. For a time I imagined myself to be alone in the galleries, and was ruminating on the discomforts of a long vigil when I heard a faint murmur of voices proceeding from a distance. I assumed, therefore, that others had been accidentally shut in also, and, rising from my seat, I went in the direction of the sound. As I approached I found that the language which was being spoken was Italian, and that it came from a group of about half a dozen men who I supposed were masquerading, for they were all dressed as artists of the time of the Renaissance. I managed to approach so near as to hear part of their conversation without being myself observed. I have enough of the language to know that they had the Tuscan habit of speech, and that each, apparently, was personating a particular artist. They seemed to be having endless jokes with each other, and just before I got within earshot they had started a discussion as to which of them could paint the most horrible monster. Some had said Leonardo da Vinci could and some Piero di Cosimo, and I could tell at once which of them was taking his part, because he seemed to flush with pleasure when their choice fell on him. The sympathies of the group seemed to be pretty evenly divided, and I

heard one of them say, 'But what does Sandro think? Why, where is Sandro? He was here a moment ago and now he's gone. I want to hear what he thinks. Sandro! Sandro!' The cry rang out clearly through the empty gallery and then died away. One of them remarked that perhaps Sandro was looking at the pictures as one of the *forestieri*. Another capped this by the suggestion that perhaps at last he had gone to look for a wife. This started them all over again in a wild burst of merriment, and when the laughter had subsided I heard one of them asking another if he remembered the story that Messer Tommaso Soderini used to tell about the answer that Sandro had once made to him when he had urged him to take a wife. How Sandro had replied very gravely—he was always rather inclined to be grave, he said, so it was no wonder at all that Savonarola had got hold of him! 'I would have you to know,' he had said to Soderini, 'that not many nights since it happened to me that I dreamed I had taken a wife, and I was so greatly troubled at the thought of it that I awoke; and in order that I might not fall asleep a second time and dream it over again, I arose and wandered about all night through Florence, like one distracted. And so,' he added, 'that was how Messer Tommaso said he had come to know that Sandro Botticelli was not the sort of soil in which to plant a vineyard.' I suppose they must have heard the story before, but it seemed to please them just as much as ever, and with cries of 'Bravo, Sandro! Bravo!' they moved away to look for him. I followed them as closely as I could without their seeing me and saw them enter the Great Gallery and halt for a brief space before Botticelli's picture of *The Birth of Venus*. The somewhat dim light enhanced the effect of distance of the reaches of grey water which seemed to ripple in the wind. I fancied I could almost see the bulrushes in the foreground swaying. The goddess, even from where I stood, looked a thing of infinite beauty, and I was admiring the lovely curves of her body when the silence was broken by one of the group—a man who had hardly taken part in the previous revelry, and who from the fact of his nose being broken made me think of Michelangelo—saying, with a sardonic laugh, 'Whatever should a man who can paint that want with a wife and perhaps a pack of squalling brats?' And then I heard the one whom I had come to identify with Leonardo da Vinci, who had been as boisterous as any, but was then standing in reverie before the picture, murmur to himself, 'If you are alone, you belong entirely to yourself; if you are accompanied even by one companion, you belong only half to yourself . . . if you must have companionship, choose it from your studio. . . . 'Well,' he went on after a pause, 'I have done as I counselled others, but I sometimes wonder whether . . .'; but as he spoke

he was following the others down the gallery, and so I lost the rest of the sentence. They hailed as Sandro Botticelli a man who, standing at some distance down the gallery, was looking with rapt attention at a rather small half-length picture of a girl in profile which, as I had been looking at it earlier in the evening, I recognised as the beautiful portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni, by Domenico Ghirlandaio. I remembered having been struck by the proud boasting inscription on the *cartellino*—'*Ars utinam mores animumque effingere posses Pulchrior in terris nulla tabella foret.*' As they drew near he looked up, and going up to one of the older members of the group, whom I had not previously noticed, shook him impulsively by the hand, saying, 'You did not give so much of yourself to fresco, Domenico, as I thought. You have found what we have all been seeking for—you have shown us that the prime factor of beauty is repose.' At this attempt at a definition there arose what, I believe, I once saw described as a '*laudabile e scientifico duello*,' although I am doubtful whether the word 'duel' can be properly used to describe a scene in which all the actors were combatants. The voices all seemed strenuous, each being intent on definitions with some divergence of conditions. I found presently that they had passed from the attempt at definition of the characteristics of beauty, and that Leonardo da Vinci was explaining how a high standard of beauty might be obtained on the basis of natural selection by the painter selecting the best parts of faces of which the beauty was admitted and fixing these in his mind. I think it was in expounding his claim that the painter should be universal that he went on to discuss the beauty of all the changing forms of Nature, instancing specially the movement of hair and of water. He might, I think, have developed the theme had he not been interrupted by the man whom, from his broken nose, I took to be Michelangelo, who had been listening with ill-concealed impatience ever since he began and finally interjected the remark that beauty in art was no mere bubble of water or wisp of hair. Then, as Leonardo flushed angrily, he went on to say that beauty in art must be related to the human form, that supreme art demanded repose; but repose implied strength—in fact, the greater the strength, the greater the repose. As Leonardo maintained silence, another whom he had taken affectionately by the arm, and whom he called Lorenzo, turned to the doyen of the group, a short, somewhat thick-set man, who had not spoken much, and said, 'What would you say to that, Maestro?' Verrocchio—for I judge that it was he—thought for a moment before he replied, 'Not always: strength may, and sometimes does, overcome and expel repose; unless repose be dominant there is no symmetry, and without symmetry, how can there be beauty?' 'You know,'

he continued, 'it has been said of the painter that he should learn anatomy . . .' A chorus of voices rose in unison, 'Yes, of course: why you yourself, Pollaiuolo here, Leonardo, we have all learnt. Ask Leonardo how many bodies he has . . .' 'Wait,' he said, 'I had not finished; what I had meant to say was that he should learn anatomy—and forget it. Have all of us who have learnt also forgotten? And if we have not forgotten, must not strength always overcome repose?' As he said this he turned to Michelangelo as though inviting him to continue the discussion. He was just beginning to do so, but what he said was rendered inaudible by a murmur, 'Basta! Basta!' from several of the group. The next moment Piero di Cosimo, who had taken very little part in the discussion ever since they had ceased to talk about his skill in painting monsters, raised a general laugh by calling out in the sing-song tones of a public crier, 'Gentlemen! the session of the Academy of Leonardo da Vinci is ended.'

'So, it seems, you've brought your herald here from Milan.' I heard Botticelli then say to Leonardo, taking him by the arm. 'And you did have meetings in that Academy of yours? I always thought that those elaborate tickets of entry with the inscriptions must represent something, and not be merely play-time with the pen. Were they anything like our discussions in the early days at Florence? Do you remember how you protested when I stated that a sponge filled with different colours, if flung against a wall, would make a stain which would contain all the outlines of a beautiful landscape, and how you said that you would not give much for any landscape made on those lines, and that no one who really cared for landscapes could imagine that they were easy or could be done with a sponge?' I have very little doubt that Leonardo would have taken up the challenge, but there were renewed cries from the others that they had had enough of discussion. As one of them put it, art may be a battle, but it is not a battle of words. Another pointed out that they had not yet looked at the pictures, and that they had better make haste, because others might be coming in soon. After remarking how strange it was that the English, whom Benvenuto Cellini had characterised as a beastly people whom he would not wish to live among, should be so keen on Italian art—he allowed, however, that Cellini was a self-confessed liar on other counts—he further worked on the feelings of the others by a description of the English as probably at that very moment queuing up outside, and as a result they all started with much zeal to make the tour of the galleries. I followed them as closely as I could without letting myself be seen. In the first two rooms they crowded round some of the smaller pictures, and except for an occasional cavil at some attribution, put aside by the others

usually with a burst of merriment, I did not hear much of what they said. But they seemed to make rather a long pause in front of the row of small panels by Simone Martini, and I caught many exclamations of astonishment at the delicacy and grace of the figures in the two panels of *The Annunciation* and the dramatic intensity of the groups between. With them there was a small panel of *The Entombment*, the colours of which, they said, glowed like a casket of jewels. They made somewhat the same remark about a much larger picture representing the Annunciation which belonged to the Umbrian school. The base of the reading desk in this picture was a cage containing birds, and Piero di Cosimo said he thought this rather a happy idea, but did not attempt to defend his opinion when Leonardo asked him whether he thought the birds were happy in it. Several had a word of praise for the purity of line and colour of Alesso Baldovinetti's *Madonna*, others for the delicacy and grace of Pisanello's *Princess of the House of Este* and the rare fidelity of the pinks and columbines and butterflies in the background. An angel by Melozzo da Forlì was for a time the cynosure of all eyes. One or two small works by Piero de' Franceschi gave rise to keen discussions in which the lists were entered in what has been termed by a modern critic the victorious struggle of planes against lines. It was Leonardo da Vinci who showed most cogently the true importance of Piero's work in the development of art, and the line regiment, if I may be pardoned the use of such an expression, seemed to be left entirely without power of reply by the lucidity of his arguments as to the nature of aerial perspective and its function in art. Their forces had a grand rally, however, before Mantegna's *St. George*: there for a time it was the other side who were struck dumb, until they finally came to agreement on the basis of recognising that art, like wisdom, was justified of her children.

It seemed, however, at one time as though the discussion might start again, for when they were in front of Correggio's wonderful picture of *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane*, and one of them began to talk about the effect of the incidence of the light as shown emanating from the kneeling figure, Leonardo told him to think of the light from glow-worms on a bank on a summer evening, and went on to say that Nature was full of infinite causes which had never been set forth in experience.

When they reached the Venetians Giovanni Bellini's Madonnas evoked cries of admiration, among which, as it seemed, the voice of Botticelli was the loudest. These were renewed before his group of Allegories. Leonardo busied himself for some time in attempting to puzzle out their meaning: most of the others were content to regard them as feasts of colour and form. It was Verrocchio, I think, who observed that the man who could

draw the *putti* swimming around the boat which bore the standing figure of Fortune with her globe had reached the summit of achievement, and the others all agreed with him.

They stopped for some time, I remember, before Gentile Bellini's portrait of *Queen Caterina Cornaro*, and Ghirlandaio especially admired the lines of her matronly figure. They were vociferous in acclaiming the skill with which the artist has rendered the gauze that envelops the neck and shoulders, the ropes of pearls, and every tiny detail of the tightly fitting dress.

Of Giorgione's *Tempest* I heard one of them say that he had discovered a new world and established a new tradition in landscape painting. The many Titians evoked warm admiration of his great powers, the picture that attracted most attention being the portrait of an Englishman. This is, indeed, a superb example of Titian's art; but the interest of the onlookers seemed to be mainly centred in the question of the nationality of the sitter, some being disposed to regard him as a North Italian type. As they all frankly acknowledged that they had never set eyes on an Englishman, the discussion was of necessity somewhat unreal, and presently died out for lack of fuel.

They made a very long halt before *The Deposition* by Tintoretto, and Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, who had not often been in agreement, vied with each other in expressing their admiration of the way in which the painter has succeeded in rendering the pathos of the recumbent body and the emotion of the attendant figures, particularly that of the Magdalen, who is seen bending forward with arms outstretched. They all commented on how exceedingly small is the part which colour plays in the effect by contrast with the work of the other Venetians, and one of them quoted a remark attributed to Tintoretto that 'beautiful colours are bought any day upon the Rialto, but a mastery of draughtsmanship only comes to study and night watches.'

When they stood before Tiepolo's great picture of *The Finding of Moses* it was, as they said, for the purpose of looking upon Venetian art in its decline, but their unanimous verdict was that it had stood the test of years remarkably well. They thought the costumes fantastic even for the time of the Pharaohs, but were full of unstinted praise for the transparent atmospheric effects, the freedom of the landscape, and the complete individualisation of the types.

If, as it had seemed at the time, they had passed by the art of the earlier Ferrarese masters somewhat cursorily, only Cosimo Tura having attracted their attention on account of his ruggedness, they certainly made ample amends when they came to Dosso Dossi. In his wonderful portrait of a Court jester 'with the

wittol's smile,' as Leonardo admiringly characterised it, in the two versions of Circe or Alcina with her lovers turned to beasts and birds, especially in that from the Borghese, where the enchantress, richly clad, sits weaving her incantation by tracing cabalistic signs in a circle on the ground, they all recognised, as one of them expressed it, 'the well-springs of romance.' Each found something novel there to admire. With one it was the naturalism of the wooded landscape, with another the light playing on the knight's armour, with a third the boding menace of the arm that held the flaming torch. It was just at this moment that I began to hear the sound of footsteps slowly and steadily approaching from a distant gallery. To the group before the picture, silent for the moment, a-tiptoe, as it were, with expectation, it may undoubtedly have seemed that the footsteps betokened some new wile of the enchantress. Her power, they may have thought, was not confined to the magic circle! She might even have confederates! Can it have only been my fancy, or did I actually hear, as I certainly seemed to hear, the word 'Inglesi' passed rapidly from one to another, in a somewhat awestruck whisper, as they turned away from the picture and disappeared with great rapidity down one of the side galleries?

A few moments after I found myself explaining my presence as best I could to the night watchman.

EDWARD McCURDY.

JOURNALISM FIFTY YEARS AGO

To anyone who has paid attention, not merely to the big names in English literature, but to the general and progressive development of its forms and conditions, the change which came over periodicals, from 'dailies,' upward or downward, in the middle third of the nineteenth century, is, of course, a thing well known enough, though perhaps not very carefully studied in detail. It is difficult to match anywhere else, even in general quality and quantity, but more difficult still if you attempt analysis of its characteristics and attribution of its causes. In one point only does it lend itself to examination more obligingly than almost any other department, in that we have one man of letters of the first rank who exemplifies both states and was quite aware that he did so. The Thackeray of *The Snob*, the Thackeray of the earlier *Fraser*—even the Thackeray of our good Mr. *Punch* in his young days—was, as he himself fully admitted, unregenerate sometimes and frequently, though not always. He died, as fate would have it, when he was scarcely over fifty, but the Mr. Thackeray of the *Roundabout Papers* had found complete salvation in such part of the matter as he handled there. And this was not merely an example; it was a sign. For years before his death, many years more before *The Nineteenth Century* came into existence, the turn general, if not universal, had been taken in almost all subjects from politics to personal gossip. That it had already begun to turn again in some respects was only to be expected, but that does not affect what had already happened; and it is about what had already happened, with what followed, that we are to talk a little. There was the founding of the *Saturday Review* in the 'fifties; the fresh impulse given to monthly periodicals by the great success of the *Cornhill* at their close—the elevation, as we may call it, of evening papers by the *Pall Mall Gazette* and so on. It so happens that the present writer (though he had written a thing or two, chiefly for the *Academy*, earlier) did not become regularly *ascrip*tus to Fleet Street till the very year before that in which the periodical in which he is now writing was founded.

The most noticeable feature of the 'change' to outsiders, especially to outsiders who were becoming insiders, was the disappearance—the almost entire disappearance—of the Mugfords and

Bludyers who abounded in Thackeray's early days and had not quite disappeared in his latest. Any tolerably clear-eyed person who made even occasional visits to Fleet Street proper—that is to say, the home of daily journalism—would meet men who might suggest that twenty years earlier Mugfordian or Bludyerian characteristics would have been more visible in them, but that was all. As for the personalities of the earlier Press, Yates and Labouchère had to some extent brought them back: but it may be a question whether this had not fenced the periodicals which did not indulge in such things more strongly against them. The curious and not always comely high jinks which had originally distinguished *Blackwood* and *Fraser* had long been given up, and *Fraser* itself was shortly to disappear. The presence of a *feuilleton* in the monthlies was no doubt maintained by the more or less accidental coexistence of three such novelists as Thackeray, the first to go; Dickens, to follow him by some years, but not with many books; and Trollope, to last longer, but not quite at full strength. There could not be two weekly periodicals more different in themselves or conjointly more significant of the desire for them than *Household Words* and the *Saturday Review*, both appearing in the earlier part of the time we are speaking of. All through the 'sixties and 'seventies the Press was constantly being delivered of new ventures, some of which naturally were, if not stillborn, exceedingly short-lived. Few attempted fresh morning dailies, the expense being enormous, and the places—places of subjects and subscribers—being in a way occupied; but some evening papers effected a lodgment. Only the two quarterlies were left alone in their glory, for though there may have been three-monthly additions, they were, I think (except the *Westminster* and the *New Quarterly*, which did not last very long), devoted to special subjects and not, like the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh*, to politics and literature and things in general.

Besides what, for want of a better single word, may be called the social lift in the Press which took place in this third quarter of the century, and perhaps to some extent connected with it, there was another alteration in periodical writing. Although ever since the great increase in range and volume which the nineteenth century had seen from, and to some extent before, its very beginning, some of the producers of this volume had always been known; there had prevailed a certain atmosphere of anonymity which was thought to confer—which to some degree perhaps did confer—authority. I do not know who invented the great 'We.' You may find it in the very beginning of things in the *Spectator* group, I think, but it is there rather an association of writer and reader—an amiable admission of the latter into the proceedings and sentiments of the former. The thundering 'we,' the insinua-

tion of the existence of a formidable tribunal somewhere in the background, which issued edicts, decided cases, gave advice on future conduct—which advice had got to be followed at the follower's peril—came in later. It was almost necessary that this should be anonymous on something more than the principle of *Omne ignotum*. There might be mention of a supposed Tom Towers; intelligence more or less accurate of a real Thaddeus Delane or Albany Fonblanque, but, such a curious thing is the human mind, it was the uncertainty more than the certainty that loaded the cartridge.

By degrees, however—and especially as a kind of disrepute wore off Pressmen—there began to be, more particularly in non-political writing, a desire for signed articles. It was, I think, much more the curiosity of the public than the vanity of the journalist that gave impetus to this change. For my own part, when, after an early undergraduate letter to a local paper about the Athanasian Creed, I began, as late as seven and twenty, to be something like a regular contributor, it was, as I have said, to the new *Academy*, founded directly and deliberately to give the signed article a chance, and my first article of any length was one on Baudelaire, which I sent unintroducted to the late Lord (then only Mr. John) Morley, and which he promptly took.

The periodical in which this appeared—the '*Fortnightly*, published monthly,' as a wit who had to speak the name officially in the proceedings of a newly founded club in the Channel Islands persisted in announcing it—was another great stronghold of 'signing,' though, if I am not mistaken, Morley long afterwards confessed doubts on this point. There is no doubt that anonymity has had, on the whole, the worst of it since, though the citadel of the 'leader' has, in very important cases, not even yet yielded. For my own part, though I might be thought from what I have just said, and out of pure gratitude, likely to be prejudiced in favour of signing, that is not exactly the case. As far as gratitude or even custom goes, I am 'prejudiced' both ways. If I have written hundreds of signed articles, I have written thousands of unsigned; and there cannot be many people living who know the advantages and disadvantages of both plans by experience better than I do. Largely, no doubt, but by no means wholly, the thing depends upon subject: though even here the pros and cons insist upon being attended to. In politics—to begin with them—things are so much dependent, and should be so much dependent, on the general attitude of the paper that identification never can do much good, and may do some harm. If we ever fell into the *cartel* or *bloc* or general minor party system (which God forbid!), there might be more argument for it; but with the old two, or even with the present three parties, it seems superfluous,

if not mischievous, as far as *daily* papers go. In the greatest (I am speaking in terms of bulk) of the other subjects—that is to say, literature—it was the signing system that first made head, the signing system that created most interest, and the signing system that has made most way. Here, as elsewhere, I have written an almost disgraceful number of both kinds. I have confessed elsewhere to having written five reviews—I think it was five—of the same book, though I can quite fearlessly add that I should not blush if all five were reprinted side by side. It is, however, of course rather desirable that such a thing should not be done, and the anonymous system, also of course, helps the doing of it. If, as Harwood of the *Saturday* once said to me, the reviews are favourable, it is unfair to the public, if unfavourable to the author.

I have sometimes thought that a good deal, perhaps even a great deal, of the causation of the change in periodicals between the 'fifties and the 'seventies, though of course nothing like the whole, depended on a certain closer connexion between the Press and the two universities. Of course once more, and inevitably from the very beginning, the dramatists and pamphleteers had been university men and certainly would have been what we call Pressmen later. And, as periodical literature came more and more fully into existence, they were. Defoe was not a son of the 'sisters,' vocal or silent, but Lestrangle probably, Addison, Steele, and Swift certainly were. Between none of these, however, and either Oxford or Cambridge or Dublin is there much obvious connexion to be seen in or derived from their Press work. The *Spectator* certainly was not written in Addison's *Walk*, though we may think of it there; and I do not think the walls of Merton, if they had been the most absorbent and retentive of their kind in noticing, could have told me much that was literary about Steele. I fancy that we are rather too apt to take on trust the abuse of the universities in the eighteenth century: but it was certainly not till its close that men of letters of mark took to journalism, and though they may have been Oxonians or Cantabs, neither *Alma Mater* has left much mark of that on them as such, unless we call Johnson a journalist. Southey was a Balliol man and Coleridge a Jesus of Cambridge, but Southey admits that Oxford made very little impression on him, and Coleridge gave his university little chance of making any impression at all except in the production of prize poems. As for Wordsworth, Heaven help the editor who had him on his staff! As you go on, neither Hazlitt nor Lamb nor Leigh Hunt was a university man; and though Wilson and De Quincey were, they show little of it. Barnes of *The Times* was; but he died almost before any signs of change showed themselves.

On the other hand, each of the three decades of which we have been chiefly speaking saw a closer, though a peculiar, connexion between Fleet Street (speaking collectively as before) and the two old seats of learning.

At the time when Thackeray himself was at Cambridge, the Press, with rare exceptions, had not emerged from its rather incult conditions, and when he had himself acquired cultivation in periodical writing he had little to do with Cambridge. Except the 'Timbuctoo' piece, almost the whole of *The Snob* is not above schoolboy level: more than one or two of the *Fraser* articles required an editor of the Oliver Yorke stamp to save them from heavy blue-pencilling. But as the century approached its middle, and with increasing noteworthiness during its third quarter, things altered. It was not so much that more and more newspaper men had passed through one or other of the two, though the great Tom Towers or Thaddeus Delane was actually a Magdalen Hall man. Speaking as a voice from the very middle (1863-7) of the longer period, I can vouch for the existence of a rather curious and complicated connexion. It was not merely that many dons resident, and more who had 'gone down,' wrote for all sorts of papers, but that Press work had become, if not exactly an additional profession which men could add to their old options, but, still more, a most convenient preparation of law, physic and divinity time, and almost apprenticeship, to those professions themselves. Not a few men of letters have actually confessed that the famous chapters of *Pendennis* which tell how Warrington taught his pupil to supplement his last five-pound note were their own incitement to Press work; and a great many more than have ever confessed it might, I think, have done so on the actual banks of Isis and Cam in those days. Warrington, it is true, might never have taken to Press work had it not been for his marital misfortunes, nor Pen but for his silly extravagance. But that has little to do with the matter. If they had not belonged to the same College, it is doubtful whether belonging to the same Inn would have fastened them so easily or so tightly together.

It is well, and indeed important, to remember that during the 'seventies, and also, though in dwindling fashion, during the 'eighties, some very big guns, though they had taken the field long before, continued to hold it. Carlyle did not die till 1881, but he had long ceased to write anything but things unpublishable till his death, not that they were in the least discreditable or unfair to anyone but himself. Mr. Gladstone's greatest speeches, as even the more critical of his closest adherents admitted, were much better to hear than to read, and so not first-rate printstuff. But Tennyson did not disdain periodical appearance; and I

confess that, frequently as Matthew Arnold wrote things which I disagreed with, or which, to be humbler, disagreed with me as literature, and almost invariably as they did so when he took to theology, I should have felt it my duty to my proprietor to resign editorship rather than refuse Matthew's articles. Leslie Stephen was a tower of strength in literature, as you felt in more ways than one; and so was Huxley in science, to mention only super-super writers.

For newcomers the extension in number and character of the range of the new periodicals was a considerable advantage. It is true there were some—perhaps extra-virtuous, perhaps something else—who would contribute to no journal not merely which said anything they did not like, but which even let anyone else do so. I believe, though I did not hear it said myself, that a journalist of those days laid it down that he would never help the sale of any paper with the general policy of which he did not agree. Had the thing been put as a joke it would not have been bad; and it can be argued for more solemnly on the principle that a man should always have his employer's prosperity at heart. But the facetious side, meant or not (and this certainly was *not*), presents itself first and holds its place obstinately. The multiplication, therefore, of papers, and the fact that many of the new ones had no definite and carefully adjusted *credo*, was a distinct advantage.

It would, of course, be improper to make any impertinent comparison here between the journalist of the eighteen-seventies and the journalist of the twenty-thirties. I saw, indeed, only a few hours before writing these lines, an 'observation which of itself settled this point. The author was not one of those who blackwash the Victorians—indeed he rebuked the persons who did so. But one of the reasons for which he rebuked them was 'our'—that is to say, 'his and his contemporaries'—'immense advance in actual knowledge and critical subtlety.' There was, of course, an excellent sense of justice in this, and the writer of it should make an admirable handicapper. It is true that one might ask for particulars. Do mechanical gadgets and contraptions help to bulk—perhaps to compose—the 'immense advance of actual knowledge'? Does the increase of subtlety in criticism depend at all on the novel use of such terms as 'values,' 'inhibitions,' 'mentality'? But this is quite out of our range. You can but do your best with such knowledge as you have and such subtlety as Providence has provided you with. The novel, though still a very large contributor to periodicals, was somewhat weakening in strength. Thackeray and Dickens were dead, and Charles Kingsley had more recently followed them. His brother Henry, still writing, was soon to follow him. Trollope and

Wilkie Collins had done their best work and Hardy had scarcely begun his. Nobody had in any way or to any degree continued the *Roundabout Papers* in essay-writing. In poetry Mr. Austin Dobson was positively reviving the lighter style: but in the meantime Mr. Bridges was publishing little and was not generally understood, while comparatively popular verse-makers like Lewis Morris and Alfred Austin were making true lovers of more serious poesy laugh or weep or curse, according to their owner's dispositions and the particular achievement of these verse-makers. The *Spectator* was still, as one of its admirers said, 'telling you what you ought to read,' and the *Saturday* was still endeavouring to tell you how you ought not to write; while a third 'weekly'—once of no small name, the *Examiner*—was dying, despite of having had the luck to find such a proprietor as Lord Rosebery.

So, for all the immense shortcoming in actual knowledge, for all the lack of subtlety in criticism, I do not think that the journalism of that time was destitute of values or that it always failed to show a remarkable mentality. If it is true that, as the books say, Delane helped to prevent our interfering with that first affair in 1864 which led up to, and, it would be rash to say, ended in, 1914 or 1918, it was Greenwood who brought about that hold on Egypt the various results of which we have not yet quite thrown away. I doubt whether in the history of journalism you will find a group of three illustrating its powers and possibilities in different ways more notably than H. D. Traill, Andrew Lang, and Edmund Gosse—all of whom entered the (may we call it?) profession between forty and sixty years ago. Traill for weight and 'Punch' Lang for variety and grace; Gosse for lightness—they would be pretty hard, I will not say to equal, but to beat, in any company and in any times.

Now, near the end of the first third of the twentieth century I seem to notice that it is rather the 'eighties than the 'seventies which are regarded as the distinctest part of 'yesterday,' and perhaps politically there is no great difficulty in accepting this or at least accounting for it. It looked as if Shooting Niagara had not done so very much after all, and though some of the greater names of the first half of the century had been written off, not a few remained. But at the time no sense of age and no spirit of revolt had come on literature. The very selection of the title of this periodical itself would be enough to prove this, and I do not remember that there was any kind of atmosphere as of 'beginning' about or seeming to be about. If the Turks had not obliged Mr. Gladstone by cutting Bulgarian throats to an extravagant extent, there is no knowing what might have happened or not have happened. But the Turks

did oblige; and the Irish, in their complicated Hibernian way, obliged likewise; and Tennyson and Browning and Carlyle died, and the novel ceased to be a three-decker; and after something like a century play-writing seemed to be possible again in England.

The dying off or foundering of the three-decker had, by the way, one malignant effect which was left out of Mr. Kipling's beautiful poem on its disappearance. While it lasted it added very considerably to the profits of those Pressmen who had to do with it. Mr. Bludyer, it may be remembered, was in the habit, after a piratical or petty-larcenous fashion, of laying hands upon books in newspaper offices, of reading them after a fashion, selling them at second-hand bookshops, and, after knocking off a notice, dining on their price. The indecencies of this process were manifold and obvious. He ought to have waited till the books were sent to him, or at least to have chosen them under the eye and with the leave of an authority. He ought to have completed the reading and the writing *before* he sold them. And we ought to be assured that he had any right to sell them at all. For among the many minor differences between papers in those days this was not the least. There were some, and of the best, where the books reviewed had to be returned to the editor as a matter of course, and a very considerable addition to his salary a whole year's book-selling must have made; while if he was a very conscientious man, the paper, by judicious selection, acquired a very useful modern library. On the other system, books of any definite value reviewers who were not very hard up, of course, kept. But a novel in the three-volume form took a great deal of room, was clumsy to re-read for pleasure, and if it was really any good was sure to be quickly reprinted in a less cumbersome and more manageable and useful form. Circulating libraries, then more numerous than now, were eager to have, and consequently the second-hand bookshops to buy, the first issues. I do not know, and I do not think that there was any fixed ratio of price to the guinea and a half of that issue. But you did not get as much in proportion for one- or even two-volume books as you did for the authentic 'old three-decker,' though it was a fluent and not entirely baseless sneer that nobody read the second 'vol.' There was an air of respectability about it. Let us also hope that there was nothing disreputable in the entries that occur sometimes in old account-books of six, seven, or even ten pounds for batches of new-old novels!

There is a point about the great expansion of periodicals and the consequent multiplication of 'journalists' in the wide sense—very wide, for it is still thought good to indulge in the pleonasm *daily* journal and more often in the contradictions 'weekly,'

'monthly,' and even 'quarterly' journal—which may have interest for some readers. Whence and how did the journalists of these journals come? Of comparatively late years I have seen and heard of schools and institutes of journalism, and even of parts of it, such as short stories. I have also seen some most respectable names connected with these academies, but the matter has always been a sort of puzzle to me. On the one hand, I myself have had no small experience of teaching—eight years as a schoolmaster and twenty as a professor. On the other, I have had still longer experience of practical journalism of almost every kind. Further, nobody will be surprised if I tell them that during the two decades in which I held the chair of Rhetoric and English Literature at Edinburgh—one of the nearest to a chair of Journalism itself (if such a thing may be) outside the Classics—I was again and again besought to tell students how to get posts on papers. I had but one answer: 'Send something somewhere and try.' It might not seem very obliging—it might even seem a really disobliging refusal to tell secrets which had obtained profit for oneself, but of which one was not now making much use for that self. But I am pretty sure that it is the best answer—the only answer—that is wise and safe.

Of course, there are some people whom no teaching, no patterning will help. I did not need to tell my students to read good examples; few of them were absolute idiots. I may have told elsewhere the sad but true story of one catastrophe which was told me by the editor concerned. He had on his staff a man who contributed frequently, if not regularly, articles on one of those artistic or scientific subjects which can be handled at leisure at home, and when printed can be sent in proof to the writer to wait any convenient season of insertion. The man was also a personal friend. He took it into his head to become, if not a regular leader-writer, at least an occasional writer of regular leaders in the witching hours of night, before the House of Commons had agreed to pay itself for working according to the great new principles of the twentieth century: 'The less work, the more pay'—when foreign or distant home news came in, not by telegram or telephone, but by horse-expresses and so forth. Now, the editor, though a very good fellow and a good friend of this ambitious one, was not going to have tricks played with his paper, and had a shrewd suspicion that his friend might not be quite up to the task he sought. So for a considerable time he put the aspirant off less or more seriously. At last, of course, what happened in the case of the Unjust Judge and other people happened with him. So it was arranged that the urgent novice should come down at the sacred hour of ten o'clock, should have a subject of the day given him and try his

hand on it. He came, was given his subject—a quite genuine one, but, of course, one which would not be missed if it did not appear next morning, and dismissed to a room by himself, a luxury which one did not always enjoy in those days. No 'copy' came down or went up, and, of course, no article appeared next morning. The editor equally of course, had not been undignified or ill-natured enough to investigate what was going on between ten and midnight when the contributor had departed (to make the inevitable variety-parallel) in despair and a hansom. But later things came out to the expected extent. He had begun over and over again, had sometimes found the 'subject' slipping away from him; sometimes that neither on that subject nor any other could he find anything to say worth saying.

Of course it may be said, 'Well! first attempt. He'd have done all right, or at least better, with practice.' I rather doubt it. Practice might have supplied him with one of those dreadful first paragraphs which we all know so well, and which a wicked sub-editor once told me he always transposed to third because people were less likely to read them, and because they were as good or as bad in one place as in the other.

With another misfit of the same kind I was once brought into still closer contact. When I was making my usual visit to my editor, another young man (I was young then) came out as I went in. After a sort of sigh—half of relief and half to allow sufficient time for the outsider to get a little away from the door—our commanding officer said, 'Did you look at him? He is one of the plagues of my life. He is a very good fellow: and his people are very good friends of mine. But somehow the "subjects" I give him generally don't suit *him*, and the articles he gives me don't suit *me*.'

I have known some arguments about 'recommendations'—arguments the results of which affected my own replies to students as above. I once, in my own earliest days of London work, sent, at about the same time, three articles, two of these at least strongly backed up by recommendations. The first was rejected because the editor did not agree with its opinions (they had nothing to do with politics). The second was rejected because this editor did not think the public would care for its subject. The principle of this latter rejection was, of course, quite sound, but the application might seem odd till you knew and considered the circumstances. For this subject was Dryden; and the public—at least the publishers and others—were so far from disliking it that this rejected paper formed the nucleus of some lectures; and was followed by a complete reissue of Scott's edition, a book in Macmillan's 'English Men of Letters,' and a further edition of selected plays in Nimmo's collection, with articles innumerable.

Of course the other people who would have liked to do similar things themselves found fault with these, but that is a matter of course, and, besides, does not in the least affect the question of the importance of a first rejection. What became of the third venture I do not clearly remember, but I think it was not recommended and was accepted.

No doubt chance, as everywhere, has a great deal to do with the matter, as well as things that can hardly be called chance. My Dryden-rejector was a man nearly as old as his century, and so representing in point of taste the first generation of the nineteenth, with most of whom Dryden was paying the penalty of his supremacy in the late seventeenth, and his scarcely lessened, though then shared, esteem in the eighteenth. The tide was just turning, and what I have said will show that I was to get the full advantage of it; but that turn in my editor's case had not actually come.

Unless one has an old head and a wise one—for age is not so invariably connected with 'wisdom' as, according to a great authority, 'width' is—things of this kind do not invariably occur to one, while there are others which cannot well do so. An editor has a file full of articles on the subject you have taken: rejection almost certain unless yours is extraordinarily and strikingly good. He has nothing, or nothing good, on a subject he wants at once: acceptance most probable if the postulant has any merit at all. I cannot say that I have many rejections on record, and I can say that I never sent an article on second trial, though I may have occasionally have used in other articles or in books, whose salvation was already assured, passages which had experienced damnation earlier. To make proposals a second time does not suit my taste, and, though in this case it is not the same person who is proposed to, there remains, if only known to itself, a certain smirch on a rejected face.

To conclude, despite the immense advance of the present time in knowledge and in subtlety, I fancy that journalism to-day is much less changed from journalism fifty years ago than this latter was from journalism not merely fifty but thirty years before; and this fancy is not merely grounded on a contemporaneity which cannot last more than a year or two and may not last more than an hour or a minute. I have always had rather a fondness for looking at things in general, especially literary things, *horizontally*.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



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THE CRISIS IN THE UNIONIST PARTY

THE author of *The Endless Adventure* has devoted a brilliant volume to the theme of politics as the art of gaining and keeping office. To illustrate this theme Mr. Oliver wisely selected the life and times of Walpole. No other period in our history, save, perhaps, the generation between the repeal of the Corn Laws and the outbreak of the Home Rule controversy, would have suited his purpose so well. For at other times individuals and parties are apt to find the normal exercise of their competitive activities in varying measure deranged and thrown out of gear by the incalculable intervention of ideas. There are even periods when the ideas become the protagonists and take charge, often with the most disconcerting effect upon the internal cohesion of parties and the fortunes of politicians. Such a period culminated in 1845 when the rising tide of the Free Trade idea swept Peel away in unreasoning surrender and left the Conservative Party an impotent rump.

Never was the victory of an idea so complete or so lasting.

It is true that in the domestic sphere its validity was successfully challenged by the first Factory Act at the very moment almost of its victory in the sphere of trade. In the external domain, too, its basic conception of the Empire as an unnecessary incubus, to be got rid of as soon as possible, began to give way, towards the close of the century, to a pride in British administrative and colonising achievement. But in the field of trade, where purely fortuitous circumstances, entirely unconnected with free imports, led to a generation of expansion and prosperity, it became a fixed dogma, and more than a dogma—a rooted intellectual and moral prepossession which admitted of no discussion. For nearly sixty years Protection was not merely dead, but damned. To question the efficacy of free imports implied not only sheer intellectual incapacity, but moral perversity as well. And this long after the theory had been discarded by all practical, and most intellectual, people in the world outside.

In May 1903 a great Imperial statesman, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, ventured to suggest that a slight modification of the rigidity with which the doctrine had been applied might be justified for the sake of closer Imperial unity. A shriek of horror arose, and the fiscal episcopate, in the shape of fourteen professors of economics, at once issued an encyclical to *The Times*, excommunicating him with bell, book, and candle. The Liberal Opposition exulted at the thought that their great adversary had committed himself to a plain avowal of heresy, while sober Conservatives shook their heads at the thought of such a bomb thrown into the political arena. The bomb certainly was alive, and evoked passionate enthusiasm as well as disapproval. The Great Taboo had been broken, and the stifled scepticism of years broke out in every direction. A flood of criticism against the whole Free Trade system poured in upon Mr. Chamberlain, and, almost before he realised what he had undertaken, he was committed to a comprehensive campaign for domestic protection and Imperial Preference.

His only available instrument was the Unionist Party, already exhausted and profoundly unpopular after nearly twenty years of office, and split by the new issue into three camps. There were the hard-and-fast Free Traders, most of whom went over to the Liberal Party. There were the 'whole-hoggers' who accepted Mr. Chamberlain's policy in its entirety, and the 'free-fooders' or 'retaliationists' who were for a mild measure of industrial protection, but were terrified—and not without reason—at the thought of the scope for misrepresentation afforded by any suggestion of 'food taxes.' Immediate defeat under such conditions was inevitable, and in 1906 the Liberal Party was returned to power with an immense majority. But the Liberals were

bankrupt of ideas, and, in spite of Mr. Chamberlain's illness, the new point of view grew and spread with amazing rapidity for the next three years, helped by a severe industrial depression. Then came Mr. Lloyd George's counterstroke of the 'land tax campaign,' the boldest piece of sheer political charlatanry in our generation—and the most successful. The Unionists fell into the trap, and, concentrating on a defensive criticism absolutely justified by the events, but quite futile from the point of view of electioneering, relaxed their successful anti-Free Trade propaganda. The elections of 1910 left the Irish in control, forced Home Rule once more to the front, and drove the Unionists still further on to the defensive. Presently all political issues were submerged by the war.

The war gave a great impetus to the Imperial idea, and in 1917, for the first time, a British Government, of which not only Mr. Lloyd George but Mr. Arthur Henderson was a member, formally accepted the principle of Imperial Preference in respect of any duties which we might impose. Effect was given to the resolutions in the Budget of 1919 in respect of existing dutiable commodities, and the principle has been applied since in connexion with all further extensions of duty, as a rule by the remission of one-third of the duty. On the issue of domestic protection the exchange of correspondence between Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law before the 1919 election seemed at one time to foreshadow a definite advance. But, in fact, little was done beyond a very limited Safeguarding Act applied against certain low exchange countries specifically, the direct protection of a very narrow range of key industries, the creation of a protected monopoly in dyestuffs, and the maintenance of the McKenna duties, imposed for exchange and freight reasons during the war. In the Coalition Cabinet the Unionist members seemed more and more disposed to let the fiscal issue go to sleep, as an embarrassment to their Liberal colleagues with whom they were gradually beginning to contemplate a permanent alliance against the growing menace of Socialism.

This conception of an anti-Socialist coalition has always seemed to me fundamentally unsound. Its whole tendency would be to stereotype a party conflict on class lines, in which the more numerous class with a positive doctrine would be bound to triumph over the less numerous vested interests acting purely on the defensive. The only answer to Socialism is an alternative economic creed, offering a more direct and practical solution of our economic difficulties, and so getting rid of social discontent, a creed appealing to deep-seated national and Imperial instincts in every section of the population, and cleaving the community vertically on an intellectual and not horizontally on a class issue.

The protection of the British standard of living and the building up of the economic unity of the Empire is the only creed which will fulfil these requirements. It alone can not only defeat Socialism, but displace it as the foundation of our national thought, and thus dominate the conduct of affairs whatever party may be in office. It is a creed which is the natural economic application of the whole Conservative and Unionist political philosophy, to which Free Trade, with its abstract dogmatism and its international and anti-Imperial outlook, has always been fundamentally alien. The natural and obvious party to carry it through, even if it had not already embraced Tariff Reform and Imperial Preference as its main constructive policy before the war, was the Unionist Party. But it could not do so as long as it remained in coalition with Liberals to whom Free Trade was a conviction. The revolt against the Coalition in 1922 was due to many causes, not least to sheer, instinctive Tory reaction against Mr. Lloyd George's personality and methods. But as far as some, at least, of us were concerned, it was first and foremost an effort to prevent, at all costs, an anti-Socialist coalition on a Free Trade basis, and to free the Unionist Party for a constructive policy.

Obviously there was no time for developing such a policy in the election which was precipitated by the Carlton Club meeting. All Mr. Bonar Law could do was to keep his hands free, and this, immediately after the meeting, he very definitely assured a deputation of his colleagues that he would do. Unfortunately, in the course of the election, he was persuaded to tie his hands by a declaration that there was no question of a change in the fiscal system of the country. The fatal negative pledge came home to roost within a twelvemonth. For when Mr. Baldwin came to the conclusion, in the autumn of 1923, that there was no other possible remedy for the unemployment, which had then already continued for three years, than Protection, he felt precluded from taking any action before another election had been held. This is not the occasion to discuss why we slid into the election as we did: why it might not have been possible to give a year or more to education of the electorate, or to have waited at least for the Budget of 1924 and gone to the country upon our definite proposals in the following autumn. Suffice it to say that we risked a sudden election with the ground entirely unprepared. Most of our candidates had forgotten or had never learned the case against Free Trade. The elementary Free Trade gambit that things would be dearer was played recklessly and with great effect where no one was ready with the obvious rejoinders. The question of preferential duties on foodstuffs did not arise as a general issue, for nothing was proposed beyond the very minor duties agreed upon at the 1923 Imperial Economic Conference

before an election had been decided. But the 'dear food' cry was mobilised all the same. In the circumstances there was no real reason for grave disappointment if the election resulted in a defeat, especially keeping in mind the fact that, on substantially the same poll, the luck of the election was all with us in 1922 and all against us in 1923.

As a matter of fact the position of the Unionist Party in the new Parliament was a very strong one. The largest single party in the House, with the only policy that could relieve the critical industrial situation, they had simply to stick to their guns, make good the task of education for which they had failed to give themselves time before the election, and rely on the blunders of their opponents, to make certain of an early return, not only to office, but to real power. Unfortunately the election had created an unreasoning panic from which the party, as an organisation, is only now beginning to recover. The 1923 election programme was hurriedly dropped in favour of a tentative policy of safeguarding, pending the fuller education of the electorate. The election of 1924 was fought on a programme of safeguarding, but not general Protection, and Imperial Preference, but no food taxes. An unwieldy majority was no compensation for such restrictions upon the power of the Government to do what the urgent needs of the nation demanded.

But worse was to come. Inconvenient as were the negative pledges given at the election, they did not of themselves constitute an insuperable barrier to a very considerable practical advance. The pledge to safeguard every efficient industry suffering from unfair competition was, in any reasonable interpretation either of the pledge itself or of the situation, a pledge to help out industries generally, subject only to this limitation, that it was to be done, not by the immediate imposition of a tariff, but successively as each could prove its case before an impartial tribunal. The pledge against food taxation was expressly stated by Mr. Baldwin at the election not to affect the undertakings given at the Economic Conference, and could perfectly honestly have included an extension of the same policy, so long as the staple foodstuffs of the working classes were not affected. But the nervous paralysis after victory was for some inexplicable reason even greater than the panic after the earlier defeat. Safeguarding was hedged about with so many restrictions that it was almost as easy for the proverbial camel to pass through the needle's eye as for an industry to secure fair treatment. Small industries were excluded as not important enough, and large ones, because helping them, in accordance with the pledge given, might be held to raise the wider issue of 'Protection.' The food pledge was held to preclude even the fulfilment of the 1923 Conference

undertaking where it involved new duties, or the reversal of Mr. Snowden's reductions of existing duties.

The actual undertaking to the Dominions was, indeed, fulfilled in another way by the institution of the Empire Marketing Board, which has done immense service in quickening the whole conception of reciprocal trade and development in the Empire. Such few industries, too, as slipped through the meshes of the White Paper procedure afforded, together with the restored McKenna and subsequent silk duties, a valuable object-lesson in the actual working of Protection. But in the main, it must be confessed, the new Government made no honest attempt to carry out its election pledges with regard to safeguarding or Imperial Preference. Discussion of the fiscal issue was, as far as possible, discouraged. The Government became, in fact, as far as policy was concerned, a Coalition Government, without the advantage of the support of the Liberal Coalition organisation which the previous Coalition had enjoyed. The result was inevitable. In spite of an admirable record of good, solid legislative and administrative work, in spite of memorable achievements in the foreign, Imperial and domestic fields which will live in history, in spite of the growing esteem throughout the nation for the character of the Prime Minister, the Government itself consistently damped down the enthusiasm of its own supporters and increasingly dissatisfied and bored the general public.

When the election came last May the Unionist Government could point to a great deal of useful work done and of further work of the same kind in prospect. But it could not claim to have made any adequate attempt to grapple with the fundamental issue of unemployment. Nor, in spite of some slight loosening up on safeguarding, did it foreshadow any adequate attempt in prospect. Imperial Preference was still indefinitely barred by a renewal of the pledge against food taxes, and the throwing away of the whole of the tea duty was a gratuitous slap in the face to Imperial sentiment in the party itself. Against this depressing programme Mr. Lloyd George and the Socialists were able to offer at any rate the promise of vigorous, comprehensive, and far-reaching action. In Mr. Lloyd George's case the scheme was too good to be true and fell flat. But Labour had behind it not only the sweeping nature of its promises, but years of unintermittent preaching of the Socialist gospel, and even more the enormous growth of political class feeling which there had been nothing in the way of a positive appeal to counteract. Conservatism managed to save the counties. But industrial England swung solidly to Labour.

Since then the country has thought harder and travelled further than at any time since the war. For the first time it

has begun to realise the full seriousness of ten years of abnormal unemployment with no prospect of improvement and many signs of increasing deterioration. For the first time it has begun to grasp the fact that the trouble is due, not to incidental and temporary causes, but to a fundamental failure of our whole economic policy. For the first time it is uneasily beginning to come to the conclusion that, unless action is taken speedily, our whole industrial fabric may break down. Last, but not least, its eyes have been opened, in an amazing way, to the incredible absurdity of the policy we have been pursuing. The idols of three generations have, almost overnight, become ridiculous and odious. As far as the general public is concerned it is now Free Trade that is not only dead, but damned. Damned, too, will be anyone who is not clearly determined to sweep it away root and branch, or who boggles at any step in the task of reconstruction on protectionist and Imperial lines. For, in spite of the hesitation of politicians, the public, or rather the new ideas, have taken charge and nothing can stop them.

Many factors have contributed to this remarkable tide in public opinion. The steady aggravation of the unemployment situation has choked off the last hope of many who somehow expected miracles from a Socialist Government. Mr. Snowden's attitude over the McKenna and Safeguarding duties, and Mr. Graham's pitiful efforts to tie us up with a European tariff truce, have irritated all sections of the public beyond measure, and convinced them, more than anything else, that Free Trade is based on sheer unreason. The dumping of Prussian wheat and other Continental produce has created a widespread exasperation in the farming community, which has consistently complained, but never before threatened concerted political action. Even Lancashire in desperation is awakening to the fact that on Free Trade lines it is rapidly going to the wall. Above all, the public are beginning with increasing clearness to see that there is no alternative to the vicious circle of increasing unemployment, more doles, more taxes and consequent further unemployment, than the safeguarding of the home market and the economic unity of the Empire.

Among the first to voice, and in no small measure to stimulate, the change in public opinion on the Imperial issue was Lord Beaverbrook. A Canadian who entered English politics as a vigorous champion of the full Chamberlain policy, only his intimate personal association with Mr. Bonar Law prevented him from protesting more vigorously than he did against the latter's weakening on the 'food tax' issue in 1912. Of recent years, in spite of the influence he might have wielded by the consistent promotion of his views through the great newspaper

organisation which he had built up, he had been more and more of a puckish Achilles, sniping intermittently from his tent at friend and foe alike. The election of 1929 convinced him that things had become too critical for a continuance of this policy. Frankly apologising to the world for his past in consequence, he launched a bold campaign for the idea of Imperial Economic Unity, or, as he himself has preferred to call it, Empire Free Trade. As a political artist Lord Beaverbrook paints with a broad brush. He belongs to the impressionist, not to say the futurist, school. That last adjective, indeed, is his best, and for the present purpose quite sufficient, answer to all the criticisms directed against the detailed features of the successive editions of his scheme as he has presented them to the public. What really matters is that the picture he paints is in its main outlines a true picture, and a great picture. His presentation of the subject gripped the public as no one had done since Mr. Chamberlain, and the fact that he deliberately thrust 'food taxes' in their most extreme form into the very forefront in no way diminished the appeal of his policy, and, indeed, greatly helped it with the farming interest. His own sincerity and passionate earnestness, and his courage in coming forward in person in the House of Lords and on the platform to advocate his cause, disarmed the sceptics who had begun by sneering at a fresh 'newspaper stunt.' By the close of the year interest had ripened sufficiently to warrant Lord Beaverbrook converting his general propaganda into the more definite organisation of an 'Empire Crusade,' a body which by February could count 200,000 members.

These developments could not fail to affect the internal situation in the Unionist Party. Throughout the lifetime of the late Government the rank and file of the party, as voiced by the National Union, had demanded a more forward fiscal policy with increasing insistence, but had been steadily stonewalled. In the House of Commons the large majority of active Protectionists in the party had been held in check, but not without continuous and growing mutterings of dissatisfaction. The change from Government to Opposition naturally led to a relaxation of discipline, intensified by the general feeling that the tactical considerations which had stifled the expression of Unionist convictions had proved mistaken when it came to the election. To these influences the directing machine was bound to respond. In November, at the Albert Hall, Mr. Baldwin accepted without qualification a resolution in favour of a more advanced policy on Safeguarding and Preference passed by the National Union, and proceeded in general terms to outline Imperial economic co-operation as the foundation of Unionist policy.

The demand for a more precise statement of fiscal policy grew

in insistence, and in response to it Mr. Baldwin on February 5 outlined his general programme—except for agriculture, which was left to a subsequent statement. That part of the speech which dealt with safeguarding marked a very definite advance. Safeguarding was no longer to be an experiment, but the normal armament of our industries, displacing the bows and arrows of Free Trade, and was to be available for negotiation and retaliation as well as for defence. It was to be applied on the sole responsibility of the Government, a phrase misinterpreted in some quarters as implying either that there would be no proper investigation or that applications might again be rejected on purely political grounds, but clearly meaning no more than that the detached attitude of the last few years would not be repeated, and that the next Unionist Government would regard safeguarding as its direct responsibility. On the Imperial side Mr. Baldwin sketched out a policy of industrial rationalisation on an Empire scale, declared for the maintenance of existing preferences, but barred the door to their extension by a repetition of the unqualified pledge against any taxation on food.

This severely limited Empire programme undoubtedly satisfied the majority of candidates and election agents who still lived under the shadow of the 1923 election. But by a large minority, and by the wider circle of those outside who believed in freer Empire Trade, it was received with dismay. Industrial rationalisation may some day be a very important factor in inter-Imperial economics, and even now may be of considerable value in enabling British industry to get the most out of existing preferences in the Dominions and in smoothing the way towards the acceptance of extended Preference by Dominion industries. But until the Dominions develop a large industrial export trade it cannot confer on them any advantages which would justify a wide extension of Preference on their part. That can only be done by Preference—coupled, it may well be, with rationalisation in relation to our own agriculture—to their agricultural exports. To those who, like myself, hold this view, and are convinced that the situation in the Empire is not one that allows of indefinite delays, it seemed intolerable to contemplate the possibility of yet another period of Unionist Government condemned by a negative pledge to the same sterility, as regards Imperial economic co-operation, that had marked the record of the last Government, to be followed, possibly, by a decade of even more negative Socialist rule.

I felt bound, therefore, to express my dissent from the Coliseum speech, and to plead for such a modification of the negative pledge as would allow of a sufficiently free hand to enable some progress to be made in negotiation with the

Dominions, and my plea was repeated in a speech of great breadth and cogency by Sir R. Horne a few days later. I fully realised the difficulties confronting the leader of the party in connexion with 'food taxes,' and was quite content to accept the position that certain staple foodstuffs might have to be excluded from consideration, or dealt with by other means than Preference, and, indeed, I believe that the peculiar conditions of agriculture in this country may make that the best solution in the case of wheat. All I was concerned with was that there should be room for some reasonable advance in preference which should set the tide running in the right direction and, as in the case of safeguarding, afford effective evidence of the unreality of the 'dear food' bogey. Misrepresentations of my attitude from opposite quarters made it possible for me to make it clear, and for Mr. Baldwin to confirm, that no disloyalty to the party or to its leader was implied in the effort to educate opinion towards some amendment of the Coliseum programme.

If that programme, as it stood, was inadequate from the point of view of those who, like myself, were prepared to acquiesce in a comparatively modest advance in Imperial economic co-operation, provided there was real advance, it was obviously unacceptable from the point of view of those who had espoused Lord Beaverbrook's Empire Crusade. It had already become plain that the Crusade might be something more than a mere educational body, and might be prepared to intervene actively in the selection of candidates or to put pressure on those who hesitated to accept its policy. But the public was quite unprepared for the bombshell which awaited it when on the morning of February 18 Lord Beaverbrook's and Lord Rothermere's papers announced the adhesion of the latter to the policy of Empire Free Trade, and the transformation of the Empire Crusade into a United Empire Party. The first impression was that Lord Beaverbrook had despaired of finding any bridge between his policy and Mr. Baldwin's, and had consequently joined hands in a movement directly aimed against Mr. Baldwin's leadership. For Lord Rothermere's animus against the Unionist leader, whatever its origin and continuing motives, was a matter of common knowledge. Nor, on that assumption, was there much ground for surprise in Lord Rothermere's adoption of a policy involving 'food taxes' which he had hitherto deprecated.

The new party started with a tremendous push in the Press of its promoters, and it would be a mistake to underrate the extent to which it appealed to a wide circle not only of Imperialists, but of Unionists dissatisfied with what they regarded as the lack of decision and courage in the general direction of the affairs of their party, or to take the actual numbers enrolling (173,000),

and the subscriptions collected, some 100,000*l.* in all, as the criterion of the strength of the new movement. On the other hand, the moment the crusade was converted into a party, and still more when it was announced that fifty Unionist seats in the South of England were to be attacked, the ranks of the Unionist Party closed solidly against it. No Unionist member of Parliament was deflected from his allegiance. In some quarters there was a vehemently hostile reaction against the wrecking tactics of the 'Press lords.' In others, where there was strong sympathy with the demand for a more active fiscal policy, there was apprehension, coupled with an earnest desire to find some compromise which would bring the United Empire Party back to the position of a propagandist wing of Unionism.

A fortnight was enough to make it clear that the new party could not hope to establish any place for itself in Parliament. But it was no less clear that it could seriously impair, and perhaps even wreck, the prospects of a Unionist victory at the election. For Lord Beaverbrook, concerned only with the victory of an idea, there was no object in destroying the only instrument which could carry it out, once he had succeeded in convincing candidates and party leaders that there were dangers more real and immediate than even the fear of misrepresentation over food taxes. His natural desire for a settlement may well have been strengthened by the vagaries of his colleague, who, in the interests of what he described as 'hundred per cent. Conservatism,' was daily adding new and highly disputable political items to the programme of what Lord Beaverbrook insisted was a purely economic party. He had throughout avoided Lord Rothermere's personal attacks on the Unionist leader, and in a speech at Gloucester on February 28 had made an earnest and conciliatory appeal to Mr. Baldwin to find agreement with him. On March 3, in view of the meeting of the National Union which Mr. Baldwin was due to address next day, Lord Beaverbrook went to see Mr. Baldwin and suggested to him the solution of a referendum on any inter-Imperial agreement which included food duties.

To this solution Mr. Baldwin's own mind had already definitely turned. No limitation of the pledge against food duties to essential or staple foods, no reservation of a reasonable freedom of action in regard to articles of minor importance, seemed to him to give immunity to his candidates against the 'dear food' cry, or to secure the electioneering advantage of the simple negative pledge. On the other hand, the referendum solved the difficulty involved in such a pledge—namely, that nothing could be done in the next Parliament without another election, which experience had shown meant that nothing would be done at all. The referendum alone could break the deadlock, and Mr. Baldwin

readily concurred in the suggestion. His colleagues were consulted and agreed. Next morning, in a speech which was as dexterous in its presentation as it was forceful and inspiring in its utterance, Mr. Baldwin laid the proposal before the National Union at the Hotel Cecil. The solution was acclaimed with unanimous enthusiasm and a vast sense of relief. The crisis within the party was solved—it is not altogether unreasonable to hope solved for good.

There remained the United Empire Party. Both Lord Beaverbrook's and Lord Rothermere's organs hailed the new solution with approval. But Lord Rothermere's concurrence had been reluctant and secured with no little difficulty. He was in no mood to join in the general acclamation of Mr. Baldwin. On the third day (March 7) he announced that the United Empire Party was to continue to promote the remaining items in his version of the party's policy and, as he has made clear since, to pursue the war against the 'old gang.' Lord Beaverbrook replied that this was going beyond the original objects for which the United Empire Party was formed, and, with grateful thanks and expressions of personal good-will, dissolved the short-lived partnership, taking the precaution at the same time to return all the subscriptions which had been sent in to United Empire Party I. So Mr. Esmond Harmsworth returned from the Continent to take over the chairmanship of the Executive Committee of United Empire Party II., an empty till and such enrolments as have continued to dribble in. What may be the position of United Empire Party II. by the time this article appears in print it would be premature to surmise. What is certain is that Lord Rothermere was never made such good use of as he was by Lord Beaverbrook in the best fortnight's entertainment witnessed in modern politics. It is not given to everyone to harness a rogue elephant and get the necessary heavy work done before the creature bolts back trumpeting to the jungle.

The question still remains, Has the referendum provided a real solution, or is it only a formula to bridge over differences which may soon reveal themselves anew? The previous history of the idea, which was first put forward, at Mr. Garvin's instigation, by the late Lord (then Mr.) Balfour on the eve of the 1910 election, and allowed to drop into quiet oblivion afterwards, may not be encouraging. But it is well to remember that in 1910 the referendum was a device for watering down a policy already adopted, whereas in 1930 it is introduced to enable a weak policy to be strengthened. The main argument advanced in its favour is that it will remove a great issue of inter-Imperial relations from the hazards of a General Election, and by securing a national verdict give to any agreement a sanction which would be

respected by any subsequent Government. But, in fact, there can be little doubt that when Free Trade goes it will go as irrevocably as Protection went in 1845, and the danger of a reversal of policy, still more of the repudiation of a formal inter-Imperial treaty, is not a very serious one. Nor is it easy to see how so vital an issue could either be kept out of the election preceding the referendum, or the referendum itself prevented from becoming almost a General Election in which the whole credit of the Government of the day was involved. There are other practical objections, real though not conclusive or insuperable. No progress, even on a small scale, can be made in the direction of increased Preference, or of help to British agriculture, pending the conclusion of some general inter-Imperial agreement sufficiently important to be the subject-matter of a referendum. The fact that such an agreement would require this special form of approval in our case may be felt by Dominion negotiators to put them at a disadvantage. If a single comprehensive agreement cannot be arrived at, but only smaller bi-lateral agreements, are these to be submitted to successive referenda, or is the first referendum, if favourable, to be held to have established the principle?

The real advantage of the proposal lies in this, that it enables the whole case for closer Imperial economic relations, and for food duties, to be vigorously argued on its merits without irrevocably committing the electorate. The elector is to have the opportunity of seeing exactly what he gets, as well as what he may be asked to give, before he gives anything. But it is only if the case is thus argued, if a Unionist Government is returned with a definite mandate to frame as comprehensive a treaty as it can secure—and that obviously must be one including duties on foreign foodstuffs—and if it throws itself whole-heartedly into the task of justifying that treaty to the country, that there is any real prospect of the election itself being won, or of the referendum resulting in a favourable answer. If, on the other hand, the referendum is to be used as a mere excuse for saying as little as possible about Imperial Preference, for avoiding any discussion of the implications of Imperial Preference in the way of duties on foreign agricultural produce, in fact for a general ostrich-like shirking of the issue, then there will be a disagreeable awakening at the election. For the 'dear food' cry, unless anticipated and countered by solid argument and in a frank and fearless spirit, will prove little less dangerous to weak-kneed candidates than if the party were directly asking for a free hand for food duties. Unless the party wishes to come to hopeless grief it must now make up its mind to preach 'food taxes' whole-heartedly, subject always to their submission to the referendum.

There is one further incidental advantage in the course proposed. That is, that British agriculture, in so far as its needs are not covered by the proposed guaranteed price for wheat, by anti-dumping duties, and by such other measures as Mr. Baldwin may yet announce, will have to look to the Imperial Economic Conference and to the referendum for help in its difficulties. It would be by no means inappropriate if at such a conference the President of the Board of Agriculture, as representing the nearest and not least important of the Dominions, in the economic if not in the political sense—namely, rural England—sat on the same side of the table with Dominion Ministers, assimilated his case to theirs, and secured their support for his claims.

All the above has been written, as, indeed, all recent controversy has proceeded, on the assumption that the fiscal issue will not be decided until there is another election. But it is at any rate conceivable—and 1845 affords a precedent—that the industrial situation may become so much worse, and public opinion so insistent on an immediate solution, that Free Trade may be swept away in the lifetime of the present Parliament, and by some regrouping within it. If so, it is also not inconceivable that the Imperial Economic Conference of next autumn might register an advance, by consent of all parties, which will render the referendum superfluous and entirely change the course of our affairs. That is as may be. One thing stands. The new ideas are on the march and will not be stayed.

L. S. AMERY.

CROSSING THE RUBICON?

ON February 5, 1930, the Church Assembly, after a memorable debate, adopted the following resolution:

That whereas, in the words addressed to the Church Assembly on July 2, 1928, by Archbishop Davidson, with the concurrence of the whole body of diocesan Bishops, 'it is a fundamental principle that the Church, that is the bishops together with the clergy and laity, must in the last resort, when its mind has been fully ascertained, retain its inalienable right in loyalty to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to formulate its faith in Him and to arrange the expression of that holy faith in its form of worship':

It is desirable that a Commission should be appointed to inquire into the present relations of Church and State, and particularly how far the principle stated above is able to receive effective application in present circumstances in the Church of England, and what legal and constitutional changes, if any, are needed in order to maintain or to secure its effective application: and that the Archbishops be requested to appoint a Commission for this purpose.

The language is rather cumbrous than obscure. The reference to the proposed Commission is so framed as to admit of a report indicating that, in the judgment of the Commissioners, the 'fundamental principle' of spiritual independence has nowise been violated or imperilled by the rejection of the Prayer Book Measure, that the Establishment as it now exists is in an entirely satisfactory condition, and that, in short, the Church of England has made 'much ado about nothing.' Such a report, however, is precluded by the circumstances in which the Commission has been agreed upon, by the language of the Archbishop of York in moving his resolution, by the controversy proceeding in the Church, and, above all, by the apparent deadlock into which the Establishment has been brought by recent events. Everybody understands that the task of the Commission is to review the relations of Church and State *in order to discover an alternative to Disestablishment as a way of escape from the 'impossible' situation which now exists.* The one Primate emphasised the essential immorality of the existing confusion, the other dwelt on the practical danger; but the arguments of both led to the same conclusion, namely, that the Establishment as it now stands

cannot be rightly suffered to continue, that its continuance breeds discord in the Church and discredit to the bishops, that, alike for sound discipline and for clerical self-respect, the Establishment must be either mended or ended.

Very justly, then, did the *Guardian*, which may be accepted as the quasi-official mouthpiece of the hierarchy, describe the Assembly's vote as 'a great historic event,' and the *Church Times*, which is thought to express the mind of the working clergy, declare the debate which preceded the vote to be 'sufficiently memorable to be called historic.' The grave warnings of the Church's representatives in Parliament, when the Prayer Book Measure was before the Houses, have been abundantly justified. The issue of Disestablishment has been definitely raised. Church and State are in conflict on a 'fundamental principle.'

The situation is novel, piquant and perplexing. Never before has the Establishment been challenged from the side of the Church. Hitherto the loyalty of English Churchmen has been appealed to in the interest of 'Church defence,' and 'liberation' has been the label of the enemy. Now the wheel has gone full circle, and the English Churchman is bidden, like the 'proud Sicambrian' at his baptism, to 'burn what he has worshipped and to worship what he has burned.' No wonder, then, that there is widespread consternation, and not a little genuine perplexity, in the Church of England. Why is it that the relations of Church and State in England, which were ardently defended up to the brink of the Great War, when Welsh Disestablishment was resisted by a practically united Church, have now become so profoundly unsatisfactory in the eyes of English Churchmen as to be declared publicly, and in the most emphatic manner, to imply the violation of the 'fundamental principle' of spiritual independence? How has it come to pass that the sacrosanct Establishment has acquired so sinister a character that, in the deliberate judgment of the weightiest spokesmen of the Church of England, it must be either mended or ended? The rejection of the Prayer Book Measure by the House of Commons—a proceeding unquestionably consonant with a law passed less than ten years previously at the Church's own instance—might provide the pretext, but certainly could not itself constitute the reason, for so dramatic and complete a revolution of Anglican opinion. How, then, is it to be explained?

It is important to distinguish between two kinds of Establishment, which are easily confused in men's minds, which presuppose different social and political situations, and which necessitate quite different ecclesiastical arrangements. Establishment may mean either the legal system by which a Christian nation transacts its ecclesiastical business, or the concordat between

the Church and the State, which delimits their respective spheres of control, and effects a working arrangement between them. The latter obtained generally in the Middle Ages. It implied a territorial organisation of the Church and the ecclesiastical unity of Christendom. The Church, identified by the reigning sacerdotalism with the clergy, acknowledged a twofold allegiance. It was subject to the Roman pontiff in spiritual things, and to the national monarch in secular. But these were apt to overlap, and, in point of fact, there was always a large debatable land between them, control over which was incessantly and sometimes hotly debated. The waxing self-consciousness of the European nations conflicted ever more sharply with the claims and interests of an international Church, and the enormous practical abuses of the ecclesiastical system rendered it an easy prey to the secular power, when once that power had become definitely hostile. Wherever the Reformation prevailed, Establishment by the method of concordats between Church and State passed away, and was succeeded by national establishments of religion, among which that in England had a unique character.

In England alone the Reformation was carried through by the national authorities. The King, the Parliament, and (very reluctantly) the Convocations were the instruments by which the religious change was effected. It followed that the English Reformation never acquired the revolutionary character which obtained elsewhere. The mediæval territorialism remained the assumption on which ecclesiastical arrangements were based, and the broad lines of the mediæval system were maintained. The Church of England, severed from the Roman obedience, and definitely repudiating all extra-national authority, was conceived of as the spiritual aspect of the nation, which, in the plenitude of an imperial autonomy, ordered its ecclesiastical affairs through the clergy, and its secular affairs through the officers of the State. The essential unity of the Christian nation was the governing idea of the Establishment. How different was the genesis of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland! There the Reformation was forced on a reluctant Government by religious rebels, and its triumph was everywhere marked by a systematic destruction of whatever was distinctive of mediæval Christianity. The course of Scottish history has had the effect of clothing the Church of Scotland with a national character, but its organic connexion with the State has been of the slightest, and it has ever guarded its spiritual independence with jealous care. The Church of England is mediæval in organisation, but modern in spirit. The Church of Scotland is modern in organisation, but mediæval in spirit. While the one Establishment has been denounced as 'Erastian,' the other, with not less reason, has been

accused of 'ultramontanism.' The difference between the two Established Churches is so profound and so penetrating that to argue from the one to the other is misleading and may be the cause of great disappointment.

The distinctiveness of the Church as a spiritual society and the fundamental importance of its independence, which were brought home to the Church of Scotland by the circumstances of its Reformation, are being taught to the Church of England by the course of its history. The presuppositions of the English Establishment have been destroyed by the social and political development of the nation. Thus the secularisation of the State, which has left the Establishment in Scotland practically unaffected, because the links between Church and State were in Scotland less legal than personal and theoretical, have in England brought the Establishment to apparent deadlock, because in England the Church has been so closely bound into the national system as to be an integral part of its structure. Indeed, it is precisely this intimacy of the legal and constitutional union between Church and State in England which has rendered the process of Disestablishment so complicated and disturbing that thoughtful English Churchmen have shrunk from attempting it, preferring rather to acquiesce in numberless anomalies and paradoxes, in spite of the discredit and weakness which confessedly these have inflicted on the cause of religion, than to embark on so formidable an enterprise.

Recent developments both in Church and State have, however, so altered the perspective in which Disestablishment is necessarily viewed that the subject has lost its abhorrent aspect, and no longer seems of the first importance to the public. While the national character and claims of the Church of England have in the minds of Churchmen rapidly waned, and been replaced by larger and more religious conceptions, the State has been completely democratised, with the result that the Established Church has declined into a comparatively petty factor in political life. The 'Nonconformist conscience' has traversed the same fortune. It is no longer a power of any consequence in the political sphere. Neither the Established Church nor Nonconformity retains its former importance. Ecclesiastical questions are no longer interesting to the majority of English citizens. Had the pre-war electorate remained, there can be little doubt that the action of the House of Commons in rejecting the Prayer Book Measure would have forced the question of Disestablishment into the forefront of politics, but the effect of the last two Franchise Acts in trebling the number of parliamentary voters has revolutionised political values. The electorate now is vastly more interested in wages and hours than in creeds and liturgies, and the rivalries of

Churches move the disgust rather than the concern of the public.

In these circumstances, always provided that the State is prepared to acquiesce in the Church's formal repudiation of its spiritual authority, there appears to be no reason why the Establishment should not linger for some considerable time. Such acquiescence, of course, cannot be regarded as assured: it may be quickly destroyed by some intolerable outbreak of lawless individualism among the parochial clergy, or by some scandalous development of popular rowdiness among the Protestant laity. Neither of these unpleasant contingencies can be regarded as improbable. Having placated its 'corporate' conscience by recording a protest and appointing a Commission, why should not the Church settle down to a situation of recognised lawlessness, limited only by the caution of incumbents and the resolve of the bishops to tolerate no moral misconduct? A 'go-as-you-please' Church would match well enough the prevailing temper of the public, which likes variety and dislikes discipline, while all the zealots of religious party would rejoice in an unhindered liberty of propaganda. Devout people, who desire above all things to escape from controversy, in order that they may concentrate their efforts on religious and philanthropic work, will be disposed to reckon an abeyance of discipline but a small price to pay for a cessation from political conflict.

There remains, however, a factor which is not easily reconciled with so slipshod an arrangement. There is the moral issue to be faced. Very truly did the Archbishop of York in moving his resolution emphasise the moral difficulty as primary:

The evils from which we at present suffer [said His Grace] are of a kind which gravely imperil the evangelistic and spiritual work of the Church in the parishes from moment to moment. The main evil is that it is radically bad for any society to conduct its life in uncertain relationship to the law which is supposed to govern it, and that uncertainty does exist. The difficulty with which we are confronted at the moment is not primarily administrative, but moral. There is no certainty on the question of lawful authority. . . . The course taken by the bishops since July 1928 was, I believe, the right and inevitable course, but I also believe that it is morally indefensible unless we are at the same time setting our hands to deal with the situation which created the problem.

The bishops are openly breaking the law which they are pledged to administer, and they are sanctioning breaches of the law by the clergy. Their defence is that the law has broken down, and that only their illegal action stands between the Church and complete confusion. This defence is not adequate, nor even respectable, unless those who offer it are making an honest and resolute effort to change the existing Establishment so as to make

a return to legality possible. Hence the Commission 'to inquire into the present relations of Church and State.'

The Archbishop thought that 'a Commission, if set up, would take five years to report.' It is not quite obvious why such prolonged investigation should be requisite. The relevant facts are perfectly well known to every competent lawyer and to most educated clergymen. They have often been discussed. There is no mystery about the reasons why the Establishment has long been regarded with misgiving by religious Anglicans, and is now by many looked upon as morally indefensible. The untoward incident in the House of Commons focussed public attention on one aspect of it—namely, the subordination of the Church of England to Parliament in spiritual matters. But there are other features of the Establishment which are not less offensive in principle, and even more mischievous in practice. The paralysis of the legal system by the 'Erastian' character of the final court, and the appointment of the bishops by the Crown on the nomination of a Prime Minister, who may be neither a Churchman nor even a Christian, with complete disregard of the interest of a diocese or the wishes of the Church, are notorious incidents of the present situation which perhaps loom larger in the eyes of ordinary Churchmen than the spiritual supremacy of Parliament: because, while this supremacy is but rarely exercised, and causes no more than an occasional scandal, they are normal factors of the Church's life, and breed a continuing irritation.

Meanwhile, the whole subject of the Church's position in modern society is being forced into a new prominence and seen in a new perspective. It is no longer even roughly true to say, with Chief Justice Hale, that 'Christianity is part of the laws of England, and therefore to reproach the Christian religion is to speak in subversion of the law.' Anti-Christian books pour from the presses, contemptuous references to Christianity are familiar in newspapers and in the common intercourse of society. It is hardly excessive to say that in England to-day Christianity is everywhere on the defensive. The tone of society is reflected in politics, where the triumph of democracy has vested the power of the State in a vast electorate, in which professed Christians are but a small minority. As the Christian tradition wanes, the consequences of this fact will become increasingly apparent, and these cannot but affect the relations of Church and State.

An episcopal Church is in special degree exposed to the danger of 'Erastian' manipulation, because the appointment of the bishops by the State—an invariable circumstance of the Church's established position—may easily become a potent instrument for shaping ecclesiastical opinion and policy. In the past the Crown patronage has been notoriously used for the

State's own purpose. This abuse is the historical source of that alienation of the working clergy from the episcopate which, though in an attenuated form, has survived until the present time, and does certainly tend to render the work of ecclesiastical administration more difficult. When, after the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty, party government became the rule in England, the Crown patronage was habitually used in the interest of the dominant party. So strongly rooted was this ill habit that even so religious a prelate as Bishop Gibson was content to be 'Walpole's Pope' and assist that cynical statesman in packing the Bench with his political supporters.

Gibson's acceptance of the position of confidential adviser of the Ministry had cemented this alliance between clerical and lay Whigs. He regarded it as a duty to defend the Administration against its enemies, and there can be no doubt of his fidelity in the discharge of it. His purpose in filling the vacancies on the Bench with Whigs had been to strengthen the party interest where it was most needed, in the Church and in the Parliament, and the constant support which the bishops had given in the House of Lords had fulfilled his expectations.¹

This subordination of spiritual to political considerations in the administration of the Crown patronage lasted far into the nineteenth century, and cannot be said to be yet wholly extinguished. The personal piety of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury checked but did not destroy it. Far more effective reasons for its decline were the new vigilance of public opinion, and the waning political importance of the episcopal vote in Parliament. The first made the abuse politically unwise, the last reduced its practical value to vanishing point. When the nineteenth century began, the twenty-six spiritual peers might have had considerable, even decisive, weight in the House of Lords, which then was a potent factor in the Constitution. To-day the bishops are a negligible element in a House which numbers more than 750 members, and whose powers have been reduced to a shadow. There are, however, reasons for thinking that the ancient abuse may return in a new and more formidable shape.

With the emergence of organised 'Labour,' and its rise to political dominance, a momentous change is passing over the whole situation. The time-honoured strife of Whig and Tory, Liberal and Conservative, was essentially political, and never went very deep. Both parties held fast to the fundamental postulates of civilised order as it had descended from the Middle Ages. Both took for granted the system of society and the constitution of the country. The game of party politics, as it may be studied in the luminous pages of Disraelian fiction, never went far below the surface. This character of English political life

¹ *Vide* Sykes, *Edmund Gibson*, p. 144 (Oxford).

was assisted by the circumstance that a political career was for the most part beyond the reach of any but members of the governing class, and these were commonly educated together in school and university, and bound into the habit of an exclusive society, coming thus to share a common heritage of ideas, traditions and ideals. Even the economic revolution, which brought the middle classes into political dominance, did not essentially alter this aspect of party politics. It remained an affair of the surface, which left undisturbed the foundations of society.

The 'Labour' Party stands outside this comity of party habit based on community of social tradition. It has, indeed, attracted to itself a certain number of recruits from the older parties. The *déclassé* aristocrat is ever a familiar feature in revolutions. No doubt the presence of non-Labour elements in its ranks tends to obscure the essential novelty of 'Labour's' political type. Their influence as a moderating power is not likely to be considerable or permanent. The future of 'Labour' as a distinct and distinctive element in our politics lies with its left wing. Already, both in Parliament and in the constituencies, a change is perceptible. Politics is ceasing to be a friendly game and becoming a grimly serious business. The old social amenities which once mitigated its rigours and bridged its chasms are ceasing to be possible. The divergence of class habit and culture is too great. There is no common fund of assumptions on which political controversy can proceed, and party differences are pushed down to the foundations of economic system, social order, and even personal morality. The entrance of women into the political arena has certainly not tended to arrest this development. Not the compromising temper of political opinion but the passion of religious conviction is beginning to mark the course of political controversy. 'Labour' is really less a party than a Church. It dogmatizes, denounces, and excommunicates more naturally than it reasons, co-operates, and consents to compromise. Socialism and Communism are creeds rather than programmes; and they inspire their advocates with a propagandist zeal comparable with that which is bred in the Churches. Generally on the Continent, and largely in this country, Socialists and Communists are frankly hostile to Christianity, in which, indeed, they recognise their most formidable opponent. It is difficult to see how it could be otherwise, for their distinctive doctrines appear to disallow the postulates of religion, and to conflict with the morality on which the civilised order of historic Christendom has been built. There are, indeed, both on the Continent and in Great Britain, many excellent persons who cling to the hope that a reconciliation may be effected between the Christian religion and the types of economic and social order which Socialists and Communists seek

to establish on the ruins of the existing society. But experience in the past and in the present does not authorise their hope, and certainly the recent appearance in Russia of a Communist State which is aggressively atheist goes far to disallow it.

History is fertile in surprises; and Christianity is almost infinitely adaptable. The Church which could consecrate the despotism of Justinian, and create the Holy Roman Empire, may conceivably be able to discover a *modus vivendi* with modern democracy, and even with the socialistic or communistic State. It is rash to prophesy, but it were foolish to disregard the lessons of experience. Such precedents as the past offers to the present are not helpful or hopeful. The age-long controversy between sacred and secular is taking new forms. Mediæval dualism, a reversion to which is not the least singular feature of our time, is conditioned by the modern novelty of the 'neutral' State. There is no longer, as in the past, a conflict between clergy and laity within a Christendom, but the Church ordered as a spiritual society (bishops, clergy and laity) confronts the State organised as non-religious in theory, and always tending in practice to become anti-religious. The ancient besetting sin of the Christian Society, which, by an odd historical accident, has come to be known as 'Erastianism,' takes a subtler and more dangerous form in the circumstances of our age.

In view, then, of the actual situation in which we find ourselves, and taking account of the tendencies which are now prevailing in the modern world, may it not be for the Church of England the wisest, and withal the most self-respecting, course to get clear, at whatever cost of sentiment and material interest, of a connexion with the State which is plainly outworn and ineffective, but which may easily become spiritually paralysing, and to face the formidable future, which is taking shape before our eyes, with her spiritual character vindicated, and her freedom of action assured?

HERBERT DUNELM.

THE INDIAN SCENE

A REPLY

THE Earl of Lytton's article under this heading in the March number of this Review deserves careful attention as coming from one who has had five years' experience of the Governorship of Bengal, and who acted as Viceroy for four months during Lord Reading's absence on leave in England. I do not think that I am doing Lord Lytton any injustice if I suggest that when he went out to Bengal he shared Mr. Montagu's ideals in regard to the future of India, but that when he returned his Bengal experience had caused him to lose some of his illusions. That the old ideals had not entirely been dissipated seems to follow from the fact that many of the conclusions formed from his actual experience seem to conflict with many of the optimistic hopes which he expresses from time to time in his article. With all deference to Lord Lytton, I cannot but feel that certain arguments are put forward, and deductions made, in his presentation of the case which do not stand analysis, if all the known facts are brought into the picture.

Lord Lytton explains how the Indian problem has come to be discussed in anticipation of the Simon Commission's Report.

Lord Irwin [he writes] had experienced, as others have done before him, the great difficulty of convincing Indians of the sincerity of British profession of sympathy with their national aspirations. Being himself a man of transparent sincerity, he was grieved to find himself in a fog of suspicion and mistrust, which he was quite unable to dissipate.

He goes on to explain that it was not merely unreasonable extremists who had to be satisfied, but the genuine misgivings of men of sober judgment as to the definition of the goal, and the equally serious misgivings of the Indian princes as to their place in the future Indian Constitution. Lord Irwin's policy was thus directed to a clearer definition of the goal and to the summoning of a tripartite Conference between the British Government, the princes, and British India to discuss the constitutional changes which it would be possible to undertake, this Conference to be held after the publication of the Simon Commission's Report.

His object was to make 'a final attempt to dissipate, if possible, this atmosphere of mistrust before the Report of the Commission was published.' Without doubt this explanation by Lord Lytton of the reasons which moved the Viceroy to the action that he took is entirely true, but it does not in the least follow that Lord Irwin's reading of the situation was equally correct.

The questions that require an answer are: First, was there any such genuine mistrust? Secondly, by whom was it felt? And thirdly, if there was such genuine mistrust, was it likely to be dissipated by the policy followed? If there was no such mistrust, or if it was only felt by a very few, or if Lord Irwin's declaration had not allayed it, then, however transparent Lord Irwin's sincerity (and I am sure that nobody doubts that), the declaration itself may prove to have been unwise. Lord Lytton dwells upon the unanimity of approval which was expressed at the time by various sections of opinion in India. Many things are hailed with approval on the impulse of the moment which afterwards prove to have been disastrous. The belief in Lord Irwin's honesty of purpose may have deterred many British in India from expressing misgivings which they could not entirely banish from their minds. There may also have been many educated Indians who were afraid to say what they really thought through the very natural fear that they would be vilified as unpatriotic—a fear which causes large numbers of Indians to express a lip sympathy with things which they cordially fear and mistrust. As to illiterate Indians (very nearly 300,000,000), they have no idea whatever what the whole thing is about, except that they are told that 'Swaraj' is nearer, and suppose that Government must be for some mysterious reason on the side of the Swarajists, or the latter would not have been enjoying full licence to abuse and oppose the Government.

To come back to the questions that I have just asked, what is this all-pervading 'fog of suspicion and mistrust' with which every new Viceroy 'finds himself involved'? It has been the stock-in-trade of Indian politicians ever since this class came into existence. It is merely an Oriental exploitation of British honesty. They ask for a sign, and directly they have been given one sign they ask for another, and so it will be until there are no British left to give them any more signs. The fog is not a genuine fog, but an artificial smoke screen put up by agitators to cover their designs and to make it be thought that they are most reasonable men, merely asking to have their honest doubts removed. In the first place, Mr. Montagu's announcement and the effect given to it by the Government of India Act were surely signs enough of the British Government's benevolent intention. Yet, in the very first Assembly, efforts were made to rip up the infant

Constitution, and such efforts have persisted ever since. What more signs could be wanted? Enlarged legislative councils with overwhelming Indian majorities were conceded; half the executive councils consist of Indians, while a number of portfolios in every province was entrusted to Indian Ministers. The services were steadily Indianised and a beginning made to train Indians to officer Indian regiments; local self-government was released from a much-needed control; fiscal autonomy was granted in all essentials, and a start was made with protective duties; the Press Act and certain other enactments were given up—a step of which the present state of the country shows the unwisdom. In fact, the general atmosphere in India has been one of increasing Indianisation, not only of personnel, but of commercial and economic interests. The Government of India has used its best endeavours and all its influence to defend the Indian cause in South Africa and throughout the Empire. In spite of all these things, we are told of the same old fog persisting. The Government has meekly submitted to the tyranny of an autocratic president of its chief Legislative Chamber. It has even refrained from prosecuting sedition, except in the case of outbursts so rabid that the very stones would have cried out if the law had not been set in motion. At every stage the performance of Government has exceeded its promises, and yet the fog of suspicion and mistrust has, we are told, thickened instead of lifting—the fog of pretence raised by politicians suspicious that Great Britain does not mean well by India—and yet more and still more signs must be given.

So Lord Irwin made his famous pronouncement regarding 'Dominion status' and the Round Table Conference. Whom exactly does this pronouncement conciliate? It has failed to mitigate the violence of the Youth Party, who made a dastardly attempt upon the life of the Viceroy and are still planning further outrages. It has failed to win the blessing of the so-called saint 'Mahatma' Gandhi and of the National Congress. It is supposed to have won a few gentlemen who were sitting on the fence and who are flatteringly described as moderates. I give here a report of the resolutions passed at a 'moderate' meeting of prominent people of a district in Berar held at a certain cotton town, which may be taken as a specimen of what such meetings are. It was passed by people of whom not half a dozen probably could have given any coherent account of what the term 'Dominion status' might mean. This meeting was held on December 15, six weeks after the announcement, and the resolutions passed were as follows (the italics are mine):

1. That this meeting of the prominent people of all the parties in the district appreciates the sincerity of H.E. the Viceroy in trying to solve

the Indian political problem by making the announcement stating that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as defined in the Declaration of 1917 is the attainment of Dominion status.

2. That this meeting accepts the offer of a joint discussion by representatives of India with the representatives of the British nation. This meeting, however, understands that the proposed meeting will proceed to frame a scheme of Dominion constitution for India, and will not discuss when Dominion status is to be established in India.

3. That this meeting, however, is of opinion that, in view of the absolute necessity of securing a calm atmosphere for the proposed discussion, and also with a view to assure the Indian public in a sure and practical manner about the good intentions of the Government—a step which has become so badly necessary in view of the discussion in the House of Lords and of the subsequent letter of Mr. MacDonald in reply to Mr. Baldwin's letter to him in this connexion—the Government will please declare without delay the grant of a general amnesty to all the political prisoners in India, including revolutionaries of any type.

4. That to further achieve the objects of the said Declaration this meeting considers it *absolutely necessary* that the constitution and procedure of the said Conference be forthwith published, and that *effective assurances be given to the Indian public that effect will be given to the views of the Indian representatives at the proposed Conference.*

This being the kind of stuff of which such meetings are composed, and also the kind of stuff which they produce, it seems idle to lay much stress on the conciliation of the good people of the Buldana district. The town of Khamgaon, where this meeting was held—and, indeed, the people of the Buldana district—are more interested in the price of cotton than in any politics outside their district. They live by growing, selling, ginning and pressing cotton, as well as gambling in cotton prices, and that is really the only thing that interests them. A handful of pleaders must have drafted these resolutions, backed up by schoolboys, and meekly accepted by a mystified audience of people who know no English.

It seems fairly obvious that those among the political *intelligentsia* of India who are ambitious to obtain the complete control of its Government are divided into three sections:

(1) The ultra-revolutionary who proposes to use bombs and bullets.

(2) The so-called 'non-violent,' civil disobedience people—namely, Gandhi and the National Congress.

(3) The so-called 'moderates,' who envisage complete Dominion status at a very early date.

All these parties aim at absolute independence from British control, for the third party regard full Dominion status as tantamount to independence. These are really all working together, and they all three understand quite well what is expected of each of them. The National Congress Party likes to have a party of

force on its left and a party of so-called constitutionalists on its right, who can all, in their several ways, help in obtaining from the British nation the withdrawal of British authority at which they are aiming. The middle party professes to dislike the bombs of the left, yet hails the bomb-throwers as patriots, while the constitutional party in their turn deprecate any repression of the middle party, holding out the threat that in that case they would be driven to join it.

The Indian princes are very apprehensive about their status. They have immense confidence in the sincerity of the Viceroy, and naturally support his policy. At the same time, they do not wish to antagonise too much the politicians who are able to stir up a good deal of mischief in their States. They do not wish to express candid opinions about British India in case they invite the obvious retort that, if they claim independence of British India for themselves, they had better refrain from any interference in the concerns of British India. The line of least resistance, in their case, is to applaud Dominion status for British India so long as their own independence is guaranteed.

When people talk about European opinion they should make it clear that they mean the opinion expressed by some leading commercial men, most of whom live in the Presidency towns. They do not know what the opinions may be of the rank and file of European commercial men living in the country districts, and they do not know what the opinion may be of European officials, who best of all understand how the governmental machine will work or break down under purely Indian control, but are mute. Large numbers of Europeans in the Presidency towns consist of juniors in the big firms; they take little or no interest in politics, and are content to follow the lead of their seniors; even if they thought otherwise, they would hesitate to oppose these seniors. Indian politicians have been able to bring economic pressure by means of boycotts and strikes upon European commercial men, and, finding the Government unable to help them in these difficulties, while admiring the high character of the Viceroy and his sincere efforts to win by conciliation, they have found themselves obliged to take their cue from him in the hope that they will thereby receive generous consideration from Indian politicians whom they have helped to place in power. It seems more likely, however, that their efforts at conciliation, however much they win the applause of Indian politicians now, will ultimately avail them nothing when these politicians are well seated in the saddle and this European help is no longer of any use to them. Lord Lytton thinks that this announcement has brought peace to India. It may have brought about a lull, but the lull is an artificial one, as events are showing and will continue to show. The

opposition, violent and non-violent, are redoubling their efforts, while the moderate claim has become immediate Dominion status with a few transitory safeguards perhaps, but safeguards for the removal of which immediate agitation will begin if the main prayer is granted. All these results have been brought about by convincing everybody in India, who can think at all, that the Government is continuously giving way to the agitator. Nothing is said about the many hundreds of British and the many thousands of educated Indians who heard of the announcement with alarm and consternation. Recent attacks on British rule in the Assembly were made by men who were supposed to have been conciliated, and the British Press in India, which has given its blessing to Dominion status, may be hard put to it presently to justify its enthusiasm.

Lord Lytton contends that even the lower castes share the dream of *Swaraj*. If it is a dream, it is a nightmare. A large artisan association asked the Simon Commission for a 'Free State of India,' but they particularly stipulated that 'the control of the British Parliament should continue as at present.' They asked that the British personnel in the Army and Civil Services should remain as at present. Their representation was full of distrust and detestation of Brahmins, and their detailed scheme provided that Brahmins should have no share in the Executive Government. What does Lord Lytton himself say about 'Dominion status'? He emphasises the fact that the words used were 'Dominion Status,' not 'Dominion Constitution' or 'Dominion Government.' He will forgive me for saying that by this emphasis he has inadvertently supplied the agitators with excellent material for deepening that fog of mistrust which Lord Irwin has been trying to dissipate. They will at once say, Here is one more instance of British insincerity; to us Dominion status means the full self-governing status of Canada or Australia, but here is a responsible man trying to explain it away! Lord Lytton is quite correct in saying that if India became fully self-governing *and stayed within the Empire* she would certainly be a Dominion, but the substitution of one distant goal for another is not what they want. They want immediate power, and if the Viceroy's announcement did not mean both a great accession of power and rapid acceleration of its bestowal, then clearer definition of the distant goal was of no interest to them at all. That being so, Lord Lytton's contention that the Viceroy's statement could cause no embarrassment to Sir John Simon and his colleagues is not sustainable. Lord Lytton writes:

The statement had no bearing on the subject-matter of Sir John Simon's inquiry. It defines somewhat more explicitly than has hitherto been done the goal of that policy which had been foreshadowed in 1917

and embodied in the Act of 1919. The Simon Commission is not required to state what that policy was: it is asked to express its opinion as to whether, in the light of ten years' experience, that policy was wise or unwise—if unwise, how it should be altered; if wise, how it should be developed.

That is a very accurate description of the Commission's task, but if the Commission came to the conclusion that the policy had been unwise, and recommended its modification, how could Lord Lytton then conclude that the announcement will have rendered the task of the Commission easier and not harder? Lord Lytton has forgotten that Sir John Simon himself, guarded as he was, said in the House of Commons that the announcement had not made his task easier. The chairman of the Indian Central Committee, as reported in the Press,

freely admitted that Lord Irwin's announcement had affected both the prestige and influence of the Simon Commission and the Indian Central Committee. Indeed, he had already heard it said that their reports might as well be burnt. In any case they would only form one of many pieces of evidence at the London Conference.

Lord Lytton, however, affirms that 'those who say the announcement should not have been made till after the publication of the Commission's Report fail altogether to understand Lord Irwin's object in making it.' The point is not what Lord Irwin's object was, but whether it was likely to have, or has had, the effect that he intended.

Lord Lytton specially commends Mr. Baldwin's speech in the House of Commons as making up for most of the mischief caused by other speakers. That speech, however well intended, will not affect the opinion or action of Indian politicians. The *Janambhumi* of Madras spoke of Mr. Baldwin as 'this ironmonger and merchant, and stated that Indians did not care a jot what Mr. Baldwin's ideas might or might not be about Dominion status.

It is, however, in the latter portion of the Lord Lytton's article that the statement of his conclusions seem so much in conflict with his general optimism. He gives several reasons, founded on his own experience in Bengal, why the whole scheme of government based on parliamentary models, which is the one favoured by the Indian *intelligentsia*, 'is practically unattainable.'

The Swarajist politician [he writes] professes that it is only with a 'satanic' Government that he will not co-operate. In practice it is not so. He finds it just as difficult to co-operate with his own countrymen. Every Indian claims to speak in the name of India, but there are few subjects on which other Indians will accept his authority. Not even for the sake of India will the Hindu make any concession to the Moslem or the Moslem to the Hindu, the Brahmin to the non-Brahmin or the man of caste to the

outcast e. The Sikh is disowned by the Mahratta, the Madrassi by the Jat; . . . and the Bengali will not co-operate even with himself. This lack of confidence makes all representative machinery unworkable.

We also find him writing 'the Viceroy's statement was at once recognised and welcomed, as both a satisfactory recognition of the Indian national ideal and as a *practical contribution to its attainment*.' This seems somewhat out of accord with the statement that Indians are so torn with internal dissensions, and so mistrustful of one another, that 'representative machinery is unworkable.' There are, it is true, 'Nationalists' in India—namely, people who would like India to be a nation; but there is no true *national* ideal, because there is no true *nation* to support it. Then, again, Lord Lytton writes:

Indian politicians are accustomed in their speeches and writings to represent political crime and hostility as the consequences of repression. Historically the exact opposite is the case. In recent years crime and violence have always followed concessions, and repression has, of course, followed crime.

I entirely agree with Lord Lytton as to the correctness of this sequence of actions and reactions, but the statement requires a small amplification. It is concessions to enemies, and not to loyal friends, that produce these results. Loyalists are invariably overlooked, while concessions to appease opponents is the keynote of our policy. Concessions to noisy opponents are accompanied, as they must be, by the alienation of our friends and supporters. In spite of all these statements, Lord Lytton remains very optimistic. 'If these general features of the situation are remembered,' he writes, 'there has been nothing surprising or disturbing in recent events in India.' There has indeed been nothing surprising to those who know India, but I disagree entirely that there has been nothing disturbing. Further on Lord Lytton writes: 'The strength of the independence movement was put to the test all over India on January 26, and proved a complete frost. The response of the country to the new appeal was shown to be negligible.' Mr. Gandhi's choice of dates for his theatrical shows has not been his strongest point. The time was too short for any organisation, and, as the millions do not know what exactly they were to approve, the response was limited. It is necessary to find specific local grievances on which to move the multitude. Mr. Gandhi is content with small beginnings, from which insidious results will follow. Nevertheless, it was a sorry spectacle for the Union Jack to be trampled in the dust and burnt, and the *Swaraj* flag unfurled, without any apparent protest from the Government or its supporters. Lord Lytton perhaps hardly appreciates the effect on the populace of insults to the honour of the Government, and how it infers from such

insults, when they go unpunished, that this once powerful Government fears to take action. Every Indian, from the highest to the lowest, has his *izzat* or his own proper pride, and the Government cannot afford to have its *izzat* constantly lowered in the eyes of the populace. There is no half-way house in India between standing in awe of a power and holding it in contempt. The passage from one frame of mind to the other may be slow at first, but its momentum increases very rapidly as the process goes on. The cumulative effect of flaunted disobedience of Government may one day prove startling to those who become accustomed to tolerating petty incidents because, for the time being, they seem petty. You cannot afford in the East to pass over virulent abuse which in England may be treated as mere Hyde Park oratory. The mischief is very insidious. The thin crust which covers subterranean forces may crack, and then the eruption of these forces may be violent and widespread.

Lord Lytton has described how the scene is set for the various stages that are to follow upon the Simon Commission's Report. He has explained what bad preparation the various actors are making for a harmonious performance, and he finishes with the pious hope that the piece may yet go well on the night, yet he admits that 'the task which we have set ourselves to accomplish is one which has never yet been accomplished in the history of the world.' 'To ignore the difficulties,' he says, 'to be blind to the facts, is to court failure. To exaggerate the difficulties, to be lacking in faith, is to court despair.' The cleavages between different kinds of Indians over a vast sub-continent are not in the least exaggerated by Lord Lytton—if anything, they are understated; but the difficulty is that it is not Lord Lytton's faith or Lord Irwin's faith that can cause these cleavages to disappear, but only the faith of the Indians of all races, creeds, and castes in one another. It is this that is lacking, and neither we nor any other foreigner can supply the deficiency.

'Most Indians feel to-day,' says Lord Lytton, 'that they would rather see India free than India compulsorily well governed.' It is a nice epigram, but it unfortunately does not represent the facts. This is a slogan of the Indian Press, and the text of the Swarajist oration, to captivate innocent British ears, and to exalt hysterical Indian students. It is Lord Lytton himself who has told us that 'the independence movement proved a complete frost.'

REGINALD CRADDOCK.

THE COTTON TRADE

THE difficulties of the cotton trade are so loudly lamented, and so little understood, that one must try to see them in proper perspective before suggesting or applying any remedy. At present it is suffering from diseases which proceed from two different causes—one of them of the well-known temporary and periodic type, and the other a permanent and new kind of trouble which requires a new remedy.

The temporary cause of its troubles is one to which this trade has been liable at all times. As a rule in pre-war days the annual consumption of cotton goods was reckoned to rise at a pretty steady average rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. Consumption used periodically to get ahead of production, with a consequent rise in prices and better profits. The good dividends paid by cotton companies brought about the immediate building of cotton mills. As a result the increased production got well ahead of consumption. A period of depression set in which lasted until consumption again caught up the productive capacity of the world. The reactions both ways were brief, and on the average worked out satisfactorily to those concerned. In other respects bad times in the cotton trade were much the same as bad times in any other trade. They followed the rise and fall in raw materials. When raw materials were falling in price there were losses. Our purchases were always made in gold and our sales to a large extent in silver. Therefore very large crops of cotton which brought prices down meant a lowering of the price of our product, a loss on all stocks of cotton goods wherever held, and a temporary depression. The resultant low prices brought about an acceleration in demand and a rapid adjustment. The size of the crops of cotton was of small importance compared with the effect of a monetary crisis in lowering the price of raw materials; but, whatever the cause, deflation had an equally bad effect on the trade. One has only to study the course of business for the past twenty-five years and note the periods of prosperity and the reverse to realise this.

A particularly interesting incident occurred in 1907. In the latter part of that year there was a very serious American slump

comparable to the one which took place in 1929. My recollection of the result is still pretty vivid. Exchange in Shanghai dropped from 3s. to the tael to 2s. 4d. to the tael between October 31, 1907, and December 31. Raw cotton prices had an equally severe fall: 1908 was a sad year of liquidation.

Taking it all round, it is not very difficult to distinguish the temporary troubles from the permanent by a study of the past: 1903-1907 were years of growing prosperity and rising prices in this trade; 1908 a year of adjustment owing to that prosperity having over-reached itself; 1909-1913, again, years of growing prosperity and rising prices. In 1914 there were people in the cotton trade who realised that something was going to break. The war brought a new element into operation, but those who were looking for trouble were hardly prepared for the grim aspect that trouble took.

One need hardly refer to the 1919-1920 boom and slump, which showed all the usual features in an extreme form. There was a revival from 1922 to 1924. Following this, there has again been a period of continually falling prices for all commodities, and gradually, and bit by bit, raw materials have fallen to a very low price. The effect is that, on the average, any merchant business carried on during these years has meant a loss for someone. Suppose prices have fallen 20 per cent. in these five years and a transaction in cotton goods from the raw materials to the wearer takes on the average six months to complete. This is probably an underestimate. In these ten periods of six months there has been an average loss of 2 per cent. on every transaction to someone. Of course the loss is not a perfectly regular one. During the period there have been temporary rises and falls, but in the end this is how it works out. In the modern history of the cotton trade one must go back to the eighties of the last century to find a similar length of time over which depression has been spread.

The culminating point has been reached with the late crisis in America. The boom in America did our trade but little good, whereas we are now suffering from the full devastating effects of its slump on commodity prices. There is a bottom to everything. One concludes prices cannot go down for ever. A change in the direction of commodity prices would bring our cotton trade out of the purely periodic difficulties due to the operation of the trade cycle.

In emphasising this part of the problem it has been my object to bring home the point that, even under conditions that ruled during the peak of our production, these past few years would have been a time of suffering and depression. Let it be granted, then, that the present is a time of unnatural depression arising

from causes which it is outside the power of the cotton trade to control. But suppose that cotton, silver, and all the other commodities affecting the trade get on an even keel again or show a steady average rise all round. What further problems are there to solve before cotton can become the useful commodity it was to the country in pre-war days?

The contrast between the cotton trade then and now may be expressed in the yardage of our total exports in the two periods. In the years 1911-1912 it was in the region of 7,000,000,000 yards; during the period 1927-1929 rather under 4,000,000,000 yards. Then the yearly quantity before the war was rising, and now it is falling. At the same time the total world export trade in cotton goods is not very far off the total quantity in the pre-war years, but other nations have acquired what we have lost. There is still a steady rise in the annual consumption of cotton goods throughout the world, though this does not appear to be so rapid as in the former period.

The division of the cotton trade into horizontal sections almost wholly isolated from one another is a phenomenon which is familiar to all students of the industry, as is also the intense individualism of the Lancashire industrialist. On the producing side, so far as spinning and weaving are concerned, labour is, generally speaking, as horizontally divided as capital. In fact, all sections of the cotton trade are a series of parallel lines that never meet except to exchange pleasant lunches and dinners. Each section usually ascribes its woes to all the others. There are, however, some notable exceptions to this principle, and a Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organisations has been set up which has been of great value in putting the true perspective before everyone in the trade. Moreover, in certain branches of the finishing trades there is pretty close contact between employers and employees. But, with these exceptions, most sections only meet in a business way when they have something to complain about!

The most important horizontal divisions are:

- (1) The spinning mills, about 800 in number.
- (2) The combined spinning and weaving mills, about 600.
- (3) The weaving sheds, about 800.
- (4) The finishers.
- (5) The merchants, about 3000.

There are about 55,000,000 spindles and 750,000 looms. This is sufficient under good management and at full pressure to turn out the pre-war volume of goods. There are at present about 75 per cent. of them at work turning out the two-thirds of that pre-war quantity now required.

There are two distinct divisions on the spinners' side—those

who spin the best cotton, chiefly Egyptian, and the rest. The Egyptian spindles are about 18,000,000 in all. These may be dismissed in a few words. They are almost all mills of the most modern construction and kept up to the pitch of perfection. Their product has few, if any, rivals in the world. They are led by the Fine Spinners' and Doublers' Association, a sound, well-financed and well-run company with some 5,000,000 spindles. There are also the newly formed Combined Egyptian Mills with 3,500,000 spindles, and Cross and Winkworth with 2,000,000. Generally speaking, the troubles which the Egyptian spinning mills suffer from are caused by over-capitalisation in some cases, poor financial arrangements in others, and above all by the temporary phase of universal bad trade now prevalent. Great improvements could be effected by closer working arrangements between the mills to avoid the evil effects of over-production. Technically the position of the mills is sound enough, though one would like to see rather more unity of action in many directions. When trade generally improves it will probably be found that any real distress now existing in this portion of the spinning trade will pass away—assuming, of course, that the efforts at present being made by these mills to put their house in order financially will be successful.

After omitting a large number of spindles used for doubling and special trades, one may assume there are between 25,000,000 and 30,000,000 spindles available for the lower qualities of cotton goods. These spindles are generally referred to as the American section, because they largely spin American cotton, though Indian and other cottons are also used. It is hardly possible to imagine any trade nearer bankruptcy than this. There are mills, here and there, still capable of paying dividends, but the vast majority are mortgaged up to the hilt and still losing money. There is a great deal of demand for their products, but only enough to fill a proportion of the spindles. Consequently there is a desperate scramble for every pound of yarn on offer. The only standard of price considered by the millowners is whether it is cheaper to run the mill with the order or to shut it up. Actually the business goes in almost all cases to the mill which will accept the greatest loss: One might imagine that the result would be cheap prices for yarns, and in a measure this is true. Unfortunately it is not so true as it was, owing to the steady loss of efficiency. Costs are definitely becoming dearer because the mills are no longer kept at that pitch of perfection of which Lancashire was so proud.

There is still great controversy in Lancashire as to why this state of affairs exists in the American section of the spinning trade. Some say that the mills are all right, and that when the

temporary phase of bad trade is over all will be well. This is no longer a very popular view. Others say that the selfish policy of the finishing combines and the incapacity of the merchants has been the great contributory cause. The same people are inclined to blame the banks for lending them money and demanding interest on their loans. These reasons are very popular amongst spinners. Many other reasons may also be given. The enormous inflation of capital during the boom period of 1919-1920, the heavy burdens left on the mills, and the insufficient working capital are blamed for the present depression because they have crippled the ability of mills to keep their repairs and renewals up to date. Meanwhile, our competitors have successfully substituted yarns made of Indian and other cheaper cottons for our superior but dearer goods made of American cotton. As our spinning mills are not laid out efficiently to make use of this cheaper raw material we have been left behind.

Whatever the cause may be, the first great problem of the cotton trade lies with the spinning mills. They are the foundation on which the cotton trade is built. Until they are on a sound basis and can produce yarns in competition with the world no other effort will be successful. The loss of our trade has been mostly in goods made of lower grade yarns. We must be able to manufacture these yarns at a price which can compete with the rest of the world before any recovery can take place. The one effort to attempt this seriously is being made by the Lancashire Cotton Corporation, which is struggling hard to combat the innate conservatism and sturdy individualism of the Lancashire manufacturer. The promoters believe that it is possible to compete with the world if the effort is set about in a scientific and orderly way. They have advertised their intentions pretty widely, and few students of industrial matters can have avoided hearing of them.

The problems of the weaving trade are of a somewhat different nature. The weavers, or manufacturers as they are called, have begun to suffer from the use of automatic looms by their competitors. Here they have to meet a very perplexing problem. It is cheaper to weave on ordinary Lancashire looms than on automatic looms if forty-eight hours a week is the utmost time during which the automatic loom can be used. On the other hand, it is much cheaper to use automatic looms if they are worked in two shifts or ninety-six hours a week. The trade unions working for the amenities of those whose interests they look after have set their faces against two shifts and have won their point. Generally the result is very poor wages for the workers on ordinary Lancashire looms. We are back to the early struggles of the hand loom against the power loom, except that the struggle is now

between the power loom and the automatic, with the trade unions far more powerful—indeed, one might say the arbiters in the struggle. One may divide the weavers into two lots—those who weave the staple cloths for the millions and those who use specialised skill for weaving difficult cloths. The latter are not too badly off even under present conditions, but the condition of the former is not much better than that of the cotton spinners. The old firms which produced the bulk of the cloths destined for the East, the Hornbys and Calverts and the rest, have gone, owing to the loss of their trade to Japan. The new mass production cloths have not yet been found. This will be the second effort that the Lancashire Cotton Corporation has got to make, unless some separate combination of weavers is formed to devote their attention to the task.

The finishers, the dyers, bleachers and printers, have long ago formed themselves into federations surrounding great central combines. They have devoted their attention to price fixing in order to enable them to show moderate profits under any state of trade. To them the slipping away of the lower class trade in mass production goods is beginning to be felt as a calamity. It is becoming more and more difficult for them to make their prices cover the losses they suffer in keeping a proportion of their works stopped. They have hitherto held aloof from all other branches of the trade and devoted themselves entirely to perfecting the technical side of their own special branch of the trade. This attitude is beginning to become impossible, as the consequences of the lack of trade are becoming serious.

Finally we come to the merchants. There, again, it is impossible to give instances of any definite failure to perform their function. If any such failure is imputed to them, they say, with much truth, that no one, however organised, can sell goods if the price is not right. Yet there is a distinct feeling among many merchants that there is a lack of progress in the mercantile science of selling: however, it is exceedingly difficult to place one's finger on the spot.

Considering the cotton trade either as a whole or in detail, it must be remembered that the methods employed were successful while the industry was growing—indeed, right up to the war. Even at that time keen observers were beginning to be aware that there were ominous signs of difficulties ahead. Competition was beginning to show itself here and there, though in no case were the symptoms sufficiently serious to call for more than passing notice. All the other exporting countries of the world together only accounted for 15 per cent. of the world's export trade, while Lancashire supplied 85 per cent. Now the other exporting countries of the world have captured half of the

trade, leaving Lancashire only half. There are certain external hindrances to the expansion of the export trade which will persist, against which no action we can take will be of much avail. Many countries have erected their own cotton mills, and behind the shelter of enormous tariff barriers are endeavouring to build up an industry which will, at least, supply their own wants. On the other hand, the total export trade of the world in cotton goods is nearly equal to the pre-war volume, and appears to be growing. This trade will go to the most efficient producer; or perhaps it might be better to say to the producer who will provide what is wanted at the cheapest price. In many parts of the world we are still the most favoured suppliers, and one usually finds that this is the case where quality and originality of design are of more importance than cheapness. Where we have lost the greatest proportion of the trade is in those countries where a durable, hard-wearing cloth is more important to the poorest people. They would, no doubt, prefer the better looking, better quality cloths, but these people live so near the margin of starvation that utility is all that matters. Until very recently Lancashire used to supply this class of cloth. She has now been challenged by the genius of that other island race, the Japanese, who by sheer efficiency, hard thinking, and hard work have adapted to the use of these races with a low standard of living raw material which we either would not or could not use.

It would be a mistake to delude ourselves into the belief that foreign countries owe their competitive power only to the lower standard of living under which they are content to work. It helps in the initial stages, but in the end you get the standard of efficiency you pay for. A very large proportion of the cloths which have cut us out of our largest markets are made of cheaper grades of cotton than we are accustomed to handle in Great Britain. It requires greater efficiency to turn these into presentable cloths than is the case with superior raw material. Where we are beaten in competition, and find that, on analysis, our competitors are using cotton equal to our own, we can afford to smile, because this trade usually returns to us. Where we find ourselves beaten by 10 per cent. in price by an article which appears as good as our own, and find that, on analysis, this result has been produced with a cheaper raw material, then we cannot afford to ignore it; we are confronted with an efficiency greater than our own. This occurs too often and too regularly to be accidental, and we must reluctantly come to the conclusion that other people besides ourselves can produce efficiently. It was our custom to supply goods to the poorer countries which consisted half of cloth and half of flour, beautiful in appearance and thoroughly appreciated by those who could not afford a cloth

made all of cotton. Much of this trade has gone to the countries which produce a much worse-looking article made of inferior cotton, but all cotton and just as cheap, weight for weight, as the cloths we used to supply. Gradually the appearance of these cloths has been improved as technical efficiency has grown, and gradually our old cloths have been driven from the Eastern markets wherever price and value are the supreme test of the marketability of an article and the appearance only secondary.

The answer to this is that Lancashire, with her long tradition of skill and her undoubted genius in the field of production, had better set to work and alter her ways so as to out-rival her rivals. All she wants is to adapt her machinery and methods to what the world now requires, as once she did in order to supply what the world then wanted. No one doubts that she has that ability and adaptability, and one may well wonder why she does not use them. Perhaps the explanation may have become clear from the account of the cotton trade given earlier in this article. It is well to remember, also, that we have trade unions whose only concern is the retention of hard-won privileges, and who feel their only business is to resist any change of any kind, lest it may weaken their hold on these privileges. The last thing they consider is that the state of world trade in cotton goods is any business of theirs.

We have a spinning trade in the last gasp of poverty, which sticks to its spinning and would laugh at you if you suggested they could not use short-staple cotton. Spinners will tell you they have used it for years. Nevertheless, they have no money to carry out the extensive alterations necessary in their mills if they are to use it efficiently. Weavers cannot weave with automatic looms as it interferes with cherished trade union principles. They have not the yarns necessary, because they are not made here. The finishers hold themselves aloof from the other producing sections and from the merchants. The merchants cannot sell the low-grade staples, because they cannot buy them at a price competitive with the rest of the world, and *ipso facto* confine themselves to the sale of more specialised goods. The loss of turnover interferes with their power of expansion and enterprise, and causes them to cut down their staffs in order to prevent themselves being overwhelmed by their overhead charges.

Until the Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organisations became active three years ago there was no real point of contact between the various sections of the trade. During the period of its activity there have been many signs of an increasing desire for co-operation. In so individualistic a community a voluntary organisation such as this has to proceed with extreme caution, as it has to carry everyone with it, and every public decision has

to be more or less unanimous. There was a body of spinners formed called the Cotton Yarn Association which endeavoured by voluntary and co-operative efforts to help to pull the spinning trade round. This functioned for some years, and eventually found itself defeated by the impossibility of getting the Lancashire spinners to work together except under compulsion. The promoters of the Cotton Yarn Association did not give up in despair when they saw their voluntary effort brought to nought. They began to devise plans for bringing spinning mills together on a basis of amalgamation. This required for its success some outside stimulus and some guarantee of fresh money in order to get the new company started. This was found, owing to the interest taken in the idea by the Governor of the Bank of England and the keen assistance and loyal backing of certain of the local Manchester banks—an interesting example of the value of local knowledge possessed by local boards of bank directors to an industry when some unusual remedy is required for an unusual situation. Though it is difficult to stimulate any real interest among bank directors to whom a special trade is something they only know by hearsay, it is certainly somewhat easier, if this trade touches them hourly and daily in their own persons, or in the persons with whom they are constantly in contact.

Aided by this backing, the Lancashire Cotton Corporation is trying to introduce into the cotton trade a spirit of rationalisation. Its first task is the acquisition of the necessary raw materials of the right kind in the most economical possible manner. Next, a combination of cotton spinning mills must be acquired at such a price and in such a manner as to have a considerable influence on the trade, especially on the American cotton side. Time and money are also necessary to reorganise the mills to meet modern conditions. In the opinion of the promoters the essential principle is that there must be no fixed charges to pay in acquiring the mills. The method is simple, though the application is complicated.

It is intended to begin with 10,000,000 spindles out of the 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 available in the American section. During 1929 some 7,000,000 spindles were brought in, and it is expected that the figure of 10,000,000 will be attained during 1930. This will have a very marked controlling effect on the American section of the trade. An endeavour is being made to organise the management on modern lines. This might perhaps be taken for granted, but modern methods are not very common in the cotton trade, and they rather shock Lancashire. A good many alterations will be made in the mills in order to adapt them to the use of lower grades of cotton, such as are used extensively in Japan and on the Continent. Standardising of yarns

and economies of various kinds will be, and in fact are already being, introduced.

Many criticisms of the corporation policy are generally made ; one is that there are not enough spindles to control the spinning trade. Probably, however, the concentration of so large a portion of the trade in one hand will enable the corporation to exert a control quite out of proportion to its size, as its competitors will control only a few hundred thousand spindles each at the outside. From the point of view of actual size 10,000,000 spindles is considerable—about as many as any other country possesses, with the exception of America. If this number can be handled effectively there is no doubt that there will be additions.

Obviously the first task of the Lancashire Cotton Corporation will be to produce yarn as cheaply as its foreign competitors. This is believed to be quite possible when really thorough organisation has been introduced and the purchase of the right types of raw material by experts is combined with the use of the right machinery. However, this will not put the goods into the hands of the customers, and many more stages are required. Weaving is also being undertaken by the Lancashire Cotton Corporation, which expects to acquire some 30,000 looms. There are an almost infinite number of problems waiting to be solved in weaving : the use of Lancashire looms *versus* automatic looms, the problems of how the necessary arrangements can be made with the weavers' unions, and so on. The equally difficult question of standardising cloths is also very important. It is to be hoped that some weavers' combine will come into existence to solve these problems. At present, with a few exceptions, every 500 looms constitute a different company. There are about 1400 companies owning looms, and they own between them 750,000. This is a hopeless position from the point of view of research. If no special weavers' combine can be formed, the Lancashire Cotton Corporation will have to deal with this problem also.

It is improbable that either finishing or merchanting will cause serious difficulties to the Lancashire Cotton Corporation. Combines on a large scale already exist in the finishing trades. It is true that there are very strict price-fixing arrangements in existence, and that the finishers have held themselves aloof from the rest of the trade in the past. This attitude is not likely to last when they have combines of equal size and strength with whom to enter into direct relations. It is rather difficult for a combine covering a whole section of a trade to enter into relations of any sort with 3000 different merchants, 1400 different weavers (including combined spinning and weaving companies), and 1400 different spinners (also including combined firms). With merchants relations should not be difficult. They must be worked

out carefully, but it is too early to prophesy what course such relations will follow.

The real fact is that the Lancashire Cotton Corporation will find much of its work made easy for it if it can, as it is confident that it can, produce yarns and cloth cheaper than is possible under the present system. Its task will be quite simple if it can show that its prices for grey cloth in Manchester will compete with Japanese prices in Osaka.

K. D. STEWART.

SLUM CLEARANCE

A REPLY

MR. E. D. SIMON, in his interesting article in the last number of *The Nineteenth Century*, gives it as his opinion that the really difficult task which confronts the nation to-day in connexion with slum clearance is the building of good houses into which can be moved the people who are at present living in those slums. And he advocates, once again, more subsidies, and to a specially selected and favoured class of slum-dwellers—those with families. Mr. Simon is, in the first place, strangely oblivious of the effect of subsidies on building prices and the attainment of the much to be commended object of obtaining houses at lower rents; and, in the second place, he apparently holds the firm opinion that present housing prices are reasonable and cannot be reduced. In order, therefore, to attain new houses at reasonable rents for the poorer paid members of the community, he returns once again to subsidies, and he selects out of such poorer paid workers a special class to receive such aid. The people who remain in the slums are not to receive further State help, but those who are fortunate enough to get into the new houses are to receive it if they have families, but not otherwise. It is not surprising that this project up to the present has not received the support of either Mr. Simon's own party or of any other party in the State. The history of the subsidies to the building trade and their effect on building prices in this country is an interesting one, and its lesson is plain. It is of great moment because of our need, not only for the production of more new houses, but, what is more important still, houses at a rent which the poorer members of the community are able to pay. That is, indeed, the most urgent housing matter at the present time in this country. It is in this all-important respect that the Wheatley Act, with its provision of larger subsidies, has been such a complete failure. What has been the course of the Housing subsidy and its effect on prices? In 1921, when the Addison Act was in operation, the average price of a non-parlour house was 665*l.* In July the scheme was closed down, and the price immediately began to fall, until in

December 1922 it reached 346*l.* In 1923 the Chamberlain Act was introduced, which on a different economical basis reintroduced the subsidy, and immediately the price went up. The subsidy under the Chamberlain scheme was equivalent to a capital sum of about 75*l.* per house. In January 1924 the price had gone up by 40*l.*, and the average price of the non-parlour house had gone up to 386*l.* The next stage is equally interesting and significant. Under the Wheatley Act the subsidy was increased to 160*l.*, and the price immediately went up again; and by October it was 451*l.* a house, and it remained at that figure until December 1926. Whenever the subsidy was increased the price of houses rose. Mr. Chamberlain then decided to reduce the subsidy in the belief that the amount of the subsidy was a vital and important factor in fixing the price. It is an interesting fact to record that when the actual announcement to reduce the subsidy was made, although, in fact, it was not actually reduced until the October following, prices again began to fall until they dropped to 339*l.* In fact, since the change in the subsidy, the price dropped by no less than 112*l.* a house. Is not the lesson plain? And is it not confirmed by subsequent events?

Mr. Greenwood became Minister of Health, and he reversed the policy of his predecessor in reducing the subsidy from October last under the Wheatley Act from 7*l.* 10*s.* to 6*l.*, and in agricultural districts from 11*l.* to 9*l.* 10*s.* But it should also be recorded that he took the responsibility of refusing to interfere with the Order that abolished altogether the subsidy under the Chamberlain Act of 1923. The present subsidy therefore continues to be paid in accordance with the 1924 Housing Act, and the relation between the number of new houses built in this country and their price should once more be noted by the social observer. The number of State-assisted houses which had been authorised in England and Wales during October, November, and December 1928 was 25,305; for the same months in 1929 the figure had fallen to 19,824. So far as price is concerned, the Greenwood policy has stopped the hitherto continuous fall, and we find that whereas in December 1928 the price of the non-parlour house was 338*l.*, in December 1929 the figure was 370*l.* There may have been special factors affecting prices in that month, but it can be confidently said that the fall in the price of houses had been definitely checked. There is only one other set of figures which is material in view of the intimate connexion much stressed in Labour circles between the housing subsidy and unemployment in the building trades. In January 1930 there were 149,403 insured persons classified as belonging to the building industry and recorded as unemployed in Great Britain.

So much for the subsidy and new housing; but, apart from

that question, can we accept the contention, expressed or implied, that, even under present conditions and the present Government policy, housing prices are fair and reasonable and cannot be reduced?

The average price of non-parlour houses included in contracts passed by, or in the direct-labour schemes of, local authorities in England and Wales during the year 1929 was 344*l.* But there are many instances of variations in cost. The average price per house in Huddersfield (795 square feet) was 414*l.*; in Wolverton (768 square feet), 400*l.*; whilst in Carlisle, with an average area of 647 square feet per house, it was 281*l.*, and in Whitwood (725 square feet per house), 306*l.*

The attention of the housing reformer in this connexion can usefully be directed to a recent statement publicly made by a man who has had great practical experience, and who has made a considerable contribution himself to solving our housing problem. Sir J. Tudor Walter, M.P., in an address last month on housing, said that he did not believe in any form of State subsidy; that the cost of building was still ridiculously high; that he was building at 300*l.*, and that even that was too much. 'The non-parlour house of the three-bedroom type ought not to cost, under proper organisation of materials and workmanship, more than 260*l.* to 265*l.* a house. If you reckon that out, you could get a 6*s.* a week basis for your rent.'

All these facts should be before us in considering the next great advance in connexion with slum clearance. This problem may be pronounced sufficiently urgent and vital without in any way belittling the great housing effort that has already been made in this country. The State, local authorities, and private enterprise have been undeniably right in concentrating first, since the Armistice, on the erection of new houses. In the erecting of some 1,500,000 houses a record has been achieved which has certainly not been exceeded by any other country, and the standards of accommodation have been high. We often hear of what, for instance, has been achieved in Vienna; but conditions in this country and Vienna are not comparable, and the standards of accommodation fall considerably below those considered necessary in this country. About 75 per cent. of the tenements there consist of a kitchen and one room and have an area of from 400 to 450 square feet, and the rents are based only on maintenance costs and take no account of capital charges. No country has made such a contribution to its housing problem as Great Britain. The total sum paid on account of Exchequer subsidy alone since the Armistice has been over 82,000,000*l.*, and our present annual liability is nearly 11,000,000*l.* The great mass of the people of this country will not grudge any further

sums which may be necessary for a properly planned and economic system of slum clearance, but they will expect the lessons of the past to be studied, and demand that the experience we have gained, often at great cost, shall not be ignored in the next step we take to clear the slum.

KINGSLEY WOOD.

SEVENTY YEARS OF ENGLISH CORN-GROWING¹

ENGLISH corn-growing has a glorious, if chequered, past; it has a gloomy present. I leave its uncertain future to those who have the gift of political prophecy. I begin with the past and start from September 1857. I choose that date, not because it was the year of a great panic in the City, and of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, but because it was the date when I received one of the most vivid impressions of my early childhood. The scene was the lower slope of Arreton Down, in the Isle of Wight. There I saw four teams of oxen ploughing, and the sight fascinated me. I can see them still, those massive tawny beasts coming and going with their slow, deliberate pace, and ever, as they went and came, the upturned furrows, glistening in the sunshine, multiplied. Plough-oxen must have already become rare, or they would not have arrested the imagination of a child. So long as plough-shares were made of wood and traces of twisted wythies, their steady pull gave them a practical advantage over horses. Now they were supplanted by the speedier animal. They had become survivals from a leisurely age, mediæval and even Biblical, when, except during the feverish rush of harvest, speed had little value and time was not yet reckoned as money. Two years afterwards I was taken to see the first steam-plough—they were, I think, invented in 1857—that was brought into the neighbourhood. Sixty years later, the Board of Agriculture, of which I was then President, placed 4000 tractors on the land of England and Wales, and the advertisement which they received during the last two or three years of the Great War gave them an immediate place in the work of the farm. From the ox to the tractor is a vast advance which illustrates the general speeding-up of farming that characterises the last seventy years of agriculture.

In 1857 manual labour was all-important. Machinery was little employed. Even turnip-slicers and chaff-cutters had not displaced the chopper. Wheat or roots were generally sown by drills, either owned or hired. But many crops were still sown by

¹ The following pages form the substance of an address given to the Agricultural School at Cambridge on March 7, 1930.

hand broadcast. When the grain crops were ripe for harvest they were reaped by hand, either with the sickle or with the scythe. The sickle takes us back to the harvest fields of Boaz, and Ruth gleaned behind the reapers. No other implement was possible where surface drainage threw arable land into the high ridges and deep furrows which survive in some of our pastures, suggesting by their sinuous curves the difficulty of turning the long and cumbrous ploughs. But the great development of scientific drainage in the 'forties enabled the land to be laid flat and prepared the way for speedier means of harvesting. In 1857 the scythe was fast supplanting the sickle. It has in turn given way to the reaper and binder, which successive improvements have perfected since binder twine was first used in 1877. The grain itself was prepared for market by hand labour. The threshing machine has long since displaced the threshing floor and the flail (familiar to my childhood), the hand-turned winnowing wheel, with the sacking tied to the spokes, and the casting shovel which separated the heavy from the light grain. It was the variety and intricacy of these and similar manual operations, and the lower rates of wages, which enabled farmers of those days to employ on the land more than double the present number of agricultural workers.

The 'sixties were probably the Golden Age of English corn-growing. Landlords lavished money on buildings, drainage or equipment. Tenants farmed high, knowing that those who lather can shave. The best farming then fully equalled that of to-day. Our advance lies in the increased command of new resources and the higher general average. In spite of forebodings caused by the abolition of the Corn Laws, prices were still remunerative. In 1861, out of a population in England and Wales of more than 20,000,000, less than 4,000,000 had been fed from foreign wheat. In 1929-30 it is probable that not more than 3,000,000 quarters of English wheat will find their way into the bread-stuff of the English people. That is the effect on corn-growing of seventy years of change.

If old statistics are reliable, wages rose considerably between 1820 and 1870. But the ordinary conditions of agricultural employment leave workers comparatively powerless to help themselves. Immobile and isolated, commanding no capital beyond their labour, depending on their employers for both home and wages, they found it difficult to combine, and, without combination, to make their demands effective. An important date in their upward climb is February 7, 1872. On that dark, wintry evening, a thousand men gathered at Wellesbourne, in Warwickshire, to listen to one of themselves, noted for miles round as a skilled hedge-cutter and local preacher. He was Joseph Arch.

Mounted on a pig-stool set under a chestnut tree, he looked down on a sea of upturned faces, over which flickered the uncertain gleams shed by lanterns swinging from bean poles. Steeped in the imagery and phraseology of the Bible, his mind likened the audience to 'the Children of Israel, with darkness all around them, waiting for someone to lead them out of the land of Egypt.' The outcome of the meeting was the formation of a union and a demand for 2s. 8d. a day: hours 6 to 5—on Saturdays 6 to 3—and 4d. an hour overtime. Though the union eventually broke up, it secured the franchise for agricultural workers.

Up to 1875 English corn-growing prospered. Then came twenty-five years of falling prices, marked by two periods of widespread distress. The second, in 1891-99, was the most disastrous. In the first period pasture farming comparatively escaped, and arable farmers bore the brunt. Now 'up horn, down corn' proved no longer true; both were down together. The distress in agricultural districts was general as well as acute. The first period of depression found farmers with money in their pockets and their land in high condition. In the second, their pockets were empty and their land impoverished. The industry was in the main kept on its feet by the expenditure of landlords. Multitudes of agricultural workers were thrown out of employment, and many counties suffered severely.

The prolonged, and at times acute, depression of 1875-1899 left lasting effects. In the first place, it scared capital away from agricultural land. Within the period was exhibited to the full the revolution in the conception of prices which the abolition of the Corn Laws entailed. In the fifteenth century the ideal of prices was founded on abstract morality. It was a just price—just as between producers, consumers and the nation—and was based on ecclesiastical denunciations of covetousness and greed and the Canon Law condemnation of usury. The principle was embodied in Corn Laws, and administered by local machinery, of which the most interesting feature was the Assize of Bread, only abolished in the year before the accession of Queen Victoria. After the Napoleonic Wars, instead of a just price, agriculturists demanded a fair price—in other words, a price which would leave a reasonable margin of profit to the producer and encourage the maintenance of arable farming. On that principle the Corn Laws were reconstructed after 1815. When, thirty years later, they were abolished, consumers' prices, fixed by competition with the whole world, displaced the older just or fair prices. Previous conditions had been reversed. Consumers now outnumbered those who were also producers by ten to one, and alternative and cheaper supplies of corn were provided. The cheapest offers naturally came from virgin soils. Our old lands could not com-

pete. At the close of the nineteenth century consumers were fed more cheaply than they had ever been fed before, or, without some miracle of science, can ever be again. Only gradually, as costs of production rose abroad, did English corn-growers again have a chance. But the lesson was learned. The experience permanently checked the influx of capital.

Another effect was to make leases for terms of years unpopular. Farmers dreaded taking land for fixed periods at rents calculated on existing prices, which, ten years later, might have fallen. The result has been that in England long leases have been almost universally displaced by year-to-year tenancies.

A third effect was that the conversion of tillage to grass and the development of pasture farming, dairying and stock-breeding received a stimulus. The first period of the depression of the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century hit corn harder than livestock. Imports of foreign diseases were more formidable than those of foreign meat, and the rinderpest, or cattle plague, of 1866 was a national disaster. With less to fear from foreign competition, farmers turned to livestock and its products and the improvement of cattle, sheep, and pigs. Most of the great breed societies began their flock or herd books in the 'seventies.

A fourth effect was that farmers became more ready to welcome the help of science. Up to this time their attitude towards science resembled that of Joseph's brethren towards Joseph himself. They looked upon men of science as dreamers; they disliked their town clothes; they suspected that they could neither plough nor milk. Consequently, when these dreamers offered help, the farmers, metaphorically, stripped them of their gay-coloured clothes and threw them into a pit. In their disaster their attitude changed. Machinery found ready purchasers; and new fertilising agencies, with their portability, their varied range of application, their adaptability to different soils, claimed a larger place on English farms. Nor did the achievements of mechanical and chemical science stand alone. Science helped in every direction, and with its aid farming crept slowly out of the abyss of misfortune, and, with a steadily decreasing arable area, continued its progress up to 1914.

During the first two and a half years of the Great War the Government relied upon British, Allied, and neutral shipping to bring to this country, in normal quantities, imports of human food, fertilisers, and concentrated feeding-stuffs. But the loss of shipping through the activity of submarines during the last three months of 1916 forced the new Government, which came into office in December, to attempt the restoration of the energies of English agriculture. There was, indeed, little choice. It was announced that on February 1, 1917, the unlimited U-boat

campaign for the destruction of transport would begin. Germany risked the inevitable result of bringing America into the war. But she hoped so to cripple the carrying trade of the world that the Allies would be unable to continue the war and the United Kingdom starved into surrender. The blow was well timed. Harvests in 1916, here and among the Allies, had been poor. In this country there was not more than ten weeks' supply of wheat. The season was so advanced that neither we nor the Allies could make any substantial addition to the production of home-grown food before the harvest of 1918. Moreover, German statesmen were convinced, and openly proclaimed, that English farming had long been too decadent to struggle. The U-boat campaign might seem a desperate gamble, but it came within measurable distance of success. The destruction of shipping shot upwards with alarming rapidity. In the one month of April 1917 the destruction of gross tonnage was greater than for the whole year 1915. The aggregate loss of gross tonnage for 1917 amounted to 3,660,000 tons for Great Britain alone, and for the world exceeded 6,000,000 tons. Though demands on transport for military service rose rapidly every week, destruction outstripped construction. Gradually, the defence overcame the attack, but it was not until July 1918 that the corner of safety was turned and that we built more rapidly than we lost.

December 1916 found agriculture in a deplorable position. Lord Oxford in his *Recollections* prints a report to the Cabinet on farming conditions in the autumn of the year 1916. Gloomy as the picture was, its gloom was only intensified three months later. It was fast becoming a question whether agriculture was pulling its weight in the national effort. If it once sank into the class of non-essential industries, there would be no reason for protecting any of its skilled workers from military service. Agriculture had already lost over one-third of its men; even those who remained were subject to paramount military necessities. Ploughmen were scarce; half the 500 steam-tackle sets were for various reasons out of action; many farm horses had been commandeered, others were unshod; large districts were stripped of such essential handicraftsmen as blacksmiths. Fertilisers were short; potash, mainly drawn from the deposits at Stassfurt, was cut off: drastic reductions in transport facilities restricted the supply of super-phosphates for agricultural purposes; many lime-kilns and grinding machines for basic slag were idle because unmanned. Discouraged by the loss of 30,000 of their men in January 1917, and uncertain how many they would keep, farmers were dispirited by the poor wheat crop of 1916 and by the failure of their potatoes. With labour short, fertilisers scarce, the normal channels of supply of agricultural requisites blocked, it seemed

inevitable that there should be a severe shrinkage in the supply of home-grown food. The area of winter-sown wheat in 1916, as compared with 1915, had already diminished by 63,000 acres, and the shrinkage foreboded a large diminution of arable cultivation in the months to follow.

In spite of these unfavourable conditions, British agriculture was called upon to feed its own population. It had not done so for nearly a century. The Board of Agriculture was charged with the duty of providing subsistence diet for the inhabitants of the country. What was needed was the largest possible output of essential human food in the shortest possible time. Arable land feeds five times as many persons as pasture. The plough policy was thus dictated by necessity. The destruction of the world's carrying trade threatened our imports of corn and of fertilisers; therefore an additional breadth of corn must be cultivated at home, and the stored-up fertility of grass must be used to replace artificial manures.

The Board itself was not equipped for such a task. In peace its energies are mainly absorbed in administrative details. The President, therefore, created a new department under the Board for the special purpose of food production. Its object was partly to serve as a clearing-house for the collection and distribution of labour, machinery, implements, seeds, fertilisers, feeding-stuffs, and other farming requisites; partly to carry out orders for cultivation which occupiers were unable or unwilling to execute. Some idea of the scale on which the new branch was working in 1918 may be gathered from the following figures of some of the activities of three of the principal divisions:

The Labour Division supplied in all 121,000 men, many of them inexperienced—soldiers on furlough, old-age pensioners, metropolitan policemen, prisoners of war, war agricultural workers and public school boys, and organised their accommodation in camps and elsewhere. The Women's Division put on the land 320,000 part-time workers organised in shifts and provided with boots, and a land army 20,000 strong, prepared to go anywhere and do anything, and clothed, housed, and conveyed them to their work. The Cultivation Division provided 4200 tractors, 66 additional steam-tackle sets, many hundreds of reapers and binders, 438 threshing machines, and thousands of ploughs, carts, lorries and minor implements. It operated 10,000 horses with their harness. It trained hundreds of ploughmen and tractor-drivers.

The policy of the plough was directed by the Board; but its administration was entrusted to local officers. Sixty-one small agricultural executive committees were formed of the most experienced farmers in each of the sixty-one counties and county

divisions of England and Wales. These local committees notified to the Board the needs of their districts and supervised their distribution. To them the Board furnished the quota of additional food which it expected each district to raise. To them also were delegated most of its compulsory powers. Committees were thus empowered to require grasslands, permanent or temporary, to be broken up or acts of cultivation to be done, and, if necessary to enter, plough or cultivate the land themselves. Notices were served on occupiers specifying those areas to be ploughed or cultivated which the committee selected for the increase of food production. Refusal to comply with these notices rendered occupiers liable to fines or imprisonment. Out of over 100,000 notices only 254 were resisted, and of these only eighteen escaped the penalty. Working at top speed, mistakes must have been made; but these figures afford some proof of the patriotic spirit in which the orders were obeyed, as well as of the judgment with which the work as a whole was done. The agricultural committees knew that they had behind them in the Food Production Department an efficient and powerful organisation which could and would execute their orders in case of default, and they carried out their difficult and invidious task with courage as well as discretion, giving their time, skill, and experience without any money reward.

The opening months of the campaign, which began in December 1916, were the most difficult. But farmers set about their task with courage. Late in the season though it was—and the winter was unusually protracted—the threatened decline in tillage was turned into a considerable advance. Though the English Board of Agriculture has little jurisdiction in Scotland and none in Ireland, the campaign was adopted by both, and, by co-operation between the three countries, made a United Kingdom effort. With nearly half their skilled labour now gone, farmers added approximately 1,000,000 acres to the arable area of the United Kingdom. The production of cereals in 1917 exceeded that of 1916 by 5,827,000 quarters.

Time and the efficiency of the Food Production Department enabled the Board to increase its efforts for the harvest of 1918. The farmers of England and Wales made gallant use of every opportunity that the weather afforded. They were not even discouraged by the call-up of 22,000 of their most skilled men in the spring of 1918. They succeeded in adding 1,950,000 acres to tillage. As a result the corn harvest of 1918 compared in abundance to that of 1868. Measured in quarters, 15,500,000 quarters of corn were added to the quantity raised in 1916. Measured by weight, and including potatoes, the addition was more than 6,250,000 tons. The result has been thus stated by Sir Thomas

Middleton. In normal times the home-grown bread supply lasts only for ten weeks; for the remaining forty-two weeks we are dependent on foreigners. In 1918, at the existing rate of consumption and standard of milling, the proportions were reversed. We had provided forty weeks' supply for ourselves and were only dependent on the foreigner for the remaining twelve weeks. The relief to tonnage was considerable. 6,250,000 tons of essential food were added which, unless home-grown, must have been imported; on the calculation of the day, the space occupied by 5000 tons of cargo was equivalent to a carrying capacity for 1000 soldiers. To the harvest of the plough must be added the harvest of the spade. By the middle of 1918 nearly 1,000,000 new allotments were added and the holders supplied with seeds, as well as instructed in cultivation and in canning or bottling fresh fruit and vegetables. As the war dragged on, and the strain on man-power and internal transport became more severe, the relief created by these local supplies of food was great. In most private gardens, moreover, vegetables took the place of flowers.

Farmers were naturally reluctant to plough, lest falling prices should find them with a ruinously large area of arable land. This fear was met by the Corn Production Act of 1917. It guaranteed farmers for six years prices that would save them, in those circumstances, from substantial loss. Before the Act expired it was amended by the Agriculture Act of 1920, which fixed a higher scale of prices and was repealed in 1921. The same Act which guaranteed prices created the wage board. Its creation was a necessary result of the plough policy. The Government was about to throw upon the land some 450,000 workers, who might be regarded by those already working on the land as subsidised blacklegs. Moreover, men exempted from military service for labour on particular farms were in an unfavourable position for bargaining, because, if discharged, they would be taken for the Army. Some machinery for fixing wages was imperatively needed, and the first wage board was set up under the Corn Production Act of 1917. It fixed one uniform wage for the whole country, because in this way alone could labour be supplied to all districts alike. Abolished in 1921, wages boards were restored in 1924, in a changed form, and without the accompaniment of guaranteed prices, or the pressure of the special circumstances. Instead of one wage board, each county now has its local tribunal for fixing wages, and granting permits for men, not fully able-bodied, to work at lower rates. I served for the first two years as chairman of the board in my own county, and formed the personal opinion that, at the present cost of living, wages could not be reduced, if efficiency was to be maintained.

Little now remains of the plough policy except a memory.

The tillage area has again dwindled and its acreage is now the smallest on record. Agriculturally, the effort of 1917 and 1918 was justified, because it turned a threatened decline into an advance, because it secured a measure of prosperity for the industry during the war years, and because, when peace came, it had placed farmers in a position to profit by their opportunities. If no effort had been made, farmers would have been powerless as individuals to cope with the difficulties of the position; large tracts of land must have become derelict, and a quarter of a century might have been spent in restoring their condition.

The past ends with the Great War. Omitting as an exceptional interlude the violent monetary disturbances which followed the peace, the present begins, for my purpose, with the cereal year 1926-27. 'Depression' means, as I take it, the condition when the farmer is forced to pay his way out of capital. Using the word in that sense, it seems to me unwise, and even mischievous, to exaggerate the extent and range of the present depression. It weakens the confidence of the farmers; it impresses the public with a sense of the hopelessness of the problem; it distracts attention from the very real and serious distress which exists in corn-growing, still one of the main branches of that complex industry which we call agriculture.

The present position of corn-growing may be illustrated from the sales off farms of revenue-producing commodities. Dividing the sales under the four heads

- (1) Livestock and its products;
- (2) Potatoes, sugar-beet and other crops;
- (3) Fruit and vegetables;
- (4) Corn,

the total sum realised is, roughly speaking, 220,000,000*l.* Towards this total livestock and its products contribute more than two-thirds; the remaining third is made up by the other three branches, and the smallest contributor is corn. The change is vast. In 1857, corn-growing was the pivot of English farming and the main source of the farmer's income. To-day, corn has not only lost the first place; it has fallen to the last, and only contributes one-eleventh of the income-bearing produce.

Although agriculture as a whole is suffering from selling prices which are low relatively to costs of production, farmers in some of the main branches of the industry are paying their way out of income. Taking the price-levels of all agricultural produce before the war at 100, the general price-level to-day is 146. But averages are rather an academic than a practical test of adversity or prosperity. They do not reveal the condition of those branches of the industry whose selling prices fall below the general level.

Only one product has continuously declined in price during the last four years, and that is wheat. To-day the group of cereals has a price-level which is the lowest of all groups and cannot be put higher than 125. It is cold comfort to the corn-grower that other branches of the industry raise the general level of prices above his own.

Averages of selling prices are no real guide even to general prosperity or adversity, unless they are compared with the general level of the principal costs of production. Fertilisers and seeds are below, feeding-stuffs and machinery are above, the general price-level of agricultural commodities. Labour, which on arable land accounts for from a third to a half of the total expenses, has risen far above. The official figures show a rise from the pre-war 100 to 176 in 1930. But this calculation is misleading. In both cases harvest earnings are excluded. But, with this exception, pre-war wages were paid for longer hours and included all payments for all hours worked; the calculation for to-day includes wages for statutorily shortened hours, and allows nothing for overtime. Farmers contend that the comparable figures are 100 and 200. It is probably fair to estimate the present level of wages at 190. The rise in feeding-stuffs, machinery, and labour not only discounts the cheapening of fertilisers and seeds, but raises the general level of costs of production considerably above that of selling prices. Even those branches of the industry, therefore, whose selling prices maintain the general level only enjoy a very modified degree of prosperity. Those whose prices fall below the average—and the lowest level of any is that of cereals—are fighting a losing battle with adversity.

It is not easy to generalise on the extent and locality of depression in any branch of the agricultural industry. The nature of the soil, the climate, the size of the farm, the system of farming, the proportion of arable to pasture, the access to market, the efficiency of the cultivator are all elements to be considered, and each puts question-marks to generalisations. But certain broad facts seem to stand out. First-class land holds its own wherever it is situated; it is the useful and poor land which, in varying degrees, is struggling with difficulties. Farms under 100 acres, capable of cultivation by family labour, are holding their own. Farms of over 100 acres which are obliged to employ hired labour, not lodged and boarded by the employer, feel the burden of wages. Farms which are wholly pasture, or contain only a reasonable proportion of arable, are holding their own, because they have a smaller labour bill, and because their chief products enjoy the natural protection of their perishable nature. Farms which are wholly or mainly arable and grow grain for sale are in the greatest difficulty. They bear the fiercest brunt of foreign

competition and the heaviest burden of wages. Even here, however, something depends on soil and climate. Where an intractable soil, such as heavy clay, chalk, limestone or very light soils, is combined with a deficient rainfall, the depression is most acute. It is therefore possible to define the area, though with many exceptions, geologically and geographically. If a line is drawn in a north-easterly direction from Dorsetshire through Bedfordshire to East Yorkshire, it is on the eastern side of this line that depression is really acute. The north, north-west, central, west, and south-west are districts in which depression, in the sense in which I am using the word, does not exist to any substantial and general degree.

In the area thus defined there is, in my opinion, acute and severe distress. There is nothing spectacular about agricultural depression. It does not arrest public attention like a closed pit or a blown-out furnace. Farms have to keep up appearances because, if cultivation is discontinued, the land reverts to wilderness. But behind these smooth externals tragedies are being enacted which are as poignant as those in industrial districts. It is here that rent arrears and reductions, notices to quit, changes of tenancy, or land thrown upon the owner's hands are most numerous. But none of these signs are visible to the eye. Nor do sales of agricultural land force the truth on the public. The same may be said of bankruptcies. Farmers' bankruptcies in 1927 and 1928 rose considerably above the average; but, compared with bankruptcies in other industrial undertakings, they do not exceed 6 per cent. of the whole. Many farmers have gone out in time. Those who remain are conscious that the life-blood of their industry is draining away as they watch the dwindling of their capital. It is often urged as a proof of the unreality of depression that, even in these districts, there is still competition for land. The fact is true, but the conclusion unsound. Farmers come from families who for generations have cultivated land. They have inherited its traditions. They know no other business. They love the soil and it is in their blood. Pessimists in speech, optimists at heart, they are willing to forgo all payment for their management and skill, in the hope of obtaining such a return on their capital, commercially inadequate as it is, as will enable them to stand on their feet. Now, however, these men are at their last gasp; their capital is disappearing fast, and the end seems to be approaching.

Corn-growers have again met misfortune. For wheat, barley, and oats the market has been worse than in 1927 or 1928, and those farmers who varied their cereals with potatoes have in this season met disaster. As a result of the depression in corn-growing districts the number of hurdle sheep has been largely

diminished. If it were not for the help afforded by sugar-beet, the reduction, though statistically concealed by the increase in hill sheep, would amount to something like 50 per cent. Even as it is, the decrease in the supply of mutton is substantial. The blow is, in fact, falling upon those lands in the eastern side of the country which were in times past, and might be again, our chief granary, and, as an adjunct of arable farming, our chief factory of mutton. It is here that the greatest triumphs of progressive farming were achieved, and here that the latest discoveries of science can be most fully realised. The one bright spot has been sugar-beet.

Corn-growing farmers cannot help themselves further. It must be years before any decline in Argentine meat supplies can make beef production profitable on arable land of this character. Meanwhile, the only resource of farmers is to convert their tillage into pasture, and they are adopting it at a record pace, with a consequent loss of employment for between two and three men on every 100 acres. But if they go to the expense of laying down fencing and water, what are they to produce? The milk supply is already adequate to the decreased consuming power of the public, and any considerable addition would be prejudicial to what is still a live industry. Moreover, much of this land, owing to the deficient rainfall, cannot be turned to satisfactory grass. At present there seems to be nothing to save it from becoming derelict. If this once happens on a large scale, the revival of a historic industry will be difficult.

Corn-growing, as I have said, has the lowest level of selling prices, faces the most paralysing effects of foreign competition, and bears the heaviest burden of State-regulated wages. Cheap bread and an adequate remuneration for labour are a boon to the nation; but the cost is crushing English corn-growers out of existence. If the public once realised that fact, they could not continue to accept this gift without some consideration for the men whose ruin is involved in that of their industry. Whether any remedy, and, if so, what, is to be applied is a political question; but it is one of such urgency and national importance as to be lifted above the range of party politics.

ERNLE.

LAND AND DEATH DUTIES

WE—the British people—hold one world's record which it is unlikely any other nation will try to wrest from us. We are the most heavily taxed nation in the world; and the uppermost thought to-day in the minds of all men is how can these burdens be met. Just as land is the source of all wealth, so is it singled out as a form of property to bear the greatest proportion of taxes; and yet agriculture—the oldest of all industries—is the slowest to give any return on capital invested in it. Those who own land are therefore very hard put to it to find ways and means of facing up to the inexorable demands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Only a few landowners are lucky enough to have at their backs a long list of Stock Exchange securities which can be readily marketed; most have only their estate rentals and little else, unless it be the proverbial Scottish inheritance, 'A pickle land, a muckle debt, a doo cot, and a law-suit.' Of course, those who own town sites or minerals are in a different category altogether; what we are discussing at the moment are the difficulties of those who own the rural land of England and Scotland, and have to pay from time to time such heavy impositions as death duties.

If a man dies and his heir has no private wealth, he can only meet these death duties by selling something; and the only property he can part with is the land, or some part of it, to which he has succeeded. The question then is, must the claims of the Exchequer always be met in cash, or can they not, with equal benefit to State and citizen, be met wholly or partly in kind? This idea of the State receiving payment of taxes in any other form than coin of the realm might seem ridiculous were it not the fact that it is already quite a customary practice of the Government to accept land for various purposes. The Ministry of Agriculture receive land for the creation of small-holdings, and the Forestry Commission take possession of land for planting woods and the carrying on of woodland industries. It therefore seems not unreasonable to suggest that the Treasury might accept land with equal readiness for revenue purposes. Indeed, with the present Socialist Government in power, it would appear

quite appropriate that the Treasury should do so. The Minister of Agriculture and the Secretary of State for Scotland have both declared in unmistakable language that the policy of their Government is the nationalisation of land; and therefore definite approval of the payment of death duties in kind would merely be starting with the thin end of the wedge.

An objection sometimes put forward is that this policy of 'dribbles' would take a long time to realise the Socialist ideal. One may, however, recall to mind the old and sound Scottish proverb, 'Big by big is the bolder, but bit by bit is the better plan.' Land nationalisation is a large and complicated question; but one truth stands out predominantly, and that is, that there are only two ways in which land can be nationalised—one is by confiscation and the other is by purchase. We can dismiss the former method as being unlikely to be adopted by any reasonable or honest statesman; and in considering the other method we must at once recognise the difficulty, or perhaps impossibility, of finding the money to carry through the purchase. The experience of land policy in Ireland is sufficient evidence of that. It all comes back, then, to looking at this matter, not as a Socialist Party question at all, but as a fiscal or revenue expedient which is not out of harmony with the declared policy of the present Government.

In 1909-10 Mr. Lloyd George, in introducing his Budget, would seem to have had some idea of the State becoming landowner on a big scale, for he introduced into the Finance Act of that year powers to transfer land in satisfaction of estate duty, settlement estate duty, or succession duty; but these powers have been made little use of. In fact, on only two occasions has it been possible for the Treasury to accept land in settlement of death duties—once in 1914 and again in 1915. The reason is not difficult to explain. The section in the Finance Act (section 56) lays it down that the transfer shall only take place 'if the Commissioners of Revenue see fit'; and a special Treasury Committee appointed to examine these proposals in 1910 reported that land should only be accepted 'if it could be utilised for some public purpose.' It is plain, therefore, that the whole position is a one-sided one, and that the option and powers of receiving land rest with the Treasury, and not with private landowners. The fact that the Act has been made use of in only two cases is no criterion as to the number of times it might have been of great advantage. The very fact that the Treasury Committee stipulated that land should only be received when usable for some 'public purpose' prevents all chance of offering ordinary farmlands. What is required is that all land which is assessed for death duties shall be tenderable on general principle, and that the value at which it

shall be accepted by the Treasury shall be that at which it has been assessed for taxation. There should be no question whether the Commissioners of Revenue 'see fit' for the transfer to take place. The landowner has no option whether he 'sees fit' to meet his burdens. He has got to 'deliver the goods' in the form of payment of the taxes due, and therefore, within the limit of his resources, he should be allowed freedom to discharge his obligations as best he can.

It has been contended that this would lead to the Treasury having a quantity of worthless land thrown into its hands. Why should this be so? Surely, if the land is really '*worthless*,' it never ought to have been assessed for death duties. If it has never been assessed, and it has no value, then it cannot be of any use offering it in discharge of taxation. On the other hand, if the land has a value, be it great or small, then it must have some use; and it is for the Government to put it to that use when they receive it. The chances are that the Government will receive the most valuable land, because the transfer of the same would discharge the greatest amount of death duties.

It has been argued, further, that the Government have no machinery to deal with offers in land; and perhaps therein lies the real reason why the Commissioners of Revenue have only 'seen fit' to accept land twice in the last twenty years, for on both those occasions they had a particular public purpose in view for utilising the land offered. If, however, the present Government have in mind nationalisation of land as a general policy, they must sooner or later—and why not now?—begin to think of machinery for dealing with the property of which they hope to become possessed. To talk about nationalising land in one breath and then in the next to say it is impossible to deal with it for lack of machinery comes very near akin to speaking without thinking, a crime of which no responsible statesman should be guilty.

There ought really to be no difficulty about dealing with the land. The Treasury Committee in the report already referred to advocate that the Treasury should not hold the land themselves, but merely act as an intermediary for the conveyance of the land to other public departments. This conveyance would presumably take place after the landowner had been credited with payment of his death duties. The various public departments on receiving the land would no doubt put it to its proper use, and this opens out a variety of possibilities. If the land offered should be town land or adjacent to a city, it could be sold to the municipality concerned, and the corporation would no doubt utilise it for slum clearance, a garden city or playing-fields, and other such-like public benefits. If the land was fit for afforesta-

tion, there is the Forestry Commission ready to accept it and plant the trees. If the land be fitted for agriculture, it can be determined whether the county authorities require it for a small-holding scheme, and if so it can be sold to the county authority. If no small-holdings are required, then it can be let to the sitting tenants or others through the Board of Agriculture; and here is a splendid opportunity for trying out the policy so often advocated by some farmers who want to become tenants with fixity of tenure and a fair rent determined by a land court. It should be remembered, of course, that a tenant of this nature becomes entirely responsible for all the buildings and general upkeep of his holding, and pays all rates or taxes that may be levied on the same. The buildings and the land would of course remain the property of the nation through the Board of Agriculture. If the land should be a barren glen in some out-of-the-way Highland area—for which no good can be found—it might just remain what it is and be leased for such purposes as the outgoing landowner found best; and worse things might happen than that the landowner himself might even become the tenant. The very last thing to be suggested is that the Government through any of their departments should try and work or develop the lands themselves, for, with the exception of afforestation, they are not capable of doing this; indeed, as Mr. Gladstone so often pointed out, national land management would only spell disaster.

It has been suggested that if the Treasury accept land this will mean the appointment of hundreds of officials, and the expense of their salaries will prove a heavy incubus upon the Government. There should be no necessity for these officials at all. Throughout the country there are hundreds of agency firms of good repute carrying on estate work of all kinds and looking after innumerable properties. There is no reason why they should not be made use of and act for the various departments of the Government. They could do so on what is called a 'time and line' basis in manufacturing industry—that is, on a footing of remuneration which covers actual out-of-pocket expenses, plus a reasonable fixed profit or commission. Furthermore, just as manufacturers are entitled to put on their notepaper 'On Admiralty List' or 'On War Office List,' so might these firms of agents decorate their correspondence with the much prized inscription 'On Treasury List.'

In the recent debate in the House of Lords one point was made by Lord Ponsonby (who was speaking for the Government) which would seem to require further explanation. He stated that the special Treasury Committee, from whose report he had quoted, recommended that the Commissioners of Revenue should

not themselves hold landed property, but should submit any offers of land received to the appropriate Government department, and that if that department is prepared to enter into negotiation for land it should negotiate with the landlord direct. He then said: 'These recommendations were accepted by the Treasury, who authorised the Commissioners of Inland Revenue to give effect to them.' Now, in the Finance Act, 1909-1910, section 56, paragraph 3, it most clearly says: 'The Commissioners of Inland Revenue may hold any property transferred to them under this section, and shall deal with it in such manner as Parliament may hereafter determine.' So far as evidence is available, Parliament has never determined anything on this subject since the passing of this Act; and therefore, unless a Treasury committee can possess or usurp parliamentary powers, there does not exist any authority under which the Commissioners can empower various departments to negotiate for land with landlords direct and credit proceeds against death duties. The whole position requires to be cleared up from the point of view of the Government and the Treasury, and some definite clear statement should be given that land will be accepted on general principle in the settlement of death duties.

From the landowner's standpoint freedom to offer land will prove of great benefit, and the evidence from the Forestry Commission that they have been offered and acquired at reasonable price nearly a quarter of a million acres in England, Wales, and Scotland should be ample proof that landowners are perfectly willing to avail themselves of the opportunity to offer land to Government departments, if the machinery for doing so is efficient and reasonable. As a corollary to the idea that the Government should accept land, it may be necessary to create in Scotland a National Trust, similar to the body of this name existing in England. This National Trust should be the department into whose hands the Government would transfer all land suitable to be held as, or made into, 'national parks.' At present no such body exists in Scotland, and if, for instance, the Trossachs or Loch Lomond with its islands were offered to the Government they would not know what to do with them.

The idea of paying death duties in land need not interfere in any way with the other proposal now being advocated, namely, that estates or buildings of historic interest should be treated in similar manner to works of art and made exempt from death duties. It is certainly to the interest of the nation that places of this nature should be preserved in this country; for, quite apart from the pleasure and amenity afforded to our own people, they are assets of value to the country, and help in no small degree to create and maintain that tourist traffic which is said

to bring money into the land. If an estate, because of its historic value, should be exempted from death duties it is very unlikely that it would be offered, because the owner would suffer no fiscal burdens in respect of it; but if the estate should be offered to cover other death duties, then a value would have to be put upon it and an exchange made upon the assessment.

One great advantage in transferring land to the Government would be that it would save landowners having to sacrifice many beautiful properties to those gentlemen so aptly termed 'land butchers.' These gentlemen purchase an attractive property, commanding lovely views, and possibly of historical value, for no other purpose than to develop the same as a commercial enterprise. The public are the losers thereby, for, although they may not have appreciated it before, the maintenance by the landowner of the property in its rural simplicity has been, relatively speaking, a national asset. In days to come, when building schemes and rapid omnibus transport have developed more and more, a quiet countryside with typical rustic views will be really priceless, for no landowner will be able to afford to retain it unspoiled by commercial atrocities except a benevolent Government.

The transfer of an estate from private ownership to the Government would save the serving of a good many notices to quit upon sitting tenants. These would simply be transferred along with the property, and much disturbance and unpleasantness to all concerned would be avoided. Furthermore, the landowners would be saved the expense and loss entailed by advertisement of public sales and the heavy commission and costs when properties are put up to public auction. A forced sale is seldom a paying sale, and if a private transfer can be arranged it is almost certain to prove more satisfactory.

The very fact that landowners possessed the right to pay their taxes in land would act as a very healthy deterrent to the Revenue officials in making their valuations. There is an uncomfortable feeling that sometimes the valuations made are excessive because it is well known that most landowners are too impecunious to face the heavy costs of an appeal to court or to arbitration. There are cases on record, for instance, where valuations of farms on the outskirts of a city have included a speculative building value over and above the true agricultural value. This speculation may, or may not, mature within the eight years allowed to a landowner as the period within which he must pay his death duties. If he holds on to the property in hope of a successful sale, he pays interest all the time on the outstanding amount of the death duties. If the building value be not obtained, then he has to sell at a loss against the valuation

upon which he has been assessed. It would surely be more equitable that the landowner should be able to transfer his property to the Treasury and let the Government take the chance of the speculative building value maturing. One thing is essential, and that is, that whichever department of Government ultimately holds the land, the department should pay all rates and taxes and other burdens that would be paid in natural course by a private owner. It is inconceivable that local revenue should be made to suffer on account of the death of some individual ratepayer. The Government in assuming land should assume all owner's obligations also.

It may seem strange that landowners are so willing to part with their land; but after all, if they have crushing burdens of taxation to meet and their other resources are limited, there is no alternative but to sell; and what does it matter who the purchaser be—whether private individual or the Government?

There is no desire on the part of landowners to evade their burdens. They carry to-day more taxation than any other class of people; and it is not unfair that they should ask that in meeting their impositions they should not be placed in a worse position than other men who have invested their money in War Loan instead of in the soil of their country. War Loan can be accepted in payment of death duties, and therefore land, as another form of capital property, should be available for the same liquidation too. Death duties are an accepted policy of this country, and if in payment of these the nation becomes possessed of land, then the transfer of the property will have been achieved by bloodless revolution, which is more than it would be if some wholesale, drastic, confiscating measure was forced through an astonished and bewildered Parliament.

MONTROSE.

SPAIN AT THE CROSS-ROADS

It is still true to say that Spain is the least understood country of Western Europe, and that in spite of the increasing number of foreigners who visit her each year. Hence a riot in a Spanish town is magnified into a revolution, whereas if it occurred in France or Germany it would be estimated at its true value, while the record of solid progress is too often relegated to consular reports and other official publications. The natural result is that the average Englishman regards Spain as a backward country perpetually on the brink of chaos, and in its search for the sensational a section of the British Press is always only too happy to confirm its readers in this opinion. The corrective to this mistaken outlook is a study of Spanish history, but that is rarely undertaken, in the absence of suitable books, though for the understanding of such a complicated situation as the present it is indispensable to regard events in their true historical perspective.

The Spaniards are a conservative people, but owing to a series of misfortunes they have been compelled to subject themselves, in matters political, to a number of experiments of which the greater part has been in reality antipathetic to them. The old Constitution, in which the government was carried on by the King and Cortes, was almost transformed into a pure monarchy by the later Hapsburgs and the earlier Bourbons, and the Napoleonic invasion completed its destruction. Had Ferdinand VII. been more far-sighted, or had his Liberal opponents been more practical, the historic Constitution of Spain, like its English counterpart, might have been adapted to modern needs, and a great deal of unhappiness would have been obviated. As it was, the energies of the country during the greater part of the nineteenth century were frittered away in a pull-devil, pull-baker struggle between the advocates of different forms of polity, while the most conservative section of the nation, who should have supplied the much needed element of stability, engaged in civil war under the banner of Don Carlos. Such being the case, it is in no way surprising that the most conservative people in Europe should, during a period of 100 years, have experimented,

almost in spite of themselves, with practically every known form of human government.

The settlement which was effected at the restoration in 1875 was a definite attempt to close the era of revolutions and *pronunciamientos* by setting up a Constitution of the English and Belgian pattern, and for a time it worked well enough, especially while the memory of the disorders of the previous period was fresh in men's minds. It certainly disappointed the hopes both of the Carlists and of the Republicans during the early years of the present King's minority and at the time of the war with the United States; but at the beginning of the twentieth century it started to break down, and that for two main reasons—the parties showed an increasing tendency to split into groups, and the new problems that confronted the country were economic rather than political.

For some twenty years after the restoration the government was carried on by the Conservative and Liberal Parties alternately, under the leadership of Cánovas del Castillo and Sagasta. Unfortunately, they left no successors of equal ability, and, as in France and Italy, the parties proceeded to disintegrate apace. Of the only three Premiers who rose above mediocrity, Canalejas and Dato were murdered, while Don Antonio Maura was unreliable in the hour of crisis. In France the interest which the electorate takes in political problems has at the last moment always prevented the centrifugal tendencies in the parties from bringing the governmental machine to a standstill, but in Spain the apathy of the general public is profound, and it is no exaggeration to say that on several occasions prior to General Primo de Rivera's *coup d'état* the King was compelled to govern as well as to reign. The effect of this political anarchy—for it was nothing less—was felt in all branches of the administration, and in 1921 it was the direct cause of the disasters which overtook the Spanish arms in Morocco.

Then, again, there was the growth of economic problems with which, with very few exceptions, the politicians proved incompetent to cope. There is a great deal to be said for the view that the collapse of the parliamentary system in so many countries is due to the inability of a political system to remedy economic ills, and certainly the history of Spain during the past twenty years gives point to such a contention. During the late war certain parts of the country became industrialised almost in a night to supply the various needs of the belligerents, and so much money flowed into Spain that from being one of the poorest nations in Europe she became within the short space of five years one of the richest. The Armistice at once raised the problem of the best way to maintain this prosperity, but it was never really

faced. The result was the rapid growth of Communism, accompanied by the most brutal outrages, in the industrial districts on the one hand, and the dissipation of the newly acquired wealth on the other.

Such was the situation in September 1923 when General Primo de Rivera seized power. He was undoubtedly supported in his action, unconstitutional as it was, by the mass of the nation as well as by the King, and in the early days of his administration his only enemies, apart from the Communists, were the older politicians whose intrigues he had so rudely interrupted. Of the material benefits which the General conferred upon Spain during the six years that he was Prime Minister there is no need to speak, for they are common knowledge all over the world, and it is rather upon his mistakes, unfortunately, that one must dwell, for they are more prominent at the moment. These mistakes, in effect, all proceeded from the fact that he never disguised the essentially military nature of his government.

Signor Mussolini's *coup d'état* was just as unconstitutional as that of General Primo de Rivera, but the first act of the Duce was to throw the cloak of legality over what he had done by securing a vote of confidence from the Chamber. Had the Marqués de Estella adopted a similar policy with regard to the Cortes, he would have obviated a great deal of the trouble which both his master and he had to encounter, and one cannot help wondering why King Alfonso did not insist upon such a course being followed. What actually happened was that the Cortes was dissolved, and the Government became a pure monarchy, though a National Assembly was instituted as an advisory body. Such procedure alienated a great many of those who had supported the *coup d'état*, for even in the most Conservative circles there was a marked disinclination to return to that military control which it was felt had proved so harmful to the interests of the country in the nineteenth century. In September 1923 General Primo de Rivera was in the same position that Signor Mussolini had been in a year before. Nothing would have been easier than for him to have got a vote of confidence from the Cortes, and he could then have remodelled the Constitution at his will. He preferred, however, to rely upon the sword, and to this initial mistake all his subsequent embarrassments were due.

As time went on General Primo de Rivera began to realise the weakness of his position in this respect, and he entrusted the National Assembly with the task of drawing up a new Constitution. This gave his enemies an opportunity of which they were not slow to take advantage, for it enabled them to accuse him of seeking to make his position permanent in contradiction to his earlier statement that he regarded his tenure of power as a

purely temporary expedient. In addition the pendulum of such public opinion as there is in Spain began after three or four years to swing against him, while the fall in the exchange value of the peseta was a useful handle for all who desired to upset the existing order. Even so, General Primo de Rivera would probably have been able to maintain his position had he not committed the blunder of appealing to the military and naval chiefs for a verdict in his favour. This was not only a further sign of his contempt for civilian opinion, but it was a direct encroachment upon the prerogative of the Crown, and the King insisted upon the General's resignation.

At the same time it should be noted that General Primo de Rivera was not swept from power by any popular movement. The old politicians, with the exception of Don Gabriel Maura and Don Antonio Goicoechea, refused to co-operate with him, and towards the close of his administration there was considerable discontent in the army, chiefly owing to his attempt to enhance its efficiency. At the moment every Spaniard who suffered from the virtues or the defects of the late Government is loud in his denunciations of it, but now that General Primo de Rivera himself is dead it is by no means unlikely that the years which he spent in office will be shortly regarded as a halcyon period in the history of Spain. The Napoleonic tradition only became irresistible after the death of the Emperor, and so it may well be with the Marqués de Estella. Had he lived he would almost certainly one day have returned to power, for although his fall was doubtless hailed with joy by many, so was that of Espartero in 1843 and that of Narvaez in 1857, and yet both men were again installed in office before long amid the plaudits of their fellow-countrymen. The very *gaffe* which precipitated the present crisis may well prove in the long run to have been beneficial to the dictatorial form of government, for it prevented it from continuing for so many years that the mass of the people grew tired of it. In short, the growth of a Rivera tradition is certainly not improbable, though it remains to be seen who will be the dead General's political heir.

Whatever the future might have held in store for the Marqués de Estella had he lived, the immediate effect of his fall was calamitous in the extreme. The old parties and groups had become mere shadows of their former selves, while the Unión Patriótica, which General Primo de Rivera had formed in imitation of Fascismo, has never obtained any real footing in the country. In these circumstances the King was forced to form a Ministry which is essentially palatine in character, and it is the realisation of the fact that for the time being he is the absolute master of Spain that is the cause of the virulent attacks that are being made upon him. Before, however, discussing the possible outcome of

the existing situation it is necessary to pass in review the different factors which are at work.

There can be no doubt that the parties of the Left have received many recruits from among those who wish to see the civil power supreme in the State, and who believe that this can only be brought about by the overthrow of the existing order. Under the Republican banner there are united for the moment Communists, Socialists, theoretical Republicans like the scholarly Unamuno and Don Gabriel Alomar, and Radicals like Señor Lerroux, though one may perhaps be pardoned for wondering whether the disorders which characterise the movement are not due to the inspiration of Moscow. All these diverse elements are agreed that the King must be held personally responsible for the faults of the late Government and for the suspension of the Constitution, and in this latter point they have the support of Señor Sanchez Guerra, the old Conservative leader, though he is apparently not prepared to go so far as to advocate the overthrow of the monarchy.

On its negative side the object of the Left is clear, for it is no other than to make the position of the Crown impossible, but its constructive programme is by no means so obvious, and the one man who could have led it to victory, Pablo Iglesias, is dead. Indeed, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that what is usually known as advanced opinion in Spain is in reality very far behind the times, and the Republicans appear to consider that the slogans which brought down the throne of Charles X. will prove equally effective in rallying the masses to an assault upon that of Alfonso XIII. One can hardly repress a smile when reading of Republican demonstrations at which the *Marseillaise* is sung to voice the revolutionary sentiments of those present, while every orator of the Left throughout the Peninsula seems obsessed by political, to the complete exclusion of economic, considerations. In short, the Spanish Republican still lives in the world of 1848, and the abolition of the monarchy and the persecution of the Church appear to him to be all that is necessary to place Spain in the front rank of the nations of the earth. He does not seem to have realised that since the war the distinction between monarchy and republic is essentially one without a difference, and that the choice before his country is not between King Alfonso and the Second Republic, but in all probability, if the monarchy is overthrown, between the rival autocracies of Communism and Fascismo.

If the Left is vocal but disorganised, the Right is hardly in a position to profit by its weakness. The old Conservative Party, which was so great a force in the days of Cánovas, has been divided into groups for many years, and so far no leader has arisen with sufficient prestige to reunite them and to rally them to the defence

of the throne. Don Antonio Maura might have done so, had he lived, though he and the King were by no means always on the best of terms, and he often displayed a considerable lack of energy in moments of crisis. His son Don Gabriel (Conde de la Mortera) is better known as a historian than as a statesman, though a good many Conservatives regard him as the man who will eventually do for the Spain of to-day what Cánovas did for that of yesterday. The newly elected leader, the Conde de Bugallal, is still to some extent an unknown quantity, though his recent manifesto is encouraging to his followers in that it has undoubtedly caused a reaction in favour of the established order. Don Antonio Goicoechea is at once one of the leading lawyers and foremost political thinkers in the country, and his writings show him to be thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of the French Nationalists in general, and with those of M. Maurras in particular. He has, however, yet to obtain the opportunity of proving his ability to put his ideals into practice. Señor Cambo, the Catalan leader, has hitherto devoted himself to finance, and he is accordingly regarded as the Poincaré or the Caillaux of Spain by his admirers and enemies respectively. Of the other leading Conservatives of the old order Señor Bergamín is no longer so prominent as he once was, and Don Angel Ossorio y Gallardo seems inclined to throw in his lot with Señor Sanchez Guerra.

At the present time, too, the Conservatives are divided upon the question of procedure. Some of them desire the immediate convocation of the Cortes, others consider that this should be postponed until the turbulence of public opinion has somewhat abated, while yet a third section demands the assembly of the Cortes Constituyentes and the reform of the Constitution, although this step has always led to serious disorders in the past. There is, too, to be taken into account the widespread feeling in Conservative circles that the Republicans do not constitute a menace, and that General Berenguer had better be left to extricate the country from its present embarrassments, after which the hereditary guardians of throne and altar will be prepared to guide its destinies. In short, the Conservatives do not appear to realise that if the monarchy can survive the existing crisis without their support it may decide to dispense with their services altogether in the future, while, if it falls, there will be no more place for them in a republic than there is for the Octobrists in Soviet Russia.

Of the Liberals, apart from the Conde de Romanones, little has been heard during the last few weeks, and there can be no doubt but that many members of that party have moved a good deal further to the Left during the past seven years. Indeed, the same fate seems to have overtaken Liberalism in Spain that

has befallen it in other countries, and the circumstances hardly appear to favour its renaissance. The Conde de Romanones is no Sagasta, and even if he were he would be a general without an army, for the younger generation of Spaniards is either definitely of the Left or contemptuous of all politicians, whatever their opinions.

Such, in brief, is the state of the political parties in Spain to-day, and it cannot be described as encouraging to the friends of that country. It may be, of course, that now the dictatorial *régime* has come to an end fresh leaders will make their appearance, but at the moment it must be confessed that there is no sign of this, and those who now aspire to control the destinies of the nation are for the most part the same men whose incompetence precipitated the *coup d'état* of 1923. It is true that an effort is being made to throw the whole blame for the events of that year upon the King, in spite not only of the popularity of General Primo de Rivera's action with the nation as a whole—a popularity which the Conde de Bugallal has publicly admitted—but also of the fact that in the hour of crisis the politicians gave the throne no help. It is therefore with a certain amount of apprehension that one regards the possibility of the return to power of the older generation of politicians.

Fortunately for Spain her destinies do not lie solely, or even principally, with her politicians, but with the throne, whose present occupant is one of the ablest statesmen not only in his own country, but in Europe. It is true that King Alfonso probably made a mistake in not insisting upon the convocation of the Cortes to ratify the *pronunciamiento* of General Primo de Rivera; but the Constitution has been respected in the breach rather than in the observance so often by the politicians themselves that he can be excused for merely following their example, the more so as he is bearing the brunt of the attack at the present time now that the Marqués de Estella is dead. The strength of the King is his personal popularity even with those who have no love for the throne as such, the wealth of monarchical feeling in a country which has been pathetically loyal to the very worst of sovereigns, and the memory of the disorders which took place after the flight of Isabella II. To these must be added the support of the Church and of the army, as well as that curious individualism in the national character that respects the strong man for his strength alone, and holds in admiration even the memory of Ferdinand VII. as *el mucho rey*.

On the other hand, there can be no question but that the immediate future of Spain depends upon the life of the present King, and the problem of the succession to the throne is not the least among the difficulties that the country has to face. Many

unkind and unjust rumours are in circulation with regard both to the Prince of Asturias and to his brother, the Infante Don Jaime, but the truth is that the health of neither is sufficiently robust to give any hope that they would prove the strong monarchs that Spanish conditions so emphatically demand. The third son of the King and Queen, the Infante Don Juan, is only a boy of sixteen, so it is not difficult to imagine the delicate situation which would arise were the demise of the Crown to take place in the midst of the prevailing political uncertainty. Sooner or later the question of the succession will have to be settled, but with the memory of what followed the deaths of Charles II. and Ferdinand VII. still in their minds responsible Spaniards are chary of raising so thorny a problem. The knowledge, however, that this difficulty exists is responsible for such rumours as that which appeared in the British Press a few weeks ago to the effect that King Alfonso was about to abdicate in favour of his brother-in-law, the Infante Don Carlos, a member of the Neapolitan branch of the House of Bourbon. Fortunately the King's announcement that he will remain on the throne at all costs has had the effect of putting an end to these rumours, though the problem which gave rise to them still remains to be solved.

The attitude of the army in such crises as the present has been the determining factor in Spain for upwards of a century, and the events of 1923 prove that, for better or for worse, the day of the *pronunciamiento* is not yet over. In no country in Europe is there less militarism, yet in none is the army more powerful, and the secret of this apparent paradox lies in the fact that it is far more truly representative of the people than any Cortes, elected by a mere counting of heads, has ever been. In this it resembles the Roman legions under the empire, which represented the people in a way which the Senate could never have done, and if proof of this be wanted it lies in the fact that in both cases the civilian followed where the soldier led. It was the army that placed General Primo de Rivera in the saddle, and when he lost its confidence the King called upon him to resign. Its attitude at the present moment is uncertain, for General Berenguer has many enemies, but it is overwhelmingly monarchist, while the influence which the King personally enjoys in its ranks was shown at the time of the mutiny of the artillery officers in 1926. In any event, it is unlikely in the extreme that the army would ever be induced to throw in its lot with the Left, whose leaders never lose an opportunity to show their contempt for the soldier.

The Church is a staunch upholder of the existing order, and during recent years has exerted her influence to check the activities of the Catalan Separatists. Quite apart from the fact that in all countries she endeavours to work, where it is possible, with the

de facto régime, she has in Spain special reasons for giving her support to the monarchy and all for which it stands. The Left, as in every Latin nation, is impregnated with anti-clericalism, though not perhaps of quite so virulent a type as in France, and its record when in power has been by no means encouraging from the point of view of the Church. For this reason the clerical influence is certain, following the recent instructions of the Cardinal Primate, to be thrown into the scale of the Right and of the monarchy, and as the franchise can hardly, in the long run, be withheld from the women, that influence is likely to be formidable in the extreme.

Lastly, there are the 23,000,000 Spaniards to whose interests all these conflicting parties and institutions profess themselves devoted. Never was there a nation with so many counsellors, or one so indifferent to their advice. The apathy of the Spanish public is proverbial, and it has never been more prominently displayed than during the present crisis. In France the fall of the dictatorship would have been accompanied by riots resulting in bloodshed on an extensive scale, but in Spain only a few students and a handful of Communists have thought it worth their while to proceed from talk to action. Indeed, to a very large extent the prevailing uncertainty is due to this apathy, for if, as the newspaper *La Libertad* truly remarked a few days ago, there is neither an organised Left nor an organised Right, the reason is that there is not sufficient interest in politics to form either. The younger generation is claimed by the Republicans, though with somewhat doubtful justice, but it is probably too interested, for the most part, in business and sport to worry about anything else, and the rest of the nation is just waiting, like Mr. Micawber, for something to turn up. In this there is undoubtedly a distinct element of danger, for the recent history of Russia has shown the peril to be apprehended from allowing a small minority to control the destinies of a great people, and in some respects the comparison between modern Spain and Czarist Russia is too close to be altogether reassuring. On the other hand, the tradition of civilisation is infinitely stronger in the Western country than in the Eastern, while the collapse of Carlism, or Jaimism as it should now be more properly termed, has reunited the supporters of monarchy after a schism that has lasted nearly a century.

The Spaniard is an idealist in theory and a realist in practice, which perhaps explains why there are so many Republicans at the present time and yet so few who are prepared to help to establish a republic. The *cafés* are full of men vociferously attesting their devotion to the sacred cause of liberty, but they almost all consider that this public expression of opinion is as far as there is any need for them to go. In this some, perhaps unduly cynical,

critics have noted a marked resemblance between the Spaniard and the Englishman; but, however that may be, the Spaniard rarely finds himself driven, like his French neighbour, to express his opinions on the barricade, and in practically every recent revolution in Spain the army has played the leading part. At the same time, the national realism induces the people to put up with the Government in power for fear that any change may be for the worse, and as the Spanish demand little from their rulers save to be left alone, they are prepared to tolerate a good deal that other nations might resent. Nevertheless, a spark may cause a conflagration when least expected, for when Charles III., as the result of a number of murders in the streets of Madrid, forbade the wearing of those long cloaks under which daggers were so easily concealed, he raised a tumult that nearly overturned the throne, but when he ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits not a dog barked throughout the length and breadth of his dominions.

Such is the Spain that to-day stands at the cross-roads, and, as has been said, both at home and abroad she most assuredly does not lack counsellors who, between them, advise her to adopt every form of government known to man. In actual fact, however, the choice is almost certainly limited to a republic or a continuation of the present *régime* with some alteration of the existing Constitution.

The disappearance, for whatever cause, of King Alfonso at the present juncture might well cause the establishment of the republic, for upon that the Left is united, while without the support of a strong monarch it is doubtful if the Right, in its disorganised condition, could offer any effectual resistance. Once the revolution had taken place, however, it is difficult to believe that a republican *régime* could last. The Spaniard is a thorough democrat socially, but he is far from being a republican by nature, and the record of the First Republic in Spain is by no means reassuring. On the morrow of the overthrow of the monarchy the victorious party would be torn with dissensions whether the republic was to be unitary or federal, Socialist or Conservative, and in these troubled waters both foreign Powers and Communist agitators would at once begin to fish. The Left, as has been shown, has given no sign of producing a leader who can co-ordinate its activities in opposition, let alone in power, and where Castelar and Pi y Margall failed the present Republican chiefs are hardly likely to succeed. Above all, the Spain of to-day is not the Spain of the First Republic, and the commercial and industrial elements would not tolerate the anarchy that flourished sixty years ago, when a part of the Spanish fleet had to be interned at Gibraltar until the restoration to prevent the crews from turning pirate. In short, the republic, as in Portugal and

in Spanish America, would very soon give place to a dictatorship, and the Left would not be long before it regretted the absence of King Alfonso's restraining influence upon the dictator. Even a definitely Fascist *régime* would by no means be an impossibility, and those who are so loud in their opposition to the throne at the present time would do well to ask themselves whether they prefer the monarchical system of to-day or the autocracy of a Mussolini or a Pilsudski. However regrettable the fact may be, political democracy has never flourished in Spanish soil on either side of the Atlantic, and there is no evidence that in this respect the future is likely to be different from the past.

The alternative—and it is the course that every true friend of Spain will wish her to adopt—is to adapt the existing Constitution to modern requirements. The scheme favoured by General Primo de Rivera was doomed from the start for reasons which have already been discussed, but it contained provisions that might well be copied. It is clear that the Executive must be strengthened, or the crises which disturb France will be repeated south of the Pyrenees with more disastrous consequences, and if some provision could be made, as was intended by General Primo de Rivera, for the direct representation of economic interests, it would go far to weaken the influence of the politicians. Above all, the revision of the Constitution must be made in the light of the conditions of to-day, and not of those of 1848, for the ills from which Spain is suffering, in common with the rest of the world, are economic, and they cannot be cured by political remedies. The country was a prey to generals and *doctrinaires* during the greater part of last century, and now is its chance to get rid of both. Already there are signs of a reaction against the violence which the Left has displayed, both in word and deed, during the past two months, and if this feeling gathers impetus, as it well may, the elections, which can hardly take place until the autumn, should return a Cortes in which there is a working majority for a reform of the Constitution along practical lines.

Meanwhile, General Berenguer holds the field, and whatever view one may take of his military capabilities, there can be no denying the fact that he has deserved exceedingly well of his country in exceptionally trying circumstances. In spite of his own imprisonment during his predecessor's tenure of office, he has gone out of his way to defend the latter when nothing could have been easier, or more popular in certain circles, than to have cast upon him all the blame for the present crisis. It is true that he has not sanctioned the immediate revival of the political life of the country, but to have done so would have been playing into the hands of the revolutionaries, while he has precedent on his side in that it was not until thirteen months after the

restoration that the Cortes met. He has, as in the case of the students, shown his desire to be conciliatory, though he has equally displayed a determination not to be coerced by the threats of the extreme Left. If he can keep the peace until the elections have been held or the Constitution has been revised, General Berenguer will rank among the greatest of Spanish patriots.

CHARLES PETRIE.

EMMELINE PANKHURST AND MILITANT SUFFRAGE

TIME's revenges, always bitter sweet in their irony and their inevitableness, can rarely have been consummated in so completely satisfying a manner, and with so little delay, as in the case of the militant suffrage leader whose statue was unveiled by Mr. Baldwin at Westminster on March 6. The full significance of this public tribute to Emmeline Pankhurst within three years of her death will be realised chiefly by those who were her colleagues during the stormy nine years that preceded the outbreak of the Great War; but few can fail to appreciate the moral triumph implied in the choice of a site for her statue almost on the very spot that saw her actually rejected and cast out. Future generations, when they go to Parliament for redress of grievances or in defence of their liberties, will be reminded by the slender marble figure that now overlooks the region where the women's fight was hottest, of one who strove and suffered in the same eternal cause of human progress and triumphed in the end.

That Mrs. Pankhurst regarded the campaign for women's political enfranchisement as part of the greater war for freedom that never ends can be gathered from the story of her life. She came of a stock that was identified with progressive thought, her father holding advanced Radical views and her grandfather having narrowly escaped with his life at Peterloo; and her militant followers used to like to remind their audiences that she was born on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. At school in Paris she came in contact with the daughter of Henri Rochfort and was attracted to Republican opinions; but she did not take an active part in public affairs until after her marriage to Dr. Pankhurst in Manchester, where her first piece of political work was done in connexion with the committee formed to promote the Bill drafted by her husband that afterwards became law as the Married Women's Property Act. She worked hard in his interest on the two occasions when he stood for Parliament, and, having joined the Fabian Society in London and the Holborn Women's Liberal Association in 1886, she remained a Liberal until the year 1892, when, back again in Manchester, she became a member of

the Independent Labour Party and stood unsuccessfully as the I.L.P. candidate for the School Board. In the following year she was returned at the head of the poll in the election for the Chorlton Board of Guardians, and speedily made her mark as a fearless reformer and an able administrator. Her daughter, Sylvia Pankhurst, gives an illuminating account of the human side of these early activities in an article in which she writes¹:

As a Poor Law guardian she was resourceful in securing alleviation of their drab lot for the victims of poverty and the Poor Law. A touch of home, a glint of the motherly housewife's common sense, she imported into the workhouse; for she had the capacity, rare in accomplished administrators, of seeing the human being in the 'inmate' and the 'case.' She fought against the upholders of tradition to secure backs for the old people's seats; that the bread, hitherto dealt out in a chunk of given weight to each inmate, should be cut up and buttered (or alas! to be accurate, margarined), and set out on plates for all to take what they chose, the residue being made into puddings instead of going into pig-tubs as of yore . . . little things, but received with great gratitude in those days. She was active in the building of the Poor Law Children's Cottage Homes. I well remember her activity and her zest. No detail escaped her interest. That was ever her mood—everything she touched was to her vastly important.

All this time she was also in touch with other reform movements, and those who did not meet her until later in life would find it hard to believe that only her intense enthusiasm for the causes she embraced enabled her to overcome her early distrust of her own powers as a speaker—not the only instance in history of the evolution of an orator from one by nature reserved and inarticulate. This makes it all the more interesting that her first conflict with the authorities on a question of principle should have occurred in association with Keir Hardie over the famous free speech controversy of Boggart Hole Clough.

How much she was affected by the death of her husband in 1899 few outside her family were ever allowed to know. Sylvia Pankhurst calls it 'the loss of him who had been the lodestar of her life'; but we know that her public work went on uninterrupted, for she was appointed registrar in Manchester when Dr. Pankhurst died, and in the following year she was elected Trades Council nominee on the School Board. This power of detachment, of subordinating private claims to public service, was always a distinguishing mark of her character, and one that is sufficiently rare, especially in women, to be taken in her case as indicating an instinctive realisation of the part she was to play in the public affairs of her generation. When her only son died, years later, at a critical moment of the suffrage agitation, even her intimate

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, March 6, 1930.

associates were scarcely aware of all that it meant to her, and the work went on as before. Yet it was about the same period of her life that the Rev. Hugh Chapman, Chaplain of the Royal Savoy Chapel, wrote of her, on the occasion of one of her imprisonments, as 'a most womanly woman, a fragile, tender-hearted, patient person, who, whether rightly or wrongly, is at present behind the bars, though she being in prison yet speaketh with a voice which, if I am not mistaken, will long survive as a bugle call to the liberators of women.' The prophetic touch in the last sentence, in view of the recent ceremony at Westminster, is rendered more emphatic by another passage in the same article (which appeared in *Votes for Women*, March 29, 1912), in which the writer observes: 'We constantly kill our prophets and afterwards erect their sepulchres.'

The tendencies of her early life in Manchester are enough to show that Mrs. Pankhurst would have come to see the vital connexion between woman suffrage and the causes she advocated even had she not been married to a man who never lost sight of that connexion. With Dr. Pankhurst she worked in the Women's Suffrage Society that he had helped to found in 1865, and together they joined later with Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy and Mrs. Jacob Bright, and others, in forming the Women's Franchise League. After his death, as her work brought her still more in contact with social conditions, the question appeared to her to assume even greater urgency, and, feeling that fresher and more vigorous methods were called for, she founded, in 1903, the Women's Social and Political Union. This was in its inception, like other suffrage societies, a non-militant organisation; and its founder, assuming that the work for the woman's vote would reach a reasonably early culmination, excluded from its title any reference to the franchise in order to provide for its continuance after the vote was won. As it turned out, of course, the suffrage side of its activities absorbed the full energies of its members right up to the outbreak of war in 1914.

As Emmeline Pankhurst frequently related in after years, it was her daughter Christabel who originated the idea of militant tactics. For the first two years of its existence the new union employed all the recognised methods of political agitation and made no real headway. The world, for women, went very badly then; and the vicious circle which enclosed them, because Governments would give no serious heed to a franchise claim made by women who had no franchise with which to enforce it, seemed unbreakable. Christabel Pankhurst, fresh from passing her law examinations and faced with her inability to overcome the sex prejudice of the Bar to which she was qualified to be called, compared the history of men's enfranchisement with that

of the women's fruitless endeavour, and saw that the difference lay, not in the claim, which was identical, but in the methods employed. Without as yet visualising violence as part of the women's campaign, she discerned the immediate need for converting an appeal for justice into a demand for a right, that should be accorded as much political consideration as any demand made by men who were voters; and she formulated the policy of opposing every Government that refused votes to women until it brought in and passed a Government measure. This made a clean break with the old suffrage policy of obtaining pledges of support from private members of Parliament irrespective of party; but it was a recognised political weapon and one already adopted by the Irish Party at Westminster in order to bring Home Rule similarly within the sphere of practical politics.

The first step in the new campaign was taken on October 15, 1905, when Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney, a mill girl, went to a Liberal meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, in order to ask the chief speaker, then Sir Edward Grey, not if he personally was in favour of woman suffrage, as he was known to be, but what the Liberal Government intended to do about it if the party were returned to power at the forthcoming General Election. Similar questions on other matters, put by men, were answered in due course; the women's question, sent up on paper, was laid aside unanswered—not unnaturally, since any answer to it, put in that form, must have committed the future Government to a definite policy one way or the other, and no Government at that time would have dreamed of putting the women's question on the party programme. When the two girls displayed a little banner bearing the words 'Votes for Women'—which became henceforth the militants' battle cry—and insisted on an answer to their question, this unprecedented interruption by women of an election meeting caused an uproar, in the course of which they were both thrown out with considerable force. On attempting to address the crowd outside they were arrested for obstruction, and on the following day sentenced respectively to seven and three days' imprisonment in default of paying the fines imposed. That was the birth of militancy; and at this distance of time it is perhaps pardonable to reflect how different would have been the subsequent course of events had that question been answered in a statesmanlike manner in October 1905.

Emmeline Pankhurst avowedly did not originate militancy or the policy that led to it, but she identified herself with the new tactics so promptly and unreservedly that this slight chronological detail would scarcely call for notice except for the evidence it affords of her perception and of the perfect understanding that

characterised her relations with her eldest daughter. She had many qualities that made her an exceptional woman, and not the least of them was the vision that primarily enabled her to detect where the younger woman excelled in political acumen and freshness of outlook, and afterwards gave her the courage and faith to grasp all the implications of the new policy at a moment when scarcely a voice was raised in its defence. Nor did she ever waver during the strenuous years that followed in that faith or that courage, though this involved her in a physical and spiritual suffering abhorrent to one of her nature. It has been recorded of her by the nurse who attended her many times on her release in an almost dying condition after hunger-striking in prison that 'Imprisonment was mental torture to her; she was peculiarly shy and sensitive, and she shrank from being touched.'

To be able to understand how a woman of this kind felt impelled to offer herself to indignity and insult and violence rather than continue to work quietly for the vote through the ordinary channels of political agitation one must realise two things, and first, that to Mrs. Pankhurst and those who rapidly rallied round her, from keen social reformers like the Pethick Lawrences and Lady Constance Lytton to artists and professional women like Elizabeth Robins and Dr. Garrett Anderson, the ordinary methods seemed to have outgrown their usefulness. That they should have been tried first was readily admitted; but it was maintained that the case for militancy could be sufficiently based upon the failure of non-militant methods, after a fifty years' trial, to secure serious attention. The climax of the patient and magnificent work accomplished by the older suffrage societies seemed to have been reached in 1884, when Mr. Gladstone's Government refused to accept a woman suffrage amendment to the County Franchise Bill, and the women's supporters in the Liberal Party consequently voted against it and caused its defeat. After that, although the suffrage movement struggled bravely on, it lacked confidence, and it could be reasonably claimed that on political grounds alone militancy was justified.

But the mass of women were not yet sufficiently awakened to be moved by the political argument alone; and so the second fact to be realised, if we wish to understand what sent the militant message like a flame through the country and made Emmeline Pankhurst and others come near death in its name, was that the world in which these things happened was not the world of to-day.

There has been since then [said Mr. Pethick Lawrence, at the unveiling of the statue last month] a fundamental change in thought. A quarter of a century ago women were regarded as outside the main stream of life and only as ministers to the happiness, the comforts, or the vices of men. To-day they have taken their right places as co-equal participators in human destiny.

In that world a double standard of morality was still accepted tacitly by the majority of women as well as men; the inferior status of women, whether legal, economic, social or political, was being combated by only a minority of the population, and, although much had been done by the pioneers to increase the occupational openings for women and to raise the standard of their education, the mass of working-class women were still being sweated or underpaid and the mass of middle-class women were still expected to prefer privileges to rights and chivalry to justice.

It was the realisation of these facts, although she herself had lived in more enlightened circles and knew a freedom of the spirit independent of material status, that fired Mrs. Pankhurst to militancy; and it was into this world of twenty-five years ago that she poured the flood of her enthusiasm and so rallied thousands of law-abiding women to the purple, white and green banner of rebellion. If to Christabel militancy was a sound political means of forcing the hand of a laggard Government, to her mother it was a weapon with which to lash the submissive woman into a consciousness both of her inferior position and of the effect upon civilisation of her acquiescence in that position. Militancy thus came to mean to the average woman who adopted it the expression of wrongs long felt but hitherto thought irremediable, wrongs that were only superficially the wrongs of women, for in their repercussions they poisoned the life of the whole community.

The full effect of the forces thus released could not have been foreseen, because no one could have foretold the extent to which politicians and events were to play into the women's hands. It is invidious to discuss whether a Government formed from another political party would have adopted a less unimaginative attitude towards the militant movement, or whether, if Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had not unfortunately died at the beginning of it, the Liberal Government which remained in power throughout its duration would have committed the error of trying to suppress it by force. We know that this blunder was committed and led to more and worse blunders, producing in their turn more forcible manifestations of militancy on the part of antagonists the righteousness of whose cause rendered them invulnerable; while those Liberals who retained their democratic principles, and would have applied them to women as to men, found themselves handicapped by the fact that their leader, Mr. Asquith (then Prime Minister), was a declared anti-suffragist. The flawless logic of the militant suffragists could be met by Liberals only in two ways—by acquiescence in the women's demand for political representation, or by coercive measures to repress that demand; there was no logical way of

refusing it. That was why Mr. Asquith could not receive the deputations from militant women that sought his presence in successive sessions of Parliament. He knew they were no longer to be put off with evasive promises; as a Liberal he could not deny their claim, so he met it with force. To shelter his refusal to receive them behind some dusty statute of Charles II., forbidding more than twelve persons in procession to approach the House when it was sitting, was, of course, a quibble, and the women challenged it by limiting their actual deputation to the required number and receiving the same treatment as before.

The first violence was therefore committed by the Government, the women contenting themselves with passive resistance and a refusal to take 'No' for an answer. In meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers they put their inexorable question and were at once thrown out, often with great roughness, by stewards and audience. In Parliament Square they were met by many hundreds of police, who soon began to handle them with considerable brutality and allowed the worst elements of the crowd to do the same; often this went on for hours before they were granted the mercy of arrest. It is necessary to recall these painful episodes and to show that the original violence came from the forces on the Government side; otherwise it would be difficult to understand how a woman of Mrs. Pankhurst's nature and culture, to say nothing of her followers, could have taken part in scenes outside the House of Commons that to the passer-by, misled by the inaccuracies of a sensational Press, simply conveyed the appearance of unseemly brawling by hooligan women.

But illogical, unstatesmanlike, and often in its consequences inhumane as the Government in power showed itself to be, this opposition did indirectly strengthen a movement that was no longer stagnant and unrecognised. The sensational doings of the 'suffragettes,' as a daily paper nicknamed them in derision, but as they grew proud to be called, advertised the cause widely, secured to all suffragists vast audiences and the attention of the Press, and fully justified the originators of militancy in their intention of reviving a somnolent movement. But the chief service rendered unwittingly by the Government's repressive measures was to afford the militants innumerable opportunities to make sacrifices for their cause and so win increasing support from people who would have been left unmoved by mere argument. Coercion, of course, bred coercion; and the increasing violence of police methods in Parliament Square, directed towards dissuading the women from courting arrest, goaded the latter into abandoning passive resistance for attacks upon property, a method which secured instant arrest without brutality. The new phase of militancy was initiated in 1911 by the breaking of a

few Government windows : this led to more demonstrations of the kind until the windows of business firms were attacked ; and after that the campaign increased in intensity until, in the months preceding the war, the forces of a powerful Government were ranged against a little band of fearless outlaws, who succeeded in burning down public buildings, from park pavilions to railway stations, in blowing up telegraph poles and stopping telegraphic communication, and in similar ways endeavouring to demonstrate that they were in revolt against society until society admitted them to equal status with men.

Similarly, the action of the authorities in refusing to the suffragettes the special status in prison that had been accorded to men political offenders in the past led to the protest of the hunger strike ; this was met by the abomination of forcible feeding, and, in order to obviate the premature release of women undergoing long sentences, finally by what was known as the Cat and Mouse Act, a measure passed in 1913 to provide for the temporary release on licence of the hunger-striker, so that she could be re-arrested, when restored to a semblance of health, and an attempt made to force her to serve the rest of her sentence. In the forefront of this second phase of militancy, too, was Mrs. Pankhurst.

But throughout the nine militant years, 1905-1914, she took an active part also in the non-militant side of the movement. At two General Elections, as well as many by-elections, on which occasions militancy was suspended and reliance placed on argument alone, her great gifts as a speaker exercised a powerful effect upon the electors, so much so, indeed, that after one such contest in a West Country constituency she was attacked by roughs and her foot injured. She walked in the immense suffrage processions that were a feature of this period ; she presided over mass meetings in the Albert Hall and elsewhere ; she worked as hard as any non-militant suffragist to effect conversions by the appeal to reason. But it is idle to doubt that her name will in the end be remembered chiefly in connexion with her defiance of laws she would have been the first by nature to obey, and of conventions to which all her instincts would have readily induced her to conform.

Her first imprisonment occurred on February 13, 1908, when she led a handful of women across Parliament Square, carrying the customary message to the Government framed by a crowded meeting of women in the Caxton Hall. Her intention was to present it in person to the head of the Government ; but as usual the deputation was not allowed even to reach the door of the House, and Mrs. Pankhurst and her companions, with many other women supporters, were finally arrested for ' obstruction '

because they declined to go away without seeing the Prime Minister. For this technical offence she served a sentence of six weeks in the second division, wearing the dress and eating the food and otherwise submitting to the prison conditions accorded to the criminal offender. In October of the same year she stood in the dock at Bow Street, with her daughter Christabel and Mrs. Drummond, to answer a charge of incitement to riot, based upon a leaflet issued by them which called upon the public to help the women to ' rush ' the House of Commons. For this offence she served three months' further imprisonment. In March 1912, with Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, joint-editors of *Votes for Women*, she was tried for conspiracy in connexion with the widespread campaign of window-breaking, which, affecting important shopowners in the West End, produced an outcry that no longer permitted the Government to pretend that the militant agitation was a negligible outbreak of a few disgruntled women. All three leaders were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division, but, on finding after their transference to the first division that the same treatment was not given to their followers who were imprisoned at the same time, they at once began a hunger strike in protest and were released on the understanding that they would not take part in militant tactics until the expiration of the term of their original sentence.

Miss Pankhurst having evaded arrest on this occasion by escaping to Paris in a clever disguise, the militant movement was now conducted by her from abroad, and it was during the next two years, dating from October 1912, at which time the six years' connexion between the Pankhursts and the Pethick Lawrences was severed, that the campaign of arson and other attacks upon property, already mentioned, took place. In April 1913, convicted in respect of this campaign of conspiracy for the second time, Mrs. Pankhurst was sentenced to three years' penal servitude, the jury bringing in a verdict of guilty, with a strong recommendation to mercy on account of the purity of her motives. In a fine speech from the dock she pointed out the inequalities of the law then existing, which, in the minds of the militant women, had brought the law of the country into disrepute and given them their justification for breaking it.

' I break the law for no selfish motive [she said]. We are women who rightly or wrongly are convinced that this is the only way in which we can win power to alter what to us are intolerable conditions. . . . There is only one way to put a stop to this agitation. It is not by deporting us ; it is not by locking us up in gaol ; it is by doing us justice.

She did not serve her three years' imprisonment. After a nine days' hunger and thirst strike in Holloway Gaol she was released under the Cat and Mouse Act, in a condition of great weakness and

pain, on a fifteen days' licence, was re-arrested in due course, then again released in rather a worse condition, and again re-arrested, and so on, until the process had been performed ten times. Her sufferings were equalled by her amazing courage. More than once, by sheer will power, she recovered sufficiently to make a dramatic escape on the eve of re-arrest from the home or private house in which she was being nursed—both were always at her disposal—either for the purpose of extending the period of recuperation before again undergoing the prison ordeal, or to make some public protestation of her faith. She managed in this way, between hunger strikes, to address Women's Social and Political Union meetings, sometimes from an invalid chair, once to appear at the Medical Congress, and once even to sail to America and address meetings there, again being arrested at Plymouth on her return to England. The strain must have been terrific. She was sometimes so roughly handled that a doctor's certificate, after one of her releases, declared her to be suffering from bruises and abrasions, 'all evidencing the marked degree of violence to which she had been subjected.' Neither insults nor violence shook her indomitable purpose. 'I shall prove,' she had foretold in a speech made at Cardiff, 'in my own person that the punishment unjustly imposed upon women, who have no voice in making the laws, cannot be carried out.' It was not carried out. When in August 1914 she was included in the general amnesty granted to all suffragettes, it was shown that she had, during sixteen months of suffering, served in intermittent periods not quite six weeks of her sentence.

That was the close of the militant campaign. The suffrage movement persisted, however, and women were included in the Representation of the People Act of 1918, their full political enfranchisement being finally won last year. Mrs. Pankhurst's further career concerns those sections of the public with whom she worked during the war, and afterwards when she joined the Conservative Party and stood for Parliament as their candidate. Her real fame will rest on no sectional or party political achievement. To posterity she will be the woman who founded and inspired the militant Union, who worked and suffered and was prepared to die for the enfranchisement of women.

Looking back over the years, one is able to see more clearly than at the time, perhaps, the extent and the nature of the contribution made by Emmeline Pankhurst to this remarkable outburst of revolt on the part of a race of women whom the rest of the world had been inclined to regard as rather phlegmatic and peculiarly deferential to the claims of polite convention. The eloquence with which she was able to sway great crowds of men and women depended more upon the feeling and conviction that

lay behind her words than upon her actual arguments. She was not a born orator like Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, marshalling facts and balancing judgments, leading up to a peroration that rounded off her speech and drove it home to her listeners. Nor was she humorous and combative and ruthlessly logical in her political attack, like that brilliant protagonist Christabel. She was very rarely humorous in her speeches, and they did not give the impression of being deliberately planned. But she carried her audience off their feet by a magnetic power that sprang from a rare personality. She had that great quality, passion, without which no human being is complete and no cause is ever won. She had personal attractions and charm to a high degree, and a very beautiful voice. It was impossible to look at her and to listen to her without feeling that in that frail and gracious woman, with the finely moulded features and wonderfully expressive hands, was embodied a passion of anger for the age-long wrongs of women who were born too soon to set them right, and a fire of resolution to win freedom and redemption for the generations to come.

It would be easy in so human a person to discover the defects of her qualities: that she was perhaps intolerant of criticism, impatient of what was sometimes a necessary pause, unable to deal with the pettifogging objections of weaker brethren, and quite incapable of compromise even if compromise seemed to offer sound constructive advantages. Her mind was cast on broad lines; her qualities were the qualities of her defects, and her defects served only to show the wisdom of that partnership with her daughter Christabel and with Emmeline and Frederick Pethick Lawrence, whose qualities were complementary to hers.

What remains unforgettable is that in her own person Emmeline Pankhurst bore the burden of a martyrdom that would be incredible to us to-day if we failed to realise that it happened in another world, and to realise, further, that the world of to-day is a different world because she helped to make it so. Whether she addressed thousands from the platform or led twelve women into the horrors of Parliament Square, whether she marched at the head of a procession five miles long, or fought single-handed in the dark solitude of her prison cell, she gave always that impression of greatness which is inseparable from the possession of unshakable conviction and invincible courage, and which makes the martyr of all the ages.

EVELYN SHARP.

THE BRITISH SUMMARY COURT IN THE RHINELAND

THE Englishman is very proud of his system of criminal justice. In its main essentials he has taken it with him to most of the countries in which he has settled, and he has endowed with it races very different in temperament and character from the people who first evolved it. Not the least remarkable chapter in its history closed last year with the departure from the Rhineland of the British Army of Occupation, for with that event there came to an end the existence of a flourishing English court exercising wide criminal jurisdiction in the heart of a great Continental State. Probably never again will circumstances produce such a tribunal. The following short account of its work may therefore be of interest.

On the famous day in 1919 on which the delegates assembled at Versailles signed the Treaty of Peace with Germany they also signed a document known as 'The Rhineland Agreement.' This document contained the main conditions governing the way in which the Allied occupation of the Rhineland should be carried out. Among many other things, it provided that all civilians who committed offences against the persons or property of the occupying forces should be subject to trial by the courts of the army concerned. It also created the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission, and conferred on it the power of making ordinances for the control of the occupied territories. Persons who contravened these ordinances were made subject to military jurisdiction. The Allied armies thus became faced with the task of providing suitable courts for trying a large variety of criminal cases of a civilian character.

In discharging this duty the occupying Powers adopted quite different plans. The French introduced the elaborate court-martial system of the French army, with its hierarchy of officials and judges. The British, incorrigibly addicted to practical improvisation, created one simple and flexible tribunal, which combined the humanity and dispatch of a London police court with the military qualities proper to the judicial machinery of an army of occupation. This tribunal was known as the Summary

Court. It consisted normally of a single military officer sitting as sole judge of law and fact. In cases where a sentence of more than two years' imprisonment was likely to be awarded from two to five other officers sat with him. The bench was usually occupied by an experienced English barrister, whose services were permanently retained for that purpose and who held temporary military rank. Another barrister, also holding military rank, initiated and conducted prosecutions. He was supplied with evidence collected by a staff of detectives working under the deputy provost-marshal. The procedure normally followed was that of an English stipendiary's court, though in more serious cases the proceedings became somewhat more formal and, except for the absence of a jury, approximated to those of a trial at assizes. All accused persons could be represented by counsel of any nationality, and British and German advocates very frequently appeared. Through the medium of an official interpreter proceedings were conducted in both English and German. No machinery for hearing appeals existed, but the Commander-in-Chief scrutinised the record of every case and exercised the right to quash convictions and remit sentences.

The English procedure followed was a constant source of interest to the many Germans who came into contact with the Summary Court. German criminal procedure is essentially inquisitorial. The main duty of a German judge is to elicit the truth. He decides what witnesses shall be called, and he it is who examines them. He also examines the prisoner, sometimes very rigorously. Though it is too much to say that German law presumes an accused person to be guilty until he proves the contrary, yet it certainly provides no presumption of innocence, and it requires him to take at every stage an active part in assisting the inquiry into the charge made against him. The English method of requiring the prosecution to make out a substantial case before inviting the defence to make any reply was extremely puzzling even to the German lawyers. On those occasions when the case for the prosecution broke down, and a verdict of acquittal was given without calling on the defence, the incredulous amazement on the face of the prisoner provoked smiles even from the bench. In such cases it was not unusual for the equally puzzled defending lawyer to attempt to open an elaborate defence even after the fact that his client was acquitted had been impressed on him. The English system of oral examination and cross-examination of witnesses also presented difficulties to the German practitioners. In German courts, after the presiding judge has examined a witness to his satisfaction, counsel on either side may obtain permission to put a few questions on points not wholly cleared up, but in practice these questions are framed with such prolixity

that they bear no resemblance to cross-examination as we understand it. When, therefore, German practitioners appeared in the Summary Court they were, to say the least, considerably embarrassed through lack of any real experience in questioning witnesses. Defending counsel's examination of his own witnesses would usually consist of little more than reading to them the proof of their evidence and inviting their assent at the end of each paragraph. A gentle inquiry as to whether learned counsel could perhaps avoid leading the witnesses quite so much would usually result in the unaccustomed task being gratefully surrendered into the more experienced hands on the bench. Cross-examination presented still greater difficulties, and, after a preliminary uproar, usually achieved a similar fate. However, in spite of the disadvantages under which they laboured, German practitioners undoubtedly liked appearing in the Summary Court, and frequently expressed their approval of the procedure and of the justice meted out.

The wide jurisdiction of the Armies of Occupation over offences against their members brought into the Summary Court a considerable volume of ordinary crime. The frequency with which cases of housebreaking and larceny from dwelling-houses occurred was very marked, especially in Cologne. It seemed that the light-fingered fraternity of that city at one period singled out the houses of members of the British Army for particular attention. That this should have been so was the more remarkable in view of the fact that most military householders possessed arms, a privilege strictly denied the German population. Indeed, on one occasion a British officer who found a party of three burglars in his rooms made such effective use of his automatic pistol that at the subsequent trial the dock in the Summary Court presented rather the appearance of a hospital casualty ward. In addition to running the risk of being shot when inside a house in military occupation, criminals knew that if they were convicted before the British court they would receive considerably heavier sentences than were usually awarded in German courts for burglary and kindred offences. In the case just mentioned, for instance, the sentences ranged from eight to ten years' penal servitude. Perhaps the true explanation of the preference shown to British houses was to be found in the state of the windows. A passion for fresh air has its disadvantages, especially in a Continental city.

While offences against property were many, serious offences against the person were remarkably few. During the whole period of the occupation only one civilian was convicted of murder. This case was remarkable in that the trial took place six years after the crime was committed. The prisoner, a young

Pole, was in 1919 a member of a gang of youths who had assumed the self-imposed task of cutting the hair of German girls found associating with British troops. In the course of an altercation arising from this activity he shot a New Zealand soldier, and then fled to unoccupied Germany. In 1925 he returned to Cologne on a visit. Within a few minutes of his arrival a German detective arrested him and handed him over to British military custody. Owing to the lapse of time since the murder the witnesses of the actual shooting had become dispersed, and it was necessary to bring one of them, an ex-soldier, from New Zealand to give evidence. The court sentenced the prisoner to death, but the Commander-in-Chief commuted the sentence to one of penal servitude for life.

Of less serious offences the most frequent were cases of endangering the safety of members of the Army by reckless driving of vehicles. The German motor driver has very little road sense, and usually seems to be peculiarly self-centred. Also, traffic control in Germany is still far from efficient, although there has been some improvement in this during the last two years. The handling of these driving cases in the Summary Court hugely interested the German public. Almost every charge of this kind was strenuously resisted, although the fines awarded were not greater than those customary in England for similar offences and the Court had no power to endorse or suspend licences. Sometimes, with Teutonic solemnity, the defence would go to the length of calling expert witnesses and putting in elaborate plans and calculations, although the negligence was clear and the probable punishment a fine of 40s. The tenacity with which the German motorist fought was in marked contrast with the conduct of his more definitely criminal brother, who would plead guilty to a theft in circumstances where an English lawyer would advise at least a run for one's money.

One of the most famous ordinances of the Rhineland High Commission made insulting conduct 'by word, act or gesture' towards officers, soldiers or members of their families an offence triable before the military tribunals. The number of these cases to come before the British Summary Court was very small, and seldom exceeded a dozen a year. This was the more remarkable in view of the fact that the troops mixed with complete freedom with civilians in the cafés and dance-halls of the garrison towns. Large numbers of them, too, were billeted with their families in undivided portions of German houses. Perhaps, however, Private and Mrs. Atkins' ignorance of the niceties of the German language was not without its effect in this respect.

Though the German householder's 'words, acts or gestures' but seldom led him to the dock, quite frequently his omissions did

so. The duties of a person upon whom an officer or soldier was billeted were not merely negative. Under pain of prosecution he was required 'to treat him, his family and servants, with civility at all times and to grant them the necessary facilities for the comfortable occupation of the quarters allotted to them.' In Germany the landlord of a block of flats or converted house usually prepares an official-looking document called 'the house rules,' with which he requires his tenants or lodgers to comply. Efforts to enforce rules which were, as was often the case, arbitrary and annoying upon members of the Army usually led to the appearance of their author before a tribunal that did not regard them as having quite the immutable and sacrosanct character ascribed to them by the disciplined Teutonic mind. A similar fate befel landlords who sought to make a few extra marks profit out of their billeting money by economising unduly with their central heating. Occasionally, too, owners of barns and similar buildings who placed difficulties in the way of the troops' billeting during field training appeared in the Summary Court. In all such cases the most willing and definite witnesses for the prosecution were the local burgomasters and country policemen.

In 1923 the fluctuating state of the currency in Germany produced conditions peculiarly conducive to profiteering by shopkeepers. Accordingly, the Rhineland High Commission by ordinance forbade traders and others 'to make excessive profits to the prejudice of the personnel of the Armies of Occupation . . . in connexion with the supply of goods or services for the satisfaction of ordinary requirements.' For several months the Summary Court worked at high pressure in enforcing this ordinance. The traders fought tenaciously: they called innumerable experts; they put in exhaustive lists of overhead charges; they showed how the fall of the mark made their cash takings melt like snow from hour to hour. Gradually the Summary Court evolved a body of case law which gave each class of article a certain approved margin between selling price and wholesale cost. But one day, greatly daring, the prosecution proceeded against a doctor who had charged a British officer for medical attendance a fee which was appropriate more to Harley Street than to Cologne. At once the fat was in the fire, for with no wholesale cost to work on the Court was at the mercy of the experts. The battle raged for two days. Both sides called their experts: one group swore that the fee was outrageous; the other that it was little more than nominal, and that only from motives of charity could it have been fixed so low. The case ended in a conviction on the rather special ground that the accused doctor had charged not only for his attendance, but also for loss of business caused by absence from his consulting-room whilst actually attending the patient. In

1924 the ordinance was repealed, much to the relief of everyone, except possibly the German *Hausfrau*, who derived both entertainment and pecuniary benefit from the legislative adventure.

During the latter years of the occupation the Summary Court dealt with several cases of masquerading as officials of the armies, conduct not unnaturally forbidden by ordinance. The most remarkable of these was that of a young German who carried out a very profitable and ingenious fraud on his fellow-countrymen. He caused to be printed a set of forms which purported to be official notifications of sentences of the Summary Court. Having selected a victim, usually a woman living in some remote village, he filled in her name on one of these forms, followed by a statement that she had been convicted of some minor offence and had been sentenced to pay a 10-mark fine. He then posted this document to her, and some days later called on her and said that he was a British detective who had been sent to collect the fine. If his victim protested he produced a metal disc suitably embossed with the legend 'Scotland Yard' (*sic*) and revealed under his coat a sash bearing the letters 'M.P.' The production of these insignia, together with a threat of immediate arrest, usually resulted in the terrified woman paying over the sum demanded. The fraud was not really so transparent as it seems, for in Germany most petty offences are in fact punished by police fines without trial. The impostor did not, however, confine himself to the rôle of a collector of fines. On one occasion he visited a village burgomaster and told him that he had been ordered by the British authorities to search the locality for hidden arms. Accompanied by the burgomaster and constable, he then solemnly searched every house in the village, finally requisitioning a horse in order, as he informed the impressed functionaries, to proceed to further urgent duties elsewhere. Unfortunately for him he was arrested a few days later, and was awarded six months' imprisonment at the Summary Court.

Perhaps the case that attracted the widest public interest was that of the Deputy Regierungspräsident of Cologne. In 1923 France and Belgium seized all the railways in the occupied area outside the British zone and administered them through the medium of a body known as the 'Franco-Belgian Régie.' This body issued a paper currency of 'Régie francs,' and required all payments for railway travelling to be made in it. In June 1924 a large quantity of forged 'Régie francs' appeared in Cologne. At this time the French were still in the Ruhr, and feeling between them and the Germans was rather acute. It was soon whispered abroad that the German Government was attempting to discredit the Franco-Belgian railway currency by means of these

forged notes. Public excitement increased when the deputy-regierungspräsident, the second senior representative in Cologne of the Prussian Government, was arrested and charged in the Summary Court with 'When aware that a certain person was attempting to circulate or cause to be circulated in occupied Germany forged Régie franc notes failed to report the same to the representative of the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission in Cologne.' The case for the prosecution mainly depended on the evidence of a Jewish merchant who had distributed the notes in Cologne. He said he had received them from a man to whom he had given financial facilities at the request of the accused. The latter, he said, on being shown the notes and asked whether there was not something crooked about the transaction, gave an assurance that all was in order, adding, 'You don't think H. would give you false money?' (H. was the person who had brought the notes to Cologne.) The defence sought to discredit this witness by a most peculiar argument. He was, they pointed out, a Galician Jew, and therefore his testimony should be treated as suspect, because Galician Jews do not consider themselves bound to tell the truth unless they have taken a certain form of oath known only to their own rabbis. Without appearing to appreciate the humour of the situation, the accused later entered the box and admitted that during the preliminary inquiries he had himself made several quite untrue statements, being bound by his Civil Service obligation not to reveal any of the secrets of the Ministry of the Interior. The trial ended with an acquittal.

A few months later another political case of some importance took place. The Rhineland High Commission by ordinance had forbidden all persons resident in the occupied territories to be members of any association having for object military training or instruction. Of all associations in Germany to which this prohibition applied the most famous was the Nationalist league known as the Stahlhelm Bund. In July 1924 military police surrounded a restaurant near Cologne and found a branch of this league in secret session. The chairman, a young bank clerk, was tried in the Summary Court. He strenuously insisted that he and his associates were banded together solely for social intercourse. Unfortunately for him the prosecution was able to put in evidence a bundle of papers which, the police witnesses swore, he was in the act of concealing when arrested. These papers included two military training manuals and a letter written by a high official of the Stahlhelm Bund forwarding dummy membership rules and explaining how the prisoner should conceal the true objects of the association by means of the social intercourse story. This document concluded with the words 'Destroy this letter.' The result of the trial provided the prisoner with sufficient leisure in which

to remember that most conspirators' letters are better in the grate than out of it.

During the last two years of the occupation several diverting cases arose from the playing of the German national anthem, *Deutschland über Alles*. In order to prevent disturbances the Rhineland High Commission required persons who wished to play the anthem in public places frequented by both soldiers and Germans to obtain military permission beforehand. Occasionally a leader of an orchestra whilst rendering a patriotic piece in a park or restaurant would lose his head and, amidst thunderous applause from a delighted audience, launch forth into the strains of the forbidden anthem. When the offending hero took his stand in the Summary Court the proceedings usually developed a somewhat Gilbertian air. 'That which the prosecution says was *Deutschland über Alles*,' defending counsel would argue, 'was nothing of the kind. A bar here, a bar there, a *soupçon* of the refrain, perhaps, but nothing more. But the basic substance, the ultimate essence of the piece, was really another tune, not dissimilar, maybe, but not the anthem for which permission should have been obtained.' Prosecuting counsel would call for the score from which the orchestra played and present it for an anxious scrutiny by a harassed and musically untrained bench. Defending counsel would call his inevitable experts. Towards evening an acquittal or a nominal fine would provide an effective curtain, and everyone would go home, somewhat exhausted, but profoundly convinced of the impartiality and thoroughness of British Justice.

While it would be exaggeration to say that the German public regarded the Summary Court with affection, yet towards the end of the occupation it became quite an accepted and not unpopular feature of local life. It sat twice weekly in the Wiesbaden Courts of Justice, a large building in the centre of the town. The space reserved for the public was always crowded with spectators, who flocked in from the neighbouring German courts as soon as word went round that the British Court was in session. The German Press attended regularly and reported the proceedings very fairly. Seldom was there any hostile Press criticism, even in Nationalist papers published outside the occupied territories. Frequently the judgments received most favourable notices even where political offenders had been convicted. On more than one occasion an organ compared the handling of cases by the Summary Court very favourably with that of the German courts in similar matters.

An army of occupation is not perhaps the most attractive medium through which the people of a foreign country may examine the merits of our criminal jurisprudence. For this

reason the widespread esteem always shown by all classes of Germans for the British Summary Court was the more remarkable. Three qualities seem particularly to have impressed them. The first of these was the thoroughness of investigation which our system of examination and cross-examination involves. Next they appreciated the rapidity with which trial followed arrest and the abhorrence the British mind has of protracted imprisonment pending inquiry. Finally, they envied us a procedure which relieved the judge of the need to conduct the inquiry himself. 'Your judges,' said a German lawyer, 'do not have to descend into the arena and bandy words with witnesses as ours do. Your Court has shown me the value of judicial detachment.'

It is well known that Germany is not altogether satisfied with her present system of criminal justice. It may well be that one day she will bring her procedure more into line with our own; indeed, during the past year certain tentative experiments in that direction have been attempted in Berlin. One thing is certain: those of her people who have seen our system actually working in their own country entertain for it the liveliest feelings of respect and admiration.

NORMAN PARKES.

THE RISE OF THE POULTRY INDUSTRY

Less than a hundred years ago there was no such thing as a poultry industry in the sense in which the term is understood to-day. Poultry have, of course, been kept since time immemorial, but only in a humble way. In the hands of the game-keeper's and small farmer's wife they provided a supply of fresh eggs and table birds for the well-to-do. Even so the supply did not meet the modest demand, and considerable quantities came over from France and elsewhere. To-day, although we import to the value of somewhere about 20,000,000*l.*, we raise an even greater quantity on our own soil. Poultry is a branch of agriculture rivalling dairy farming and corn growing in magnitude, and there are indications that in the near future it may yield pride of place to neither. It is not without interest to inquire how this amazing change has come about, and in so doing we shall limit ourselves to such causes as are peculiar to the industry itself, taking no account of conditions such as better transport, advertising propaganda, etc., which it shares with industry in general.

Apart from minor by-products, eggs and meat are the two things which the fowl produces, and of these eggs are by far the more important. The yearly number produced by a hen under ordinary healthy conditions varies very greatly. It may be less than thirty: it may be more than 300; though about 160 may be taken as a fair average for a sound flock. Since the cost of food and housing is about the same, whatever number of eggs the bird lays, there is evidently a wide range between considerable loss and considerable profit according to the type of bird kept. We know to-day that high fecundity is in large measure a transmissible property; that a high average of egg production may be cultivated and maintained through selective breeding. This was not always so, and since this idea of selective breeding is one of the corner-stones of the industry, it may not be without interest to wander back a few centuries and see how it gradually received recognition.

A convenient starting-point is Gervase Markham's *Cheap and Good Husbandry*, originally published in 1614. It was the best

and most comprehensive English account of poultry that had appeared, and, since it ran through a number of editions during the seventeenth century with practically no alteration, we may take it as embodying the poultry lore and practice of the time. Indeed, we find that during the eighteenth century also most works on general husbandry which treated of poultry based their accounts upon Markham's work.

Markham devotes about twenty pages in all to poultry, of which about half is given to fowls, the rest treating of turkeys, ducks and geese. His account, though brief, is fairly sound, and imparts the sort of knowledge that we may find to-day among those who, in a happy-go-lucky way, look after the small flocks of miscellaneous birds on the average small farm.

As might be expected, some of his hints hardly accord with modern practice. Thus, to keep a hen from sitting he advises that 'you shall bath her oft in cold water, and thrust a small feather through her nostrils.' In this case his recommendations might conceivably be efficacious, but it is difficult to believe the same of his treatment of sore eyes.

If your Poultry have sore eyes, you shall take a leaf or two of Ground-Ivy, and chawing it well in your mouth, suck out the juice and spit it into the sore eye, and it will most assuredly heal it, as it hath been often tried.

One of the most interesting sections is that on capons, bringing into relief as it does the great change brought about through artificial methods of hatching and rearing.

These Capons [he says] are of two uses: The one is to lead Chickens, Ducklings, young Turkeys, Pea-hens, Pheasants and Partridges, which he will do altogether, both naturally and kindly, and through largeness of his body, will brood or cover easily thirty or five and thirty; he will lead them forth so safely, and defend them against Kites or Buzzards more and better than the Hens: therefore the way to make him take unto them is this, with a fine small briar or else sharp nettles at night, to beat and sting all his breast and neither parts, and then in the dark to seat the chickens under him, whose warmth taketh away his smart; he will fall much in love with them, and whensoever he proveth unkind, you must sting, or beat him again, and this will make him never forsake them.

To the modern reader one of the most striking things about Markham's account is the absence of any suggestion of improvement by selecting the best layers to breed from. The few hints that he gives on the choice of breeding stock concern only the general appearance of health and vigour. Yet all this time selective breeding had been going on in the game fowl, as, indeed, we may gather from Markham himself in his *Country Contentments*, first published a few years after *Cheap and Good Husbandry*.

But the method practised for the nobler sporting bird does not seem to have been considered for its plebeian cousin. It is

significant that Markham deals with the two in separate works, and throughout we find that the literature on the game fowl is sharply separated from that on the utility bird.

Not until the middle of the eighteenth century have we any definite evidence of the formation of distinct breeds in this country through man's selective operation. The account of fowls in Hale's *Compleat Body of Husbandry* (2nd edition, London, 1758) is obviously based on Markham, but among the few additions made by him is the statement that

The industry of those who breed poultry, has of late years greatly multiplied the breeds: but these differences are not so great as many imagine. They arise from small distinctions, and will sometimes go off in the continuance. Between the Dorking fowl, and the little Bantam, there are many degrees in bigness: and the game breed is altogether distinct from both.

The breeder's efforts were clearly not much appreciated from the utilitarian point of view. The quotation is nevertheless interesting as evidence that the Dorking, pre-eminent in after years as a table fowl, had already come into existence, and this must have meant selective breeding for size.

In 1749 Réaumur's well-known treatise on artificial incubation was published in Paris, and in the following year appeared an English translation under the title of *The Art of Hatching and Bringing up Domestic Fowls of all Kinds, at any Time of the Year*. As indicated by the title, the main subject of the treatise is artificial incubation, a method warmly advocated by Réaumur as a means of greatly increasing the head of poultry in France. To this we shall return later. But the book is also a treatise on the rearing and feeding of chickens, and abounds in practical observation. For Réaumur was a lover of poultry and a keen observer as well as a learned and ingenious experimenter, which is well brought out in his last chapter, 'Containing a View of the Philosophical Amusements the Birds of a Poultry-yard may afford.' He is very practical, too, as, indeed, we should expect from one of his scientific eminence, declaring that 'the first thing we ought to know is the proportion of the product to the expense: viz. what a hen costs and what benefit she yields to her master yearly.' While candidly confessing 'that the very rudiments of what we ought to know concerning the product of all the birds of a poultry-yard are yet wanting,' he sketches out a number of experiments that could be undertaken for determining the most productive fowls to keep, having regard to size of eggs as well as to mere numbers. He recognises the value of winter layers, and suggests experiments for throwing hens into an early moult in order to induce earlier laying. He shows by experiment that new-laid

eggs rubbed over with grease or oil will keep fresh for a long time, and commends this method to country-women when eggs are plentiful; for, as he says, 'such a work will never take up much of their time, it will cost them hardly anything, especially if they will use common fat, or butter not over delicate.' He is the apostle, too, of hygienic conditions. 'A poultry-yard is not necessarily dirty as one might be apt to think: uncleanness is very far from being essential to it.' Nor is the study of heredity neglected among his philosophical amusements. By means of reciprocal crosses between rumpless birds and birds with normal tails, and between birds with and without an extra toe, he proposes to throw light upon the part played by either sex in the transmission of characters. Indeed, he states that he had made such experiments, and promises the results in another memoir. It is a matter for deep regret that this promised work seems never to have been published.

Réaumur's contribution was a remarkable one, for alone among his contemporaries he envisaged a great industry, and moreover suggested some of the means by which it might be fostered. Though he had not grasped the idea of improvement in egg production by the method of selective breeding, he nevertheless recognises that some hens lay better than others, and advocates keeping these for preference. In so far as it went this was a definite step in the right direction.

The main thesis in Réaumur's book, and in the writings of other French authors during the latter part of the eighteenth century, was that the fowl, already a source of some profit, could be made to yield a very much greater one. Yet in spite of the translation of Réaumur's book it is some time before we find any response to this movement in England. It was not until 1815 that there appeared in this country a native work on the fowl in Bonington Moubray's *Treatise on Domestic Poultry*. The real name of the author is stated to have been Laurence, and a later writer hints that he used a pseudonym because the keeping of poultry was not at that time regarded as a reputable occupation. Moubray's work is definitely practical, and he states in his preface that he has 'avoided scientific detail, and addressed plain understandings in the plainest language, aiming at utility solely.' He had read Réaumur, and was evidently imbued with the idea that the fowl might become a greater source of profit than was the case. In its general scope the book does not show any great advance on Markham, save that the author has a firmer touch and is evidently writing from practical experience. It is of interest to find that the two fresh breeds of fowl mentioned were both imported—the Malay from the East, and the Polish from France, where its unusual appearance, together with the beauty

of the plumage in its several varieties, had attracted much attention.

Moubray's book was well received, and the fact that it ran to five editions in nine years suggests that the people of this country were at last becoming alive to the profitable side of the fowl. This, however, was probably not the only reason for the sale of the book. Moubray's guiding idea was that the country house should be as far as possible self-supporting, and as each succeeding edition was called for he added a fresh section on some other branch of rural economy. By the time the eighth edition was reached, in 1842, we find this treatise on poultry containing also 'The management of swine, milch cows and bees; with instructions for the private brewery, on cider, perry, and British wine making.' It is possible that the British public was as interested in British wine as in British poultry.

The successive editions of Moubray do, however, bring out one point, which is that the number of recognised breeds of fowls was gradually increasing during this period. The Spanish fowl is chronicled in an early edition, and it turned out to be a valuable acquisition, being a non-sitter and a good layer of large eggs. Later came the Bolton Bays, subsequently known as Hamburgs, which were smaller birds and prolific layers. Doubtless these two breeds helped many to realise that the keeping of fowls for eggs might be profitable. That more interest was being taken in the subject is evidenced by the appearance of Dickson's *Poultry* in 1838, and of the first little popular handbook in Peter Boswell's *Poultry-Yard*, which came out in 1840 and rapidly ran through several editions. This gradual quickening of interest was shortly to crystallise out in a sudden and striking manner.

The impulse came from China in the form of the so-called Cochin-China fowl. Had this bird arrived in the ordinary way probably little notice would have been taken of it. But its advent as a gift to a Queen, even Victoria herself, ensured for it publicity, and its own rather unusual features did the rest. For it was a large yellowish bird of unusual size and colour, with feathers growing down its legs. Moreover, it laid a brown egg, and was of a very quiet and docile disposition. Although a sitting breed, it often laid very well during the intervals of brooding, and this probably gave rise to the exaggerated tales of its laying powers which rapidly gained currency. Everyone was anxious to obtain some of these wonderful birds. Her Majesty acted most generously in the matter, and showed that she had the welfare of her faithful subjects at heart by commanding the distribution of eggs and birds from the Royal Poultry Farm to quarters in which they might be expected to prove of the greatest service. To the Cochin, or Shanghai, as it was sometimes called, must in large measure be

ascribed the rise of the poultry show. It is true that the experiment of a poultry show was made some time in the early 'forties at the Zoological Gardens in Regent's Park, but it was poorly supported. The coming of the Cochins changed all this. While they were in the ascendant everybody flocked to see them, and by the time their glory was dimmed the poultry show had become firmly established as a British institution. Its influence on the poultry industry can hardly be overrated, for although in some ways it was baneful, in others it contributed, and still contributes, most valuable service in making known to poultry people the latest economies in feeding, housing, and all the varied appliances on a poultry farm.

Meanwhile fabulous prices were given for fine Cochins, even up to 100*l.* for a single bird; all excellent publicity. But, as in most things of the sort, the collapse of the Cochin mania was even more rapid than its rise. Starting in 1846-47, it came to an end in the early 'fifties. Nevertheless it had served a purpose by educating the public in the potentialities of the fowl. Not only were great numbers of people brought into direct contact with all manner of unsuspected and attractive breeds at the shows, but a flood of literature was poured out for them to suit all tastes and purses, from little shilling handbooks to large expensive works embellished with elegant and highly coloured plates. Though the Cochin subsided into an ordinary fowl after its brief and hectic reign, it had stimulated an interest in poultry generally which was never afterwards lost. Many took to keeping them who would probably never have touched them had it not been for the mania, and a more widespread knowledge of the bird and its ways, though at times secured at considerable cost, laid the foundation upon which a progressive industry could arise. But before it could get under way it was to be temporarily side-tracked in a curious manner.

Out of the Cochin came the 'show,' and out of the show came the 'fancy.' One of the most marked characteristics of the English people is their love of a well-bred thing well turned out, and in the show this inborn trait found a natural outlet. In the competitive spirit, too, the show fostered another deeply seated natural instinct. Prizes were awarded to those whose birds were decreed by the judges to approach most closely to an ideal standard laid down by the experts in conclave. Since the standard could be concerned only with external visible points, it was with these alone that the fancier dealt. Perfection of form and feather, and, above all, that intangible thing which men call 'style,' were the qualities by which the awards of the judges were conditioned. The best birds were those approximating most closely to the ideal standard, itself a thing of gradually shifting fashion, and all the

while it was dunned into the ear of the public that the only way to succeed with poultry was to buy the best birds. Unfortunately the public wanted eggs, and the best birds in the shows were far from being the best producers. In this respect the fancy did the growing industry a bad turn, but in another it performed for it, unconsciously, a great service.

It came about in this way. In perfecting the points for which he was striving the fancier used selective breeding. By picking out individual birds for mating together he was able to bring about an exaggeration in many of the points of the breed he was 'improving,' and by so doing he often effected a great change in the general appearance of the breed. Thus out of the Cochin itself, a rather ungainly, large, gaunt creature, was evolved a stockier bird so heavily clothed as to present the appearance of a big feathery cushion. About the time that this was taking place Darwin was busy collecting material to illustrate his thesis of artificial selection as the main cause of evolution in domestic animals. Through Tegetmeier, the well-known poultry expert, and others he was in touch with the poultry fancy, and when his work on *Animals and Plants under Domestication* appeared in 1868 the chapter on the fowl figured prominently in his argument. The fancier received his due as a creative artist, since he was utilising for the formation of his varieties that same method of selection which was used by Nature in the evolution of species. In those mid-Victorian days distinguished scientific names, such as those of Darwin and Huxley, carried great weight, and there can be little doubt that the publication of Darwin's book added considerable prestige to the fancy.

For the industry, however, it did a good deal more. In proclaiming that any quality could be enhanced by intelligent selection it led eventually to the application of selective breeding to those points of the fowl with a utilitarian value. In their enthusiasm for novelty and fancy points breeders had lost sight of the fact that the strength of the fowl's position in the modern community lies in her capacity for profit. Great as were the artistic triumphs of the fancier, these had been too often secured by the sacrifice of egg production and of stamina. This led to a good deal of dissatisfaction among the more commercially minded of those who kept poultry for eggs rather than to win at shows and to sell their stock at enhanced prices to others with the same objective. Well-grounded and rational dissatisfaction generally leads to something being done, and in this case it led to the idea of applying selective breeding, so successful in respect of fancy points, to increasing the egg production of the hen. One of the first to advocate this course was Lewis Wright in his *Illustrated Book of Poultry*, which began to appear in 1872. He

recommended that only eggs from the best layers should be set, and stated that if this course were persisted in it should lead to a rise in the general average of production per hen. Further—and this was an important point—he advised that only those cockerels should be used for breeding purposes which were themselves the sons of good layers. The advice was taken, and with it the first great step in the development of the modern industry.

Although the method of selective breeding for egg production had come to stay, its application was at first attended with some difficulty. To single out the individual layer of each egg among even a few birds was not easy, and in quite a small flock it became almost impossible. Owing to these practical difficulties the method of selective breeding for egg production did not at first receive the attention it deserved. Fortunately for the industry a simple mechanical invention cleared the way for further progress. This was the trap-nest, a simple device by which the hen was confined to the nest in which she had laid until she was liberated. By this means each bird could be credited with the eggs that she had laid, and an annual record obtained for every hen. History has not handed down the name of the original inventor of the trap-nest. We only know that it was first used in America sometime in the 'nineties; but whoever devised it has deserved well of the industry in this country also.

By simplifying the manner of making records the trap-nest led to the laying competition, an important feature of the modern poultry world. Organised and controlled by independent institutions and societies, these laying tests are to the industry what the show is to the fancy. There are various classes for different breeds, for individual birds, for small flocks, etc., and the birds entered remain on the test ground for practically the whole year, during which their production is carefully recorded. Interest is stimulated by the publication of monthly reports showing the position of the various entries to date. These laying tests are well supported, for, apart from the often substantial awards received by the winners, the breeder whose birds do consistently well has found that there is an increased demand for his stock. At one time there was a danger that increase in number might lead to diminution in size, but this is now discounted by revised methods of scoring values. To-day size of egg as well as mere number is taken into account.

As a result of all this the hen in general has become a far more efficient egg machine than she ever was in the past, and the ill effects brought about by the earlier efforts of the fancy have now been shaken off. There is still room for improvement, and no doubt improvement will come. Abnormally high production

has, however, not infrequently led to a decrease in stamina: though possibly this might be better put by saying that the stamina of the average hen is often unequal to the intense physiological activity demanded by very high production. To prevent the loss of so valuable a quality there is a tendency to close inbreeding in these highly productive strains. The sequel is not infrequently a delicacy of constitution, evidenced by a higher percentage of eggs that fail to hatch and by an increased mortality in the chick stages. For this reason many who keep pullets for egg production prefer to make use of first-cross birds, which, as in other classes of farm stock, are generally better doers and more hardy. It is important to understand that by first-cross birds are meant birds produced by crossing pure breeds, not mere mongrels. Though the idea was by no means a new one, its systematic use was first advocated in 1882 by William Cook, of Orpington, the originator of the well-known breed of that name. The method has the undoubted advantage that such birds are generally hardier than pure-bred ones; nor are their productive powers inferior provided that they are produced by crossing breeds of high fecundity. It has a further great advantage in that crossing allows of the use of sex-linkage, a feature to which we shall recur later. Though at present far more eggs are produced by pure-bred than by first-cross birds, it is likely that this state of affairs will be reversed in the not distant future.

While on the subject of egg production we may allude briefly to a point of commercial importance connected with it, namely, the preservation of eggs. As everybody knows, hens lay better at some seasons than at others. Fresh eggs are more abundant in the spring and early summer than in the autumn and winter. The higher winter prices have stimulated the breeder to produce pullets which will come on to lay in October or November, and new-laid eggs are now more easily to be had in the colder months. For various reasons, however, they must always be scarcer at this time of the year, and Réaumur long ago suggested that it would pay the producer to preserve his spring and summer surplus and sell in the season of scarcity. Since his day many preservatives have been tried, one of the most successful being 'water glass' (sodium silicate), by means of which millions of eggs are now treated annually. For larger installations lime water was at one time used, but cold storage is now taking its place. The possibility of obtaining reasonably fresh eggs at a reasonable cost throughout the year has proved a stimulus to consumption, and adequate methods of preservation have stabilised prices, relieving the industry from the incubus of over-production at particular periods.

We may now turn to another keystone of the industry, namely,

artificial incubation ; and in this must be included not only the actual hatching, but also the equally difficult process of rearing the chicks through their early stages. Artificial incubation has been practised by the Egyptians from time immemorial, but their methods depend largely for their success on the peculiarities of their climate. Though the Romans tried to extract their secret from the Egyptians, they do not seem to have succeeded, but there are some diverting remarks in Pliny on hatching by the warmth of the human body. With the Renaissance interest became reawakened, and we find several princes, notably Alfonso II. of Naples and Charles VIII. of France, instituting experiments on artificial hatching. Their example, as was inevitable in those days, was followed by some of the nobles of the court, but it was not regarded as more than a new and harmless way of amusing the great. When the novelty wore off and the great were no longer amused, the process occasionally attracted the attention of the curious, among whom was Richard Bradley, the versatile Cambridge Professor of Botany in the early part of the eighteenth century. In a little work published in 1726, and entitled *The Country Gentleman and Farmer's Monthly Director*, he gives a brief account of his experiments, and also makes mention of others by 'the late Mr. Darby, a curious gardner at Hoxton.' Meanwhile, the eastward expansion of France's influence in the eighteenth century brought her into closer contact with Egypt, and the renewed interest in artificial incubation, this time as a possible source of national wealth, led to the celebrated experiments of Réaumur already alluded to. Thenceforward the matter was never allowed to drop for any length of time until a satisfactory solution of its difficulties had been reached. Réaumur, like his French successors Bonnemain, Dubois, Copineau, etc., was successful in hatching healthy chicks as well as in rearing them, but in every case the apparatus required too much care and attention to become a practical asset. As Moubray, who tried Réaumur's process, remarked, 'No person will attempt artificial hatching but from the motive of mere curiosity, and that motive must indeed be powerful, to carry one through the endless labour and attention required.' Equally unsuccessful from the practical point of view were the eccleobion of Burnell and the hydro-incubators of Cantelo and Minasi, all of which made their appearance in this country during the middle period of last century. Throughout, the trouble was the same. Though the machine would hatch provided it were properly looked after, the looking after was so tedious and exacting a business as to discourage any but the most enthusiastic. The hydro-incubator, for example, necessitated the removal of a considerable bulk of water several times a day and its replacement by a similar

quantity heated to a particular temperature. It was too much to expect of a busy man that he should get up in the small hours of the morning for weeks on end to attend to his incubator.

But in 1879 the position underwent a dramatic change when Charles Hearson brought out a simple device for the automatic regulation of the temperature. It worked, and thenceforward the incubator was as trustworthy as the hen. Through it the industry was at last able to exploit to the full the immense natural fecundity of the hen, improved as it had been by the method of selective breeding. Moreover, the success of the incubator stimulated experiments on the most economical ways of rearing during the earlier stages, and to-day the various difficulties have been so far overcome that the mothering hen is almost an anachronism.

The success of the artificial process has also led to a further industrial specialisation, namely, to what is known as the day-old chick trade. As in the ancient Egyptian method, there is a marked tendency for the operations of hatching and rearing to become distinct in the sense of being carried out by two distinct sets of workers. Speaking generally, the larger the plant the lower is the cost of hatching per egg. Further, it was found by experience that newly hatched chicks travel well before they need food, *i.e.*, for about thirty-six hours after hatching. During that period they can stand the shock of travel even better than can the egg. Hence for those who require relatively small numbers for rearing it is more economical to dispense altogether with incubators, and to purchase day-old chicks from the large hatcheries, which may have an annual production of half a million or even more.

These great hatching machines are, of course, supplied with special devices for the regulation of air, heat and moisture, but it is doubtful if they would have come into existence had not the smaller incubator proved itself a success through Mr. Hearson's invention. Owing to the magnitude and complexity of up-to-date plants hatching and rearing are fast becoming branches of engineering ; and, indeed, the up-to-date hen, herself an egg machine, may be said to be more engineered than hatched into the world.

Still, the poultry people have had to look at the hen, not only as a mere machine, but as a living creature with her likes and dislikes, her special merits and peculiar failings. Experts in nutrition are investigating the rations on which she thrives best : experts on diseases are busy with her parasites both large and small, inside and out. Much is yet to be learned in these directions, but there can be little doubt that such work, through the avoidance of losses now reckoned as inevitable, will

eventually encourage greater consumption by further cheapening the egg.

In tracing the development of the industry we have laid stress on selective breeding and artificial incubation as the corner-stones upon which it is founded, and in conclusion we may devote a few paragraphs upon another piece of knowledge which is likely to exert considerable influence upon it in the near future. This is the principle of what is known as *sex-linkage*. Nearly a quarter of a century ago the late Professor Doncaster drew attention to a peculiar phenomenon in heredity exhibited by some moths which he was breeding. The gist of it was that when certain colour varieties were crossed in a particular way the sons all resembled the mother, while the daughters were all like the father. By Bateson this was termed 'criss-cross' inheritance, and he showed that it was also true for certain crosses in the poultry with which experiments were then being undertaken in Cambridge. These experiments were being made purely for the sake of elucidating the laws of heredity, and they led to the formulation of the law of sex-linkage in 1908. At the time there was no suspicion that this law would turn out to have any economic importance, and for more than a decade it was regarded by the few people in the poultry world who chanced to hear about it as a mere scientific curiosity. Not until 1919 was it pointed out by a man of science that this bit of seemingly irrelevant knowledge might have an important bearing on the industry.

Breeders are well aware that the down colours of chicks vary considerably, and are generally typical for definite breeds. This, however, had attracted little interest, and even in the most elaborate works on poultry it is rare to find any mention of the particular type of down colour with which the chick hatches. It is a feature that is soon obscured by the growth of the feathers, and it is feathers that matter to the fancier. But a scientific man noticed that chicks with certain types of down always grew into birds with certain types of plumage, *i.e.*, the type of plumage eventually to develop was already proclaimed by the nature of the down in the newly hatched chick. This may perhaps be made clearer by considering a particular case. The ground colour, as distinct from the markings, of the plumage of certain breeds is orange or yellowish red, while in other breeds, which may have similar markings, the ground colour is white. The former are known as 'golds' and the latter as 'silvers.' Silver and gold form a pair of characters exhibiting sex-linkage in heredity. When a silver hen is mated with a gold cock, the sons are all silvers like the mother, while the daughters, like the father, are all golds. A study of the downs of the chicks showed that this colour distinction was already here apparent. In the former the

ground colour is yellowish-white, while in the latter it is light orange-brown. Hence by the use of sex-linkage in appropriate crosses, it is possible, by means of the down colour, to allot its sex with certainty to every chick at hatching. The breeder can now sell day-old chicks with a guarantee as to sex, and, to judge from the advertisements in the poultry Press, this is now being done to a large and increasing extent. The farmer and the backyarder who want pullets for egg production can now purchase day-old chicks with a certainty that there will be no cockerels among them; and, on the other hand, the man who goes in for table poultry can buy day-old cockerels, the larger and more profitable sex for this purpose, and can force them along by appropriate feeding in a way that would be injurious to pullets intended for the production of eggs.

R. C. PUNNETT

BUSH-LORE FOR THE AIRMAN

WERE you an airman flying one of the long new routes across the vast bushveld of Africa, what would you do if you 'crashed' or made a forced landing in some desolate spot in the wilds of the bush, in the heart of the untracked *nyika* scrub? Lost in the bushveld, maybe 1000 miles from the nearest white town, and possibly many days' gruelling trek to the nearest native kraals, of whose whereabouts you might be totally ignorant, how would you find your way out of the pathless forest, through the nearly impenetrable scrub, find food and water, escape from wild beasts, and escape, too, that grim dread of the lost man in the bush—'bush madness'?

This is one of the great problems of air travel in Africa to-day. The long trans-African air routes traverse immense tracts of lifeless bushveld, uninhabited by natives, roadless, pathless, clothed in grim, grey miles of stunted thorn, the haunt only of the lion, the hyena and rhinoceros, and the deadly tsetse fly. Immense uninhabited forests in the depths of which no white man's foot, and possibly no black man's either, has yet trodden, vast marshes, treacherous and wayless, shrivelling in the weltering scorch of the African sun, enormous waterless *mibuga* or thorn deserts, breeding haunts of the locust, but habitat only of shy and scattered bushman tribes or wandering bands of murderous nomads, lie below the airman's route as he flies from the Cape to Cairo, from Khartum to Kisumu, or even on that almost suburban 'flip' from Durban to the Rand.

A hundred and one mishaps may force a pilot down in any of these wild places, with a crippled 'bus,' miles from human aid or habitation, in the midst of the perils of the untamed bush. His risk is greater than that of the big-game hunter or trader, or even the old-time explorer. Such men trek on foot, by ox-wagon, horse or camel, with their safari baggage humped along the trail on native porters' heads, or on the backs of pack-beasts. They trek slowly, camping every night; and at the worst, if they get 'bushed,' they are never more than a day's trekking from their camp of that day or the previous night. That, true, is far enough.

You can be 'bushed' within eyeshot of your camp; and I have been utterly 'bushed' in a forest not five minutes' walk from my tent. Once, too, I saw one of the world's greatest big-game hunters walk through a patch of grass and round an ant-hill and lose himself so thoroughly that he yelled at the top of his voice for his tent-boy; yet, as the hunter well knew, he was not more than twenty paces from the camp fire. That is far enough to die in; for one need only 'panic' and walk a few more hundred yards into the bush in the *wrong* direction to get lost for good and all. But the airman takes the long chance. In the morning he may be in Nairobi's teeming streets; by midday he may be flying over the immense trackless forests of North Kenya, or across the Sudan swamp and desert, 500 miles away. He leaves no trail behind, no well-marked camps to which he can trek back in the span of a few hours, should he 'crash.' Desert, forest, swamp, and veld below him, he 'crashes' in an unknown land, possibly 100, possibly 1000 miles from his last 'camp'; there is no trekking back for him to the place where his porters trod the trail, to the place where the previous night's camp fire still scurries in warm windswept ash. He is 'bushed' as never men trekking the wild trails of Africa have been 'bushed' before. The risk is one to which all flying men in Africa are fully alive. To some extent they can depend upon their radio transmitters to send out messages for aid should they 'crash' in the wilds. As an additional safeguard the South African air-mail service aeroplanes will in future carry homing pigeons which can be released by the 'bushed' airman to speed news of his plight to town so that a rescue party can be sent out. But such aids only call for help. Until help arrives—and that through several hundred miles of forest, marsh, mountain and bushveld may take weeks—the 'bushed' man must help himself. His plight is black, but not so desperate as it may seem if he is wise to bush-lore, or to what old-timers hard-seasoned to veld trekking call 'bush-law.'

There is, indeed, 'law' in the grim haunts of the wilds by which a man may live, or die. 'Remember your "law,"' an old voertrekker once abjured me, 'and you are little worse "bushed" than you are on trek.' There is much horse-sense in that. On trek one is often compelled to live on the land, to strike out new trails. One can do the same when 'bushed.' Many native tribes, such as the Ngami and Kaukau bushmen of the Cape, their cousins the 'Anu of Tanganyika, and the Dorobo of Kenya, live almost entirely on wild fruits, roots, and berries harvested from the bush and on the meat of game and birds which they hunt and trap. Food is not the great problem of the lost man: few 'bushed' men die of

starvation; what they die of is exhaustion and fear. The lost man's main needs are water and wits: if he finds the one and uses the other, all Africa is not so vast that he can be lost for good in its wilds.

To the 'crashed' airman his derelict aeroplane is his safeguard, for the first rule of the 'bushed' man is to stay 'bushed' for a bit. The tenderfoot is all too apt to panic and rush frantically through forest and scrub in a desperate effort to hit a trail, and, failing, falls victim to thirst, exhaustion, or beast in the trackless ways. The more seasoned trekker marks the spot where he found himself lost; there he at least knows where he is, but if he panics through the wilds only the demons of the bushveld shall tell where he shall be when in despair he stops. The airman's crashed aeroplane thus marks his base camp. From it he can cast around for a trail, blazing his track as he goes by swathing a path through the scrub with a machete or axe, or, failing such handy weapons, by beating the scrub down with a stick, keeping the trail blazed straight by breaking down branches, or tying rags, bits of paper, or bundles of grass or leaves to branches or sticks and setting them up as bearing marks. Having set up one mark at his base, the lost man goes ahead and sets up another not too far off, and then, keeping the two in line, sets up a third also in line. This takes time, but no trouble is too great to blaze the new trail straight. At all costs the 'bushed' man must thwart his natural tendency to trek in a circle, for that round trail has only one end, 'bush madness.'

The old-timer usually treks downhill first, for that is where water flows. If he finds a waterhole or stream, he camps beside it; if not, he treks back to his 'base' before dusk, making sure of his starting-off point for the following dawn. He will not die of thirst in a night. His chief concern is to build himself a fire. Fuel in the bush is plentiful—dry tinderwood, twigs, and half-rotten boughs; and a fire quickly made is the 'bushed' man's best friend. The old-timer builds it in a clearing, with no big branches overhead from which leopards might leap, or snakes or scorpions, irritated by the heat and smoke, might drop upon his neck. He cuts down a circle of thorn-bush and drags the scrub in to build a boma or wall round his fire; inside this boma he can sit in safety if his thorn-bush is piled to a height of about 5 feet by 3 feet or 4 feet through. Lions, leopards, and other night marauders may come prowling around it, but they will not risk the leap into the frightening glare of the fire inside, nor will they risk thorn-punctured paws or scratches on their hides by trying to burrow through this wall of spike and prickle. The fire, too, is more than a safeguard. Only those who have spent a night alone

in the wilds know the companionable comfort of its warm, smouldering glow. Its flare in the dark sky is a signal which may call the aid of natives in near-by but unsuspected kraals. It can provide an effective rocket alarm. In the bush, where the scrub is only head high, blazing brands can be hurled into the air. They can be seen miles away on a dark night, and when natives are about never fail to bring them to the rescue. In the forest brands cannot be thrown high enough. The old-timer cuts himself a pliant sapling, strips green bark in long strings from another, plaits it roughly and makes a bow. From straight sticks in the scrub he cuts arrows, knots tufts of dry grass round them, sets them alight in his fire, and then shoots the blazing torches high into the night sky. Unless one is 'bushed' utterly in the wilds where no natives live, it is not long before one hears the throb of an alarm drum in some black kraal. Then is the time to answer—by firing flares, by shots or calls. Loud shouting is exhausting and does not carry so far as might be thought. A better way is to clasp one's hands and blow through one's upright thumbs. With practice a loud owl-like hooting noise which carries a great distance can be made; or if one has a shot-gun one can blow across its barrel mouths. This gives a vigorous trumpet call, which is more easily placed by searchers than a shot. Shots often echo queerly.

At the worst the 'bushed' man may find that he has no ordinary means of making fire; his matches may be lost or wet. If he has a gun he can easily get a blaze by taking the shot or bullet from a cartridge and firing the gun into a small heap of tinder splinters or dry grass. Failing a gun, a bottle or a polished metal object can be used as a burning glass by day, or as a last resource sparks can be struck into crumbled tinder by hammering at a quartz rock with the nailed heel of one's boot, or by chipping two granite, flint, or quartzite rocks together.

Having made his thorn boma and his fire, the 'bushed' man can spend his night in safety. He need fear little from wild beasts; leopards, lions, hyenas, and jackals may prowl, growling, moaning, yapping, round his boma at a cautious distance. But the most simple precautions will keep them at bay. A piece of crumpled crinkling paper flapping on a branch in the wind is a thing so suspicious and mysterious that no lion will venture near it, unless he be a desperate man-killer, when, indeed, nothing but a well-placed shot is likely to keep him off. Even the ticking of a watch is to the wild beasts of the bush a sound so inauspicious and unusual that they give it a wide berth. The 'bushed' man must, however, take care not to camp down on an elephant path or a rhino track. That would be asking for trouble.

Having settled his 'base' his next concern is water and food. Water is to be found in the most unlikely places. In many apparently arid sandy tracts in the bush and in dry riverbeds which seem utterly devoid of moisture abundant water may often be found by digging down into the sand for a few inches. The African bush, too, is studded in many parts with huge gaunt-limbed baobab trees, with immense squat contorted boles. These trees are veritable water tanks, for their trunks are often hollow, and in them collects the dew and rain which falls on the wide, broad spread of their fat branches. Natives in Africa tap these trees like cisterns, driving a wooden peg like a spigot through the bole, drawing what water they need and replacing the peg as a bung. Even in the 'waterless' desert grow cactuses which store water in the driest droughts. Thirsty nomad tribes cut the 'hands' from these cactuses, slice off the top, and drink the water from its natural cup. Drinking to quench the thirst, it must be remembered, is not a matter of swallowing much water. What one needs is a mouthful, to be held in the mouth, to soak the tongue, moisten the lips, and soothe the throat. Waterholes and streams, however, are not so scarce in the wilds that the lost man need despair of finding one or the other if he remembers always that water flows downhill. In rocky pockets in valley bottoms unsuspected pools are often found, as well as in forest dells, and even in rock and earth pockets in the desert. Where wild game is plentiful there is water, and the 'bushed' man who has an eye for spoor may pick up the evening water-trek trail of the buck herd. Tsetse fly is also a sign of water in the bush, arid though it may seem; and the lost man wise in bush-lore will not fail to note any flights of wild ducks, geese, egrets, or cranes. They fly in the evening from water to water on a well-winged air route. Water the lost man must have, and that within a day of being 'bushed.' He can live without food for a week; but thirst will kill him as surely as snakebite, if he cannot kill it.

Of food, if he knows the larders of the bush, he has, if not an abundance, at least plenty to keep him going. The man who has lived for a while amongst natives will know numerous wild vegetables, spinach, cucumbers, and potato-like tubers. The forest, too, is full of wild fruits, small, but tasty and sustaining, such as figs, palm nuts, wild orange and quaint wild plums, and "apples" known to the blacks as kunazi, chokochoko, omuandi and omuve; and there are numerous roots, bulbs, berries, and nuts. Even in the driest bushveld mingoko tubers—succulent, sweet and filling—can be dug. There is always some game in the wilds to provide a feast of meat, and no great dexterity is needed to trap it. If one has a gun one can, of course, shoot a sizable buck

build a green wood fire, and make enough biltong to last for a month. But without a gun much game can be got to the pot, or, if you have no pot, to a calabash or baobab gourd lined on the outside with clay. Small buck such as duikers can often be brought down bushman fashion by the dexterous throw of a knobbed stick. Game birds such as guinea-fowl, sand-grouse, and quail often abound in the bush, and may be readily caught by a simple native trap, consisting of a springy sapling to which is fastened a running noose of plaited fibre. A small circle of pegs is driven into the ground by the trailside; the noose is slipped over these pegs and held in place, taut against the pull of the bent sapling, by a trip-stick. A few grains, berries, or nuts serve as bait for the birds, which come to eat, dislodge the trip-stick, and are snared as the released sapling springs up, drawing the noose tight round the neck and suspending them in mid-air.

Similar nooses can be set in buck runs for small game, or even for big antelope, if one plaits a strong fibre rope. Snares can be set for rock-rabbits and porcupines and over the burrows of iguanas (the big bush lizards), all of which make excellent eating. Even bread can be baked from the pith of baobab fruit ground to flour between two flat stones, and, though somewhat acrid, serves as a palatable chipatti. Honey is plentiful through bush and forest, if one knows where to look for wild-bee hives; from it one can make sweet cakes with tuber or baobab flour, or a wine as invigorating as champagne if one ferments it in a gourd with water. Many insects are quite edible: natives eat enormous quantities of locusts, brown ants, and white queen ants, the latter dug from the south side of the ant-hill, being large, luscious and meaty, often 4 inches long—the bushman's breakfast 'sausage.' When brown ants swarm a good meal of 'salted almonds' can be caught by the simple method of standing a light in a bowl of water, into which the ants will fall in hundreds as they fly to the light. If the 'bushed' man has no lamp he can readily make one out of a baobab or other gourd, filled with buck or lizard fat and fitted with a twisted fibre wick or a strip of cloth torn from his clothing. Often enough when on a hunting trip one is only too glad of such meals and ready-made expedients; indeed, one of the best meals I ever ate was cooked over a bush camp fire on a night when I was lost in the Tendaguru Forest of Tanganyika. It started with an *hors d'œuvres* of grilled brains, passed on to soup, grilled bones, encouraged with wild red pepper (or pilipili hoho, as the blacks call it), and included a roast haunch of beef and a savoury of baked kidneys spiced with cashew nut—all provided by a young eland bull which I was fortunate enough to shoot and by the wild vegetables of the bush. On

that occasion a leopard skull picked up in the bush and filled with eland oil served me as a lamp, a pithy grass stem burning well as a wick. In the same way, from what the bush will provide, beds, tables, chairs, boxes, and even clothing, can be made, as men who have served in African campaigns will know. One of the most comfortable beds is a frame of bamboo or bush poles, thonged across with buckhide and matted with grass. It can be made in half an hour; and a banda or pole-and-thatch hut to serve as a bedroom can be built in the bush, giving shelter from rain and sun, in almost as little time.

Given his smattering of bush-lore, some ingenuity, and his all-important water supply, the 'bushed' airman has almost as good a chance of hitting a native track and getting to a kraal or town as if he were on a straight hunting safari. He must, of course, trek from water to water, or carry a water supply sufficient for a day or so, by improvising bottles out of bamboo, hollowed branches or gourds, or whatever receptacle he can find. He will naturally take advantage of the hilltops to spy out his position. From them he can see a waterhole or river miles away. The water itself may not be visible, but the dark or lush vegetation on its site is almost unmistakable. The smoke of native kraals is also a long-range sign. The crowing of cocks tells at once of a native village, and so, usually, does the presence of crows circling in the sky, for they seldom fly far from the kraals, where garbage and refuse afford them food. For the rest the 'bushed' man must strike out a straight track. If he has a compass, he can trek by it; if he has none, he can mark his bearings by sticks in the bush, blazed trees in the forest, or by taking a mark on a big kopje or tree on the veld. If he finds a river let him follow it; where rivers flow men live. If he can read the skies the stars and sun can give him compass points. With luck he will hit, perhaps, a cattle trail, or the track of native fuel-cutters or honey-gatherers, or he may hear the distant boom of drum or bellowing of oxen, and so be led to the trail that he seeks and back to human habitation. There are places, of course, in the vast deserts and immense bush where his plight might be hopeless, but they are daily growing fewer as the white man's roads fling out their ribboned arms across the veld. Many of the dangers of to-day will be surmountable to-morrow by the provision of emergency landing-places on the air routes, by improvements in aeroplanes, engines, and radio. At the same time the air services in Africa are devoting close attention to what the old voertrekkers call 'bush-law' as an asset in the airman's education. The risk of being 'bushed' is not for him alone to face: it might be you or I, bent on a business or pleasure trip, who might well find ourselves lost in the heart of the African wilds next week or next

month. Flight has brought the bushveld to our doors; but the bushveld is not tamed. We may intrude upon the vast untrodden solitudes of Africa; but we must risk the dangers of her wilds where her mysterious brooding Spirit wields the 'law' by which man may live.

W. HICHENS.

PELAGIA OF ANTIOCH¹

IF St. Augustine had been a convinced Platonist, if the richest nature in Christendom could have accepted that divine doctrine of reconciliation between body and soul, mediæval thought in Europe might have graven itself different channels. But for him there was no compromise possible. Far more sensuously gifted than St. Paul, he is by so much the sterner ascetic of the two. The music of the Ambrosian chant which had dissolved his own soul in the church at Milan he hesitates to allow, lest any alloy of the senses should taint the *actus intellectus*: he can lose himself for a moment in marvelling at the subtlety of memory that can distinguish the remembered breath of lilies and of violets: 'I will pass beyond my memory that I may come at Thee.' He cries out to 'Queen Light,' light that pursues him, from whose beauty he can find no rest, not even that which comes when silence falls after sweet voices, and his speech of it is the speech of an artist and a lover; but he turns from it, gliding past him, the dangerous sweetness that makes life too poignant: 'Late, late have I found Thee, O Beauty most old and yet most new. . . . Thou didst flame in Thy splendour of fire, and didst scatter my blindness. . . . Thou didst touch me, and I burned for Thy peace.'

There is in God—some say—
A deep but dazzling darkness . . .
O for that Night! where I in Him
Might live invisible and dim!

To these high and precipitous places mediæval thought struggled after him, though not all saw the vision that rewarded him. 'Spirit must brand the flesh that it may live'; and so Gregory the Great speaks of a young girl as 'fair after the putridity of the flesh,' and the saints too often counsel a man to quench the lust of the eyes by flaying Beauty of its skin and sickening himself

¹ The *Vita S. Pelagiae, Meretricis* is in the first book of the *Vita Patrum*, the *Lives of the Desert Fathers* which Cassiodorus and Benedict commended to their monks to read, and some of which were written by St. Jerome himself. The text used for the translation is that of the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. lii., which is a re-editing of Rosweyde's text of 1615. The original exists in various manuscripts, notably those of St. Lambert of Liège and St. Omer.

with the ugliness beneath, than by seeking 'that light which by its greatness takes up all the room.' Meredith speaks somewhere of the spiritual collapse that follows the cherishing of a false ideal of life in youth: the collapse of Europe in the latest Middle Age was great enough, till Neo-Platonism redeemed it from the slough in which uncompromising idealism and uncompromising materialism are like enough to meet. Yet the finer lust of the spirit against the flesh remains: in Petrarch, reasoning with St. Augustine; in Sidney, at thirty the mewed eagle,

Desiring naught but how to kill Desire
till at last he soars into the supreme dominion of

Leave me, O Love, that reachest but to dust.
It is in Shakespeare himself, one among many moods, yet curiously recurrent; perplexed and reflective in the *Sonnets*:

Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth . . .
. . . I do betray
My nobler part to my gross body's treason.
. . . The expense of spirit in a waste of shame
Is lust in action.

fierce disgust in *Hamlet*, *Timon*, *Lear*; sick disgust in *Troilus and Cressida*. The branding of the flesh remains—a counsel of perfection, it is true, but an admitted perfection.

There were, of course, reactions, and not only the natural revolt of young blood and hot heads:—

Think you He'll have such fools
To sit on His gay stools?

As early as the twelfth century, in a collection of student letters that may come from the school of the great humanist Bernard Sylvestris of Tours, there is an odd triangle of correspondence—a querulous letter from the soul to its Creator, complaining of the squalid habits of its housemate, the body; a firm letter from the Creator to the body, bidding it mend its ways; and a reply of astonishing hardihood. 'Made of slimy earth was I, and is it matter for gaping that I find earth sweet? . . . The soul blames me: rather to tell the truth might He be blamed who made me of such stuff.' But the subtlest, most powerful argument against asceticism, the recognition of the Nemesis that waits on the absolute denial of the body, comes later, in the *Morality of Wisdom*, and, though it is put in the mouth of Lucifer, there is no attempt to confute it, unless by the logic of consequences. There is 'great drede,' says Lucifer,

in following the contemplative life, and this is the reason: that when men have wasted themselves by abstinence,

Then febyll ther wyttis and fallyn to fondnes.
Sum into despeyer and sum to madnes. . . .
Who clymyt hye, hys fall grete ys.

Shakespeare saw it, and began to work upon it in the character of Angelo; but *Measure for Measure* is written in an ugly mood, when neither good nor evil has much savour: Victor Hugo saw it in *Notre Dame*, in the face of the archdeacon watching the execution in the Place de Grève. With the end of the century came Freud's first study of hysteria, and the release of the raven brood of inhibitions upon mankind; but the creative imagination had outstripped the clinic. *Thaïs*, published in 1890, is the deadliest indictment of asceticism in European literature. Spirit may brand the flesh, but beware lest the branding become a cancer, to the destroying of body and soul.

The attack is the deadlier because of its all but divine comprehension. There was to the last something in Anatole France of the little boy who was found stuffing horsehair from the seat of an armchair inside his little shirt, so that when he grew up he might write upon his cards, not, like papa, 'Membre de l'Institut,' but 'Member of the Calendar of Saints.' For goodness that did not vaunt itself and was not puffed up, St. Maël, preaching to the penguins, Palemon planting his lettuce, the Blessed Anthony, he had a profound tenderness: he follows their least gesture with the attentive and innocent eye of a robin. No man ever made the saints so lovable: his very malice is a caress. But in the *Vita S. Thaïdis* he had the crudest of the *Lives of the Desert Fathers*, and in Paphnutius the harshest figure. It is a hard heart that will not soften to the Blessed Anthony talking to the satyr in the desert and eating the palm fruit the good creature brought him, or to old Abram getting himself up as an elderly military gentleman and leaving his desert for the brothel in the town, to find his little broken niece and bring her home. Paphnutius himself has a kind of granite greatness at the first: the gaunt figure reasoning of the wrath of God with the loveliest courtesan in Alexandria is well enough. But Paphnutius shutting up his penitent in a foul cell, and striking down her timid demurrer, with a *Digna es*, that its filth was a match for herself, forbidding her to take the name of God upon her polluted lips or lift up her hands to him, but only dare to pray 'Thou who hast created me, have mercy upon me,' is a figure for the vengeance of God and man. Two years later he came and took her from her prison, though she clung to it: in a fortnight she was dead. It is a revolting story, and a credit to Anatole France that his gorge rose at it.

But on the next page to the *Vita S. Thaïdis* there is another story, the makings of a greater novel than *Thaïs*; and he left it untouched. Perhaps the confession of the great Bishop, 'Tempt not my weakness, for I am a sinful man, serving God,' disarmed him: perhaps he recognised it, in James the Deacon's telling of it, as already a masterpiece, and forbore. It was written in Greek in the fifth century by James the Deacon, and translated into Latin by one Eustochius, who wrote a little quatrain, praying the reader to remember him and his labours. Pelagia is a saint of the Calendar, and has a day, October 8, and hymns for her office; but of Nonnus, who was the hero of the story to James the Deacon, very little is known. His name is signed to one or two conciliar documents: sorely against his will, he was made Bishop of Edessa in 449, in the room of Iba, unjustly deposed, but when the ruling was reversed two years later, and Iba restored, Maximus, patriarch of Antioch, had so great reverence and regard for Nonnus that he maintained him in episcopal dignity, a bishop without a diocese, and seems to have used him as a missionary: hence the conversion of the 30,000 Saracens, of which the devil complains in the text. On Iba's death, in 457, Nonnus was reinstated at Edessa; and it was therefore some time between the years 451 and 457, at a gathering of bishops in Antioch, that Pelagia passed by and drew his eyes after her.

The story was written to be read aloud to the brethren, possibly in the refectory, and James begs for silence, it being, as he says, a story of deep repentance and of great consolation. And so he begins, and already in the first paragraph one knows oneself in the hands of a great novelist. Here is nothing of the wealthy or humble parentage of the saint, her nurture in godliness, and her fall from grace; it is a page out of an ecclesiastic's diary. It is not conscious art. James, *diaconus et peccator*, knew no more that he told a great story than he knew that he and his master had once seen Absolute Beauty, and went the rest of their lives the poorer and the richer for it. But he felt sincerely, this small obscure ecclesiastic, trotting in the shadow of his great bishop, and he told the story even as it happened to himself, so that the reader shares his own astonishment and perplexity and ecstasy.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

We ought ever to offer great thanks to God, Who desireth not the death of a sinner, but would have all men turn from their sin and live. Hear therefore the miracle that was wrought in our days. It seemed good to me, James the sinner, to write to you, my brethren, that ye might know it, either by listening or reading, and win the mighty aid of its comfort for your souls. For God the compassionate, Who would have no man perish, hath decreed that sins may be atoned for in this world, since in that which is to come there shall be

a just judgment, wherein every man shall receive according to his works. Now therefore, give me silence, and look upon me with all the intent of your heart, for my story is of a rich repentance.

CHAPTER I

The most reverend the Bishop of Antioch summoned about him for conference those bishops whose sees were near his own; and so it was that eight bishops came together, and among them that most saintly man of God, Nonnus, my bishop, a man marvellous great and a mighty monk of the monastery which they call the Tabennisiot; but by reason of his incomparable and most gracious way of life he had been reft from the monastery and ordained bishop. So, come together as we were in the aforementioned city, the Bishop thereof appointed us our lodging, in the basilica of the blessed Julian the Martyr. Therein we entered, and then made our way to where the other bishops sat, in front of the door of the basilica.

CHAPTER II

And as we sat down, certain of the bishops besought my master, Nonnus, that they might have some instruction from his lips; and straightway the good Bishop began to speak to the weal and health of all that heard him. And as we sat there, wondering at the holy wisdom of him, lo! of a sudden, she that was first of the actresses of Antioch passed by: first of the dancers was she, riding upon an ass: and with all fantastic graces did she ride, so decked that naught was seen upon her but gold and pearls and precious stones: the very nakedness of her feet was buried in gold and pearls: and with her was a shining train of young men and maidens, clad in robes of price and with golden torques upon their necks. Some went before and some came after her: and of the beauty and the loveliness of her there could be no wearying for a world of men. And, passing on, she filled the air with the perfume of musk and the fragrance of all scents that are sweetest. And when the bishops saw her so shamelessly ride by, bare of head and shoulder and limb, in pomp so splendid, and not so much as a veil upon her head or on her shoulders, they groaned and turned away their heads, as at great and grievous sin.

CHAPTER III

But not the most blessed Nonnus: he long and most intently regarded her, and after she had passed by still he gazed and still his eyes went after her. Then, turning his head, he looked round about upon the bishops sitting there. 'Did not,' says he, 'the sight of so great beauty delight you?'

They answered him nothing. And he buried his face upon his knees, and the holy book that he held in his good hands, and his tears fell down upon his breast, and sighing heavily he said again to the bishops, 'Did not the sight of so great beauty delight you?'

And again they could answer nothing. Then said he, 'For verily it greatly delighted me, and well pleased was I with her beauty whom God shall set in presence of His high and terrible seat to judge both us and our episcopate.'

And again he spoke. 'Bethink you, my beloved, how many hours doth that woman spend in her chamber, bathing and adorning herself

that there may be no stain or flaw in all that body's beauty and its wearing, and that she may be a joy to all men's eyes, nor disappoint those paltry lovers of hers that are but for to-day and to-morrow are not? And we who have in heaven the Father Almighty, the immortal Lover, with the promise of rich rewards eternal and beyond all reckoning since eye hath not seen nor ear heard nor hath it entered into the heart of men to conceive the things that God hath prepared for them that love Him—but what am I to say? With such a pledge, the vision of the Bridegroom, that great and splendid and ineffable face, on which the cherubim dare not look, we care not so much as to wash the filth from our miserable souls, but leave them lying in their squalor.'

CHAPTER IV

And with that he took me, deacon and sinner, and we made our way to the hospice where a cell had been given us. And going into his own chamber, he flung himself on the paved floor, his face to the ground, and beating his breast he wept, saying, 'Lord Christ, have mercy on a sinful man, and an unworthy, for a single day's adorning of a harlot is far beyond the adorning of my soul. With what countenance can I look upon Thee? With what words shall I be justified in Thy sight? I shall not hide my heart from Thee, Thou knowest its secrets: woe is me, worthless sinner that I am, for I stand at Thine altar, and do not offer Thee the fair soul that Thou requirest. She promised to please men, and kept her word: I have promised to please Thee, and in my sloth have lied. Naked am I in heaven and earth, for I have not done Thy bidding. My hope is not in any good thing that I have done, but in Thy mercy.' Such was his cry and such his lamenting; and vehemently did we keep the feast that day.

CHAPTER V

But on the day following, which was a Sunday, after we had finished our prayers, the good bishop Nonnus said to me, 'I tell you, brother deacon, I had a dream and am mightily disturbed by it, for I cannot interpret it.' And then he told me that he had seen in his sleep a dove at the horn of the altar, a black dove, stained with filth, and it kept flying about him, and he could hardly bear the ill odour and the squalor of it. 'But it hovered about me, till the prayer for the catechumens was ended. Then when the deacon of the catechumens pronounced the *Procedite*, it was straightway nowhere to be seen. And after the mass for the faithful and the oblation was over, and the congregation dismissed, and I crossing the threshold of the house of God, again came that dove in all its squalor, and again it flew about me. But I stretched out my hand and caught it and plunged it into the stoup of holy water in the porch of the church: and it left all the filth that had clung to it in the water, and rose out of the water white as snow; and flying upwards it vanished in the high air and was lost to my sight.' He finished telling me his dream, Nonnus, God's good bishop, and then took me, and we came to the greater church with the other bishops, and greeted the bishop of the city.

CHAPTER VI

We went in, and he spoke to all the clergy of the church, sitting there in their stalls: and when celebration and the reading of the Gospel was

over, this same bishop handed the holy Gospel to the most blessed Nonnus, and begged him to speak to the people. And he spoke to them the wisdom of God that dwelt in him, with no alloy of artifice or philosophy, naught unfitting, naught of human vanity: but full of the Holy Ghost, he reasoned and admonished the people, speaking from his heart of the judgment to come and the eternal blessedness that is in store. And so stirred were all the people by the words which the Holy Ghost spoke through him that the pavement of the church was wet with their tears.

CHAPTER VII

It befell, by the guiding of the divine compassion, that to this very church should come that harlot of whom he had spoken to us: and for a marvel, she to whom never had come a thought for her sins nor ever had she been inside a church, was suddenly stricken with the fear of God, as the good Nonnus pleaded with the folk; and she fell to weeping, as despairing of herself, her tears falling in streams, and she in no way able to keep from weeping. So she gave orders to two of her youths, saying, 'Stay in this place, and when the good bishop Nonnus has gone out, follow him and ask where he lodges, and come and tell me.' The young men did as their lady had bidden them: they followed us, and came to the basilica of the Blessed Julian the Martyr, where was our hospice or cell. And then they went back to their lady and said, 'He is lodging in the basilica of the Blessed Julian the Martyr.' Upon that, she straightway sent a diptych by the same two, on which these words were written:

'To Christ's holy disciple, the devil's disciple and a woman that is a sinner. I have heard of your God, that He bowed the heavens and came down to earth, not because of the good men, but that He might save sinners: and that He was so humble that He came near publicans and He on whom the cherubim dare not look kept company with sinners. And you, my lord, who are a great saint, though you have never seen with the eyes of the flesh the Lord Christ Himself, Who showed Himself to that Samaritan woman, and she a harlot, at the well, yet you are a worshipper of Him, for I have heard the talk of the Christians. If you are indeed a disciple of this Christ, spurn me not, desiring through you to see the Saviour, so that through you I may come at the sight of His holy face.'

Then the good bishop Nonnus wrote back to her: 'Whosoever you are you are known unto God, and what your purpose is, and your desire. But this I surely say to you, seek not to tempt my weakness, for I am a man that is a sinner, serving God. If in very deed you have a desire after the divine, and a longing for goodness and faith, and you wish to see me, there are other bishops with me: come, and you shall see me in their company: but you shall not see me alone.' She read it, this harlot, and filled with joy came hurrying to the basilica of the blessed Julian the Martyr, and word was brought to us that she was come. And when the good bishop Nonnus heard it, he called to him the other bishops who were there, and bade her come to him. She came in there, where the bishops were assembled, and she flung herself on the pavement and caught the feet of the blessed Nonnus, saying, 'My lord, I pray you to be like your master the Lord Christ, and show kindness to me and make me a Christian. For, my lord, I am a sea of wickedness and an abyss of evil. I ask to be baptised.'

CHAPTER VIII

Hardly could the good bishop Nonnus persuade her to rise from his feet: but when she had stood up he said to her, 'The canons of the Church provide that a harlot shall not be baptised, unless she produce certain to go surety for her that she will not fall back into her old sin.'

But on hearing his judgment, she flung herself again on the pavement, and caught the feet of the good Nonnus and washed them with her tears and wiped them with her hair, crying, 'Answer shall you give to God for my soul, and on you shall I charge all the evil of my deeds, if you delay to baptise me in my foul sin. Let you find no portion in God's house with the saints, if you set not my sin far from me. Let you deny God and worship idols, if you do not this day have me born again, bride to Christ and a sacrifice to God.'

Then all the bishops and clergy that were there, seeing her that was so great a sinner utter such things as these in her desire after God, said in wonderment that they had never seen so great faith and desire as in this harlot. And thereupon they sent me, deacon and sinner, to the bishop of the city, that I might tell him the story, and pray his sanctity to send back one of his deaconesses with me. And when he heard me, he rejoiced mightily, saying, 'Verily, good father, such work as this awaited thee: thou shalt be as my mouth.' And he straightway sent with me the lady Romana, chief of the deaconesses. Coming in, she found her still at the feet of the good bishop Nonnus, and hardly could he persuade her to rise from his feet, saying, 'Daughter, arise, that thou mayst be exorcised.' Then he said to her, 'Confess all thy sins.' And she answered, 'If I were to search my whole heart, I could find in me no good thing. For I know my sins, that they are heavier than the sands of the sea: the waters of it are too scant for the weight of my sin. But I trust in your God, that He will loose me from the load of my wrong doing, and will look upon me.'

Then said the good bishop Nonnus, 'Tell me thy name.' She answered, 'My own name was Pelagia, that my father and mother gave me: but the townfolk of Antioch call me Margarita, because of the pearls wherewith they did jewel my sins. For I was the devil's jewel and his armoury.' Then the good bishop Nonnus again asked her, 'Thine own name is Pelagia?' She answered 'Yea, lord.'

And thereupon the good bishop exorcised and baptised her, and set upon her the sign of the Cross, and gave her the Body of Christ. Her godmother was the holy lady Romana, chief of the deaconesses: and she took her and went to the place for the catechumens, for so long as we should remain there. Then said to me the good bishop Nonnus, 'I tell you, brother deacon, let us rejoice to-day with the angels of God, and take oil beyond our custom in our food, and drink wine with joy of heart, for the salvation of this girl.'

CHAPTER IX

But suddenly, as we were at our meal, there was the sound of voices as of a man to whom violence is done, the devil shouting and crying, 'Woe is me, for the things I suffer from this decrepit old man! Might not the thirty thousand Saracens have been enough for you, that you snatched from me and baptised, and offered to your God? Might not Heliopolis have been enough for you, that was mine and all the people in

it worshipping me, and you snatched it from me, and offered it to your God? And now thou hast stolen my greatest hope, but I shall have an end to thy machinations. O the evil that blasted wretch hath wrought upon me! Cursed be the day in which thou wast born! Rivers of tears are flooding my poor house, for my hope is gone! All this did the devil shout aloud, lamenting up and down outside the gate, and all men heard him. And again he would come and cry out to the girl, 'What hast thou done to me, my Lady Pelagia, and dost thou follow my own Judas? For he, crowned with glory and honour and appointed an apostle, betrayed his Master, and so hast thou done to me.' Then the good bishop Nonnus said to her, 'Sign thyself with the sign of the Cross and renounce him.' So she signed herself in the name of Christ, and breathed upon the Demon, and straightway he vanished.

CHAPTER X

Two days after, when she was asleep with her godmother the lady Romana in her chamber, the devil appeared by night and wakened Pelagia, God's handmaid, and said, 'Tell me, my lady Margarita, were you not rich in silver and gold? Did I not deck you with gold and precious stones? I ask you, did I do aught to displease you? Tell me, that I may make you amends, but make me not a mock to the Christians.' Then Pelagia crossed herself and breathed upon the demon and said, 'My God, who snatched me from thy jaws and brought me to His heavenly couch, shall fight thee for me.' And straightway the devil vanished.

CHAPTER XI

Now three days after Pelagia had been baptised, she called to her the youth who had had charge of her house, and said to him, 'Go to my tiring-room, and make a list of everything that is there, gold or silver, or ornaments, or rich apparel, and bring them to me.' The boy did as his lady bade him, and brought her all her substance. Then she asked the holy bishop Nonnus to come to her, sending word through her godmother, the lady Romana, and laid all her substance in his hands, saying, 'These, my lord, are the riches wherewith Satan endowed me: I give them to you to do with as you will, and what seems good to you, that do: for it is the riches of the Lord Christ that I am fain of now.' The bishop straightway summoned the senior treasurer of the church, and in her presence handed over to him all her substance, saying, 'I adjure you, by the indivisible Trinity, that naught of this shall go to the episcopal treasury or to the church, but rather be allotted to the widows and orphans and the poor, so that what was gotten together by ill may be dispensed to good, and the wealth of a sinner become the treasury of righteousness. But if, in contempt of your oath, either by you or by some other, whosoever he be, aught of this be stolen, a curse shall fall upon his house, and his portion shall be with those who said, 'Crucify Him; crucify Him.' But she for her part called together all her young men and her maids, and gave them all their freedom: and with her own hand she gave them golden torques, saying, 'Hasten to set yourselves free from this worthless and sinful world, so that as we were together in this life, so shall we abide together without sorrow in that life which is most blessed.'

CHAPTER XII

But on the eighth day, when she should lay aside her white robes, she rose by night, without our knowledge, and laid aside the robe of her baptism, and put on the tunic and cloak of the good bishop Nonnus: and from that day she vanished from the city of Antioch. The holy Romana used to weep for her with bitter tears, but the good Nonnus would comfort her, saying, 'Weep not, daughter, but rejoice rather with great joy, for Pelagia hath chosen the better part, even as Mary, whom the Lord put before Martha in the Gospel. . . .'

CHAPTER XIII

Time went by, and the bishop of the city called all the bishops together, after which each might return to his own diocese. And when three or four years had passed, I, James the Deacon, took a great longing to set out to Jerusalem that I might there adore the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and I asked my bishop if he would give me leave to go. And while giving me leave, he said to me, 'I tell you, brother deacon, when you reach Jerusalem, inquire there for a certain brother Pelagius, a monk and a eunuch, who has lived these many years shut up and in solitude, so that you may visit him: for you might well profit by it.' And all the time he spoke of God's handmaid Pelagia, but I knew it not.

CHAPTER XIV

So then I arrived in Jerusalem, and I adored the holy resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ: and the next day I made inquiry for this servant of God. And I climbed up and found him in the Mount of Olives, where the Lord prayed, in a little cell closed in on every side, and it had a tiny window in the wall. And I knocked on the shutter of the little window, and at once it opened, and she looked out at me: and she knew me but I did not know her. And how could I know her, when she whom I had only seen in beauty beyond all telling was wasted and haggard with fasting? Her eyes were trenches in her face.

'Brother,' said she to me, 'whence art thou come?' And I answered, 'I was sent to thee by the bishop Nonnus.' Then said she, 'Bid him pray for me, for he is a saint of God.' And therewith she closed the shutter on the window, and began to sing the third hour. And indeed I myself prayed close to the wall of her cell, and went away, much lightened by the angelic vision. And I came back to Jerusalem, and began to go here and there among the monasteries, visiting the brethren.

CHAPTER XV

There was much talk among the monasteries of this Dom Pelagius: and so I made up my mind to go back yet another time to visit him, and be quickened by his salutary speech. But when I had again come to his cell, and knocked, and even dared to call upon him by name, there was no answer. I came again and waited a second day, and again a third, calling aloud 'Pelagius!' but I heard no one. So I said to myself 'Either there is no one here, or the monk who was here has gone away.' And then, moved by some instinct from God, I said again to myself, 'Let me make sure that he is not perhaps dead': and I opened the shutter of the window, and looked in, and I saw him dead. And I closed

the shutter and carefully filled it up with clay, and came hurrying to Jerusalem and told the news that the good monk Pelagius who had wrought miracles was at peace. Then the good fathers came with the brethren of divers monasteries, and the door of the cell was opened ; and they carried out the holy little body, reckoning it as precious as gold and jewels. And when the good fathers set about anointing the body with myrrh, they found that it was a woman. They would fain have hidden the miracle, but they could not : and they cried aloud with a shout, ' Glory to Thee, Lord Christ, who hast many treasures hidden in the earth, and not men only, but women also.' It was told abroad to all the people, and all the convents of virgins came, some from Jericho and some from Jordan where the Lord was baptised : and so the holy relics of her were buried, and the good fathers carried her to her grave.

This is the story of a harlot, this the life of a desperate sinner : and may God grant that we find with her His mercy in the day of judgment : for to Him is the glory and honour, dominion and power, world without end. Amen.

There is another manuscript, an anonymous translation from the Greek, in which the end varies, but only to say that James the Deacon came back to Antioch and told it all to the lady Romana and ' my master Nonnus,' and that he realised then that Nonnus had known, when he sent him to seek out the hermit Pelagius. Some things James the Deacon never realised : the reason why his sober ecclesiastic's prose goes on fire when he speaks of her, or the lightening of his spirit after his last sight of her. But he at any rate recorded the things that he did not understand : the harshness of his bishop with his penitent ; the sudden flight in the tunic and cloak of the blessed Nonnus ; the swift closing of the shutter ; the one curt message. If Pelagia had seen the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of a man, and denied herself the sight of the one lest she should lose the vision of the other, she kept her secret ; and Nonnus, after that first impulsive pæan to the Beauty which should judge him and his episcopate, and his stern confession of his weakness and her power, held his peace. He died, Bishop of Edessa, on December 2 of some year unknown.

If Tetbald of Vernon, that incorrigible eleventh-century romantic, had ever told the story, he would doubtless have ended it as he did his *St. Alexis*, unable to endure the thought of those thwarted lives :

Without doubt is St. Alexis in heaven.
He has God with him and the angels for company.
With him the maiden to whom he made himself strange.
Now he has her close to him, together are their souls.
I know not how to tell you how great their joy is.

But here it seems an impertinence. They hate him who would upon the rack of this desire stretch them out longer. They are

beyond it ; have seen what Shelley saw when he spoke of life as a stain on a white radiance.

*Requiescant a labore
Doloroso et amore,*

these for whom religion was not the mask of desire, but the countenance of that eternity which doth ever besiege our life.

HELEN WADDELL.

D. H. LAWRENCE

I TURNED through the arch that delivers the foot-passenger from the quiet of the Inner Temple into the roar of the Strand. Why, I asked myself, do I think of Gilbert Cannan? Is it because of *Little Brother* and the posting of a letter in the Temple pillar-box? Or is it some stray memory of Cannan's prefatory quotation from de Musset:

Il existe, en un mot, chez trois quarts des hommes
Un poète mort jeune à qui l'homme survit.
Tu l'as bien dit, ami, mais tu l'as trop bien dit.

A terrible last line, like a knell sullen over ice. To survive the poet in one's own heart—O God! make my cup to pass! But why after all these years should my own dead poet so disturb me, except that I said, as I saw the poster, I was expecting to see some such words.

'Death of Famous Novelist!' But why, since it must be Lawrence, I said to myself, remember particularly de Musset's line? For if it be (and well I knew that it was), Lawrence never outlived his poet. No, far from that. His poet would have smoothed the vexed brow, and given the last clothes the touch of marble. There is no need to remember de Musset at all, I thought, fingering the news-sheet, if it is Lawrence. Because to be a poet is merely to possess an unusually obstinate and continuous habit of sight. Lawrence had that all his life with increasing violence. Other men blinked; he saw. And yes, I said, as I found the name, it is Lawrence, and a strange shock it was there in the Strand to reflect suddenly that Lawrence, on whom I had never set eyes, now belonged to me as much as to anyone. Not a friend, I thought, never that, but a dear personal enemy with whom I can now debate in the leisure of the tomb. And at that the de Musset lines came rushing back: 'Un poète mort jeune à qui l'homme survit.' But that is myself, I thought, not Lawrence. I have at last bumped my head against a fact, and wake to find that what I am seeing is not stars, just not stars.

But when I sat down at my desk next evening to write I began to ask myself whether, after all, the dead poet had not

been in Lawrence's breast rather than in mine. It is more than possible that the gathering bitterness of his work represented hands beating on the door of the prison-cell while a uniformed public smirked self-satisfaction from without, or grinned amiably through the grating. Nor always amiably, I thought, thinking of the clumsy steps of the bourgeois triumph danced over his dead form. 'All that the dunces can find to remember, I thought, is that he had written and painted what was held to be obscene by persons whose mental habits made them admirable judges of obscenity. They cannot, I thought, peer into the cell any longer. They are therefore shuffling their revenges in the corridor. But Lawrence has escaped. He is free for ever.

And not only from them, I thought, but from himself too. He had an intense, almost mediæval, vision of the body and soul at war. The dead poet in him, seeing in what hellish shapes the soul had cast the world, championed the body. 'Back to the beast,' he cried, because in the beast there were the grave perfections of unself-conscious life—life as it was before all that aimless thinking marred it. But no poet who ever lived, I thought, preferred the body to the soul. The one is made for us: we make the other. And since the poet, by virtue of his Greek name, is a Maker, he must, like the first Poet, wish to have a world in his own image. At that I took down from the shelf the little selection from *Love-Poems* and *Amores* that Lawrence had allowed me to make some—how few!—years ago. I turned over the white pages and remembered how much labour had gone to their making, what weighing of poem against poem, even line against line, and how little had come of it. For Lawrence, I thought, never saw the little book and would have thrown it from him if he had seen it. And by the time it was published the readers had lost their taste for 6d. poetry. So that it is very little more than a link between Lawrence and me—impersonal at his end, but living at mine.

And yet a little more, I thought, reading over the tiny preface again. 'But it is perhaps worth saying,' I murmured to myself, 'that his verse supplies (as it should) a short-cut to understanding his novels. The essential Lawrence is here curtly revealed—the savage belief in the holiness of the body, in the revelation of the blood. . . . Love is not a dimpled child, as in the painting by Watts, holding back with puny fists the door against death. He is a naked Titan throwing Ossa with a rebellious gesture against the abominable heaven of darkness—Mr. Lawrence's poetry is as difficult as that defiance, but it has some of its grim splendour.' It is true, at least, I thought, that his verse is a short-cut to his novels, and indeed, as it must be, to the spirit behind both. And we could learn much of Lawrence

by watching the change from the lover-hater of *Love-Poems* and *Amores* to the hater-lover of *Pansies* by way of *Birds, Beasts and Flowers*. (And forgetting *Nettles*, which, if I were the publishers, I should for the sake of a great writer recall.)

But before I begin on that journey, I said to myself, I would like to try to fix in my mind the moment at which Lawrence began to play a major, though disturbing, part in my scheme, as the dark apostle of all that was alien to me. It could not have been at the time when patriots, seeking for some new defenceless object to intern, fell upon *The Rainbow*. For at that time the abomination practised by the libraries, in the absence of all the literary world at the war, reached me as a faint rumour from a scene that I could never hope to enter. It was published (and assassinated) in 1915, but it was many years before I was to realise what an outrage, how typical of liberty in war-time, had been committed on Lawrence.

It must have been, I thought, five years later when the old *Saturday Review* (then under Baumann's editorship) sent me *The Lost Girl* to review, only to recall it for an older, and more suitable, hand. But the brown cover, that Martin Secker so admirably invented for contents furthest from brown in the world, had made a definite breach in the wall that was still fencing my mind. Here was another of those literary strangers knocking, and, it seemed, determined to smash through. It was, indeed, a bewildering mob that I was suddenly summoned to entertain in my quiet Victorian drawing-room—the Sitwells, Aldous Huxley, Sherard Vines, all trampling down the Berlin-wool rugs and pulling down the rep curtains. And now *The Lost Girl*.

I retrieved a copy from a bookseller (it seems, from the inscription, in Geneva), and I suppose, therefore, that I read it for the first time at the window in the Bergues Hotel looking over the lake to the Grand Salève. It was June, the inscription tells me, and therefore there would have been sun on the water, baskets of flowers round the arc-lamps, and all the black little dabchicks fled from the lake. Then to the faint murmur of the Rhone flinging itself in one blue heap at the far-distant sea, and to the slow drawl of Genevese voices, sauntering between the French words as between hedges, I read Alvina's story.

If it needed the inscription, I thought, to recall the circumstances in which I read it, no adventitious aid need or could sharpen the first whetted impression. Nothing to terrify or shock in the first admirable pages in *The Decline of Manchester House* and *The Rise of Alvina Houghton*. It was, one could reflect, consolingly Five Towns. This was the slow-treading British tradition—a solid grip on character and no damned nonsense about style. You could, as George Moore would say, wheel-

barrow your way to a respectable end. But presently with *The Beau* and the bicycle something new rode into the book and into my mind. As though somebody had rung a bicycle-bell in the dark at a corner, and suddenly instead of pedals a motor bicycle came flaring round like a dragon. Here, at any rate, was a form of life as intense as anything out there in the lazy Genevese sunshine. No doubt that dream-swan brooding on his image could shoot as sudden a spurt of white snake-fire. But now he was content to float like a picture of a swan by a man who had worked on photographs and never seen the living feathered bird. I returned then, I suppose, to the page a little intimidated by the vigour that might at any moment escape at me from between the brown boards—

Ach schon zwanzig
Ach schon zwanzig
Immer noch durch's Leben tanz ich
Jeder, Jeder will mich küssen
Mir, das Leben zu versüssen

to that last horrible verse—

Ach schon fünfzig
Ach schon fünfzig
Und noch immer Keiner will mich ;
Soll ich mich Banden Zieren
Soll ich eine Schleier führen ?
Dann heist's, die Alte putzt sich,
Sie ist fu'fzig, sie ist fu'fzig.

I must have read that with an intake of the blood at the heart. Here was the enemy—potent, cruel, and certain—at the gate. And desperately, no doubt as an incantation, I repeated to myself (I begin to remember) :

Loveliest of trees, the cherry now
Is hung with bloom along the bough,
And stands about the woodland ride
Wearing white for Eastertide.
Now of my threescore years and ten,
Twenty will not come again.

And that would avail nothing. Here was darker magic than any Housman knew. I looked out of the window. The swans still oared at peace, still the Salève humped his green back—immense horse—against the sky, and still, half-guessed, half-seen, Mont Blanc hid behind her wreath of cloud. But nothing in all that still beauty, as nothing in the delicate lamentation of the Ludlow Corydon, could put aside that advancing flood of secret life. Almost with a sigh, I thought, I resigned myself to my reading, as a bather might plunge his head into the advancing green of the main-deep.

It was so, I thought, that Natcha-kee-Twara must have tomahawked their way into the sober Swiss room. From the moment that Cicio, 'with the faint smile on his face, half grimace,' stooped foolishly into the room, I was, I thought, almost as lost as Alvina—'and all the time he looked down at Alvina from under his dusky eye-lashes, as if watching her sideways, and his mouth had the peculiar, stupid, self-anxious, half-jeering smile. His face was scarcely visible, it seemed, and yet so strange and beautiful. It was the unknown beauty that almost killed her.'

The unknown beauty, I thought—exactly that. The other beauties of the lake and the swans and the mountains were known, or at least knowable. But here was the presence of the new thing.

Ah, my darling, when over the purple horizon shall loom
The shrouded mother of a new era, men hide their faces,
Cry out and fend her off, as she seeks her procreant groom,
Wounding themselves against her, denying her personal embraces.

I read that poem of his later, and so I couldn't have had it on my mind that June day in Geneva when Pacohuila, Kishwegjin, and Allaye swept into my mind. I only knew then that they were shockingly alive, and that I hated them. They are still shockingly alive, and I hate them no less, but differently, as one hates an old trusted enemy, or a long dependable pain, as we might at the end of all cry to it with Wilfred Owen.

'I am the enemy you killed, my friend.' It is natural, therefore, I thought, that I of all people should be writing of Lawrence at this moment. I should be feeling as great a quiet in the world of my mind perhaps as that felt by some who loved him. Natural, too, that I should have thought of de Musset's 'poete mort jeune,' because exactly the agony for me in Lawrence was that he had wrung the neck of his young poet, and gone off whistling *Marlbrough*. But he must have suffered, I said to myself, as acutely as ever I did, and this flight into Egypt of the body must be mere bravado. Well, I thought, let us see.

And so I came back to the poems. I began haphazard with *A Passing Bell*. I shall have to quote the whole of that, I told myself, because unless that poem is hammered into the mind it will be difficult to appreciate how far, how differently, Lawrence walked later. Besides, it will be no bad thing to let him ring beautifully, and in his own despite his own knell as:

Mournfully to and fro, to and fro the trees are waving.
What did you say, my dear?
The rain-bruised leaves are suddenly shaken, as a child
Asleep still shakes in the clutch of a sob—
Yes, my love, I hear.

One lonely hill, one only, the storm-tossed afternoon is braving,
Why not let it ring?
The roses lean down when they hear it, the tender mild
Flowers of the bleeding heart fall to the throb.
'Tis a little thing.
A wet bird walks on the lawn, call to the boy to come and look,
Yes, it is over now.
Call to him out of the silence, call him to see
The starling shaking its head as it walks on the grass—
At who knows how?
He cannot see it, I can never show it him, how it shook—
Don't disturb it, darling.
—Its head as it walked. I can never call him to me,
Never, he is not, whatever shall come to pass.
No, look at the wet starling.

There is nothing here to alarm, though much to enchant. I cannot tell you, nor can you tell me, why 'the wet starling' is the very type of useless, endless sorrow. Yet so it is, and it is the same note in the same accent as Wordsworth's:

'What is good for a bootless bene?'
The falconer to the lady said.
And she made answer 'Endless sorrow,'
For she knew that her son was dead.

They could have carved 'No, look at the wet starling,' in the same deep letters on the further arch over the little door that leads into Bolton Abbey by the side of The Wharf. Travellers from Leeds and Bradford tramping that untarnishable herb would have peered up at the words and muttered them to one another. 'That was the woman whose son was drowned in the Strid with the two great dogs,' they would say. A wet starling! O, wet indeed!

Here then again, as in the opening chapters of *The Lost Girl*, one might be trapped. But after my first experience I was not likely to be caught the second time. Even, I thought, if these poems were earlier than *The Lost Girl*, the same Lawrence must be in them. He will be expressing here, in shorthand, what he has written out at length in his prose. This, for example, will hardly be the man himself, although it has a hint of his approach:

Slowly the moon is rising out of the ruddy haze,
Devesting herself of her golden shift, and so
Emerging white and exquisite; and I in amaze
See in the sky before me, a woman I did not know
I loved, but there she goes and her beauty hurts my heart;
I follow her down the night, begging her not to depart.

This is not his place, for Lawrence is not one of Diana's foresters, nor a minion of the moon. His is not the Endymion soul or the Endymion poetry. He will not suffer delicate invasion from with-

out. He will take the part of 'the golden sun' and float into all 'a quickening, masculine gleam.' He is therefore almost ridiculously clumsy with the moon and moon-lore, like a great carter balancing a tiny Sèvres cup in his hand. He'll never be able to drink out of that, I thought; he needs a tankard, and not that faint, frail China tea of the moon, but reeking Hollands that burn the belly out of you.

And it's here, I said, that the 'poete mort jeune' dies hard, in spite of all Lawrence's belief to the contrary. It is not the master of dark life that writes in *A Winter's Tale* the same tale that has been told in all the winters of the heart:

I cannot see her, since the mist's white scarf
Obscures the dark wood and the dull orange sky;
But this waiting, I know, impatient and cold, half
Sobs struggling into her frosty sigh.

Why does she come so promptly, when she must know
That she's only the nearer to the inevitable farewell?
The hill is steep, in the snow my steps are slow—
Why does she come, when she knows what I have to tell?

For then the young poet could still look out over All-London as another young poet could look over Tout-Paris and could cry almost in the classic setting:

Over the nearness of Norwood Hill, through the mellow veil
Of the afternoon glows to me the old romance of David and Dora,
With the old sweet, soothing tears and laughter that shakes the sail
Of the ship of the soul over seas where dreamed dreams lure the
unocéaned explorer.

No doubt, I thought, he knew already to what a tenebrous bourne his ship would bear him, and even then perhaps he would have chosen to take none other. Yet it is possible, when later we look on Saul towering in front of the Philistines, to wonder if this David might not have slain him. But rather than do that, I thought, he broke his own sling, and held his head well forward to the giant's club.

Tu l'as bien dit, ami, mais tu l'as trop bien dit.

For already the poet is stretching his throat to the garotter as in 'snapdragon,'

She laughed, she reached her hand out to the flower,
Closing its crimson throat. My own throat in her power,
Strangled, my heart swelled up so full
As if it would burst its wine-skin in my throat,
Choke me in my own crimson. I watched her pull
The gorge of the gaping flower till the blood did float
Over my eyes, and I was blind.

It is clear now that the author of *The Lost Girl* was squeezing the life of the snapdragon between his hands.

All its head lay back, its fangs
Poised at her.

There has begun already that philosophy which seeks shelter from all the wrongs that the mind has committed in the harbourage of the body. It is neither Pantheism nor Pandiabolism; it is plain Pan. It is the return to the goat-foot, and the starry, white-rimmed eyes peering through the green leaves on hot afternoon:

Patience, little heart,
One day a heavy, June-hot woman
Will enter and shut the door to stay
And when your stifling heart would summon
Cool, lonely night, her round breasts will keep the night at bay,
Sitting in your room like two tiger-lilies
Flaming on after sunset.

It is already devouring him, I thought, that identification of soul and body:

I learned it all from my foe
This warm dumb wisdom.
She's a finer instructress than years;
She has taught my heart strings to weave
Through the web of all laughter and tears
And now I see the valley
Fleshed all like me . . .

'Fleshed all like me'—so then the green of leaf, the colour of flower, the bronze or saffron of earth, is to have the virtue of body, to breathe unconsciously, move unconsciously, and love unconsciously. Farewell to the young dead poet, and now on to *Birds, Beasts and Flowers*.

That was far fresher in my mind even than *The Lost Girl*. No need to look at the inscription, 'December 1293,' to recall how it came to me from the old green *Westminster Gazette*, with its black spine and its yellow cover, to sit like a cockatoo among my hedge-sparrow books. I used to write then over the bank in Kensington High Street at the corner opposite Barker's. At night, when the last abominable omnibus had raged and roared itself into silence, the coffee-stall crept—blinking—out of its shelter. All night long a little group drank their coffee and ate their sandwiches (if the night were fine) like gentlemen at their tavern. And so it was in that room, I thought, that I read in this black and yellow book. And I must have been thinking, I exclaimed, of the Gilbert Cannan preface, or else why did I write thus: 'Mr. Lawrence has in a high degree three virtues which are indispensable to poetry imagination, a hot, daring mind, and an intellectual courage so violent as to partake of foolhardiness. The best

poetry—needs, too, a fourth thing to weld and mitigate the other three—of this master-quality of witchcraft Mr. Lawrence is, in general, almost entirely devoid, and still more, why did I end 'But poetry'? That is another thing. Twice or thrice that loveliness strays, always half-terrified between the huge engines that work in the mind of Mr. Lawrence. Twice or thrice, but for the most part the clatter is too much for her. She has gone back to Parnassus, and gives herself a little, trembling shake. 'O,' she says, and is quiet for a long time, and then 'But what a pity!' Yes, what a pity, Mr. Lawrence.

But surely I was listening to my heart against my head when I wrote so. Is poetry, I asked myself, only to regret and to remember, little squirts of amiable self-pity? Is it only, I asked, or ever that? Or didn't Lawrence still, however he played with verse-forms, have access to the shrine when he wrote:

Dusty are the avenues of wine,
And we must cross the frontiers, though we will not,
Of the lost, fern-scented world;
Take the fern-seed in our lips,
Close the eyes, and go
Down the tendrilled avenues to the other world.

Fern-seed, indeed! For nothing less, I said to myself, than that fairy seed could make him talk with reptiles and fishes, not as Mowgli talked with Kaa by investing the great python with human speech and sagacity, but as though Kaa had given Mowgli snake-mind and snake wisdom. For who but a fish, or one long lost in the medulla oblongata, could ever have written:

And the gold-and-green pure lacquer-mucus comes off in my hand,
And the red-gold mirror eye stares and dies,
And the water-snare contour dims.

But not before I have had to know
He was born in front of my sunrise,
Before my day

He outlasts me.

But I, I only wonder
And don't know.
I don't know fishes.

In the beginning
Jesus was called The Fish . . .
And in the end.

or thus of the snake:

And truly I was afraid. I was most afraid,
But even so, honoured still more
That he should seek my hospitality
From out the dark door of the secret earth.

He drank enough
And lifted his head, dreamily, as one who has drunken,
And flickered his tongue like a forked night in the air so black
Seeming to lick his lips,
And looked round like a god, unseeing into the air.

That quality of being one with fish and snake and bird is the Natcha-Kee-Twara quality. I wrote of it as I did in 1924, I thought, because I hated it, and was afraid of it. I was saying to myself in Lawrence's own words to Fish:

I didn't know his God,
I didn't know his God.

Other Gods
Beyond my range . . . gods beyond my God. . . .

Would I, I asked myself, rather have had Rupert Brooke's fish, with a sort of mermaid heaven, a man's heaven for a fish, and not a fish's heaven for a man? If I am honest, I told myself, I should have to admit that Brooke has trapped me in a tumbler, but Lawrence has tapped the rock, and the water, even if a little brackish, has welled out:

Fat caterpillars drift around
And Paradisal grubs are found;
Unfading moths, immortal flies,
And the worm that never dies,
And in that heaven of all their wish,
There shall be no more land, say fish.

Admirable, neat as a trout slipping under a stone, and yet see where the great pike comes shouldering in:

A slim young pike, with smart fins
And grey striped suit, a young cub of a pike
Slouching along away below, half out of sight
Like a lout on an obscure pavement. . . .
Aha, there's somebody in the know.

And the somebody seems—doesn't it?—rather Lawrence than Rupert Brooke.

If then, I said, the young poet is dead, he may have died of sheer jealousy of this middle-aged poet that slouches a little, like the pike, along the obscure pavements of immortality. But the young poet is not merely envious: he is mortally afraid. For he has come on two signs of disintegration, and he perceives that he will be called upon to endure another crucifixion after his resurrection. There are two things in *Birds, Beasts and Flowers* that are threatening. The first is the tendency to write non-Kipling, which is, of course, exactly as indefensible as Kipling in political matters. We have, for example, on the one hand Kipling writing in 1912 on the subject of Ulster:

We know the war prepared
 In every peaceful home,
 We know the Hells declared
 For such as serve not Rome—
 The terror, threats and dread
 On market, hearth, and field—
 We know, when all is said,
 We perish if we yield.

with which compare as being complementary :

Look at them standing there in authority,
 The pale-faces,
 As if it would have any effect any more—
 Pale face authority,
 Caryatides
 Pillars of white bronze standing rigid lest the skies fall.
 What a job they've got to keep it up!

The other tendency, I thought, has afforded the Press its headlines, but even so it cannot be ignored. Because the shadow was already dark in this black and yellow book. Lawrence's deliberate philosophy is beginning to turn on him a little dangerously, as though a man were celebrating mysteries at a heathen altar by night half as a joke. And then the moon slipped behind a cloud, and the darkness was no darkness that man had ever known. So, then, Mr. Lawrence had begun the path that Conrad's hero in *Heart of Darkness* also trod. For him, too, when he sailed down the river, the jungle slipped to the water-edge holding out despairing arms. There were moments when the word 'exorcism' trembled on the lips.

For that reason I wont, I concluded, pursue the examination into *Pansies*, because that will only indicate where the jungle paths end and lose themselves in swamps and waste. I would rather at the end of what is little more than a transliteration of what I thought when I saw the poster in the Strand merely declare my faith. In the novels, the short stories and the poems there was neither a great novelist nor a great writer of short stories, nor a great poet. None of these three things, and yet by virtue of something ominously vital in him, he poured new life into all these poems till they crackled like sparking-plugs. Lawrence, it seemed, was not only near to the earth, but he was near to the core of the earth. There was in him a hot volcanic spark. He burned, not like a great knot of wood, but slowly, and terribly hotly, like his own deep-seamed coal. With that heat in him he could transfuse the form, as the sun can make holiday in the Hell of a mining village. When the sun goes in, the village is shambling bricks and crawling street again. But it has had its hour, of which nothing can rob it. So Lawrence carelessly takes the exquisitely poised shapes of verse, tosses them contemptuously

over his shoulder, and leaves them sprawling like tumbled bricks. But he turns before he leaves them a sort of calcining ray upon them, in their direction in their flaming death. It has heat, and it is a quality which the Brontës almost alone of English novelists possessed: it is supremely Lawrence's quality. And, having that, he is one of those happy few who can afford to write badly, wildly, absurdly, and even pathetically. He can even dispense with a sense of humour, in which he was, in fact, quite incredibly deficient. He does not need to wait for time to waste the rubbish away. His own fiery energy purges it in his own flame. He belonged to no school, and he generated none. He was the tail of a comet that singed the earth. He is still bright and unbridled between the stars.

Yes, a comet, I thought, that 'glazed upon us and went surly by.' But is he a recurring comet, whose next arrival the astronomer can confidently anticipate? It is always dangerous to arrogate the function of posterity, and most dangerous when the luminary has but this instant deserted the evening sky. The history of literary criticism in this regard is littered with broken reputations and too hasty guesses; but for all that, I will take my chance and declare my belief that Lawrence will most certainly survive the enmities of time. And why?

Because, apart from his theories and his angers, Lawrence was essentially a conduit of life. His men and women, like his birds and beasts and flowers, were radio-active, and regenerate themselves continuously from some internal source of slow friction. They are not 'characters' any more than an individual daffodil is a 'character' in the Dickens sense. He left us, therefore, no Micawbers or Pecksniffs alive with the sheer animation of their author's mind. His people are sullenly but violently living of and by themselves. Nor is he concerned to build a world as Balzac or Proust built one. He had not, that is to say, the cool ordering imagination that groups and constructs. Each new book was a separate birth, related by ties of birth to the last, but as independent of the other as children of different marriages. The creating force did not change, but the mould varied, and it was all one to Lawrence whether his scene was the Midlands of England, the sheep farms of Australia, or the flaming wastes of Mexico. Perhaps of all his backgrounds the Mexican was nearest to his genius. He was himself something of a 'plumed serpent,' with a cloud of smoke hinting at the fiery cauldron below. He was for ever searching to free himself of the casual and meaningless, like the volcano. Indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to think of his periods of activity as eruptions. And if we think of our English writers in mountain-terms, we shall have to conceive Lawrence as burning with that hidden fire among the cooler,

snow-capped giants. It is dangerous to live in his neighbourhood. The fatal flood may pour forth at any moment, ravaging the smiling countryside, but at any rate he is a great light against heaven.

For my part, I have found him (and shall always find him) a challenge and a rebuke. 'Pale-face,' he calls me, and I am driven always, when I read him, to re-assess my values. In verse, for example, he was incorrigibly clumsy in form. I doubt whether he ever wrote a true rhythm or a single line wholly pleasing to the constructing ear. But even so, not once or twice he wrote a poem as savagely alive as a flash of lightning. He seemed at times to disprove all the rules, but I was a little consoled when I read his *David*. For I realised then that he had some of the direct force of a prophet. His God poured through him, and spoke as He directed and devised. Often Lawrence did not rightly overhear the distant utterance, still more often it overwhelmed him and his expression. But at times, when he could master it, his verse was at the unbridled heart of poetry, drawing its own patterns in hieroglyphs of flame.

Much of his work, both in verse and prose, will burn itself out, much was dead lava when it reached the level of human habitation. But much will remain as violent a challenge to complacency and ugliness a hundred years hence as now. In his youth he loved what he hated, in his later years he hated what he loved, but in both periods he greatly defied the dark spears of mortality. He fought all night with the angel of death, thigh to thigh. If he bore the marks on his body when the dawn came, the angel was not unscarred.

HUMBERT WOLFE.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, 10 & 12, Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C.2.

Letters as well as articles will be considered for publication, but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification of articles which have already appeared in the Review. No anonymous contribution is published.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



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THE FIRST SOCIALIST BUDGET

THIS year's Budget is actually the first Budget for which a Socialist Government of the United Kingdom has been wholly responsible. The circumstances are not favourable to the new birth. Our industries, depressed already by local conditions and principally by the loss of markets in the war, find themselves, in addition, sunk in the trough of one of the great waves of depression that pass round the world with almost tidal regularity, bringing falling prices and profits and rising unemployment. The present wave is an unusually severe one. It is aggravated by the coincidence of a normal period of depression with a noticeable increase of production in proportion to employment, the result of those processes of reorganisation and re-equipment of industry nicknamed rationalisation. In a word, there is a slump—an exceptionally severe one; and it is a hard world into which Mr. Snowden has had to bring his fiscal baby.

All the signs and prognostications are unfavourable for the budgeteer. Our revenue system is overstrained by its burdens.

The yield of the chief taxes is showing signs of weakness. One cause of that is that production, the basis of direct taxation, is enfeebled: statistics of our foreign trade and of employment allow no doubt of it. With decreasing production income tax and super-tax are beginning to flag. Another cause of the feebleness of the revenue is that consumption, the basis of indirect taxation, is diminishing with production. If a check in production is short, people sometimes go on consuming as much as ever, or indeed they even consume more than ever because they are idle. But we have had bad times so long that as a people we have begun to realise that we must learn to do without. The Chancellor of the Exchequer feels the effect of that in the inelasticity of the revenue from customs and excise. At the same time, industry, busy with a strenuous attempt at rationalisation to keep up in the race with foreign competition, needs more capital than ever. The Lord Privy Seal is ever at the elbow of the Chancellor of the Exchequer whispering 'It takes 200*l.* of capital to employ a man; the more you tax industry, the less capital there is, and the fewer men will be employed.' At least, if the Lord Privy Seal is not whispering that, he ought to be.

Lastly, and most unfortunately from the point of view of a Budget-maker, now, at a time of slump, with fresh capital the country's greatest need, the Government of which the Chancellor is a member is a Socialist Government, with a policy of doles. The taxable capacity of the country is not maintaining its rate of increase. The revenue system of the country is strained to breaking point. At this juncture the Chancellor finds himself the instrument of a policy that needs for its application more and more revenue. When the country is crying aloud for relief from its burdens the Chancellor has to increase them. History will point its finger back at this year's Budget as an interlude in the general sanity of the United Kingdom about financial affairs. 'The public finances of this country,' one may write about A.D. 2430, 'were ordinarily conducted with a good deal of common-sense. An exception may be found in the Budget of 1930-31. The second Socialist Government then very nearly brought about disaster by initiating a policy of largely increased expenditure on non-essential services, when the economic structure of the country, at its weakest after the Great War, stood in urgent need of strengthening by rigid economy in expenditure and by the reduction of taxation.'

The present position of the country is precisely that of one of the great businesses that have been in low water since the war. Its earning capacity is reduced and it has lost a lot of capital. If it is to pull round, it should rationalise. It must save every penny of unnecessary expenditure. For the present,

it should declare no dividend or bonus, but put every penny back into the business. It should be strenuous and courageous in its policy of renovation; but there should be no outlay by way of fresh investment that does not promise prompt and definite profit. Such being our position, and such the policy it requires, along comes a Socialist Government. It declares large dividends and bonuses, in the form of unemployment benefit. It loosens the purse strings of needless expenditure, and pays little or no heed to the accumulation of capital for fresh profitable investment in the business. In short, it takes the course in public finance that in private finance leads at best to a disastrous 'reconstruction,' and at worst to a compulsory liquidation.

There is no cloud without its silver lining, and bad trade, depression, and lack of confidence in industry brought to the Chancellor its characteristic consolation of 'cheap money.' The funds that there was not confidence enough to trust to industrial developments were available for investment in gilt-edged securities; and the rate of interest on Government securities was being reduced by the abundance of the supply. It was no small blessing. In the demonology of a Chancellor nowadays Conversion is a spectre no less dreadful than Doles. Depression in industry made it difficult for him to get the revenue which he needed; but on the other hand it should make it possible to reduce expenditure by profitable conversion of Government debt from a higher to a lower basis of interest. That is, indeed, one of the very few fields of expenditure in which there is any real hope of substantial relief for the taxpayer under a Socialist Administration. It was expected that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would make his Budget speech the occasion of an announcement of a big scheme of conversion. City opinion thought that he could convert as much as 500,000,000*l.*, with a saving of as much as $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In this there was a disappointment. No conversion was announced. Perhaps it is the Reparations loan of 60,000,000*l.* for Germany, of which London has to find more than its fair share, that blocks the way. The only advantage that Mr. Snowden is able to budget for, from cheap money, is a reduction of 11,500,000*l.* in the interest on the floating debt. This enables him to avoid any increase in the total provision of 355,000,000*l.* to be made for the service of the debt. It is a small mercy to derive from the cheaper rates for money, in comparison with what might have been, had not extravagance and lack of confidence prevented us from taking full advantage of them by a substantial conversion.

When Mr. Snowden sat down to make his Budget the situation just described confronted him in a series of grim facts. Ordinary

revenue for the past year (1929-30) had disappointed expectations to the extent of 12,000,000*l.* Although the inanities of party polemics would have us believe otherwise, Mr. Snowden's predecessor was no more responsible for that than Mr. Snowden. It is eloquent that the chief disappointments were in the revenue from stamps (5,300,000*l.*), the result of the slump on the Stock Exchange, and from direct taxation (5,000,000*l.*). Obviously the cause of the failure to realise the estimated revenue was the depression of business as a whole. In so far as any political party was responsible for the disappointment, it was the Socialist Party and the shock that its advent gave to confidence. Ordinary expenditure for 1929-30 exceeded the original estimate by 8,500,000*l.* Interest on debt was 2,500,000*l.* more than the estimate, owing to high rates of interest on the floating debt, another circumstance eloquent of shaken confidence. For the rest, the increase over the estimate was wholly due to a supplementary grant of 10,000,000*l.* for unemployment. Already the doles were mounting; already the spectre of Socialist Chancellors had arisen and was waving a hand of menace. The doubts and disappointments in revenue and expenditure came to a head in a technical deficit in relation to Budget expectations of 14,500,000*l.* and a real deficit therein, owing to the inadequacy of the provision for interest, of 19,500,000*l.* According to the doctrines of public finance affected by Mr. Snowden, this deficiency in sinking funds had to be made good.

The next grim fact in the series was that estimates for the current year were formidably up. The only substantial reduction was that of 4,000,000*l.* for the Navy, and that was but a gamble on the result of the Conference. The Civil Estimates showed a gross increase of 56,000,000*l.* That was not, of course, all the result of the new Socialist policy of spending: 27,000,000*l.* was the bill for that. Even so, that is the biggest increase in expenditure since the war due to deliberate policy. Unemployment accounted for 14,000,000*l.*, and pensions for 5,000,000*l.* Education was up 5,000,000*l.* and health services 3,500,000*l.*

Such is the price the nation has had to pay in less than a year for the redemption of the election promises of the Labour Party. Nine months have been enough to see all that was left of the forces of national economy in full retreat, leaving the field to Mr. Snowden's favourite policy of 'collective spending.' Collective spending means Government collecting money from people who have earned it and need it to increase employment in their businesses, and spending it on such unproductive purposes as are best calculated to catch votes.

With a gap of 50,000,000*l.* or so looming ahead of him, the Chancellor could not look to any substantial help from normal

increase of revenue. There are no such signs of good times at hand as would enable him to do so with common prudence. So few, indeed, are the symptoms of industrial recovery that the prudent will probably think that he was stretching optimism to its limits in anticipating an increased revenue of 5,500,000*l.* in the coming year on the basis of existing taxation. He himself is careful to say that he does not expect any increase in industrial profits. It was inevitable that he should either raise the rates of existing taxation or impose some taxation that was new. The first alternative presented difficulties. The chief existing taxes are strained to breaking point. Beer, spirits, and tobacco are at or near the point beyond which heavier taxation will merely reduce consumption and yield no more revenue. Even if it were not so the Chancellor, who for reasons of political strategy in 1923 dealt our revenue system a blow that permanently weakened it by excessive reductions of indirect taxation on the wage-earners, could not be expected to reverse that policy in 1930. The yield of income tax shows signs of failing. There is no more eloquent evidence of the fact that production is over-taxed than the recent fall in the yield of super-tax. It has fallen steadily from 67,000,000*l.* in 1925-26 to 56,000,000*l.* in 1929-30. There is no spring or elasticity left in the great direct taxes. Quite apart from any question of the economic mischief of increasing direct taxation, grave doubt is now involved to what extent an increase in rate will increase revenue. There can be no certainty that an increase will not produce so sharp a reaction upon the prosperity of the country and upon the state of mind of the direct taxpayer as to defeat its own purpose. On the other hand, there was no obvious fresh source of revenue available. Mr. Snowden's policy debarred him from such practical expedients as Mr. Churchill's artificial silk duty. He knew too much about the collection of revenue to have any faith in the fancy taxes that commend themselves at Budget times to the amateurs of public finance. With old taxes failing and no good new ones about, he was on the horns of a dilemma, horns that await any Chancellor who has to increase taxation in an overtaxed country.

The 5,500,000*l.* of normal increase in revenue left the Chancellor with a gap to cover of 42,500,000*l.*, a formidable and melancholy task. Some 16,000,000*l.* from the Rating Relief Suspensory Fund reduced the gap to 26,500,000*l.* This is making use of a capital asset saved in a previous year. It helps this year, but it leaves the problem unsolved how the 16,000,000*l.* is to be found in future years. Next, he gets 3,000,000*l.* from beer. The amount is so trifling in comparison with his needs that we may no doubt look upon this as a mere gesture. It

may be supposed to give those something to talk about who have to answer the argument that it is unstatesmanlike to relieve the wage-earners from all sense of responsibility for increased expenditure. Since, however, the Chancellor expects that the price of beer will not be increased, perhaps the gesture is rather for the temperance reformers. In any case it is of no practical significance.

The 3,000,000*l.* of beer money still leave an unbridged gap of 23,500,000*l.* This amount is swelled by Mr. Snowden's novel and peculiar provisions for dealing with the deficit of the past year (1929-30). As those who know his psychology expected, he is not content to leave the dead Budget to bury its dead deficit in the floating debt. He insists on having the corpse about him, and carrying it with him into the future in bits. He will make good 5,000,000*l.* of the deficit this year, 5,000,000*l.* next year, and 4,500,000*l.* the year after. Like a self-sacrificing ancient mariner, he hangs his albatross about his neck well in the public eye. One wonders whether he would be so particular about its publicity were it not Mr. Churchill's bird. More, he intends by legislation to compel every Chancellor for all time to make good the deficit of one year in the year that follows. *14*, is a pretty gesture of financial orthodoxy; but is it really of any use to make any practical difference? The Chancellor is now under an obligation not to have a deficit, and yet deficits come. If the existing obligation is of no avail, what reason is there to expect more of this new obligation? If the provision is not effective it will be mischievous. It will confuse our annual accounts with the remains of ancient deficits, dating back, it may be, for years. At first sight it seems one of those pious intentions that had almost better be left in the regions of piety and not reduced to practice.

Five millions for the deficit and some minor concessions in revenue enlarged the gap to 28,750,000*l.* This Mr. Snowden will bridge by direct taxation. He makes increases in income tax, super-tax, and death duties that will give him 33,800,000*l.* this year and 46,500,000*l.* in a full year. The excess over what is required to fill the gap is mortgaged for the derating scheme. It is a crushing blow to the hopes of the taxpayer. At once all the hopes of a return to endurable taxation that have buoyed up the middle classes since the war are dashed to the ground.

The new taxation will consist of a treble increase in the steepness of graduation on higher incomes. All those in excess of 485*l.* a year (for single people) will pay more. Mr. Snowden comes down on them with four successive blows of the mailed fist. The graduation is steepened by an increase of the relief on

the first 250*l.*, steepened again by an increase in the basic rate of super-tax, steepened again on the inherited part of income by a fresh graduation of death duties, and the whole tax is raised to a higher level by the increase of 6*d.* in the basic rate. It is an orgy of direct taxation. The Chancellor claims it as a merit of his proposal that the increased taxes will be paid by one-quarter only of the body of income tax payers. There speaks the politician, not the statesman. If the object is to catch votes, the plan is well laid. If the object is to tax so as to do least harm, it could not be laid worse.

In the first place, if there has to be increased expenditure, it is a good thing to send in a bill for it to as many people as possible and not as few. That is surely the only way to induce a sense of responsibility and so to maintain a public opinion that will deter the repetition of extravagance for the future. It would have been better for the Chancellor to have sent in part of the bill to the wage-earners in the shape of indirect taxes. They have had most of the benefit of the expenditure, and they should have the opportunity of learning that they cannot have it for nothing. As to the income tax payers, the wider the burden of fresh expenditure is spread over this class, too, the better. It is not good for public opinion that the small income tax payer should escape without direct experience of the fresh burdens that are being cast upon production. Best would it have been had there been no need for fresh taxes, but, since need there was, it would have been better to spread their burden as widely as possible. The worst course was that which has been chosen, to accumulate the burden in the form of penal taxation on a few. It inflicts equal injury in the long run on the productive capacity of the country, and it conceals from the majority the facts of government and of public finance.

It inflicts equal injury in the long run, because of course this taxation on the big incomes comes home to roost as a burden on industry. It is only by degrees that we are coming to appreciate the manner and the measure of the harm that over-taxation does to production. Some of its evils are well known. Sir Auckland Geddes has recently traced yet another evil to this source. It is the evil of uncompetitive prices. When taxes are raised the middleman and retailer resist a reduction of income. They seek to raise prices, or to standardise them against any fall which may be due in respect of falling wholesale prices. They thus seek to pass, and more or less succeed in passing, the tax on to the consumer; and there is a 'lag,' or tendency to maintain prices at an uncompetitive level, to the detriment of industry and employment. Thus in innumerable unexpected and indirect ways does the State injure its own economic life

when it interferes too intimately with its industrial mechanism by over-taxation.

For a summary of the matter let us go to a master of vigorous statement, the Chancellor himself. Recently he broadcast a speech on disarmament to the United States. Released for the occasion from the need to appeal to the proletariat, and free to play his more admired part as the champion of the true interests of his country, he spoke with a new voice, and these were his words :

Our people are the most heavily taxed in the world. The average amount of national and local taxation works out at about 100l. a year per family. We have an income tax of 4s. in the pound and a super-income tax running up to an additional 6s. in the pound. In addition, the duties on estates passing at death range as high as 40 per cent. The whole of the yield of these heavy taxes is only sufficient to provide two-thirds of the cost of providing for the annual war debt charges, war pensions and the fighting Services.

With such a burden as this upon our shoulders, with all the destruction, all the waste, all the sacrifice, all the disorganisation of industry and society that it implies, is it any wonder that we have suffered industrial depression as the aftermath of the war? Nay, the wonder is that we have been able at all to maintain our position.

Which is the real man, the red Chancellor of the Budget, or the true blue, the ultramarine Chancellor of the broadcast? Did he not know when broadcasting that in the Budget he was going deliberately to increase each one of those burdens to which he referred, and deliberately to aggravate the destruction, waste, sacrifice, and disorganisation which he so feelingly described?

The political device of accumulating the new burdens of taxation on one-quarter of the payers of income tax will hardly prove of much avail. Will the other three-quarters take any comfort from their respite? For that, the snare is set too obviously in their sight. With bills to meet, Socialism leaves no doubt of its intention to send them all in to the direct taxpayer. When the next bill is due, next Budget-time, it will hardly be possible so wholly to disregard statecraft, economy, and equity as once more to steepen the graduation. Then it will be the turn of the smaller incomes, as they can very clearly see. It is true that Mr. Snowden has said that there will be no fresh taxation next year, *if* there are no fresh large schemes of expenditure. What an 'if'! Already a cry of rage against his Budget has risen from the Clyde. He is denounced by his extremists as the executioner of every Socialist hope. Socialist babies, it is believed, of late years have been encouraged from their cradles onwards with tales of the new world that would

begin with Mr. Snowden's first Budget. Baby Bunting, we may suppose, has been rewritten :

Bye, Baby Bunting,
Labour's gone a-hunting.
You shall have the rich man's skin
When Philip brings his Budget in.

Now all is disillusionment. Philip's first Budget after a fairly long excursion warns them off the promised land. But the Clyde are not going to have it, and in this they will not be alone. Whatever support they get from orthodox Labour for other things, there will always be plenty for more expenditure of public money. Prophecy is full of risks; but it is really hardly prophecy to say that there will be fresh large schemes of expenditure of public money this year, and that the Chancellor will fail to prevent them. That is not so much prophecy as a restatement of experience. When those schemes come it will be the turn of the direct taxpayers who escape this year. We are at the beginning of a deliberate policy of making use of direct taxation to transfer income from those who have earned it to those who have not. The process will last as long as the Socialist Government, and if it goes on long enough no direct taxpayer will escape. Indeed, the prospect for next year is disquieting. Mr. Snowden tells us that it is his policy to repeal all food taxes and the McKenna duties. If and when he does so he will need so much fresh revenue that more taxation will be imperative, whether or not there are schemes of fresh expenditure. The respite of the smaller income tax payer seems likely to be a short one.

Such burdens as the Budget proposes to accumulate on the shoulders of a few should be considered not only from the point of view of economic advantage, but also from that of social justice. It takes all sorts to make a world, and all experience goes to show that reasonable liberty to accumulate wealth is necessary if a community is to be prosperous. It is at any rate a fact of experience in the modern world that the more prosperous a community is as a whole, the more well-to-do people it contains. However unpopular the doctrine may be, it is true that it is as important that the capital-owning and saving class should be prosperous and contented at one end of the scale as that the wage-earners should be at the other. If it be so, then it is imprudent as well as wrong for the State to give that class a sense of injustice. Undoubtedly the Budget must give a sense of injustice to the small class who are called upon to bear alone the whole fresh burden of expenditure from which they derive no direct benefit. The spread of such a sense

of injustice must have many evil consequences, and one of the more serious will be to weaken the moral assent which taxpayers have hitherto given to our system of direct taxation. The efficiency of direct taxation depends upon its winning and preserving such moral assent. If it does not do so, direct taxation becomes ineffective as a means of raising revenue. That is the experience of many other countries, especially the Latin lands. Owing to mental differences between the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon, in those lands income taxes and their like have always been looked upon as oppressive and unjust. The taxpayers have tacitly refused to co-operate with the fisc in their collection. Those States have in consequence been unable to make them, as our State has made them, the foundation of their systems of revenue. Should co-operation of the sort cease here, it will be a bad look-out for future Budgets. Our fisc will have lost its most powerful and flexible weapon, and we shall have to establish a new system of revenue. At present there is only one adequate alternative that can be named; it is a revenue tariff on imports, with protective effects. By overstraining the machinery of direct taxation and introducing conspicuous inequalities into its adjustment the Budget greatly strengthens the case of those who advocate a tariff of the sort. It would be consistent with strict adherence to the doctrine of Free Trade, even in its more extreme and quasi-religious forms, to say, 'Import duties have all the disadvantages which Free Traders have always said that they have. But once the fat of economy has been spilled so completely into the fire, it will do less harm to raise the revenue needed by import duties than by direct taxation so inequitable in quality and excessive in quantity as to crush enterprise and prevent saving.'

No display of rhetorical fireworks, no invective against Mr. Winston Churchill, can conceal these inherent vices of the Budget. A Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot be ignorant that the first need of industry is a relief from burdens, and it is his first duty to enforce economy. Mr. Snowden has allowed himself to be defeated by the forces that make for increased expenditure. The wages of expenditure is taxation, and he has been obliged to exact fresh taxes at a time when the whole revenue machinery of the country is creaking and groaning towards a breakdown. Of the nation's income a part is needed to live upon and a part to save, and it is the remainder only that is available for taxation. Before the war it has been estimated that the part of the nation's income that was taken in taxation was 11 per cent. At the present time it is variously estimated at from 20 per cent. to 25 per cent. No doubt allowance must be made for the increase in the amount of public money that is spent on social services, in

relief of that part of the nation's income needed for living. Allowance must also be made for the increase in the interest on the National Debt, which is paid to some extent from one pocket of the nation into the other. Even if such allowances be made, it is certain that the increase in the burden of taxation during the last fifteen years has been enormous. It is no less certain that to a large extent its effect has been to reduce the amount saved by the nation for the renovation and extension of the machinery of production. It has been estimated that before the war the proportion of the national income thus saved was 16 per cent. At the present time it is almost certainly not more than 10 per cent. We need to save every penny that we can to equip ourselves for the battle of competition with foreign rivals in production, a battle that rapidly intensifies in severity. What we ought to be doing is reducing all direct taxation, increasing the allowances for depreciation under income tax law, and making any and every other remission of taxes that will encourage saving. What the Budget does is to march in the opposite direction. It turns the cold shoulder to Mr. Thomas and his need for capital to find employment, and smiles upon Miss Bondfield and her Doles. The over-taxed nation is to be still more heavily taxed, and these taxes are to be imposed in precisely that manner most likely to impede economic recovery. They are to be taxes upon savings and the saving classes.

Learned economists doubt whether direct taxes enter into the cost of production or act as a handicap in competition with foreign producers. To them their doubts; but to those with any knowledge of the minds of men it is certain that taxation such as we bear in this country is a deterrent to industry and production. The minds that provide the country with initiative and energy will not and cannot serve it at their best whilst the tax collector stands ready to reap so large a part of the harvest that they sow. Whether or not high taxation enters into cost of production, it is certain that taxation so high as ours reduces effort by reducing its reward. That is a consequence more mischievous even than the reduction of the funds available for fresh investment.

Such a Budget as this acts as a poison in the veins of the nation, reducing its vitality, inducing lethargy and discouraging energy. Since the war there have been three periods in the history of our national finances, each with its own characteristics. First there came the period of economy. That period lasted from 1919 until 1923. During those years Sir Austen Chamberlain, Sir Robert Horne, and Mr. Baldwin succeeded in curing the country of its war-fever of spending. They stopped inflation, balanced the Budget, re-established control over the estimates, and reduced the burden of the taxpayer by 50,000,000*l.* a year. After the episode

of the first Socialist Government, an episode of little significance to budgetary history, there followed a period of marking time. This was the period of Mr. Churchill's Chancellorship. Pensions and derating prevented any further substantial reductions in taxation. The disaster of the General Strike and the Coal Strike made it necessary to seek fresh resources. It was only by an ingenious squeezing of the orange that Mr. Churchill was able to effect any reduction of taxation at all and to avoid increasing it. A balance was preserved: we were noticeably moving neither forward nor backward along the path of economy. This year's Budget initiates a third period. It seems probable that it will be a period of definitely increasing expenditure and taxation. To our present rulers economy in public expenditure is no virtue. On the contrary, it is their professed object to increase the proportion of the nation's income spent by the State. To them a tax is a good in itself, since every tax is an engine in the hands of the State to effect a more equal distribution of incomes. The fresh burdens of 1930 are thus no accident: they are an earnest of Socialism in practice. Fortunately it seems probable that political conditions will prevent the increase of burdens during this third period, the period of extravagance, from being swift. It seems likely to proceed gradually, and, if it does so, the country will have time to recognise the mischief of the process and to put a stop to it before it works more than temporary harm.

There is much at stake upon the issue, nothing less than the continuance of the country as a leader in industrial production. If taxes continue to go up, employment will continue to go down, and the forces that will ultimately strike a balance between the country and its excessive population will be those described by Malthus in his first *Essay on Population*—hunger, misery, and disease. If we clear our minds for a moment of the prejudices of party politics, can we doubt that it will be so? What is there peculiar to this nation that has given it pre-eminence as a leading manufacturing country in the past, and upon which it depends for a maintenance, if not of pre-eminence, at least of prominence in that respect? It is not only its natural advantages of climate, minerals, and position. Other countries have as great. It is not its wage-earners. They are intelligent and industrious, but so are the wage-earners of other nations. It is not the small leisured class. They make an important contribution to the life of the nation, but not a contribution critically significant to economic prosperity. If we think of what the nation is, of what it has done and can do again, do we not know, even if it be only in the background of our minds that we are prepared to admit it, that the national character, the driving power of the nation, as well in commerce and industry as in the government of the United Kingdom

and the Empire, comes from the middle class? With 'earned' income exempt up to 160*l.* a year for single people and up to 400*l.* a year for couples with three children this class is approximately coterminous with the class of income tax payers, the class injured or threatened by this Budget. It includes the business and professional men, the managers and assistants—indeed, the salaried classes as a whole. It numbers some 5,000,000 direct taxpayers and their dependants. It earns something like half of the nation's income. It provides the nation with the greater part of the savings that it needs. More important than all, with its education and traditions it provides indispensable ingredients of brains, leadership, enterprise, industry, and public spirit, deprived of which a nation wilts like a plant deprived of water. Prudent statesmanship would be scrupulous to secure that this part of the nation should be called upon to pay no more than its fair share of burdens. It would be the more scrupulous to do so because this class is necessarily in a minority, and comparatively defenceless against attack under the conditions of modern democracy. It would be careful to secure to this part conditions favourable to its discharge of its characteristic functions, which are so essential to general prosperity. In offending against these principles the proposals of the Budget offend against equity and common sense.

E. HILTON YOUNG.

THE TRAGEDY OF PALESTINE

THE Balfour Declaration, conveyed in a letter of November 2, 1917, to Lord Rothschild,¹ was evolved at a time when the Great War had entered upon a most critical phase. The huge Russian armies, on which the Allies relied for man-power, had nearly disintegrated¹ under the influences of revolutionary forces, and Hindenburg was able to effect a concentration against the Italians, which led to the disaster of Caporetto in October, necessitating a diversion of French and British troops from the Western Front. On the seas, the German U-boats had brought starvation in this country within measurable distance.

The convoy system had, however, been formally adopted in June, and brought into operation in October, and the control of this most dangerous menace was in prospect. The United States had become belligerents in April, and the advance guard of the great armies which were to turn the scale in France had made the passage of the Atlantic. General Allenby's campaign had been brilliantly successful, and on December 9, little more than a month after the issue of the Declaration, Jerusalem was occupied, and Palestine was in our hands.

Such were the bright patches in a sombre picture of war; but the strain upon our country was intense, and all attention was absorbed by the gigantic tasks with which we were confronted. No moment could have been worse suited for the announcement of a new policy fraught with momentous results still inscrutable. The ignorance then prevailing of conditions in Palestine was abyssmal. Few realised that there was a considerable population in this largely arid country, the size of 'gallant little Wales,' which had rights of its own. Fewer had any glimmer of the long and complicated manœuvres by which the Declaration was reached, or of Zionist objects. I am convinced that Mr. Balfour, engrossed in war work at this juncture, did not realise what his declaration entailed, and his maiden speech in the House of Lords on June 21, 1922, which I followed,

¹ Five days after this fateful letter was sent 'the German agents, Lenin and Trotsky, carried out their *coup d'état*, and Russia was quickly converted into a shambles, and became a centre of revolutionary infection and a malignant enemy of the British Empire.' (*My Working Life*: Murray, 1927.)

indicated that he had not been able to find time to study a most complex and difficult question.² Later, Lord Balfour said:

I see no reason why those who lived in amity under Turkish rule should insist on quarrelling under British rule.

It should surely have been clear that all pre-war conditions were fundamentally changed in the view of the Palestinian Arabs, when successive waves of Jews, mainly from Poland and Russia, were forced upon their national home against their wishes. But for this revolutionary policy, perfect peace would have reigned in the Holy Land after General Allenby's conquest.

Lord Balfour doubtless felt, as he said, that:

the last thing the British Government has ever desired is that they [the Arabs] should be sufferers from injustice because we try to carry out the policy of providing a Jewish home in Palestine for the Jewish people.

As certainly he was led to believe that:

The whole policy of immigration is subject to the most careful study, and the character and qualification of the immigrant are subject to the most rigid scrutiny under the control of the Government,

which, unfortunately, was quite impossible in the circumstances of the influx, but is now one of the recommendations of the Commission.

The Declaration was thus stamped with the marks of haste and of imperfect study, which was inevitable at a period of such great storm and stress. There was no one to point out that the Treaty with King Hussein, directed to detach Arabs from the Turkish cause, and the propaganda distributed in Palestine by aeroplanes with this object, could be regarded as conflicting sharply with the policy of the Jewish national home. And when the Anglo-French Manifesto of November 14, 1918, was published in the villages of Palestine, no one seems to have noticed that it could be read as ruling out the Balfour policy by promising throughout Syria

national governments and administrations which shall derive their authority from the initiative and freewill of the people themselves, and to assure by their [the French and British Governments] support the normal workings of such governments and administrations as the peoples themselves have adopted.

Unless this manifesto meant what it said, it should never have been announced to the Palestinians. At the Peace Conference it was decided that an inter-Allied Commission should ascertain and

² The House of Lords, on the motion of Lord Islington, decided by sixty to twenty-nine votes that the Mandate as proposed was 'unacceptable'; but, as in the case of the disastrous Declaration of London, the sound verdict of the Upper House was ignored.

report on the wishes of the people³; but the French and British Governments held aloof, and the task fell to Americans, Ambassador Crane and Principal King. According to Professor Clay, of Yale University, these delegates made 'a most impartial and exhaustive inquiry,' revealing that 'the entire Christian and Moslem population' desired 'the independence of Syria,' including Palestine, and the restriction of Jewish immigration. Of this the subsequent Mandate took no account. Thus early there was the clearest evidence of the anxiety of the Palestinians, and, fearing the consequences of unrest from the Imperial point of view, I made great efforts to present the facts of the changed situation and to give warnings⁴; but more than thirteen years after our occupation of the Holy Land misconceptions of many kinds still prevail, and until the publication of the recent Report it has always been difficult to obtain information.

There are two points, with which the Shaw Commission could not deal, that require emphatic reassertion as essential factors in any impartial consideration of the complex problem of Palestine.

In the first place, the Jews have no more claims upon this poor little country than the modern Italians upon England. Their first conquest (*circa* B.C. 1451) was ruthless even in those barbarous days. After many vicissitudes and civil wars among the Semitic tribes they established a kingdom of Judah at Jerusalem about B.C. 971, which was attacked by the rival King of Israel and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 588. After their partial return from the Babylonian captivity, the Jewish residue came successively under the control of Macedonian kings and Roman emperors until their final dispersion. They never ruled the whole of Palestine as now defined; but had they not, in Gibbon's words,

discovered a fierce hatred of the dominion of Rome, which frequently broke out in the most furious massacres and insurrections,

they would probably have remained in possession after the fall of the empire at least until the Turkish conquest of 1516. As the Shaw Report justly states,

Palestine has for 4000 years at least been the prey of the strongest of its neighbours.

We may well sympathise with the aspirations of a religion which invested⁵ with divine sanctions a return to the little region that

³ 'The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of a Mandatory Power' (Art. 22, Covenant of the League of Nations).

⁴ Comp. debates in House of Lords on June 29, 1920, and June 21, 1922, with many other attempts to obtain information and state facts, also article in this Review of April 1921.

⁵ In six Crusades, armies of the Christian Powers, with the inspiring motto *Volonté de Dieu*, strove between 1094 and 1240 for the possession of the holy places in the birthland of their religion.

Jews had temporarily ruled; but it is quite impossible to admit any rights over the Holy Land to Zionists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who in most cases do not descend from Jews who ever saw Jerusalem.

In the second place, it is essential to have some knowledge of the proceedings during many years which led up to the Declaration. A volume would be needed to trace the rise and progress of a movement which marched to success in 1917 as one consequence of the World War, and I can only refer to a few signposts on the winding road. As early as 1862 Moses Hess published *Rom und Jerusalem*,⁶ which contains this significant passage:

The present political situation demands the establishment of Jewish colonies on the Suez Canal and on the banks of the Jordan.

Hess was an associate of the revolutionary Jews Marx and Lasalle, and his translator, Meyer Waxman, in an introduction, tells us that

Hess advocated the colonisation of Palestine and the foundation of a Jewish Colonisation Association. . . . He also dreamed of a Jewish Congress demanding the support of the Powers for the purchase of Palestine.

The publication of *The Jewish State* by Theodore Herzl, who became a great Zionist leader, helped to crystallise ideas probably widespread. He was one of many Jews who foresaw the World War, and his diary, June 10, 1895, contains the following significant entry:

Observe that the next European war can do no harm to our enterprise, because . . . as donors of money we shall certainly have a voice in the discussions when peace is concluded, and obtain the advantages of recognition in a diplomatic way,

as happened twenty-two years later. On November 24, 1895, he recorded a lunch with Sir Samuel Montagu, M.P., who 'is thinking of a great, not the old Palestine.'

The first secret Zionist Conference, held at Basle in 1897 and presided over by Herzl, marked a definite advance in the movement. At the sixth Conference, in 1903, Mr. Chamberlain's offer of Uganda as a national home was considered and apparently accepted by Herzl⁷ which seems to have discredited him with the more ardent Zionists. In the *American Jewish News* of

⁶ Translation issued by the New York Block Publishing Co. in 1918.

⁷ 'Herzl and his agents had kept in contact with the English Government' (*Jewish Encyclopedia*). The most illuminating account of the preparations for the Declaration in London and on the Continent from August 4, 1914, onwards and of the principal personages engaged is given in the 'Political Report' of the Executive of the Zionist Organisation to the Twelfth Zionist Congress at Carlsbad, September 1921.

September 19, 1919, Litman Rosenthal recorded at length an important speech by Dr. Max Nordau shortly after this Conference, which, he states, startled a large audience 'like a mighty thunder.'

We were all trembling and awestruck as if we had seen a vision of old.

This speech is remarkable, if correctly reported, as a key to Zionist policy. With burning eloquence Nordau recalled the 'ladder' which Cavour projected to attain his ends, and, explaining Herzl's designs, drew this striking parallel of the Zionist forecast :

leading upward and upward : Herzl, the Zionist Conference, the British Uganda proposition, the future world war, the peace conference, where with the help of England a free and Jewish Palestine will be created.

The acceptance of Uganda was only a 'rung' of this 'ladder.'

On the immediate genesis of the Declaration two sidelights must suffice. The *Guide to Zionism*, by Jesse E. Sampter, published in America, asserted that

The wording of it [the Declaration] came from the British Foreign Office ; but the text had been revised in the Zionist offices in America as well as in England. The British Declaration was made in the form in which the Zionists desired it.

This bold assertion is not correct ; the Zionist draft was altered ; but the 'text,' capable of meaning much or little, was certainly astute. In an address at the Cannon Street Hotel on September 21, 1919, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, on whom the mantles of Herzl and Nordau have descended, said that the Zionist movement was entirely due to the efforts of 'a small band of foreign Jews' who said to 'the British statesmen' :

The Jews will get to Palestine whether you want it or not. There is no power on earth that can stop the Jews from getting to Palestine.

This and more should, I strongly maintain, be known to all who wish to form a clear judgment of the situation in Palestine as presented by the Shaw Commission.

The terms of the Declaration were radically changed and far expanded by those of the Mandate accepted at Geneva, which bears the impress of powerful influences and has no Parliamentary sanction. As the Commission point out,

Several obligations of a positive character were placed upon His Majesty's Government, or upon the Palestine Government,

and, in certain respects, power was transferred from London to the League of Nations. Among the most important new 'obligations' was the recognition of the Zionist Organisation to advise and co-operate with the Administration, and, 'subject always to

the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.' This Organisation was further to co-operate in encouraging 'close settlement of Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.' At the same time, Hebrew, which most of the immigrants could not speak, was made a third 'official language' in the little State. The Commission declare, 'without fear of contradiction, that full effect' has been given to these provisions, which have undoubtedly tended to aggravate Arab suspicions and to promote bitter racial antagonisms.

From the start of what Lord Balfour called 'a great experiment' ⁸ official reticence in regard to happenings in Palestine has been marked and baffling to all who sought to inform themselves as to the operation of the new policy. In 1919 Mr. (now Sir) Herbert Samuel was asked by the Coalition Government to report on the situation left by the war. The views of so acute an observer would have enlightened the public ; but when I pleaded for them, ⁹ and also for General Allenby's report on the riots in Jerusalem, they were refused, as have been many subsequent requests for the publication of important documents known to exist and of information certainly needed. The grant of a monopoly concession for the generation of electrical power to a Russian Jew formerly in the employ of the Kerensky Government caused unfavourable comment. The prolonged negotiations which led to conferring a concession for exploiting the immense chemical possibilities of the Dead Sea upon Mr. Novomeyski, just naturalised, were the subject of a long succession of questions in Parliament which received evasive replies, and much regarding the financial aspects of an enterprise which may prove of the greatest economic importance is still unrevealed.

The full and painstaking Report of the all-parties Commission is, therefore, peculiarly welcome at this critical period in the affairs of the Holy Land. For the first time we have an exhaustive inquiry, conducted with elaborate legal precision, which not only deals with the deplorable racial outbreak in August last, but with the whole position in Palestine as it has developed since our occupation. I can refer only to the outstanding facts now made available to the public.

The population in the middle of 1918 is stated to have been, roughly :

Moslems.	Jews.	Christians.
660,000	150,000	79,000 ¹⁰

From 1918 to 1928 101,400 Jews entered and 26,007 left. There

⁸ November 19, 1927.

⁹ House of Lords, June 29, 1920.

¹⁰ Includes some Arabs.

have been great fluctuations in the annual figures; but the average net influx has been about 9000 per annum. Of the immigrants 'approximately one-quarter' are on the land; the rest are town-dwellers, and the new city of Tel Aviv, which houses 40,000, is bankrupt in spite of a part remission of debt. The Commission give a useful analysis of the immigrants. Of adults (over sixteen) 40 per cent. are males and 29 per cent. females, which is an unsatisfactory proportion. Poland has supplied 40.5 per cent. and Russia 27 per cent. The contributions of other countries are relatively insignificant, and that of the British Empire is 0.5 per cent. Of Jewish sects 82 per cent. are Ashkenazim and only 4.5 per cent. Sephardim; 8 per cent. are returned as 'unknown.' In 1927 Jewish unemployed 'reached the high figure of 8440.'

The 'Land Problem,' explained in chapter viii., goes to the root of many difficulties. It is one justification of Arab fears for the future of their national home, and, as the Commission admit, a constant source of present discontent and a potential cause of future disturbance.

The Report examines in detail some of the land purchases effected by the Zionist Organisation, which, it is considered, 'are not open to any criticism' *quâ* transactions. But 'about 1746' Arab families have been 'displaced,' and hardships have evidently arisen from this dispossession of the fellahin, who have, in some cases, to be evicted by force. The Commission regards the Ordinance of 1929 as inadequate because it fails to secure to the dispossessed 'a sufficient area for the maintenance of their families.' The general verdict is that,

taking Palestine as a whole, the country cannot support a larger agricultural population than it at present carries unless methods of farming undergo a radical change,

which depends on water supply, that cannot everywhere be provided. And Mr. Jabotinsky now demands the entry of 30,000 Jews per annum for the next sixty years, while Dr. Nordau expected a total immigration of 8,000,000 or 9,000,000, of whom 500,000 would be settled in the next few years! The economic situation in Palestine is undoubtedly critical, and, while profuse capital expenditure from Zionist contributions can bring some arid tracts under intensive cultivation, it is certain that a considerable number of Jewish immigrants cannot be made self-supporting.

The 'detailed narrative' of the disturbances will probably be regarded as the most important section of the Report. Events took the form with which we are familiar in India, and either of

the combatants was aggressive or not as local circumstances dictated. A tense situation existed, due to several contributory causes, and it needed only some incident, which the standing dispute over the Wailing Wall supplied, to start a conflagration. Protagonists of Arab and Jew may wrangle indefinitely over the 'detailed narrative' which the Commission provide, and it may not be possible to assign a single definite cause amid many provocative acts; but the organised procession to the Wall of about 300 Jewish 'youths' ¹¹ carrying their national flag, and raising cries 'such as "The Wall is ours," "Shame on those who profane our holy places,"' etc., was a sufficient incentive. This challenging procession ended at the offices of the Zionist executive after passing

through Moslem quarters; but there was no clash with Moslems either there or at the Wall itself.

The news of this incident rapidly spread, doubtless with exaggerations, and I trace what followed mainly to the proceedings of these 'youths,' which orthodox Jews would probably have repudiated. The total casualties were:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Arabs . . .	116	232
Jews . . .	133	339

Some of these casualties, mostly on the Arab side, were caused by the fire of troops and police.

Sir Boyd Merriman, in his opening speech, seemed to suggest that he was about to reveal a great Arab conspiracy, which the evidence distinctly refuted, and the verdict of the Commission is that

the charges of premeditation and of organisation of the disturbances are not proved against the Palestine Arab executive.

But they consider it 'probable, though except in one case there is no proof,' that individuals may have 'exacerbated racial feeling after the disturbances had begun.' In view of the intense racial and religious excitement which prevailed, it would have been astonishing if this had not happened. The Mufti of Jerusalem was the object of attacks, which the Commission generally rebut; but, while admitting that he

co-operated with the Government in their efforts both to restore peace and to prevent the extension of disorder,

they assign to him 'a share in the responsibility.' It does not seem to have occurred to them that, if he had acted otherwise and had made a strong appeal to fanaticism, the disorders would have

¹¹ This use of 'youths' suggests inspiration from Moscow.

taken an infinitely graver form. The other defendants in this *cause célèbre*—the Palestine Government—emerge without discredit from the inquisition.

On the Jewish side the flood of telegrams which passed between Jerusalem, London, and Zurich where the Zionist Congress was in session, seems to indicate that developments were expected, and give a glimpse of assiduous wire-pulling in full operation and of anxiety lest any blame should be cast upon the Jews. The following on August 5 from Hoofien to Mr. Jabotinsky at the Congress is interesting :

Doar Hayom ¹² disdains (*sic*) all action of Congress relating to kotel, and calls for revolt and violence although the public is not yet influenced thereby yet there is excitement among the youths which might lead to calamities without being of any practical utility (stop) I ask that you cable them to change their attitude, otherwise the responsibility is on them and on yourself.

On August 6 Jerusalem was asked to

cable urgently Zioniburo London any developments Wall calculated be helpful my negotiations.

On August 18 Zioniburo cabled to Jerusalem :

Your kotel telegram under action will wire results (stop) do utmost maintain calm co-operating with Vaad Leumi to avoid separate action their part (stop). Cable developments.

Such messages, if somewhat cryptic, are not without significance.

The great merit of the Report is that it enumerates the Arab grievances—the *causæ causantes* of these and earlier disturbances—and gives them official recognition, while suggesting some mitigations, notably 'a clear statement of policy' to be issued with 'the least possible delay.' There are other sensible proposals dealing with the regulation of immigration by 'rigid scrutiny,' the Wailing Wall (which, unfortunately, is to be dealt with by the League of Nations), the functioning of the Zionist executive, the land question, and the maintenance for the present of two infantry battalions in Palestine.¹³

The initial mistakes of the Coalition Government have already led to great loss of life and threaten a much more abundant harvest of death. 'We have been, and we shall be again,' forced

¹² The organ of Mr. Jabotinsky, the Revisionist leader, which distinguished itself by inflammatory language. Mr. Jabotinsky replied 'communicating with *Doar Hayom*.'

¹³ The Commission was directed 'to make recommendations as to the steps necessary to avoid a recurrence' of disorders, and it was bound to consider causes beyond and above those of the moment. The Report was, however, at once attacked by Lord Cecil and others for going 'beyond the terms of the reference,' and its mild and inevitable 'observations on matters of major policy' were discredited in advance.

to employ British troops against people fighting for their unquestioned rights,' as I wrote in 1921.¹⁴ We have tied ourselves up in knots most difficult to disentangle. As Mr. W. H. Stoker, K.C., forcibly argued in his admirable speech of December 26, 1929, the Mandate, rejected by the House of Lords, appears flagrantly to violate Art. 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and a decision of the Hague Court on this legal point might be embarrassing.¹⁵ For want of clear vision we have been committed to a policy leading at best to the political extinction of the Arabs in the land of their fathers and to the exasperation of the whole Moslem world. In India the rights of minorities have been our special care; in Palestine the large majority has claimed our protection of its rights and still claims that protection—in vain.

Such is the irony of circumstances that, in the long run, the deep-laid plans of the Zionists must fail. The immense funds, mainly from America, which have been poured into Palestine have necessarily, here and there, conferred some advantages on the rightful owners of the soil, as the Commission recognise. But they have not succeeded in introducing a large self-supporting Jewish population, while creating great economic difficulties. If the subsidies were to fall off, the progressive acquisition of land must cease, and a serious situation would be created. It seems essential that immigration should be stopped for at least five years in order to allow time for the economic position to be studied and to declare itself; but the contributors look for quick returns, and might fall away if new settlements could not be announced.¹⁶

All this was realised from the first by some of the most far-seeing Jews, who rejected political Zionism on reasoned grounds, though a stimulated wave of racial and religious enthusiasm swept in many of the original objectors.

In 1916 the Conjoint Committee of the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association was 'irrevocably opposed to Jewish nationalism'¹⁷ and 'the breach widened'; but, after the Declaration, 'the great body of Anglo-Jewry became favourable to Zionism.' Later, in 1921, when the Zionist campaign was in full action, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, ex-Ambassador at Constantinople,

¹⁴ *Nineteenth Century and After*, April 1921.

¹⁵ The construction of the Mandate is explained at great length in the Zionist Report of 1921, which states that 'In the spring of 1919, the experts of the British Delegation in Paris opened informal negotiations with the Zionist Organisation on a draft Mandate. . . . Drafts for the Mandate were prepared for the Zionist leaders by Professor Frankfurter and Mr. Gans.' The Zionists obtained nearly all they desired; but there is no record of any consultation with the Arabs, whose vital interests were at stake.

¹⁶ The Zionist organisations must, therefore, seek to force the pace.

¹⁷ Report of the executive of the Zionist Organisation, 1921.

and well informed on Near Eastern affairs, emphatically expressed his deliberate opinion :

Zionism is the most stupendous folly in Jewish history. I assert that it is wrong in principle, that it is unsound in economics, fantastical in its politics, and sterile in its spiritual ideals. Where it is not pathetically visionary it is a cruel playing with the hopes of a people blindly seeking their way out of age-long miseries.

The intrinsic justice of this remarkable verdict is becoming more and more evident ; but the disastrous policy, thus ruthlessly denounced, persists and is heading towards a catastrophe.

The introduction, under the ægis of British bayonets, of Bolshevism into the Holy Land must be abhorrent to all orthodox Jews, and already there have been plain signs that this curse of humanity is insidiously at work. As a centre for propagating world revolution throughout the Near East, the advantages of Palestine have not been neglected at Moscow.

Meanwhile, what is the outlook before the Arab population and its Moslem sympathisers ? They watch the gradual alienisation of the lands of their fathers and the continuing influx of Polish and Russian Jews, some eminently undesirable, into their national home. They feel economic stringency arising from taxation far above the level in Turkish times, and they note duties applied to build up Jewish industries which increase costs to Arab consumers. They are denied the fulfilment of the political promises held out in the Covenant of the League of Nations pending such time as the Jewish minority reaches dimensions sufficient to safeguard Zionist ambitions. They live under the growing menace of being dominated, or squeezed out of their own country. The far-reaching objects of the Zionists are well known to them and are constantly being reaffirmed.¹⁸ The *Jewish Chronicle* at the outset demanded

the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine—a commonwealth as Jewish as England is English.

But the word 'commonwealth' was eliminated from the Zionist draft mandate. They do not forget that the late Mr. Israel Zangwill suggested that they should 'fold up their tents and silently steal away.' Where to ? It would be easy to quote statement after statement from Zionist sources in which the policy in view—whether it is that of the British Government or not—has been nakedly proclaimed. What must be the attitude of Arabs in face of threats against their liberties thus publicly brandished ? They are confronted with the most powerful publicity agencies in the world, able to create opinion everywhere, and especially in America and in this country, while their own resources in this respect are insignificant.

¹⁸ By Messrs. Sacher and Jabotinsky at least before the Commission.

Helpless despair always leads to violence, and if Jewish immigration proceeds and arms are smuggled into Palestine by Jews, as has happened, dangerous conflicts on a larger scale, of which the Commission give warning, must be expected, and can only be averted, or suppressed after a toll of death, by British armed forces. Is the Holy Land to be permanently the scene of the repression by force of a people who firmly believe that they are defending their inalienable rights ?

That is the Tragedy of Palestine.

SYDENHAM OF COMBE.

THE END OF THE NAVAL CONFERENCE

IN a previous number¹ the story of the Naval Conference has been told to the middle of February.

After some weeks spent in smooth generalisations the Conference on St. Valentine's Day got down to bedrock. Japan insisted on an equality in submarines with the United States and British Empire, while France asked for ten 8-inch gun cruisers against the British fifteen—a demand which gave a heavy jar to the equanimity of the Conference. On February 17 it suffered another shock by the defeat of M. Tardieu's Government on a question of finance. M. Chautemps, who formed a Government on February 21, was defeated in his turn on February 25, and by March 3 M. Tardieu was once more in the saddle. The large figure of 724,479 tons² put forward by France was a disappointment to the Conference, and the first idea of a solution arose in the form of a Consultative Pact—that is, an agreement to consult together whenever the international horizon became dangerously dark. It received little enough encouragement at this stage, but was to crop up again later on.

This was a critical time for the Conference, and Mr. Edward Price Bell, writing at the time, laid stress on the point that the Conference was a Peace Conference summoned for the express purpose of reducing armaments in the cause of peace, and not of adjusting relative strengths in readiness for prospective wars.³

A very different note was sounded on February 26 at a meeting called by the Navy League. There Mr. Churchill strongly criticised the British Government for its 'squeezability' and lack of definite principle. Naval requirements ought, he said, to be fixed by ourselves; as a practical step let the different delegations table their programmes in a spirit of neighbourly and sober goodwill.⁴

This view, expressed by a man who, as First Lord of the

¹ *Nineteenth Century and After*, March 1930.

² That is, by 1936, including battleships; 482,776 tons in cruisers, destroyers, and submarines.

³ *Observer*, February 23.

⁴ *The Times*, February 27; also *The Navy*, April 1930.

Admiralty, set up the Naval Staff and had the Navy ready when the clock struck the fateful hour, deserves respectful consideration, but it amounts to an absolute renunciation of the idea that defensive needs are relative and are dependent on the possibility of attack. It is impossible to maintain that seventy cruisers are in themselves an inherent necessity to the peaceful passage of maritime trade entirely irrespective of any possible antagonist. Naval needs are dependent on the strength of possible aggressors. They are further dependent on the likelihood of war.

The idea of a two-Power standard arose in the 'eighties, when there was a possibility of a war with France and Russia; the idea of a one-and-half-Power standard arose out of the Algieras Conference in 1906 and Germany's attitude of menace. There may be such a thing as an irreducible minimum of naval strength relative to the circumstances of the time, but there can be no such thing as an estimate of naval strength independent of some particular antagonist. Naval needs must be focussed on a specific situation involving particular potential enemies, and must therefore be relative to it and them. Supposing Germany in 1908 had tabled her programme, as she practically did in her Navy Laws, would it have been sufficient for Mr. Churchill to have quietly tabled his without taking Germany's into account? Things do not happen that way. Naval needs are relative, and if one can seize a time, like the present, of lessened probability of war in order to reduce armaments, their reduction will in its turn further reduce the probability of war, and one may hope to break free from the deplorably vicious circle in which the probability of war leads to competitive arming, and competitive arming increases the probability of war.

By the end of February it was felt that the Conference was on its last legs. It was not, however, quite so bad as that. On March 6 the Experts Committee met to resume the consideration of the submarine question. America and Great Britain presented a figure of 1800 tons as a maximum size, which Italy was prepared to accept; Japan asked for a maximum of 2000 tons, to which America and Great Britain were prepared to agree, while France agreed, but asked to be allowed to keep some vessels of 3000 tons.⁵

The principal objection to these figures is that they represent the old rut of maximums and contribute absolutely nothing to disarmament. The German submarine during the war ran to something like 900 tons. When 10,000 tons was laid down as the maximum for cruisers in 1921 the only result was that the

⁵ *Surcouf*, building, is 2880 tons; United States *V.5* is 2760 tons; Great Britain's *X.1* is 2425 tons.

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⁵ *Surcouf*, building, is 2880 tons; United States *V.5* is 2760 tons; Great Britain's *X.1* is 2425 tons.

various navies, not one of which had a cruiser so large at the time, started to lay them down—*Hinc illæ lachrymæ*.

On March 8 an important conversation took place 'in greatest secrecy' between Mr. MacDonald and M. Briand on the old question of guarantees against a prospective war.⁶ The idea could not have been palatable to Mr. MacDonald, for that very day he broadcasted an address to America in which he said that 'we shall not agree to base any treaty on entangling military alliances, but some of us shall strive to secure a pledge of goodwill and pacific intention.'⁷ A deadlock ensued, marked by deadly acerbity in the French Press and by almost dead silence on the British side. On Saturday, March 15, Mr. MacDonald had important meetings first with M. Briand, then with Mr. Stimson, and the next day, Sunday, March 16, a long conversation with M. Briand. This was evidently a troublous time. The old-fashioned opinion is that peace is best maintained by preparation for war. The world is now beginning to grasp that peace on this basis is merely a temporary equilibrium of antagonistic forces, and it is Mr. MacDonald's often expressed opinion that to organise for war in order to maintain peace is neither an effective nor reasonable conception.⁸ He is supported by Mr. Hoover and a strong body of opinion everywhere.

This interview, unfortunately, gave rise to an impression on the French side that the Prime Minister intended to approach the Italian Government over the attitude of the Italian delegation,⁹ and the French Press burst into a severe criticism of Mr. MacDonald's inability to obtain concessions from Italy. Meanwhile Senator Reed (America) and Mr. Matsudaira (Japan) had come to an agreement by which Japan was prepared to reduce her demand for a 70 per cent. ratio in 8-inch gun cruisers in exchange for a higher percentage of destroyers and submarines.

Japan has at present four 10,000-ton 8-inch gun cruisers built and four building, together with four *Saratakas* of 7100 tons—a total tonnage of 108,400 tons. The United States made a provisional reduction of their 8-inch gun cruisers demand to fifteen, and the strength in tons was to be ¹⁰:

	United States.		Japan.
Cruisers, 8-inch gun	150,000	..	108,400
„ 6-inch gun	145,000	..	100,000
Destroyers	150,000	..	100,000
Submarines	52,000	..	52,000

⁶ *Sunday Times*, March 9.

⁷ *Sunday Times*, March 9.

⁸ *Observer*, March 16.

⁹ *The Times*, March 24.

¹⁰ *Sunday Times*, February 16.

The United States retained, however, the right to build eighteen 8-inch gun cruisers, agreeing not to build more than fifteen by 1935. The Japanese Naval Staff put up a stout fight against the agreement. It was a concession in appearance only—*Yumei Miyitsu*—'having name without reality,' for the United States would obtain eighteen large cruisers in the end, thus gaining them the ten to six ratio. The principal deadlock, however, still remained. France refused to reduce her tonnage demands without a guarantee of security, and Italy, refusing to yield to France's request for definite figures, stoutly held to her general demand for parity with the strongest Continental Power.

On Wednesday, March 19, there was a great shuffling of figures dealing with French and Italian tonnage, but nothing came of it, though Signor Grandi had dinner the next day at the House of Commons with Mr. MacDonald, where it is permissible to assume that the possibility of something less than rigid parity may have been discussed. M. Briand went off to Paris. So long as Great Britain and the United States refused a pact of security, and so long as Italy clung to the idea of parity, France was determined to cling to her naval programme. And so the deadlock continued and the delegates yawned.

On Sunday, March 23, a ray of hope crept in. Signor Grandi apparently suggested that the three Powers in agreement should negotiate a Three-Power Treaty, while the Conference should adjourn for six months to let France and Italy seek for a basis of agreement. On Tuesday, March 25, a further measure of hope revived, for the United States delegation, though strongly opposed to a pact binding to naval or military measures, stated that it had no objection to a consultative pact as such.¹¹

It could not enter into such a pact as a *quid pro quo* for the reduction of forces by another Power, but if France's demand for security could be satisfied in some other way, then the danger of misunderstanding a consultative pact would be eliminated and the question would be approached from an entirely different standpoint. In such a case the American delegates would consider the matter with an entirely free mind.

In other words, if Great Britain would supply the guarantee America would agree to a procedure of consultation. The arrangement might well seem one-sided, but the distinction was a real distinction, and had to be clearly defined if the French were not to say subsequently that they had reduced their forces in the belief that a consultative pact would result in military measures. But who was to provide the guarantee in the face of Mr. MacDonald's categorical statement of March 9 'against entangling military alliances,' which remained the corner-stone of British

¹¹ *The Times*, March 26.

policy. A ray of hope, however, had shone on the troubled waters, and on March 27 the heads of delegations decided to hold a plenary session on April 4. It did not, however, take place. Meanwhile the experts were vainly striving to shape the wording of the Covenant and the Locarno Treaty into some formula which would embody the French idea of security. Once again they plodded along that weary road of quasi-alliances which America rightly refuses to follow. To seek the cure for war by the menace of war is, as Mr. Garvin puts it,¹² to try and cast out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils.

Sunday, March 30, was not wholly uneventful. The Prime Minister returned to London and unexpectedly summoned a meeting of the British delegation at 9 p.m. An official statement was issued that night to say that 'any attempt to undertake any further military commitment is out of the question, for that would be tantamount to tying ourselves down to engage in military operations without being able to control the situation from which they had arisen.'¹³

The Conference was moving at this time on the narrowest of narrow lines—namely, to evolve out of the Locarno Treaty, which was devised against Germany, some new form of security which would be available against someone else—presumably Italy. Its issue was degenerating into the interpretation of existing agreements in the light of prospective wars. Once more it was busy, not with the business of peace, but with the business of the Peace of Versailles. A happy contrast to these tortuous quests came from Japan. The tonnage figures in the Reed-Matsudaira proposal had been accepted with certain reservations, though Admiral Kato Kanji, the chief of the naval staff, had felt bound to submit a memorial to the Emperor to say that it left Japan inadequately protected.¹⁴

The way remained clear for a tonnage agreement between Great Britain, America, and Japan, which lies at the basis of the Three-Power Treaty.¹⁵

By April 3 the Italian delegation was getting restless at the interminable search for a formula of security, and Signor Grandi stated that he could not take part in discussions concerning the duties of members of the League of Nations unless all other nations were included, for it was impossible to see why the obligations of Great Britain should differ from those imposed on other nations. In the Italian view the Conference was not the appropriate place to discuss formulas involving the interpreta-

¹² *Observer*, March 30.

¹³ *The Times*, March 31.

¹⁴ *The Times*, April 3.

¹⁵ *The Times*, April 2.

tions of existing treaties. And it may be added that the Italian view was a view very generally held. The persistency of the French in trying to transform the Conference into an instrument for evolving a formula of security gave rise to considerable feeling which reflected itself, not only in the Italian delegation, but in the House of Commons and in the United States. It portrayed the same ardent concentration on the idea of war which turned the United States away from Europe in 1919.

On April 4 a seventh draft of the original formula of security was before the British and French delegates.¹⁶ At Rome by this time it was considered that a Five-Power Treaty was out of the question, and Signor Grandi's statement was regarded as the entry of a 'breath of fresh air into a heavy and poisonous atmosphere.' In the United States the Democrats began to argue once more against a Three-Power Treaty on the plea that it would mean, not naval reduction, but naval additions. This is precisely where the French policy is bound to lead, and it is precisely the road we should not follow. Armaments depend on the possibility of war, and as no one believes in the possibility of a war with France it is absurd for us to enter into a competition with her.

The fact is that the implications of the Kellogg Pact are only now beginning to be seen. The Pact is not a nebulous Milky Way; it is a definite road to peace built on a determination to remain at peace. The League of Nations stands as one of the principal agencies for the peace of the world, but the cumbrous provisions of Article XVI, which contemplate a war to put down war have become obsolete. The only safe provision is Article XI, which makes war or the threat of war a matter of concern to the whole League, 'which shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.'

From April 8 to 10 the delegates were searching diligently for a formula, and France is said to have obtained the concession that 'when the Council shall have unanimously decreed military sanctions, England agrees that they shall be taken *ipso facto*, and that the recommendation have the force of law.'¹⁷ The British delegation did not make it clear that the concession, whatever it might mean, was to be conditional on a reduction in tonnage, and the French, without conceding a single ton, carried off the concession in order to produce it at Geneva as morally binding.¹⁸ May it be suggested that these are worn-out tricks of Old World diplomacy entirely out of place at a peace conference? France

¹⁶ *The Times*, April 5.

¹⁷ *Le Matin*, April 8, 1930.

¹⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, April 9, 1930.

even proposed that Great Britain should pledge herself not to vote at the Council of the League in the case of an otherwise unanimous decision for naval and military action. The proposal could hardly be serious. Great Britain was to be ready to enforce a blockade which might bring her up against the United States without so much as having voted on the matter at issue.

Italy offered to agree not to build beyond the French programme in cruisers, destroyers, and submarines up to 1936, but this was not acceptable to France. April 10 was the busiest day of the Conference. A treaty was certain and the delegates met to arrange the terms. It was decided to draft it in three parts. Parts I. and II. form what is called the Five-Power Treaty. Part III. constitutes the Three-Power Treaty. Part I. declares a 'battleship holiday.' No Power will build any new battleship up to 1936. France and Italy, however, retain the right to use up a certain amount of tonnage belonging to battleships that have reached their age limit since 1921 and have not been replaced. The tonnage available is about 75,000 tons. It is also agreed that naval strength shall be measured by global tonnage, divided into certain categories.

There is agreement, too, as to the maximum size of the submarine, which is to be bigger than any submarine during the war. It has not been possible to reduce the tonnage of aircraft carriers, but their armament has been reduced to 6-inch. To France and Italy the only gain is the 'battleship holiday.' Part IV. consists of the treaty for 'humanising' the use of the submarine in time of war. Part III. contains the valuable agreement arrived at by the three Powers—British Empire, United States, and Japan—on the limitation of tonnage.

In substance it amounts to this:

(a) Complete parity between the British Empire and the United States in all classes of ships.

(b) Japan to have 60 per cent. of the strength of the British Empire and America in battleships and big cruisers, 70 per cent. in light cruisers and destroyers, and equality in submarines.

(c) This means in tonnage figures (numbers of ships in brackets):

	British Empire.	United States.	Japan.
Cruisers, 8-inch . . .	[15] 146,800	[18] 180,000	108,400
Cruisers, 6·1-inch . . .	192,200	143,500	100,450
Destroyers	150,000	150,000	105,500
Submarines	52,700	52,700	52,700
	541,700	526,200	367,050

The United States undertakes, however, not to complete more than fifteen 8-inch gun cruisers before 1935. The United

States is free to retain the figure of fifteen and to put the difference into 6·1-inch gun cruisers, increasing their tonnage from 143,500 to 189,000. If, however, the United States elects to build eighteen, then Japan is to be free to advance a claim for an increase of 8-inch cruiser tonnage in 1935.¹⁹ The compromise is eminently sane.

(d) The three Powers agree to accelerate the scrapping of battleships stipulated by the Washington Treaty and to reduce the battleship strength to 15—15—9. The battleships to be scrapped will be for the British Empire five—namely, *Marlborough*, *Emperor of India*, *Benbow*, *Tiger*, *Iron Duke* (to be allotted to training); for the United States three—namely, *Florida*, *Utah* and *Arkansas* (training); for Japan *Hiyei*. Great Britain stipulates that the figure of 150,000 tons for destroyers must be conditional on a definite figure for destroyers and submarines agreed upon by the European Powers represented at London.¹⁹

Such are the main lines of the Treaty. Apart from its primary virtue in scattering the clouds of competitive armament gathering over the Atlantic, the Treaty represents a solid economical gain. The building holiday will mean to Great Britain a saving of at least 50,000,000*l.* ²⁰ up to 1936, and of something like 4,000,000*l.* on account of ships scrapped; to the United States and Japan it will mean a saving of some 60,000,000*l.* ²¹ each.

Much greater is the gain in terms of goodwill. The ground lost at Geneva has been recovered. The atmosphere of London has sometimes been gloomy, but it has not been rendered poisonous by the worst sort of propaganda. At Geneva the figures put forward for Great Britain and America in cruisers, destroyers, and submarines were 737,000 tons. At London they have dropped to 541,700 tons, a triumph for the doctrine of relativity.²² In the case of destroyers the British tonnage at present built, building, and authorised is 190,000, to be reduced to 150,000. In America the reduction will be still more drastic, and something over eighty destroyers will have to be marked for scrapping.

The great bone of contention at Geneva—the 8-inch gun cruiser—has been settled. At Geneva the Americans would not come below twenty-three; they have now agreed to eighteen, and to meet Japan will not build beyond fifteen before 1935. Another matter has come rather belatedly to light. It appears that the new French submarine *Surcouf*, launched at Cherbourg

¹⁹ Memorandum on Naval Conference, Cmd. 3547, *The Times*, April 17.

²⁰ Possibly 60,000,000*l.* or 70,000,000*l.* (First Lord, Mr. Alexander, at Sheffield, April 11, 1930.)

²¹ Mr. Stimson's Broadcast, April 4.

²² Mr. Gibson's, not Einstein's.

in November, is to carry 8-inch, and not 6-inch, guns, a point which escaped notice till it was detected by the Italians. A word about her, then. She is of 3250 tons, more or less experimental, with Diesel motors for eighteen knots, an armoured upper deck and two 8-inch guns in turrets. She is to cost 2,000,000*l.* The value of these heavily gunned submarines is doubtful; the weapon of the submarine is the torpedo, and not the gun. During the war we built one submarine with a 12-inch gun, but she was absolutely useless.

SAFEGUARDING CLAUSE

But the Three-Power Treaty is not without malignant influences shadowing it. The Admiralty has been bound to claim the right to adjust the British programme according to the strength of European Powers. This claim on April 11 made the American delegation anxious as to how the Senate would take it. The British Admiralty, however, laid great stress on it and has obtained a safeguarding clause to the following effect:

If the requirements of national security are materially affected by new construction of a non-signatory Power, then the Party concerned will notify the other Parties as to the increase required, specifying the proposed increases and the reasons therefor and shall be entitled to make such increase. Thereupon the other parties shall be entitled to make a proportionate increase in the categories specified.²³

This apparently means that the tonnage can be increased only in the event of certain definite contingencies; it also means that the increase can be undertaken without a Conference on information being sent through the ordinary diplomatic channels. Co-signatories will then be entitled to increase their own quota proportionately in the same category or categories concerned, and in no other. In other words, if on account of an increase of the French or Italian programmes Great Britain feels compelled to build three more 8-inch gun cruisers or twenty more destroyers, then the United States may do the same. But that is precisely what the peace party in the United States do not want to do. They do not want a Disarmament Treaty to become a basis for increased armament on their part. It was this point elaborated by Mr. Shearer that wrecked the Geneva Conference.

The Senate—that final arbiter of foreign treaties—will certainly examine anything of the sort very closely. What, then, are the actual figures now at issue?

²³ Treaty, Art. 21.

TONNAGE			
	British.		French.
Battleships . .	[15]	473,650	209,257 ²⁴
Cruisers, 8-inch . .	[15]	146,800	[10] 124,859
Cruisers, 6·1-inch . .		192,200	} 258,297
Destroyers . .		150,000	
Submarines . .		52,700	99,629
		1,015,350	692,042

This means that we have in large cruisers a ratio of about seven to six, in small cruisers and destroyers a ratio of seven to five, and in submarines a ratio of roughly five and a quarter to ten. The wisest policy would be to adhere to our present figures unless there was very strong reason to alter them. In 1928 we accepted the principle of parity²⁵ with France in cruisers carrying guns above 6-inch. There is no urgent reason to abandon it. We remain stronger than France both in numbers and strategical position. She is on the flank of our western approach and we are on the flank of hers.

But this is not the way to think of the situation in time of peace. The outlook is wrong. The fighting services must think of war, but they need not regard friendly Powers as immediate enemies. Why should we now press to be twice as strong as France when in 1928 we actually accepted the principle of parity with her in cruisers carrying guns above 6-inch? The two-Power standard arose at a time when France and Russia were opposed to us. It did not mean a standard of twice the strength of any single Power; it meant an equality with two Powers who were thought at the time likely to attack us.

THE FIFTY CRUISERS

The number of British cruisers is provisionally fixed at fifty, a figure constantly attacked because it is stated that seventy cruisers were fixed by the last Government as an irreducible minimum. The statement is quite incorrect. The figure seventy has never been given as such in any First Lord's statement. It appeared for the first time at Geneva in 1927. Yet from 1925 to 1928 we never had more than fifty-five cruisers actually built and have only fifty-four at the present time.

²⁴ Under Washington Treaty 175,000. The *Statut Naval* of 1924 provides for, by 1942, cruisers and destroyers, 390,000 tons; submarines, large, 96,000 tons; submarines, small, 30,000 tons.

²⁵ 'His Majesty's Government . . . are prepared to accept that an equal maximum tonnage for submarines and cruisers should be fixed for the great naval Powers.' (Crewe to Briand, July 28, 1928, Cmd. 3211, p. 26. From the context this apparently applied only to cruisers carrying guns above 6-inch.)

Geneva failed because the limitation level was higher than the level actually existing. There can be no such thing as an absolute minimum. For instance, it was stated at Geneva that five cruisers were required for every three battleships. As the London Conference, then, has been able to reduce our battleships by five, the irreducible minimum of cruisers must have fallen by seven or eight. Again, much will depend on how cruisers are used. The tale of the *Emden* and German raiders is often told to stir up public feeling for cruisers. Actually the number of ships sunk by the *Emden* was comparatively few, and would have been much less had a convoy system been running at the time.

Before the Conference the French Ministry of Marine published some figures to show that the British Empire required a great many more cruisers than the United States. They were partly based on the length of our coastline. This is a completely fallacious index. The length of the Indian coastline has little bearing on the matter so long as we hold the Suez Canal.

LESSONS OF THE CONFERENCE

Geneva and London have at least taught us something of the aims, spirit, and procedure needed at Disarmament Conferences. At Geneva we learnt that a Disarmament Conference must not develop into an Armament Conference. Once they depart from the broader aspects of reduction and enter upon wearisome discussions as to categories and types, they tend to increase rather than diminish armaments, for the decision passes then to the naval expert, who is bound to think in terms of war and to consider the contingencies of war. The Washington Conference was successful in its earlier stages because it confined itself to a concrete scheme of reduction. Its later stages were wrecked by the attempt of the stronger Powers to abolish the submarine, which the weaker ones viewed as an essential weapon of defence.

To expect a Disarmament Conference to settle such questions as the types and numbers of cruisers required by one country *vis-à-vis* another without increasing armaments is unreasonable, because it puts the delegates in the position of potential enemies and forces them to manœuvre for every possible kind of technical and numerical advantage. One country wants large cruisers, another small ones, and a third may prefer to put its money in submarines. Each country should be entitled to settle such questions in accordance with its particular needs and the position and resources of its most probable opponents. The encroachment of an international conference into this sphere of responsibility can only cause friction, and may tend to increase rather than diminish armaments. For example, in the Anglo-French compromise of

1928²⁶ it was agreed that France and Great Britain should be allotted the same maximum tonnage of cruisers carrying guns larger than 6-inch. The number of British cruisers has since been provisionally fixed by the Anglo-American Agreement of 1930. But on the French demanding a cruiser force which would still leave the British with an approximate superiority of seven to five there arises an immediate outcry for an increased British programme. If numbers and types of ships are to be settled rigidly by so-called Disarmament Conferences, all flexibility and the power to adjust programmes will be lost, and countries will only be able to compensate themselves by increased armaments.

The provisional Anglo-American Agreement is a real achievement which reflects great credit on the delegates, but the same object might perhaps have been more satisfactorily achieved by agreeing to a specified total tonnage of cruisers, destroyers, and submarines without tying the two countries down to a formula which may be unsuitable to particular conditions and circumstances. Disarmament will make smooth progress in the future only if a basis of global tonnage be taken and if our efforts at reduction are confined to :

- (a) Reducing total tonnage.
- (b) Reducing the size and armament of the individual ships in each category.

The idea of limitation by categories simplifies, perhaps, the work of Admiralties and Navy Departments, but it increases friction and decreases the possibility of progressive disarmament.

The London Conference has conclusively proved that public opinion moves ahead of Governments on questions of disarmament, and that greater publicity in the negotiations would help matters forward. A good example of this was the American proposal for an additional 'Dreadnought' to balance the *Rodney*, which was quashed by American public opinion as soon as it was raised. It has been stated in some quarters that it was the American delegation who opposed reduction in the number and size of battleships; if this be so, the American public would have liked to know it and would certainly have had something to say. The truth is that both American and British naval opinion will always be opposed to any move in that direction. Both navies will stand by one another, and each will say that of course he is ready to do it, but that the other will not agree. When the General Board of the Navy took up that attitude in 1921 Mr. Hughes, the American Secretary of State, acted independently of the Navy Department in putting forward the large scrapping

²⁶ Cmd. 3211 of 1928, p. 26.

programme at Washington. No one now questions the wisdom of the action which sunk 2,000,000 tons of battleships.

The London Conference, then, has attained a great deal in an agreement between Great Britain and the United States on the subject of parity. Parity has been vehemently criticised on the grounds that it is not possible to equate the naval fighting power of two nations. Must not, for instance, the Panama Canal be taken into consideration—not to mention America's wheat harvest? From America comes a similar stream of unhelpful criticism. Should not the British mercantile marine be limited—not to mention the Suez Canal and Malta? What really matters, however, is not parity, but charity. The question whether the tonnage and 'gunnage' of one fleet is slightly stronger than another is of comparatively minor importance. The real task is, not to equate the fleets, but to remove a poisonous virus of ill-will and suspicion arising from the stupid and senseless naval competition which has sprung up like a filthy fungus between the two countries. The adoption of a formula of parity is the only way of counteracting armament and counter-armament propaganda and counter-propaganda (conducted by quite excellent people in entire but stupid sincerity) which must eventually lead to war.

In order to appreciate the American point of view it should be remembered that she did not question our legitimate belligerent rights during the war; her objections were aimed at our Orders in Council, which so far outstepped the limits of international law that they were repudiated by our own courts and nearly involved us in hostilities with the United States. America's determination to have a fleet strong enough to safeguard her legitimate interests in such cases is entirely intelligible, and it may even increase our security by deterring us from the risky policy which we followed in 1812 and 1916.

Those who are opposed to the limitation of navies by agreement should remember that if it were not for the agreement reached at Washington in 1921 we would now be in a definitely inferior position. The strength of the American demand for parity is largely due to the fact that she sacrificed her prospective superiority of capital ships in order to obtain it. The Geneva Conference increased her resentment by leaving an impression in America that we would only agree to parity in cruisers, as in the case of battleships, when she had outbuilt us. It was this impression that enabled the General Board of the Navy to bring forward a building programme amounting to 200,000,000*l.* The fact that American opinion is on the whole opposed to large armaments prevented its materialisation, but some chance incident might have swayed the balance the other

way, and instead of parity we might now be on the way to a position of definite American superiority.

The idea that American and British rivalry can be avoided by each ignoring the other and building to what is vaguely called their own requirements is impracticable. The contemporary correspondence of Colonel House and Lord Cecil shows that the British Government was very seriously disturbed by the American post-war naval programme. And besides, Admiralties and Navy Departments do not work in that atmosphere of serene detachment. Look at the fuss caused in America in 1924 by the mere rumour that the elevation of the guns of British battleships was being increased. On this side one of the principal reasons of the Geneva failure was the American proposal to devote more tonnage to large cruisers than the British wanted. How absurd it is to suggest that each should build what they want without thinking of the other, when it is the peculiar task of the most important division of the Naval Staff to watch carefully what the other is doing.

The serious effect of Anglo-American rivalry should not be underrated. In normal circumstances a certain amount of propaganda used to goad people on to competitive effort may not do any great harm, but in times of strain and difficulty it will bear the same fruit as in 1914. In breaking the vicious circle Britain and America have not only liberated themselves, but have set an example which others will eventually follow. Great Britain and America have rejected the doctrine that security can only be found by being stronger than another. Japan, in the serene sanity of her outlook, has done as much as anyone for the peace of the world. General Sherman looked on war as primarily an anarchical state of mind, and only secondarily a matter of physical blows. He cemented the United States into one whole by a 'peace of absolution.' By implementing the spirit of the Kellogg Pact the London Treaty will increase security and open up a new path to progressive disarmament.

K. G. B. DEWAR.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK

I

MINORITY government may be uncomfortable, for the governors. For the governed it has one supreme merit—it is not dull. A small word, dull; but in political life, as in private, dulness is literally deadly. The dulness of the Baldwin *régime* wrote its epitaph. And rightly so. In times, like the present, of world-wide stress and far-reaching structural change, a Government which, dull itself, promotes dulness in its citizens is guilty of a crime. So short are memories, and so profound is the transformation of opinion that has taken place in the brief space of a year, that the apathetic tedium of the long rule of King Log, from 1924 to May last, is well-nigh forgotten. It is forgotten that then Parliament, if mentioned at all, was mentioned with contempt; that signs of what the French succinctly call '*m'en fichisme*' began to appear on all sides; and that, partly as a consequence of this—since, for good or evil, we are a politically minded nation—a creeping paralysis of pessimism began to invade the British mind, and to be shared, thanks to the able assistance afforded by a supine foreign policy, by our neighbours in Europe and the United States.

Now a 'farewell to all that' has been spoken, almost without our realising it. The change is so thorough that we take it for granted and hardly observe that it has taken place—or why. The fact is patent. It is not only that the galleries of the House of Commons are crowded and the lobbies thronged with Pressmen, or that the newspapers 'feature' political news and their readers turn to those columns on opening their papers. Talk—that most sensitive register of opinion—is, wherever two or three are gathered together, sooner or later—and generally sooner rather than later—about politics. The accent of that talk is as notable as its subject. There is a vein of political chat that amuses parliamentarians, and nobody else (sadly blind as the hardened M.P. is apt to be to the patient suffering of his interlocutor). Plenty of that nowadays; plenty also, however, of the kind of real political conversation that concerns itself, not with the fortunes of the division lobby, but with the substance of social

ideas. Sociology is nearer to being fashionable than it has been since the war. There is an interest, genuine and widespread, in the ideas that lie behind party alignments. Now, is this merely a London phenomenon? Everywhere there is a keen and alert interest in politics. It exists even in areas like Lancashire, where unemployment is most severe.

Of course, it may be said that this interest arises merely out of the fact that a minority Government lives with its life in its hand; that it does, as Blake bade us do, live dangerously. Some people hold that the Government is really too safe. However that may be, I do not believe that the kind of uncertainty derived from the statistical position of the present Government is the main explanation of the interest felt in it, and, as a result, in politics generally. The average citizen, after all, has no such taste for elections as the professional suffers. The latter, unhappily for his general mental processes, lives with the 'great assize' forever before him: crises are meat and drink to him, as to the journalist; every bye-election is a matter of life and death; he snuffs the fray, from afar, like a war horse. Not so the citizen. At the present hour he assuredly is not thirsting for an election. That is just as well, for he is very unlikely indeed to get one. General elections, after all, are not natural catastrophes, but humanly directed events. They occur, therefore, when somebody wants one, within the limits set by the Quinquennial Act. That 'somebody' may, when one is talking in a situation where the Government is in a minority, be the Opposition, the Government, or the country.

Let us take these factors in order, beginning with the Opposition. That a Government with 289 supporters out of a possible 615 can be defeated in the lobby is a premise that admits of no argument. But Mr. MacDonald made it clear, in his first allocution to the House as Prime Minister, that only on some issue which he regarded as a vital one, an issue of principle, would such defeat be treated seriously. He made this declaration at a time when the atmosphere was thick and threatening, quivering with the stage lightning of Mr. Lloyd George's emphatic *fiat* that Liberals would permit no Socialism. Although the Government has, as a matter of record, been defeated in the lobbies twice, the occasions have been unimportant: the Liberals carried an amendment to a sub-section of the Mines Bill that was in no sense vital to the Bill and raised no issue of principle, least of all a Socialist one; the Tories refused one Monday to allow the suspension of the 11 o'clock rule—of which the moral merely was that the quite brilliant whipping of the Government party had in the previous week been just a trifle overdone. Only one issue of confidence has been presented, and then the

ground—Mr. Snowden's refusal to anticipate his Budget so far as the McKenna and safeguarding duties were concerned—was carefully chosen by the major Opposition so as to avoid any danger of a serious result. The truth, plain then, and made plainer in every week that has since passed, was that neither section of the Opposition desires an appeal to the country. The Conservatives have no programme and the Liberals no prospects. The 'free hand to extend safeguarding,' which is all that Mr. Baldwin now claims, after the not very edifying transactions between him and the grotesque 'United Empire Party,' was, after all, the policy of his Government between 1924 and 1929, and so puny were the mice which the mountain brought forth in those years of unlimited power that it seems pretty certain that he will, sooner or later, be forced into something like a fully Protectionist policy, unless Lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere are intermediately visited by some happier inspiration for his guidance—or destruction. Actually the only clear line discernible in Mr. Baldwin's recent actions and inactions is a firm intention to continue to lead the Conservative Party. With very real skill he has got rid of any dangerous rivals. Mr. Churchill may be counted on to keep himself impossible; Sir Douglas Hogg and Sir William Joynson-Hicks have been relegated to the Lords, where the latter has unluckily found plenty of time to write a series of mischievously ignorant articles about Egypt in a vein worthy of Lord Birkenhead. That done, Mr. Baldwin can tranquilly loll between the Chamberlain brothers, with the knowledge that neither of them, for different reasons, is dangerously near the throne. So secure, Mr. Baldwin seems to be waiting to repeat, in rather worse conditions, the blind error of his Protectionist plunge of 1923. While he waits he prevents any working arrangement with Liberals, such as might defeat the Government—since Free Trade is the one issue on which Liberals are bound to part company with him.

The Liberals, on this, have got their ingenious leader tied and bound. In 1929 he was pretty plainly angling for some form of working arrangement between himself and Mr. Churchill; the early months of 1930 found him still occupied with such ideas, though they were losing colour fast; now, however, he has been called back into the fold by his own supporters. The new Liberal Party, though not much larger than that of 1925-9, is quite different in character. It knows that Mr. Lloyd George is a liability; it quite plainly has a mind of its own. Thanks to the 'threat to Free Trade,' it has prevailed, and it is now with Mr. Snowden rather than Mr. Churchill that Mr. Lloyd George goes to luncheon. On the critical clauses of the Coal Mines Bill (which, though a long way from nationalisation, pave the way

for it) Liberal abstention secured its passage. The task of explaining why suddenly the party had remembered the Naval Conference was characteristically left to Sir Herbert Samuel. But the result is far more important than any explanation; and the result is likely to be a continuing factor. The Liberals are now committed to the view that it is a good thing for the country that it should be protected from Tory government for a reasonable space of time; and various devices (among which it would be foolish to leave out the attractive personality of Miss Megan Lloyd George) are going to serve to gild the pill of practical co-operation—a very hard pill to swallow, even in a provisional form, for many members of the Labour Party, who have not forgotten, and are never likely to forget, a feeling about the 'Welsh wizard' which it would be flattery to call distrust. Other aspects of this realignment left, for the moment, out of account, one is patent—the Liberals are not going to assist in pushing the Government out. On the contrary, they are to maintain it in being until the Ullswater Committee reports, or the House of Lords pile up too long an account against themselves and quietly dig their own graves in the meantime.

The Oppositions do not want any election. Does the Government? Obviously not, and that for two reasons. One is that the difficulty of the task, although aggravated by the onset of a world-wide trade slump, was plain, in its main outline, when it was taken on. Then, as now, it was obvious to Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues that the problem of coping with the dread inheritance of disorder, foreign and domestic, which they had to shoulder was going to be aggravated by the fact that their programme at the late election had been explicitly a majority programme.

We shall not deceive the people by saying that the task is easy, or that it can be accomplished in a day or a year. But the Labour Party does pledge itself to undertake this great work with energy and enthusiasm, and it confidently believes that, *if it has a majority, in the full lifetime of a parliament*, a great advance in industrial prosperity, in social well-being, and in a more just distribution of the fruits of labour, can be made.

They were given very early warning that none of the limiting conditions of practical action were to be remembered by a section of their own followers; but it may be assumed that this was a factor which they had in mind at the start, and that they faced it with knowledge of the further fact that this section, though vociferous, was, and was likely to remain, small. The second reason is closely connected with the first. The Government is working, not haphazard, but on a programme which cannot be accomplished 'in a day or a year.' Certain foundations

have to be laid before building can begin, and before they can be laid the site has to be cleared of a very large accumulation of rubbish. Large part of Mr. Snowden's Budget represents the work of the honest steward who succeeds the dishonest one; large part of the work of Mr. MacDonald, of Mr. Snowden, and of Mr. Henderson in the international field goes to the re-establishment of our moral prestige, shattered and dissipated by their predecessors.

This brings us to what is, after all, the most important factor, the opinion of the country. Does the country want an election? No. It very emphatically does not. More than that, it desires the present Government to go on with the work it has begun. The verdict delivered by the electorate against the Tory *régime* of 1924-9 was of striking definiteness; nothing has occurred to change it. Nobody wants the Conservatives back in power. Unemployment is no argument for them. Tory administration and legislation worsened the conditions of the unemployed; all they did for unemployment was to attempt to talk it away. On the other hand, the new Unemployment Act has met a very real and widespread grievance in the operation of the old fourth statutory condition; the extension under it of the transitional provisions, coupled with the abolition of the old 'genuinely seeking work' clause, means that the genuinely unemployed man or woman is now reasonably secure of getting benefit. To that extent it does meet the claim for maintenance for the unemployed. On the other hand, the courage and the honesty with which Miss Bondfield and Mr. Thomas frankly face the facts and say, 'Yes, unemployment is very bad; to effect any improvement is going to take a long, slow pull,' are far more in harmony with the British character than their predecessors' insincere promises of 'improving trade.' In general, too, the country has a longer memory than Westminster. 'Safety first' and 'A million of your fellow-countrymen are starving' are mouldering away from the hoardings, but their meaning remains. The electorate is no longer governed by a mechanical ebb and flow; the old 'swing of the pendulum' hardly applies to universal suffrage conditions. The rise of the Labour Party registers a far larger, deeper, and more lasting movement of thought and feeling than the spokesmen of the older parties seem prepared to recognise—a far more far-reaching correspondence with the grain of things and the major tendencies of twentieth-century development.

II

This brings me back to my initial point. If political interest to-day is keen, alert and general, the reason lies, not in the uncertainty of the tenure of the Government, but in its nature—in

what it has done and is doing, and above all in what it stands for. Interest is strengthened rather than attenuated by the general recognition of the fact that the Government is here, not on temporary sufferance, but for a legislative period of scope sufficiently ample to allow it to work out its programme. Take the Budget introduced on April 14. It is eminently *not* an election Budget. There is not a window-dressing item in it. The faithful steward faces the bills that have been left him by his predecessor and the actual position of the country for whose finances he is responsible, and with singular courage and candour presents a series of proposals whose main results cannot be garnered in the current financial year. Debts have to be paid; and the charge is boldly imposed on and collected from those who can best afford to pay it, measures being taken to secure that they do, in fact, meet it. Mr. Churchill's 1925 gifts to the rich are recalled; the shift to the broader back is open and frank, and the intention to build on the solid foundation thus laid not less obvious. Above all, the Budget is perfectly clear on the great issue between the parties—the issue of the social services. The use of the instrument of taxation to ameliorate the lot of the majority is the governing motive. The Budget lays no taxation on the poorer classes; it makes full provision for the maintenance and extension of the social services. It is not spectacular; it is only original in its honesty. The big things that Mr. Snowden wants to do must wait until, debts paid, the work of his colleagues in the international field put at his disposal for constructive work the fruits of large-scale economies in expenditure on armaments. He had to regret that more had not already been done in that way; but much more will be done before the Government goes out. Already the Three-Power Pact between ourselves, the United States, and Japan opens out wide prospects of reduction—60,000,000*l.* to 70,000,000*l.* in the next ten years.

Such reduction in building programmes, however, is a secondary aspect of the great work of the Naval Conference. The Three-Power Pact, taken in conjunction with the continuation—in an atmosphere of notable goodwill—of Mediterranean possibilities. It is the biggest stroke for world peace accomplished since the London Treaty. Now, and only now, it is possible to face the very serious dangers that the abortive Geneva Naval Conference of 1927 left behind, and to admit that misunderstanding and ill-will between the English-speaking peoples on either side of the Atlantic were there and were growing, fed from a hundred sources, until with real vision and courage Mr. MacDonald took up, as his very first task as Prime Minister, the removal of this mischief and the establishment of relations between ourselves and America on a firm basis of frankness and friendship. His

visit to the United States made the Naval Conference possible and made it successful. Its success does not end with the Three-Power Pact which pacifies the Atlantic and the Pacific: it consists rather in the fact that the method of international agreement has stood a new strain and emerged triumphant. Although France and Italy, with pressing and special problems of their own, are not signatories to the full instrument, agreement has been reached on many points, discussions between ourselves and them are to go on, and Mr. MacDonald, to whose patience and courage so much of that result is due, will continue in charge of them.

In this success there is nothing accidental. Peace was a major plank in the Labour Party's electoral programme, and its belief in international co-operation as the instrument of peace is fundamental. Its whole-hearted support of the League of Nations made the 1929 Assembly a turning-point in the history of the League itself. The Labour delegation brought to Geneva a spirit wholly different from that voiced by Great Britain in the preceding four years; and it was well that it did so, for the League itself. Bringing with it proofs of tangible achievement—the declaration as to the ratification of the Washington Convention, the agreement for Rhineland evacuation, and the Hague settlements—it proceeded at once to give a lead of incomparable importance in the signature of the optional clause, the opening of the efforts to effective international economic co-operation known as the tariff holiday proposal, the proposal for the revision of the Covenant to bring it into line with the Kellogg Pact, and the new impetus given in connexion with control over the manufacture of opium. At home this sincerely pacific policy found prompt expression in the renewal of diplomatic relations with Russia, the appointment of an ambassador to Moscow, and the extension of the machinery of export credits to Russian business on the one hand, and, on the other, in the recall of Lord Lloyd and the drafting of a treaty with Egypt. Frankness and goodwill, these, again, are the keys to the new policy in India—a policy initiated by a renewal of the declaration that Dominion status for India is the goal of British policy. What has been done, and what remains to do, in this great sphere of public policy constitute for thousands of thoughtful minds a sufficient reason for desiring the continuance of the Government.

III

Very early on, one of those domestic critics, in whom the Labour Party has, by virtue of its very outlook, always been exceptionally rich, compared the Government to a football team which wins all its matches away but loses them at home. Is there any truth in this view? Not enough, certainly, to give

victory to either of the politically opposing teams. For such colour as it has the fall in the world trade barometer—the state of world industrial weather—is responsible; and the weather is not likely to change in the near future. For unemployment is, of course, not a thing by itself, but the general statement of a set of conditions, world-wide in their operation, which affect every industrial country, and only affect ours most because least has here been done to reorganise in the light of the so-called new Industrial Revolution—a revolution which has increased the power of production out of all relation to that of consumption, and emphatically calls for a revision of our whole economic apparatus.

The wasted years since the war cannot be overtaken in months: the task is an enormous one; depression makes it infinitely difficult. At the same time, that very depression does, to some extent, create a psychological atmosphere in which new courses may be regarded with less than the old hostility, the old being so patently impotent to save. Doubts are certainly felt by many of the Government's most thoughtful supporters as to whether sufficient courage and imagination are being brought to this part of its task. True, few of these critics are prepared to say, concretely, what should be done; but they certainly do feel that a bold and energetic drive towards reconstruction, on unconventional lines, is needed and could not be opposed. While welcoming the appointment of the Economic Advisory Council, they fear that it is hardly manned or planned in such a way as to assist this; while giving full recognition to the tremendously hard work and high courage which Mr. Thomas is bringing to his grim job, they feel him mentally overwhelmed by it. He, of course, is resolutely and steadily carrying out plans common to Labour and Liberals in their main outlines, as any merely remedial plans must be. Liberals on this are conveniently apt to forget that their more ambitious claims hinged on a vast loan policy which is clearly inapplicable in the actual monetary condition precipitated by the Hatry and Wall Street crashes. Serious obstacles are put by our preposterous Private Bill system in the way of any rapid action by local authorities, many of whom are involved in real difficulties by the Derating Act—they simply have not got and cannot raise the cash. On the other hand, the Government has shot right ahead of anything the Liberals proposed in its provision, through the 1929 Act, of maintenance for large numbers of the unemployed—80,000 at least. It is thanks to the operation of this Act, indeed, that an unparalleled onset of industrial depression is being supported without the gravest forms of human deterioration and consequent lasting economic loss. To maintain and as far as possible raise the

general standard of life is the primary object of Government policy. Rightly, the earliest action of the Minister of Labour was to declare the intention to ratify the Washington Convention ; and the legislative measure implementing that pledge has been introduced. Side by side with this the extension and consolidation of the social services is being pursued.

Here, of course, education comes first. Since in England any educational proposals raise the old religious controversies, the President of the Board will not introduce the second reading of the Bill raising the school-leaving age to fifteen until some workable new agreement has been reached as to the terms on which the reorganisation consequent on this and the operation of the Hadow Report can actually be carried through. But the date of the coming into force of the new leaving age stands at April 1, 1931 ; and the Bill embodying it will also carry maintenance grants to the children whose parents need them. It is worth noting that, when this provision is taken in conjunction with the increased grants to dependants under the Unemployment Insurance Act, and the rebates of rent under the new Housing Act for children, that something like an organised system of children's allowances is being embodied in our social legislation. While the Widows' Pensions Act has already brought as many widows into pension as did the original Act, and will bring twice as many in before the end of the year, the new Housing Act—a bold and original measure—cuts at the real root of the slums by relating grants to rehousing, and, taken in conjunction with the extension of the Rent Restriction Act and the arrest in the Conservative Government's reductions in the housing subsidy, open the door to a solution of the working-class housing problem, and so attacks the biggest factor in the health and strength of the rising generation. 'Public health is purchasable,' said Sir George Newman. Through legislation and administration the Government is aiming at achieving it. It is attacking mental disease as well as physical : the keynote of the Mental Treatment Bill is its provision for voluntary treatment and resolute refusal to accept the 'stigma' so long attached to mental disease.

The other main line of attack is that which aims at securing public control of the foundation resources and services, on which future economic development hinges. This is the key to the preliminary reorganisation of the mining industry through the Coal Mines Bill. A measure based on an agreement between owners and miners (and, as such, the alternative to a lock-out), the Mines Bill, in addition to its reorganisation clauses proper, which carry a very large measure of public supervision, takes an immediate half-hour off miners' hours and assures the regulation of their wages on a national basis. Similarly, the Road Traffic Bill, while

securing a very necessary co-ordination and control over a 'key' service, also lays down certain minimum conditions of employment so far as road transport is concerned. Again, the decision of the Postmaster-General will give us a nationalised system of wireless telephony—and a very efficient system, too. With these measures goes the Scottish Land Drainage Bill—a Bill with genuine social vision behind it and more far-reaching effects than are generally realised ; and the additional 3,500,000*l.* granted for afforestation.

IV

One reason why Labour gained ground at the last and at every previous election, and will gain still more when the next comes, is that the electors fully realise that it is the one party in the State whose policy is not merely an assembly of vote-catching expedients, but the expression of a plan, and a plan related to a certain vision of social organisation—a plan, too, that is in harmony both with new social forces and with the keener and clearer claims of the social conscience.

For some years now certain newspapers have made a practice of describing the Labour Party and its candidates as Socialist—apparently with the idea that they are thereby revealing to the innocent electorate something in the nature of a hideous secret. They could make no greater mistake. Socialism, as a bogey, is thoroughly out of date. Out of date largely for the reason that the Labour Party, far from making any secret of its Socialism, constantly stresses it, and with reason and intention. The history of the party has been shaped by the progressive acceptance of this philosophy : Socialism is no excrescence on the thinking of Labour ; it is its vital principle. If Labour came into politics as an organisation of workers in trade unions, that organisation itself did not become a political force until it was first allied to and then fused with the definitely Socialist societies—the Fabians, the Independent Labour Party, and the Social Democratic Federation. Moreover, each crucial stage in the subsequent swift advance of the party—astoundingly swift when it is recalled that, as a party, it was only born at the entry into the twentieth century—registers the endorsement of explicitly Socialist principles. Thus the *New Social Order*, accepted by the Party Conference in 1918, contains a broad statement of Socialist policy, as well as the declaration that membership is open to workers by 'hand and brain'—a declaration carried into practical effect by the establishment of individual membership sections and the consequent increase in the non-trade union participation in control. In 1925, at the Liverpool Conference, a further stage was marked by the declaration that 'only upon avowedly Socialist

principles' can the claim of the workers to decent standards of life, etc., be met. In 1929 the Birmingham Conference laid down a programme of action—*Labour and the Nation*—which is inspired by Socialist ideology from end to end. Definitely and expressly the Labour Party works towards the organisation of a system of society that shall fully express the organic nature of the community and establish it in appropriate social and political and economic institutions. Alone among political parties it faces the new facts of the contemporary world and the new feelings. For parallel to the break-up of the old capitalist framework in the economic sphere is the process going on within the inner life of the citizen, who can no longer find adequate sanctions in the old commands and prohibitions of moral individualism, but reaches out to a new social conception of ethics.

It is these two strains, both critical of the old, but both likewise critical in the light of a developing vision of something different, that have shaped and formed the mentality of the Labour Party. Although, now as in the past, the vast majority of its members belong to the working class, it has never been recruited exclusively from what one might call the victims of the existing social order. Any party so narrowly composed would share the weakness that attaches to the groups that defend it because it suits them. On the contrary, from the start, as to-day, it included men and women who, relatively fortunate themselves in education and inheritance, were unable tranquilly to accept a fortune purchased at so great and so unnecessary a price as the sacrifice of great masses of their fellow-beings—unable, too, to blind themselves to hard facts by any comfortable assumption of a neat coincidence of economic competence and moral worth; men and women who felt, like Dostoevsky's hero, that they must 'return the ticket' if they had to believe that there is, in fact, not enough good sense or good feeling to go round, but that all the available supply of those attributes is concentrated within a narrowly limited social group, whose geography can be pretty accurately defined in advance. On the contrary, they feel that society, as at present constituted, involves a huge element of quite unnecessary waste, and that the waste of human capacity involved in the harsh tyranny of unequal circumstance is the heaviest item on the wrong side of that account. Seeing, as Mr. MacDonald put it nearly twenty years ago, that democracy is not merely a form of government, but a kind of government, they also saw that it can never achieve reality while its fundamental propositions are negatived by the actual economic organisation.

Psychologically, Socialism posits a certain ultimate optimism. In place of the static 'human nature being what it is,' it accepts J. S. Mill's hypothesis that 'mankind can continue to improve.'

And, stumblings and backward fallings like the war notwithstanding, can the fact of improvement be denied? Is not the very keenness of our awareness of social evils such as our grandfathers barely perceived a vital sign that it does? We *mind* countless cruelties and injustices which they either did not see or took for granted. On a hundred points what was once the derided cry of the fanatic is now matter of common acceptance—the treatment of children and the old, the condition of prisons and asylums, the whole apparatus of public provision for sanitation and health, and the vast structure of the social services generally, all are indications of an increasing social sense. This is the implicit principle in our progress: it is the principle Labour tries to make explicit; it is the principle by which the whole general policy of the Government, both in the domestic and in the international field, is directed. No swerving from the idea of co-operation, whether in the sphere of political or economic relations—a full, loyal and consistent support of the League, in the light of its fundamental ideal of equality between nations, the substitution of law for force in their mutual approach, and, in the settlement of any disputes, the frank abandonment of the notion that we are to be our own judges. At home honesty in finance, policy directed to raising the standard of life and securing communal control over vital services, together with a steady humanising of administration and incorporation in legal codes of the more progressive standards of social morality—for instance, the abolition of the death penalty in the Army, the grant of holidays to Government workers, the removal of the Civil Service ban on conscientious objectors, etc.: the guiding thread running through the whole idea being that of a transformation of society by the consent and with the co-operation of its citizens.

But there is another line of criticism which accuses the Government, not of being Socialist, but of not being Socialist enough. In a sense, of course, such criticism is bound to be right. No man or body of men succeed in living up to their principles as fully as they or their friends would wish. In addition to the weaknesses of human nature and of the human intelligence, which is terribly apt everywhere not to see the wood for the trees, the actual actions of real life have to be performed within circumstances and conditions which are by no means of our choosing and limit us in manifold ways. I think the Government has done and is doing well; but I am not such a pessimist as to believe it could not possibly do better, nor, I fancy, is any member of it. But it seems to me the right kind of Government and to be acting in the right kind of way, and I think that the country agrees.

There are critics on the hearth who eminently do not agree. They are sure that they could do a vast deal better. Their

reprimands, acid and constant ever since July 1929, are not in the least mitigated by any reminders that a limit is set to a minority Government. They want not only more, but a different kind of action; above all, they want a different tone of voice. Actively though not very numerous represented inside the House of Commons—and stronger there than anywhere else, as criticism of party leadership has been ever since 1923—they are outraged by the view that a Government, or even a party, must act in the national interest; they assert—in contradistinction to Keir Hardie, for example—that Labour stands and falls by class consciousness, and have little sympathy with the view that the method of Socialism must be through co-operation, and therefore gradual and by consent. The issues on which this group have separated themselves from the majority of the party have not been specifically Socialist: there is no Socialist issue involved, for instance, in the question whether, in view of other financial claims, the benefit rate to the unemployed can be above a certain figure; but in each case its members have asserted that they alone are the repositories of genuinely Socialist actions. Although the opportunities provided under the thoroughly democratic constitution of the party have always left them in a small minority, they have claimed the right to oppose the main body of their fellows. My criticism of them is that they are poor Socialists. The obligation of corporate loyalty is not voluntary on Socialists; it is compulsory. The individual position is easier, more amusing, and more picturesque, but it is reactionary and out of date. Artificial simplifications of actual circumstances are a luxury the Socialist cannot afford; he, of all men, has got to face not some but all of the facts.

By the great majority both of the members in the House and the rank and file supporters of the party outside this is being faithfully done. They see, also, that it is being done by the Government. Criticism there is: a party that sets out to make a better world has an ampler share of that than any static party; but it is in the main criticism that proceeds from a recognition, not of difficulties only, but of achievement. This double recognition is not confined to the party or to the House of Commons; it is general throughout the nation. There is a wide consensus of silent opinion that the Government should 'strive on to finish the work we are in.' Since to-day the political outlook and the industrial are one and the same, and both are thick with clouds, 'with high hope for the future, no prediction with regard to it is ventured.' At the same time, it is a duty to note not only the presence of those clouds, but the fact that a sky darker in many respects than this country has known since the war is shot with a hope that is more authentic, more realistic, and more intelligent

than has crossed it during the intervening years of illusion. If a rational optimism based on a firm resolve is gradually taking the place of a blind and self-defeating trust that chance will somehow pull us through, that is a result due to the work of the Government and the vision behind that work.

MARY AGNES HAMILTON.

PREFERENCE AND THE REFERENDUM

The difficulty which has hitherto confronted Tariff Reformers has been that they have had to face all the prejudices and objections which surround the imposition of food duties without being able to announce in clear and definite terms the advantages which would be secured in return for them. We have been obliged to argue upon a hypothesis, the proof of which could only be offered after acceptance of the taxes. The price to be paid was certain—the advantages were open to dispute. On the one side certainty; on the other uncertainty. The handicap was severe. From this dilemma we were rescued by the Referendum jointly proposed by Mr. Baldwin and Lord Beaverbrook.—SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, in a letter to *The Times*, March 13, 1930.

LET us go to the root of the matter. How did this dilemma arise? And can we really be rescued from it by the Referendum? Old people seem to have forgotten most of what happened before the war; and the young generation, it is said, do not want to learn. Few seem to know what Chamberlain's famous proposal actually was, or that the Referendum has played its part before in the history of Preference. So we see the new crusaders plunging into old pitfalls.

Nothing might ever have been heard of a tariff Referendum, either in 1910 or 1930, but for a vital mistake made by Joseph Chamberlain in 1903 and repeated by Lord Beaverbrook last year in formulating their respective schemes of Preference. From this mistake, as we shall see, the dilemma arises; and from the dilemma the strange Referendum. The mistake has consisted in proposing that the food duties should apply to foreign imports only, entirely exempting imports from the Empire; instead of applying to imports from *all* sources, with Preference, but not exemption, to the Empire portion. The curious thing is that Lord Beaverbrook was blissfully unconscious of repeating either Chamberlain or a blunder. In his original pamphlet on Empire Free Trade (and on many occasions since) he has declared that his proposal is something 'entirely new in the history of British politics'; going on to explain that in regard to free entry of Empire food it differs from Chamberlain's, who 'asked that a tax should be put on *all* imported food.' This is quite wrong. Chamberlain proposed, just as clearly as Lord Beaverbrook, that

the food duties should be on foreign imports only, leaving Empire produce absolutely free—as may be verified by anyone who cares to look up his great speech at Glasgow (October 6, 1903) starting his campaign.

Now let us see how Chamberlain's movement was affected by this proposal to limit the food duties to foreign imports only. The almost uncanny parallelism of Lord Beaverbrook's recent experience can hardly fail to strike the reader who has followed the fortunes of the crusade in the *Daily Express* and its critics. The limitation has the awkward effect of putting the policy of Preference on quite a different footing in this country from that which it has always held in the Dominions. It implies that these food duties are not needed for any domestic purpose—*i.e.*, for obtaining revenue or protecting our own agriculture—but solely for creating Preference for the Empire. It suggests a project of sentiment rather than business; and this notion is further encouraged if the protagonists lay any stress upon the political importance of their economic proposal, as a means of drawing, or holding, the Empire together. Chamberlain frankly avowed that such was, in fact, his main object, making Protection quite secondary to begin with. In 1903 the Liberals, who had been long out of office and badly wanted a new cry, did not wait twenty-four hours to invent the 'little loaf,' stigmatising the scheme as a quite unnecessary 'sacrifice' for the Empire. At best, jeered Campbell-Bannerman, it was a plan of 'sordid bonds,' insulting the Colonies with a bribe to stay loyal.

The Dominions themselves have never appeared, nor pretended, to found their fiscal policies on the interests of the Empire. They were able, when the new spirit arose in the 'nineties, to give us Preference without putting on any duties not otherwise needed.¹ Having comprehensive tariffs already, they had only to convert these into two-deckers, technically known as the General Tariff and the Preferential Tariff, in order to favour the Empire without any detriment to their domestic purposes. If the primary object of a particular duty was protection, the lower scale could be kept high enough: if revenue, the yield could be maintained by exacting a little more from foreign imports and a little less from British. No domestic interest could be seriously affected by the existence of two scales of import duty instead of one. So the policy and practice of Preference could be, and has been, accepted by all parties in the Dominions without much fuss. Originally adopted by Canada

¹ There have, of course, been modern instances of such duties in inter-Dominion trade agreements, but only for the purpose of rounding them off, not as the essential nucleus. Australia has lately put on certain duties for our express benefit, against foreign imports only.

and copied by the other Dominions as a gesture of economic co-operation within the Empire, it has been sustained overseas to this day by the hope that ultimately Britain would so modify her own tariff system as not only to reciprocate these favours, but create the opportunity for extending the policy by mutual concessions. But while the Dominions still wait for this consummation, they continue to draw a substantial revenue from their existing duties on British as well as foreign imports. In any approach to Empire Free Trade their 'sacrifice' would be to forego convenient revenue by taking duties off; whereas in Britain the 'sacrifice' has always been conceived as the putting certain duties on, in spite of the revenue to be obtained thereby.

Have these opposite notions of 'sacrifice' any basis of economic validity? Or is it only a difference of political mentality, in Britain a perverse accident of our party system? In any case, there is no doubt as to the fact of the very different political position which always arises here, when we are asked to put on duties solely for the purpose of Preference. At once the question occurs, is it worth while? What will the Dominions give us in return? The fallacious dogma of Victorian economists, that the effect of an import duty is invariably to raise the price by at least the amount of the duty, was ingrained in this country when Chamberlain set forth. He himself disputed the dogma. Yet he allowed for it by proposing to offset the new 'burden' by reducing some existing food taxes of which the incidence was more certain, calculating that on the balance the working-class budget would actually gain. But it was all in vain. 'Your food will cost you more'; and what are you going to get for the 'sacrifice'? It was true then, and is now, that this country cannot give any substantial preference to the Dominions without imposing duties on dairy produce, meat and corn, in that order of importance; though formerly corn was supposed to come first. Mr. Chamberlain, said the tiresome Liberals, had talked vaguely about a 'Colonial offer.' Let him produce it in black and white showing exactly what they would give us; then we could at least weigh the sacrifice. What, he could not produce it! When would he ever produce it? Down with the palpable fraud!

Such was the dilemma, and the Tariff Reformers were acutely conscious of it, then as now. If only they could meet the Liberal taunt by triumphantly producing the Colonial offer! And why not? Their prophet had not spoken at random. He did have a certain offer. It was at the Colonial Conference in 1902, when the Canadian Ministers had been most anxious to negotiate, by offering further preference, for the exemption of Empire wheat from the shilling-a-quarter 'registration duty' which had recently been imposed for revenue purposes on the

importation from all countries. But his colleagues had become alarmed for Free Trade, and the duty was hastily repealed altogether. That was a great blunder; but, anyway, it showed that offers were to be had.

Accordingly in 1905 Mr. Hewins was sent privately to Canada on a mission to obtain a definite scheme which Chamberlain might publish.² The idea was that the Dominion might promulgate an 'optional tariff,' going further in the direction of Empire Free Trade than its existing preferential tariff. This new tariff was to be optional for Britain to take advantage of by putting on certain duties, which should also be agreed in advance in order to favour Empire produce. This was the prototype of the latest policy of the Conservative Party—which is, according to Mr. Churchill's statement,³ that they should negotiate 'a draft treaty with the rest of the Empire' before asking the people to sanction any food duties.

Mr. Hewins was cordially received at Ottawa, where the Government was already engaged upon a thorough revision of the Canadian tariff, including a scheme of 'intermediate' rates for negotiation with foreign countries—a feature which implied whittling down the British preferences. He was allowed, indeed encouraged, to go into the whole subject exhaustively with the Ministers and officials. One of the questions examined in this friendly spirit was that of scheduling certain kinds of manufacture to be placed on the Canadian free list if imported from Britain, on the ground that they could not be economically produced in Canada. This was the origin of another Liberal jeer, about the 'forbidden industries,' which, it was wrongly assumed, the Canadian Government would refuse to look at. It may be noted as the forerunner of that later conception of Empire rationalisation which has appealed to Lord Melchett's business instinct and, prematurely, to Mr. Baldwin's political necessity.⁴

Alas! in the end Mr. Hewins had to return empty-handed. As he duly reported to his chief, the Canadian Ministers were manifestly eager to negotiate reciprocal preference in the direction of Empire Free Trade, but felt that they had already made their own 'offer' at the Colonial Conference by displaying this spirit in public and private, and that the next move lay with Britain, who must invest herself with the means of reciprocity. After this initial failure the possibility of getting a precise Colonial offer, in advance of a tariff election here, was constantly discussed as politicians and journalists passed to and fro between London and Ottawa, Melbourne, Wellington, and Capetown.

² Cf. *The Apologia of an Imperialist*, by W. A. S. Hewins, vol. I, ch. v.

³ *The Times*, March 7, 1930.

⁴ Speech at the Coliseum, February 5, 1930.

But the result was always the same—nothing doing. Generally speaking, Dominion Ministers took the line that Britain's tariff was Britain's business, not theirs. If the Dominions were consulted as to Britain's tariff, she might claim to be consulted about theirs, which would never do: autonomy might be imperilled. Nor did they relish the idea of a British election in which the invidious issue, as put by the cleverest demagogues, would be whether food taxes should be imposed on 'starving millions' at home for the benefit of prosperous Colonies which had refused to pay towards the Navy. Again, the prolonged uncertainty as to whether the published trade agreement was going to become operative or not would be as awkward for business overseas as in Britain. But this was not all. Supposing Sir Wilfrid Laurier, for example, fell in with the scheme and offered to knock 50 per cent. off the Canadian preferential rates in return for a prospective duty in Britain on foreign wheat. At once the Canadian Manufacturers Association would be up in arms. It might well mean the fight of his life. He would not shirk that, being a proud disciple of Bright and Gladstone, willing to take the biggest risk for unrestricted reciprocity and a wider protected market (as he afterwards did, in 1911, for reciprocity with the United States). But what if the British electors turned down his offer? He would then have risked everything for nothing at all. It was not good enough politics—heads they win, tails I lose. Emphatically *No!* He would be ready to bargain at any time, as he was in 1902, with any British Government which was in a position like his own, which would enable it, by virtue of existing duties or a present majority in the House of Commons, to deliver the stipulated goods. By all means, 'concession for concession.' But he would never consent to treat with anybody for merely hypothetical concessions, contingent on the result of a British election on food taxes. In fact, the Dominion attitude was hardening as Dominion industries grew. Ottawa would never again be so favourably inclined as in 1905.

Nevertheless, the Unionist leaders, afraid either to endorse or reject the Chamberlain policy, which had divided the party, clung desperately to the hope of getting some kind of 'Colonial offer' which they might put before the country at an election. They were greatly worried, as the Tariff Reformers, with their stimulating ideal, became more and more aggressive. Drastic change, into which the aspect of these trivial food duties was already magnified by nervous minds, was not the party's tradition. Their Imperial mentality was also a handicap. Instinctively Conservatives still thought of the Empire as consisting of the benevolent old mother and her dutiful children, who had

behaved so splendidly in the late war (in South Africa) and deserved any boon she could afford to give. Surely it was a case, they felt, for family council, to find out 'whether our Colonies really wanted us to tax food.' So, despite the puzzling lack of responsible support from the Dominions for any such plan, they leaned to the idea of having a special Imperial Conference, to devise some scheme of reciprocal Preference which could then be submitted to the electorate.

All this time a keen struggle was going on within the Unionist Party for beneficial possession of its leader, Arthur James Balfour. Publicly the 'whole-hog' Tariff Reformers, representing the youth and enthusiasm of the party, were making all the noise. But behind the scenes the Conservative 'free fooders,' mostly men of wealth and influence, were pulling very much more than their weight in electoral numbers. Between these two sections Balfour, controlling his undoubted bias towards Chamberlain's proposal, was adroitly walking the tight-rope. In 1910 he was seen inclining dangerously to the 'full policy' of Tariff Reform. During the second election campaign of that year he made a speech (Nottingham, November 19) in which he really seemed to take the food duties for granted, thereby greatly alarming the 'free-food' group. But the main issue in that election was the House of Lords, in which connexion the Unionists were advocating the use of the Referendum. The Liberal leader, then Mr. Asquith, made a party hit by challenging Balfour to agree to a Referendum on Tariff Reform, little thinking that the gage might be taken up. This gave Balfour a chance to kill—with sufficient luck—no less than three birds with one stone. By dramatically agreeing to a Referendum on Tariff Reform he might (1) make the Liberal leader look foolish; (2) placate his own free fooders and preserve party unity; (3) perhaps finally settle this really important but very troublesome question by that kind of procedure which, even if the Colonies did not like it, had always seemed so reasonable to many of his most valued friends—and probably to many Liberals too, had they dared to own it. Accordingly a great meeting was organised to fill the Albert Hall on November 29, only a few days before the polling (which used to take weeks) would begin, and to greet the 'master-stroke' with spontaneous ecstasy. It was, indeed, beautifully done. When the momentous announcement emerged from the leader's lips, all (except one) seemed to follow the bell-wethers, standing up and shouting, with waving of handkerchiefs, 'This wins the election!'

It did not win the election, the Unionists being defeated again. The tariff Referendum utterly failed to catch on. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer

in the last Unionist Government, was never consulted beforehand, having been away in the north when the fateful decision was taken. But he loyally accepted it 'for this election,' while frankly confessing that he did not like it at all, especially from a financial standpoint.⁵ He emphasised the long period of uncertainty, dislocating trade, which any such procedure must involve, and also the dangers of a precedent which might be used by less scrupulous politicians for bribing the many at the expense of the few. The Liberals were quick to discover, besides, more fundamental objections. If they could not approve a Referendum on the Constitution itself, still less would they have it for an annual routine matter, like the Budget. The proposal cut at the root of the British system of parliamentary government, which did not admit such shifting of responsibility from Ministers to the electorate. Ministers should govern or go. And in truth it was always absurd to represent these trumpery duties—the common pieces which in other countries a Finance Minister may manipulate at will—as equivalent to a grave constitutional change.

Again, what exactly was (or is) proposed to be put on the Referendum paper for the electors to answer with Yes or No? In 1910 Balfour's original proposal was to refer the 'principle.' But Mr. Austen Chamberlain insisted that for practical reasons it would have to be the actual Budget of the year. To-day he seems to think it might be something else, but has not explained what.⁶ Mr. Churchill, who this time is the party's ex-Chancellor, has postulated a 'draft treaty with the rest of the Empire.' Mr. Amery, in his article last month, is very guarded. He has to envisage 'some general inter-Imperial agreement sufficiently important to be the subject-matter of a Referendum'; but asks whether, supposing only smaller, bilateral agreements can be arrived at, these should be submitted to successive referenda. Since then Mr. Baldwin, in his address to the Primrose League on April 4, has gone back to Balfour's original proposal, to refer the 'principle.' But not for long. Three days later, at Manchester, he said it would be 'the details.' Two things are clear. First, the authors of this proposal in 1930 have no more thought it out than had their predecessors in 1910, and are equally at sixes and sevens. Secondly, it does not become any easier in the transition from the 'principle' to the 'draft treaty' or 'details,' to judge which is required by the cheerful pledge that the country shall 'see exactly' what the proposed bargain is. Apart from any budgetary difficulties, if it was found impossible to get any conditional bargain with the most willing of the Dominions in 1905, when their manufacturing interests were still politically

⁵ E.g., in his speech at Buxton, December 14, 1910.

⁶ *The Times*, March 13, 1930.

weak, can it be easy to get a conditional bargain with any of them—let alone the whole—to-day, when those interests are powerful?

In any case, this proposal is a manifest subterfuge. To pretend that there is doubt as to whether food taxes are necessary to Preference, and to claim that a candidate who proposes to explore this matter before committing himself in favour should be held innocent of the great offence, is asking a little too much. To suggest, again, that approval by Referendum would so 'sanction' the taxes that no succeeding Government would venture to disturb them is equally unconvincing, until there is an Act of Parliament to ordain this novel sanctity. The real guarantee of stability is inherent in the proposal, which is modern, to arrange Preference by a definite treaty or treaties with the Dominions, which should run for a term of years and then be subject to notice. In truth the tariff Referendum has never been anything more respectable than the dodge of a hard-pressed politician to avert a party rupture. In 1910 it was designed to placate the free fooders without betraying the food taxers. In 1930 it is only the other way about, to get round the pledge of 'no food taxes at the next election.'

Psychologically (which counts so much, as Mr. Baldwin has said) it was always an obvious confession of weakness, disheartening to Tariff Reformers and putting the food tax bogey on a new and higher pedestal as an object of popular superstition and party terror. This abject homage of their avowed leaders to a bogey which could be riddled by reason and ridicule has always been more damaging to Tariff Reform candidates than all the eloquence of open opponents. Put to the test in 1910-11 the Referendum was of no electioneering value. It saved no Unionist candidate from being dubbed a food taxer. Those who readily admitted the charge and nevertheless won (as many did) could feel that they had already got the mandate to go straight ahead without any second appeal by Referendum or otherwise. Those who protested that food taxes were not at issue, and were generally defeated, could only wail that the naughty other side would not play the game. So it came about that only a few weeks after the joy in the Albert Hall successful and defeated candidates were at one in vowing they would never touch the 'beastly Referendum' again.

The fiasco of 1910-11 was a severe blow to Balfour's leadership, the Tariff Reformers feeling that they had been let down. In other ways the tide was setting against them. Trade was good, belying the theory that foreign competition was becoming a danger. The free fooders could now plead that the party ought to drop the disruptive food taxes, at least, and concentrate on

resistance to the Parliament Bill or, later, the Home Rule Bill. Tired out with all this friction, Balfour presently resigned his thankless post. Who should succeed him? In their own minds the Tariff Reformers (and also Balfour himself) had already nominated Austen Chamberlain, trusting him never to compromise his father's policy. The free fooders wanted Walter Long. Thereupon the honest brokers stepped in; the two rivals gracefully stepped down, and Bonar Law blushing stepped up between them. Tariff Reformers knew him for a lucid exponent of their doctrine, who was fortified with Canadian birth and business experience. Free fooders knew him for a man with more conscience than conceit, who could probably be worked if taken in the right way. So both were fairly happy.

Torn between the interests of the permanent party and the transient cause, which some deemed vital to it and others not, the new leader could only temporise. But the Tariff Reformers were impatient for a vigorous lead and a straightforward policy. They professed exultingly to have got both from the speeches made by the party leaders at the annual Conference on November 14, 1912. As stated by Lord Lansdowne and endorsed by Bonar Law, the party now (a) resumed a free hand to put on import duties, in order to get revenue for meeting the huge new obligations which the Liberal Government was piling up; (b) also a free hand to negotiate with the Dominions; but (c) the amount of the proposed new duties would be precisely stated in advance; (d) would not be exceeded without further authority from the people; and (e) would be applied wholly to the relief of existing burdens. Was the party at last committed to the food duties? The Tariff Reformers said Yes, but the free fooders said No. Presently Mr. Austen Chamberlain went so far as to define the duties which the party would claim liberty to impose. These were—(1) an average of 10 per cent. on manufactures; (2) 2s. a quarter on foreign wheat, other wheat being free; (3) not exceeding 5 per cent. on other produce (but raw materials to be free), with such abatements or exemptions in favour of Colonial supplies as the course of negotiations might suggest.⁷

This was too much for the free fooders; and once more the others had been shouting too soon. The hour of the great betrayal was at hand, when four days later Bonar Law explained:

If our countrymen entrust us with power, we do not intend to impose food duties. What we intend to do is to call a Conference of the Colonies to consider the whole question of preferential trade, and the question whether or not food duties will be imposed will not arise until these negotiations are completed. We are told that the Colonies have made no offer, that they do not wish such an arrangement. If that is true, no food duties

⁷ Speech at Glasgow, December 12, 1912.

will be imposed in any circumstances. We do not wish to impose them. They are not proposed by us for the sake of Protection, and there is no Protection in them. They are proposed solely for the sake of Preference; and if when the Conference takes place the Colonies do not want them—I will put it far stronger than that, unless the Colonies regard them as essential for Preference—then also the food duties will not be imposed.⁸

Such was the anti-climax of nine years' effort by the Tariff Reform League to educate the country out of its superstition and to ginger the party up to the business; and it is sad to conclude from the melancholy resemblance of recent utterances that Conservative leadership has advanced little since. The tone of the humiliating plea, that we should put the onus on 'the Colonies' for any taxation of our food, was not worse than the ineptitude which could discard the unpopular Referendum only to propose a double election. Obviously the new device, no less than the other, ignored the proven difficulty of procuring any detailed offer from the Dominions, singly or collectively, *before* the British Government had taken authority to establish at discretion those particular duties, if not established in advance, which were well known to be essential to any worth-while arrangement. So the old dilemma stood impregnable, with Preference apparently dead upon its horns. Not only the Liberals, who for years had pretended to 'celebrate the obsequies,' believed that the end had really come at last. Mr. Austen Chamberlain wrote to his father—who was still sound in mind after six years of physical infirmity had kept him from the fray—that he must reconcile himself to the abandonment of his policy.⁹ Efforts were made to patch up the shattered party, preserving its precious 'unity' for—what? The Tariff Reform League struggled on, with dwindling resources, bearing the framework of the movement into the oblivion of the war. As to its subsequent fortunes the account given by Mr. Amery, together with the current reports of Conservative dissension, show that the old obstruction within the party has survived all along. There may be no Whig aristocrat left to exclaim, like Lord Lansdowne (in 1906), 'I particularly dislike the idea of tarring the House of Lords with the brush of Protection.'¹⁰ But political jealousy is not extinct; neither is Finance, which thrives on free exchange.

Surely these things should be pondered by the new crusaders who accuse the weakness of Mr. Baldwin's leadership. He is the third of whom they or their predecessors have expected the impossible. After all, a party leader is appointed to keep an existing party together. In the Conservative Party, at least, he

⁸ Speech at Ashton, December 16, 1912.

⁹ Hewins, vol. 1, p. 295.

¹⁰ In a letter to Balfour: cf. *Lord Lansdowne, a biography*, by Lord Newton, p. 349.

cannot head a crusade, shedding old supporters to-day in the uncertain hope of getting new ones, and more of them, to-morrow. His attitude towards any new cause will be governed by its bearing upon party unity, which usually means compromise. Mr. Baldwin, who 'never lets down a friend,' has to accommodate not only the respectable old-gang, but the new colleague with the unspeakable past, who once could boast that he had 'banged and barred' the very door they would now like to reopen, if only his face can be saved. Nor is it fair to blame Mr. Baldwin if special knowledge of Protection and Preference does not happen to be included in his wide attainments. For example, neither of his predecessors would have misunderstood the technical term 'General Tariff,' which he has habitually used in such a way as to spread the prejudicial notion that ordinarily Protection means putting duties on everything. A cause must have a party to carry it through Parliament. But it is badly handicapped when the party leader does not understand it better than this. Further, a cause is never safe when entrusted to a party which can exist without it. To ensure a straight run, the life of the cause should be the life of the party.

History may repeat itself, but seldom with such depressing fidelity. Within the past twelve months we have seen the new prophet putting forward essentially the same old plan, inviting the same fatal dilemma; and then, in conjunction with the leader of the same old party, beset with more than the same old difficulties, proposing the same old subterfuge—with what better prospect of success? At this moment we may imagine Lord Beaverbrook frantically cabling all over the Empire for the old, elusive 'offer.' So far, the most he has been able to produce is a very restricted suggestion from an opposition party in Australia; which is a very different thing from a definite proposal by Ministers.

But let us keep an open mind. Circumstances do change; and times are now very bad. Recently General Smuts, who once led the Boers against the Empire, has been warning the Dominions that the Empire is of more value to them than the logical refinements of 'autonomy.' Even in Canada that sacred veil has never been allowed to obstruct the practical view of even a dubious commercial advantage; and to-day we see all the Dominions extremely hard hit by the slump in commodity prices. Is it just possible that, clutching at any straw, one or more of their Governments might be willing to face the political risks of offering to give us more Preference, to a stated amount, in return for a stated Preference here, only to take effect if and when we ever have a Government authorised to tax foreign food? The Imperial Conference is to meet in September. If the Conservative

leaders are still out of office, and unable to test their policy officially, let them ascertain privately from the Dominion Ministers whether there would really be any chance of getting the 'draft treaty' they talk about. Unless they can obtain some such assurance, it seems high time to end this recurrent humbug once for all.

If the retrospect ended at this point, it could hardly be encouraging for the prospects of Preference. The old dilemma is seen to survive, hitherto insoluble by party ingenuities. But there has always been another way open, which the new crusaders may be well advised to explore. *The dilemma vanishes* whenever we decide that the time has come to adopt a modern fiscal policy in our insular interests, employing the same tariff principles as the Dominions themselves. We should then 'broaden the basis,' as Balfour used to say, of our present revenue tariff by extending it to *all* competitive food imports, granting an instalment of Preference to the Dominions, but not exemption except in the final stage of reciprocity. Quite early, Chamberlain's 'Tariff Commission,' in its report on Agriculture, recommended certain duties upon the competitive imports from *all* sources, in fairness to our own farmers. By 1912 the national importance of the revenue aspect was coming to be recognised, as shown by the Lansdowne declaration of policy. Of course, the Dominions would not like to have their exports taxed here, and might even prefer to forego Preference and keep free entry. But while they continued to tax our exports to them, these 'equal States' could have no grievance; and the way would lie open for mutual reductions from time to time. Empire Free Trade, the ultimate goal, would still require 'sacrifice.' But it would then be the same kind of sacrifice for all—*i.e.*, the loss of easy revenue which would have to be made good by more burdensome taxation. Perhaps it was due to the persistent advocacy of this policy by the *Morning Post* before the war that Lord Beaverbrook—who, as Mr. Max Aitken, did not migrate from Canada until 1910—obtained the wrong impression that it was Chamberlain's own proposal to tax food imports from Empire sources as well as foreign. However that may be, this modification has always held the key to Preference without dilemma or subterfuge, and the safest line of approach to Empire Free Trade.

No doubt Mr. Snowden is hostile to Preference; yet his Budget may prove to have helped that cause by intensifying the demand for less ruinous modes of financing the State. How can we afford to go on refusing a revenue of perhaps 30,000,000*l.* a year (after allowing for Preference) ¹¹ from a new range of low

¹¹ For the statistical basis of this estimate, and a wider discussion of the whole subject, cf. the writer's *The Empire in Eclipse*, pp. 275-298.

duties on imported food? It would suffice, for example, to relieve the motor industry and motor users from the present excessive charges, and thereby give much-needed scope to the mechanisation of small-holding agriculture—an undeveloped branch of engineering, with a vast potential market throughout the Empire. Would the consumer really pay the whole of the new taxes, having regard to the intense competition between foreign and Dominion supplies and, in some cases, our own? If the old dogma is true, how can our manufacturers so often protest that they have to cut their profits to vanishing point, or less, in order to enter the protected markets? But if, as so many industrialists here, and all agricultural producers overseas, seem to believe, it is they who have to pay the biggest part of any entry tax abroad, then it appears that this country has been subsidising the exchequers of other countries with untold millions and getting no subsidy in return. Can we any longer indulge such philanthropy for the sake of a fetish?

One lesson of experience, which the new crusaders again may take to heart, is that if you are going to adventure 'food taxes' you may as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb. In electioneering nothing was ever gained by protesting that only foreign food would be subject to the tariff. It is always 'Your food will cost you more,' just the same. Also, it is very much easier to get the farmers with you if you do *not* propose to exempt their Dominion competitors. But the case for a revenue tariff on food can be put more cogently nowadays to all classes of the community, and not the farmers only, than ever before. While the producers get so little, our food *does* cost us more, because the huge direct taxation has got into the retail price. If we partly substitute an import tax, and the consumer paid it all, the cost to him should only be the same. But do working men and women, who so readily pay more rent in order to be near good wages, still remain under the spell of the legendary terror? Do they really still believe that cheap food is more important than employment? If the Government put on the food duties to-morrow there might be anger in party offices and City closets; but perhaps in the mean streets and country lanes not a dog would bark.

Surely the time limit must be very nearly up for the Conservative Party to show whether it can ever really be the efficient agent of Preference, despite the congenital weaknesses which hitherto have infallibly paralysed it. Perhaps when Lord Beaverbrook decided to launch the United Empire Party his political judgment was, after all, not inferior to his courage. But he appeared curiously unaware of Scylla and Charybdis. His chart was obsolete—heading him straight for the rock of Old Dilemma, had he not succumbed to the sirens of Party Unity. If the new

ship can be refloated, it may yet be fitted to complete the original voyage. Paradoxically enough the *Daily Mail's* insular Protection is in principle, as we have seen, a sounder starting-point for Preference than the old proposal which ignores our own revenue problem and gives the Dominions at once the whole of what we could ever offer. To supplement the 'high tariff on imported manufactures,' which would be an uncertain source of revenue, with a low tariff on *all* imported food for further relief of industry from its burdens would only be logical. In the House of Commons a fourth party, however small, free to advocate this more modern and straightforward policy without the old entanglements, might not have to wait long for the chance to move a resolution which many Conservative members, and perhaps a few others, would take liberty to support. With a much less cogent proposal the Irish Nationalists made the Liberal Government toe the line at last. But as to reaction on the old parties, would it hurt the country if they were even broken up under pressure of this really vital issue, which has already been their sport for nearly thirty years?

RICHARD JEBB.

TARIFFS AND EMPIRE

THE question of binding the Empire together by means of tariffs has again become an important factor in British politics. Some of the aspects of the problem, from the party point of view, were dealt with by Mr. Amery in the April issue of *The Nineteenth Century*. But Mr. Amery's contributions to a serious consideration of this subject are spoilt by his rather unfortunate habit of assuming that people who disagree with his views must necessarily be suffering from some mental defect. He declares that in 1845 Sir Robert Peel made an 'unreasoning surrender' to the Free Traders, and that in the ensuing generation Free Trade 'became a fixed dogma, and more than a dogma—a rooted intellectual and moral prepossession which admitted of no discussion.' Later on in his article he expresses his joy that 'the idols of three generations have, almost overnight, become ridiculous and odious.' Such methods of argumentation lead nowhere, and I do not propose in this article to follow Mr. Amery's example. I propose simply to examine facts and to consider what deductions can be fairly made from them.

The suggestion that the Empire should be linked together by means of tariffs and by trade regulations is not a new one. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was a generally accepted doctrine. The assumption—not an unreasonable one—then made by most Englishmen was, that as the Empire had been built up by the activities of British settlers and British traders, and as it was defended from foreign attack by the ships and soldiers of Great Britain, the trade of the Colonies ought to be so regulated that the Mother Country should secure substantial advantages. For this reason numerous statutes were passed by the Parliament at Westminster to compel the Colonies to confine their trade, or the greater part of it, to British ports and British ships. These regulations were many of them bitterly resented by the Colonies, who found themselves often able to do a more profitable trade with foreign countries than with Great Britain. Consequently the regulations of Westminster were frequently set at defiance, and the attempt to enforce them helped to destroy the Colonial feeling of loyalty to England. Up to the middle of

the eighteenth century, however, the North American Colonies could not definitely break with Great Britain because they were afraid of France. But when the French danger was removed by the British conquest of Canada the desire for secession rapidly developed, and when England attempted to obtain from these Colonies by means of taxation some contribution to the expenses incurred by her for their defence they revolted, and after prolonged warfare secured their complete independence.

This piece of well-known history indicates the danger of attempting to force commercial union upon an Empire composed of widely scattered units with widely divergent commercial interests. We may safely assume that few people are likely to advocate in the twentieth century a repetition of the blunders of the eighteenth. Even Mr. Amery would probably hesitate to use force to compel unwilling Dominions to abandon their present commercial independence. As regards the Crown Colonies, probably Mr. Amery would also hesitate, but some enthusiasts for Empire trade have gone to the length of suggesting that as the Colonies are under the direct authority of the Crown they should be obliged to give free entry to all goods from the Mother Country and to tax foreign imports. The same compulsion, if it is applied at all, could constitutionally be applied to India, the biggest of all our Empire markets. To Lancashire manufacturers and to many others in Great Britain it would be an immense advantage to have free entry for their goods into India. In the last century, when England maintained the policy of free imports in the definite belief that it was to the interests of her own people, she was logically justified in refusing to permit India to impose duties on Lancashire cotton goods for the sake of a few cotton manufacturing firms in Bombay and Central India, and to the injury of the rest of India's vast population. But if we are to depart from the policy of free imports for Great Britain, as we have already to a considerable extent done, it would be a scandalous abuse of our power to impose that system upon India for the sake of our own manufacturers. That possibility may indeed be absolutely ruled out. India must be permitted to go her own way in the matter of tariffs, and so also must all the Crown Colonies—so far, at any rate, as they are developing a self-consciousness of their own.

The problem of inter-Empire trade must in fact be considered from the point of view of the Dominions and Colonies as well as that of the Mother Country, and the primary question we have to ask is whether it is possible by purely voluntary agreements to convert the Empire into one commercial unit.

Nearly thirty years ago the desirability of establishing an Imperial British Zollverein was strongly pressed by the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Holding the important office of Secretary

of State for the Colonies, he was fired with the praiseworthy ambition to secure the permanence of the British Empire. At the Colonial Conference of 1902 he made an eloquent and powerful speech in which he strongly advocated 'the political federation of the Empire,' while laying special stress upon the necessity for Colonial contributions to the cost of Imperial defence. His words were :

We do require your assistance in the administration of the vast Empire which is yours as well as ours. The weary Titan staggers under the too vast orb of its fate. We have borne the burden for many years. We think that it is time that our children should assist us to support it. . . . If you are prepared at any time to take any share, any proportionate share, in the burdens of the Empire, we are prepared to meet you with any proposal for giving to you a corresponding voice in the policy of the Empire.

In the same speech he went on to contrast the expenditure incurred for purposes of defence by the United Kingdom and the Colonies respectively. He stated that in the United Kingdom naval and military expenditure worked out at 29s. 3d. per head of the population, whereas in Canada it was only 2s. per head, in New South Wales 3s. 5d., in Victoria 3s. 3d., in New Zealand 3s. 4d., and in the Cape and Natal somewhere between 2s. and 3s. He said it was 'inconsistent with their dignity as nations that they should leave the Mother Country to bear the whole, or almost the whole, of the expense,' and that he wished to call their 'serious attention to a state of things which cannot be permanent.' He appealed to the Colonies to recognise 'the obligation of all to contribute to the common weal,' and said that no Empire is 'on a sure foundation which is not based upon recognised community of sacrifice.' To this powerful appeal the Colonies made no direct response, and it was apparently in the hope of obtaining an indirect contribution from them in the shape of tariff concessions that Joseph Chamberlain took up the question of Imperial preferences.

Canada had already in 1897, under the premiership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, established preferential tariff rates for British imports. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was himself a Free Trader, and the purpose of his tariff was to lead Canada in the direction of complete free trade with the Mother Country. But that policy, though welcomed by Canadian farmers, was by no means acceptable to Canadian manufacturers, who insisted that they must have protection against the manufacturers of the Mother Country, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier had to make concessions to them. A few years later the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, demanding still further protection, stated their point of view with perfect clarity. They were willing, they said, to give a substantial pre-

ference to the Mother Country, provided that 'the minimum tariff must afford adequate protection to all Canadian producers.' The same attitude was adopted some years later by the Australians, when British preferential tariffs were first introduced into the Commonwealth.

Confronted with this Canadian attitude, Joseph Chamberlain did not mince his words. Speaking in 1902, he said :

So long as a preferential tariff, even a munificent preference, is still sufficiently protective to exclude us altogether, or nearly so, from your markets, it is no satisfaction to us that you have imposed even greater disability upon the same goods if they come from foreign markets, especially if the articles in which foreigners are interested come in under more favourable conditions.

The sting of the last phrase in the above quotation lies in the fact that a large part of the goods then sent by America to Canada consisted of raw materials which were admitted free, or at very low duties, whereas practically the whole of the goods imported from the United Kingdom were manufactured goods on which high duties were charged. Consequently the general effect of this Canadian preferential tariff of 1897 was to encourage American rather than British trade. The ensuing results fully justified Joseph Chamberlain's criticisms. During the five years preceding 1897 British imports into Canada represented one-third of Canada's total imports ; during the succeeding five years the proportion of British imports sank to a quarter.

When dealing with the difficulties in Great Britain in the way of establishing Colonial preferences Joseph Chamberlain was equally frank. He saw clearly that to give an effective preference to the Colonies it would be necessary to put a tax on imported food, and he did not hesitate to say that this must be done. The result was that at the General Election of 1906 the Unionist Party was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

It still remains true that no British preference to the Dominions or Colonies is likely to be of much value to them unless it includes a tax on foreign food, and Mr. Baldwin's proposal to leave that issue to a referendum is not likely to liberate the Conservative Party from the unpopularity which must result from their necessarily implied advocacy of food taxation.

In addition there remains now, as in the 1903 period, the question of raw materials. This question also closely affects Mr. Baldwin's proposals for a wider extension of 'safeguarding' duties. Are these duties to be imposed on raw materials ? Faced with this difficulty in 1903, Mr. Chamberlain was emphatic that raw materials were not to be taxed, but when he was asked to say what was a raw material he refused to reply. The reason for that

refusal is sufficiently obvious—no precise definition is possible. Even in the case of food taxes the question of what is a raw material arises. Oats, for example, are to some extent a food for men, but to a greater extent a food for horses. Even wheat is sometimes used as a feeding-stuff for cattle when poor in quality, and the offal obtained in grinding wheat is always so used. Therefore to put a tax on wheat means taxing not only the poor man's food, but also the raw material of the stock-raising farmer. In the realm of manufacture what is one man's raw material is another man's completed product. Pig iron is the completed product of the iron-maker; it is the raw material of the steel-maker. In turn, steel is the raw material of the ship-builder, of the engine-builder, and of the producers of all kinds of machinery. Going a stage further, we may ask, Are not steamships and locomotive engines and textile machinery the essential instruments, and in that sense the raw materials, of the shipping industry, of the railway industry, and of the textile industries? Therefore to tax engines or ships or machinery as manufactured products would be to inflict a blow upon the industries dependent upon their use. As regards machinery, it is interesting to remember that in the days when Protection was the recognised policy of our country we aimed at preventing, not the importation of machinery made abroad, but the exportation of machinery made at home, lest foreigners should buy our machines and thus be able to compete successfully with our textile industries. Yet to-day, curiously enough, our Government is actually granting credits to assist the export of textile machinery to countries that are keenly competing with the cotton industry of Lancashire. This is a striking illustration of the peculiar methods of politicians when they begin to interfere with trade, for the Lancashire cotton industry is notoriously hard hit by the expanding activities of its competitors abroad, whereas the textile machinery makers seem to be doing fairly well.

The essence of any system of tariffs, or State subsidies, is that assistance is given to certain selected industries at the expense of other industries. Many Protectionists are in the habit of saying that duties will not raise the price of the goods taxed; but the same Protectionists are also eloquent in declaring that our British industries are being ruined by the importation of cheap foreign goods. Which of these two divergent statements is the public expected to accept as accurate? Unless a tariff had the effect of raising the price of imported goods it would obviously be of no benefit to the British manufacturer or the British farmer, who declares that he cannot make a profit at present prices. It is of course true that in one or two special cases, for example the motor industry, the imposition of a tariff has been followed by, or

accompanied by, such an expansion of the trade that it has been possible to reduce costs of production. But that is quite an exceptional circumstance, and in the case of the motor trade it is doubtful whether the expansion was appreciably influenced by the protective duty. Motoring is a modern passion, and in every country the motor industry has been expanding by leaps and bounds. As regards the vast majority of goods, there is no reason to expect that the shutting out of foreign imports would enable home manufacturers to produce more cheaply than they do at present.

We must at any rate assume that industrialists who ask for tariff protection know what they mean when they say that they cannot compete with the low-priced goods that the foreigner is sending here; they want a higher price in order to make their business profitable. From their point of view that is intelligible enough, but from the point of view of the consumer the prospect is unpleasant. Just as all producers want to sell dear, or sufficiently dear to secure a satisfactory profit, so all consumers want to buy cheap, or as cheap as they can for the quality they require. This divergence of interest between consumer and producer has existed since the world began, and will exist till the world ends. If, then, the State is to step in between the two it ought to begin by producing good reason for its action. If certain industries are to be selected for tariff favours, on what grounds is the selection to be based, and who is to determine the conflicting issues?

With the idea of settling this problem, official machinery was set up a few years ago to deal with claims for 'safeguarding.' No claim was to go through without the sanction of the Board of Trade, and after that sanction had been obtained the claim was to be referred to an independent committee for detailed investigation. The result was that a good many claims were rejected, and only some nine industries, all of them of minor importance in comparison with the great staple industries of the country, received the favour of a safeguarding duty. Among the favoured industries was the manufacture of packing and wrapping paper. To put a tax on such a material seems by itself distinctly unfair to the enormous number of manufacturers and traders who require that material for packing and wrapping their goods. But, incidentally, two grotesque absurdities have resulted—(a) porcelain dipping paper, used for the purpose of imprinting on chocolates the name of the manufacturer, is taxed as wrapping paper; (b) thin cardboard with a fine smooth surface, specially manufactured in America as the material on which figures are tabulated by electrical machines, is taxed as wrapping paper.

According to Mr. Baldwin's announcement, if and when the

Conservatives come back to power, this official machinery for checking applications for safeguarding duties is to be abandoned, and apparently anybody will then be allowed to obtain a safeguarding duty who can put up a case that appeals to the Ministry of the day. Why this should be called 'safeguarding' instead of blunt 'protection' is not obvious. Whatever name be used, we are still left with the problem of deciding why some industries are to be favoured and others to be neglected and often injured.

This difficulty is sufficiently serious when dealing only with the industries in our own country, but the difficulty must obviously become immensely greater when we try to construct a system of tariffs for the whole Empire. The very things that we in England want to obtain as cheaply as possible are the things that our Dominions and Colonies want to sell as dearly as possible. Though some of the Dominions are developing secondary industries of their own, their main activities are still devoted to producing such primary products as foodstuffs, raw cotton, wool, hides, timber, and various minerals. In Great Britain we cannot produce nearly enough of these things to satisfy the needs of our people and of our industries. Some of them we cannot produce at all. We must import large quantities, and the less we have to pay for what we import the stronger will be the position of our export industries with regard to the rest of the world.

Are we, then, to sacrifice our own essential economic interests in order to give favours to the Dominions and Colonies—favours which would be additional to the big favour they already receive in the shape of military and naval defence at the cost of the taxpayers of the United Kingdom? And if we are to give these additional favours, what are we to receive in return? It is loudly proclaimed by British advocates of Empire Free Trade that if we close our doors to foreign products and leave them wide open for Empire products, the Colonies and Dominions will respond by sweeping away the duties—often very heavy—which they now impose upon British manufactures. But the point of view of the Dominions is that it is desirable to have within their spacious territories secondary as well as primary industries, and in order to develop these secondary industries they must discourage the importation of manufactured goods from Great Britain as well as from the rest of the world. No appeals to Imperial sentiment are in the least degree likely to alter this attitude.

It is true that in some cases, especially in Australia, strong protests are made by the farmers and others engaged in primary industries against the burden imposed upon them by the tariffs created for the purpose of stimulating the secondary industries. But the secondary industries are in the towns, and their voting power, being compact, is considerably more effective than that

of the scattered agriculturists; and politicians follow where votes lead.

Moreover, the Dominions, in addition to insisting on protection for their own secondary industries against the competition of the Mother Country, are also extending their trade, both import and export, with foreign countries. Here we come back to the issues of the eighteenth century. Now, as then, the Colonies of Great Britain, whenever they find it more profitable to trade with foreign countries than with the Home Country, naturally prefer to do so. In spite of existing preferences, nearly all the Dominions are now tending to expand their foreign trade more rapidly than their inter-Imperial trade. In the case of Canada there has been in the past few years an enormous expansion of trade with the United States. The following figures from the *Canadian Year Book* for 1929 are worth quoting:

CANADIAN TRADE WITH U.S.A. AND U.K.
(Years ending March 31)

Imports (\$ million)

	from U.S.A.	from U.K.
1923 . .	541	141
1924 . .	601	154
1928 . .	719	186

Exports (\$ million)

	to U.S.A.	to U.K.
1923 . .	380	380
1924 . .	442	361
1928 . .	497	413

In addition to this striking expansion of her trade with her next-door neighbour, Canada is also increasing her trade with the continent of Europe, especially in the matter of exports. Are we to repeat the blunders of the eighteenth century and call upon Canada to abandon her expanding trade with foreign countries on the chance of being able to find an equally large trade within the British Empire? The same question arises with regard to Australia and New Zealand. Both these Dominions are seeking, and finding, profitable trade outside the Empire, and the volume of this trade is now so large that it is highly improbable that they would be willing to scrap it.

As regards our own trade, the position is practically the same. In spite of the growth of the population of the Empire in the

last fifty years, and in spite of the immense accessions of territory we have received since the Great War, and in spite of existing preferential tariffs, our exports to Empire countries still remain less than half of our exports to foreign countries. Dependent as we are upon our export industries for the life of our people, can we possibly afford to throw away more than half of our export trade on the off-chance of obtaining better days if we settled down within an Imperial ring-fence? As it happens, in the last few years the tendency of our trade, as also of the trade of the rest of the Empire, is to move further outside this suggested fence.

The following are the official figures of British exports for the last three years:

Exports from Great Britain (£ million)				
	1927	1928	1929	
To Foreign Countries . . .	382.4	395.9	405.1	
To Empire Countries . . .	326.6	327.7	324.5	

It is difficult to see how anyone can extract from these figures any solid reason for asserting that we must look to the Empire for the salvation of our industries.

As a matter of fact, there has been a great deal of overstatement with regard to the industrial depression of Great Britain. For political reasons both the Socialist Party and the Protectionist Party are painting England blacker than she really is. Both in the United States and in Germany unemployment is to-day rampant, in spite of high tariffs which—according to the Protectionist creed—are a guarantee of perpetual prosperity. On the other hand, though we have a great many unemployed—largely as the result of the lavish allowances made to persons who prefer the dole to industry—we are also able to point to the fact that there are more persons employed in Great Britain to-day than there were before the war. And England still leads the world in her capacity to export goods and find markets for them abroad. In the year 1928 the exports of articles wholly or partly manufactured per head of population of the principal manufacturing countries were as follows:

	£	s.	d.
From United Kingdom . . .	11	9	9
„ France . . .	6	5	9
„ Germany . . .	6	14	6
„ United States . . .	5	3	4

This relative activity of British export industries as compared with other countries is, of course, partly due to geographical considerations. We have a very large population in a country much smaller

than any of the other three. We cannot therefore live upon our own soil to the same extent as they do. But the fact that we are able to export so largely is a demonstration of the efficiency of our industries. An industry producing for export has to produce goods of a quality and at a price that will enable them to command a sale after they have incurred the cost of transport to the foreign market and after they have surmounted the obstacle of a hostile tariff; whereas industries making for the home market have the cost of transport in their favour as compared with goods imported from abroad, and sometimes also have a tariff in their favour. If, therefore, our people are able to export so much more per head of population than the people of our three principal rivals, there is no reason to take a pessimistic view of our industrial capacity.

Unfortunately fits of pessimism seem to accompany tariff campaigns. During the 'Fair Trade' agitation in the nineteenth century Lord Randolph Churchill, speaking at Blackpool on January 24, 1884, said:

Your iron industry is dead, dead as mutton; your coal industries are languishing; your silk industry is dead, assassinated by the foreigner; your woollen industry is *in articulo mortis*, gasping, struggling; your cotton industry is seriously sick; the shipbuilding industry, which held out longest of all, is come to a standstill. You find foreign iron, foreign wool, foreign silk and cotton pouring into the country, flooding you, drowning you, sinking you, swamping you.

In a similar spirit Joseph Chamberlain, speaking at Glasgow on October 7, 1903, in support of his Colonial Preference campaign, said:

Silk is gone. Iron is threatened. Cotton will go. How long are you going to stand it? At the present moment these industries, and the working men who depend upon them, are like sheep in the field. One by one they allow themselves to be led to the slaughter.

If these prophets of woe were still living they would be staggered to see the immense increase in the population, in the trade, and in the prosperity of Great Britain since they declared that we were being wiped out by the foreigner. Modern pessimists will do well to take warning.

We come back to the question whether it is possible to increase our prosperity by limiting our trade to countries within the Empire. The figures above given show clearly the risks we should run. How, then, does it happen that again and again in our history we have had campaigns launched against foreign trade—so far, at any rate, as imports are concerned? The answer, I think, is that a vast number of people find it difficult to get their minds beyond the conception that imported goods are paid for

with money, and that if we buy goods from abroad we are handing over our money to the foreigner. Consequently they argue that it is better to buy goods made in Great Britain, or, failing that, goods made within the British Empire. This sounds patriotic; but is it really so? The popular delusion that we pay for imported goods with 'money' will not bear even a few minutes of serious thought. Clearly our currency notes are of no value for this purpose. No foreigner is going to be content to take little pieces of English printed paper in final exchange for a cargo of valuable goods.

Money, whatever shape it takes, is only useful as a temporary medium of exchange. In return for the valuable goods sold to Great Britain the foreigner will insist on having something of real value. It is true that on some occasions he may be content, or even pleased, to take gold. But there is a very quick ending to the amount of gold we can send abroad, and in practice year in and year out the amount of gold we export is roughly balanced by the amount we import. We must finally pay for our imports of foreign goods by the export of British goods. For brevity's sake the word 'goods' is here used to cover goods and services. The latter, being invisible, do not appear in the monthly accounts of the Board of Trade, but the services of our bankers, our merchants, and our shipowners to foreign countries constitute a very important part of British exports and also provide for the profitable employment of large numbers of our people. In return for these exported services and for our exported goods, we receive from foreign countries valuable things that we want to buy. When all our invisible as well as our visible exports are taken into account the figures show that on balance we are exporting more than we import, which means that we are still making capital investments abroad. That, at any rate, disposes of the delusion that we are on the high road to bankruptcy as the result of buying foreign goods.

From the economic point of view it makes no difference whether what we import comes from foreign countries or from Empire countries. In either case the import has to be paid for by British exports. On the other hand, there is in many people's minds a quite intelligible sentiment in favour of buying from friends rather than from possible enemies. By all means let this sentiment be gratified where it exists, and where its gratification is practicable. But we have to realise that it is quite impossible for Great Britain to satisfy all her wants from countries within the Empire.

Take, for example, the important question of mineral products. In a lecture on this subject last January, Sir Thomas W. Holland, Vice-Chancellor and Principal of Edinburgh University, stated

that careful investigations which have been made in recent years show that 'no single country is self-sufficient as regards the variety and the quantity of the mineral resources that are required, either for the maintenance of civil activities in peace time, or for meeting the much greater requirements of war.' Among the figures given by him the following are of special interest. Of the world's output of copper, 50 per cent. comes from the United States, only 7 per cent. from the British Empire; of antimony, 65 per cent. comes from China and 12 per cent. from Bolivia; of potash, 94 per cent. comes from France and Germany; of quicksilver, 50 per cent. from Spain and 40 per cent. from Italy. On the other hand, the British Empire takes the lead with 91 per cent. of the world's asbestos and 53 per cent. of the world's output of gold. Therefore for the sake of minerals alone international trade is imperative.

In the case of many other commodities the difficulty, from the British point of view, is that we cannot from within the Empire get enough of the things we must have as materials for our industries. There is also the very important question of quality. Indeed, one of the dominating factors in trade is quality. Some people want a particular quality of article and are willing to pay for it, even if it costs much; others prefer a different quality, very often because it is cheaper. Thus we find Irish farmers exporting high-class bacon to England, and importing cheap bacon from America for their own consumption. We find Egyptian cotton growers selling their cotton to Lancashire millowners, and buying back calico made of American cotton. Women in Yorkshire woollen mills, employed in weaving high-class cloth for sale to the United States, may themselves be dressed in cheap cloth made in Germany. A Yorkshire manufacturer may be buying French yarn with which to make a special quality of cloth for the American market, while his neighbour, a spinner, is producing a cheaper yarn for sale to Germany. These illustrations are typical of the complexities of world trade, and there is always a risk that governmental interference may destroy the trade altogether.

An additional grave risk in the case of Great Britain is that interference with the free movement of trade tends to destroy the advantages which our shipping industry and our merchanting industry enjoy from the fact that in the main our ports are still open for the entry and exit of foreign goods. The owners and the crews of our ships are paid for carrying goods which we import and re-export; our merchants and their clerks are paid for the business of selling the goods. An illustration of how England gains in this matter by cutting down her import duties was furnished by last year's Budget. Mr. Churchill's abolition of the tea duty made England a free port for tea, with the result that in a

few weeks' time Dutch tea merchants were complaining that their business was passing to London. On the other hand, when duties are imposed we lose this profitable entrepôt trade. When the safeguarding duty on cotton lace and net came into operation on July 1, 1925, there was immediately a heavy fall, not only in our imports, but also in our re-exports. There was also a fall in the exports of British-made lace and net. The figures for 1924, the last complete year before the duty, and the year 1929 are worth comparing.

COTTON LACE AND NET

	1924	1929
	£	£
Imports . . .	1,916,000	389,000
Re-exports . . .	1,710,000	71,000
Exports . . .	2,498,000	1,426,000

It will be observed that the net imports, *i.e.*, imports less re-exports, are actually greater than before the safeguarding duties were imposed, while the exports of home-produced goods have declined. Whether our home manufacturers of lace and net have gained anything from the duty imposed at their request is not apparent from these figures, but it is apparent that our merchants and shipowners have suffered a distinct loss. This duty was wisely imposed for five years only, and as it is not to be renewed it will disappear on July 1 next.

These are examples of the risks that Great Britain runs when duties are imposed to check the importation of foreign goods, whether for the benefit of favoured manufacturers at home or for the benefit of Empire trade. In return for these risks, what do we gain? Both Australia and Canada have made it perfectly clear that they are not going to abandon their policy of protection for their own secondary industries, as against the industries of the Mother Country, so that any preference they give will, as Joseph Chamberlain so plainly declared in 1903, be of practically no value to us. New Zealand may perhaps go further in the direction of a real preference, but the New Zealand market is necessarily a very small one. Our principal Empire market is India, but India seems at present far more likely to organise a boycott of British goods than to give them an effective preference.

But even if all the Dominions and all the Colonies threw open their doors to British goods we should not be able to find within those doors a sufficient market to make up for the loss of our foreign customers, nor should we be able to find within the Empire all of the materials that we need for our own industrial life. A ring fence round the Empire would mean ruin to many of our

manufacturing industries, and it would bring no guarantee of prosperity to our agricultural industries. The free importation of foodstuffs from Empire countries, if sufficient to supply the needs of our people, would be as injurious to British farmers as the free importation of foreign foodstuffs.

The injury done to the Colonies and Dominions by the establishment of a ring round the Empire would be perhaps less serious than the injury to the Mother Country, but sufficiently serious to make it certain that they will reject, as our Colonies did in the eighteenth century, any plans for limiting their trade to countries within the Empire.

In the opinion of the present writer, the idea of trying to bind the Empire together by commercial restrictions is a fundamental error. We are too widely scattered, and our commercial interests too widely different, to make such a bond possible. The example of the German Zollverein and of the tariff unity of the United States leads us nowhere, for in each of these cases the States which are brought within one tariff system are territorially contiguous to one another, and the creation of a single external tariff has meant the sweeping away of a number of arbitrary internal barriers. But when the ocean intervenes the barriers are not arbitrary; for the cargoes of ships must in any case be examined on landing. Thus Germany and the United States furnish no parallel on which to base any solid argument for our widely scattered Empire.

If the British Empire is to survive we must rely upon bonds of unity which are less prosaic than commercial profits. The present bonds are a common language, common traditions, and a common loyalty. If we continue to rely on these bonds, and rightly to interpret their meaning, we may safely hope for a permanent unity.

HAROLD COX.

THE SUGAR CRISIS

THE year 1929 witnessed a record production of sugar in the world. So great was this production that, although stocks were already unduly high at the end of 1928, over 1,000,000 tons of sugar were added to surplus stocks at a time when the rate of consumption barely increased at all. The result is a sensational slump in prices. The most notable increases in production last year are those shown by the two largest sugar-cane growing countries in the world—namely, the islands of Cuba and Java. Out of a total world production of 28,500,000 tons Cuba was responsible for 5,200,000 tons and Java for 3,200,000 tons. The latter represents an increase of 1,000,000 tons over the year 1926-27; and the Cuban harvest yielded 1,125,000 tons more in 1929 than in 1928. As these two countries provide the bulk of the sugar available for sale in the 'free markets' of the world, they are the determining factor in the price of all sugar admitted to those markets.

The world price of sugar is now so low that it is below the cost of production in every country, with the possible exception of Java. But in nearly all markets sugar is protected by tariffs, and in some by subsidies as well as tariffs. Australia actually prohibits the importation of sugar. Present quotations for Cuba sugar f.o.b. Havana are about 6s. 7½d. per cwt., at a time when the buyer's price for sugar for home consumption in Australia is 37s. 4½d. The protective duty on sugar imported into the United States was 10s. 3d. per cwt. in 1929, and has since been raised. Sugar from Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines is admitted free of all duty into the United States, *i.e.*, enjoys a preference of 10s. 3d. per cwt. Cuba obtains a small preference, 2s. per cwt., in the United States market on account of the large investment of American capital in the Cuban sugar industry, with the result that the American market is fully saturated with the production of America's own dependencies and Cuba.

France has recently raised her tariff from 7s. to about 11s. per cwt. against all foreign sugars, and admits sugar from her cane-growing colonies—namely, Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guiana, and Réunion free.

The principal beet sugar country, Czecho-Slovakia, has a

protective duty of 9s. per cwt. against all imported sugar. The domestic price of sugar to refiners in Czecho-Slovakia to-day is 21s. 6d. per cwt., and the export price is 8s. 10½d. f.o.b.

Great Britain gives to sugar from her overseas Empire a preference of 3s. 9d. per cwt. Canada gives to sugar produced in the British West Indies (including British Guiana) a preference of 4s. 8d. per cwt. Owing to the higher rates of protection and preference given by other countries, the British sugar-producing Dependencies are very severely hit by the present depression of prices and the competition of dumped or subsidised foreign sugars.

Apart from Australia and South Africa, which produce for their own highly protected home markets (Australia prohibiting all imports and South Africa imposing a duty of 7s. 9d., recently raised still higher), the main sugar producers in the overseas Empire which have to export sugar are Mauritius, Fiji, and the British West Indies. The latter are the historic battleground of the sugar industry, and for more than 200 years their fortunes have risen or fallen with the state of the sugar industry. Not even in the dislocations produced by emancipation or in the period of the Continental sugar bounties of the nineteenth century have they had to face such a crisis as they are facing to-day.

The average cost of production of sugar in the British West Indies is declared by the Olivier Report to be 11l. 17s. 6d. per ton. In Mauritius it is about 13l. per ton. The average cost of production in Cuba and Java is below these figures, but the average cost of production in all other countries is higher. In other words, one-third of the world's supply is produced cheaper than in the British Colonial Dependencies and two-thirds is produced at a higher average cost. In South Africa the estimated cost of production is about 15l. 17s. per ton, and in Australia 24l. per ton. Owing to the high price in their highly protected home markets, these Dominions can afford to dump a certain proportion of their production at a price much below their costs of production. Not so the Colonial Dependencies, whose home markets are small and who are therefore dependent on exports of sugar for the prosperity of their inhabitants and their internal revenues. The social consequences to the British Colonies where sugar is the main sources of wealth cannot be exaggerated. A collapse of production not only throws out of the only employment available thousands of peasants and labourers, but indirectly, through the decline of Colonial revenues, deprives the people of those services in the form of public health and education of which they are in the greatest need. It may be said that Antigua, St. Kitts, Barbados, and Mauritius are wholly dependent on the sugar industry. British Guiana and Trinidad are in a marked degree

similarly dependent. St. Lucia and Jamaica are seriously affected. In the Indian Ocean Mauritius is wholly dependent on its sugar exports and practically the entire crop is marketed in Great Britain.

The first thing to bear in mind is the steady fall in prices in the market of Great Britain. The prices obtained for British West Indian sugar—unrefined 96° test c.i.f. in United Kingdom ports—varied in 1927 from 19s. 3d. to 15s. 3d. per cwt.; in 1928 the price varied from 16s. 9d. to 13s. 6d.; in 1929 from 13s. 3d. to 11s. 9d. in June last. Since January 1 this year the price has never reached 12s., and in April averaged 11s. 1½d., the lowest ever recorded. These are c.i.f. prices, and from them must be deducted freight and other charges, amounting to anything from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per cwt. Assuming that the producer gets the whole of the preference, there is at present prices a margin of loss of nearly 2l. a ton on every ton of sugar produced in the British West Indies. Canada and Great Britain are their only available markets, and the price of Cuban and Javanese sugar in the markets of Great Britain, which between them account for approximately half the sugar imported for consumption in this country, practically determines the price to all other producers not assisted by subsidies or high protection. In order to get rid of some of her surplus Cuba has recently sold consignments of sugar in England at a price giving 6s. 7½d. f.o.b. Havana. Assuming such sugar comes from the cheapest producers, this must mean a loss to Cuban companies of at least 1l. 15s. a ton. At present very little Cuban sugar is being sold even in the American market at a profit, and but for the large capital resources and reserves behind the Cuban industry the position there would be disastrous. Cuba is fortunate in that in the good days of sugar just after the war capitalists interested in Cuba were not subjected to the excess profits tax imposed by Great Britain on the British sugar companies operating in the British West Indies.

It must always be borne in mind that of all crops sugar is the most characteristically a capitalist undertaking, as the industry depends not merely upon the application of modern science to the cultivation of the crop, but still more upon expensive factory plant. A modern 'central' is an enormous and costly collection of machinery controlled at every stage by chemical experts. Scientific controls and modern factory organisation have reached the most astonishing pitch of perfection in Java and Hawaii. Immense improvements have also been made in the British West Indies and Mauritius since the war in capital equipment. The number of factories has been reduced and modern plant obtained from Scotland and other parts of Great Britain. But admittedly

in the application of science to the growing of the sugar cane Java leads the world. In soil science and plant genetics Java is ahead of our own Colonies, and for forty years Java has been building up step by step the most advanced agricultural scientific station devoted to the problems of a single crop in the world. The great sugar research station at Passoroean, in East Java, is the most remarkable undertaking of its kind. The recent rapid expansion of Javanese production and its cheapness is due in the main to the work of the plant breeders of Passoroean. As a result of years of scientific work a special cane, P.O.J. No. 2878, has been bred which is exactly suited to the peculiar soil and climatic conditions of Java. This cane, now in almost universal use, has added between 25 per cent. and 30 per cent. to the yield of sugar per acre per annum. It is a cane quite unsuited to West Indian conditions. It could never have been produced, nor the large sum devoted to the Passoroean station (about 100,000l. per annum) had the industry not been based upon the complete co-operation and uniform scientific control of all engaged in an industry carried on on a scale far exceeding what is possible in any one area in the British Empire. The British West Indies have suffered in this respect from their smallness, their varied conditions, their failure to co-operate, and in part to past neglect by the Home Government. It requires the assemblage of a large staff of European scientists working as a team for a period of years before the type of results obtained by Passoroean can be achieved. It will take years to build up a research station comparable to it.

It must be remembered, too, that in Java the variety of cane grown is under the complete control of the European-owned sugar companies. In Mauritius and Trinidad a large proportion of the canes feeding the factories are grown by small negro and East Indian peasant proprietors. It is upon these growers quite as much as upon the British sugar companies that the effects of the present crisis is falling. In other places, such as British Guiana and Barbados, nearly all the sugar cane is grown by the companies owning the factories on their own estates with wage labour. Here, again, it is these labourers who are now feeling the pinch most acutely. The British capitalist may lose his money, but the West Indian negroes lose their means of subsistence—their all.

In Mauritius the companies are largely owned by the descendants of the old French settlers who remained on in the island when Great Britain took Mauritius from France in the Napoleonic Wars. They have proved very loyal to Great Britain, but have preserved in that island a culture and standard of civilisation which has done much for all its inhabitants. They have granted,

as have the British West Indies, a substantial preference to British manufactured goods, from which the British exporter has derived great benefits over his foreign competitors.

It is the social and political quite as much as the financial consequences of the present collapse of the British sugar islands that give so much cause for alarm. The threatened crisis began to make itself clear last summer, and in September last the Government appointed a Commission consisting of the former Socialist Secretary of State for India, Lord Olivier, and Mr. M. D. Semple, a sugar technician, to visit the West Indies and report to the Imperial Government on the situation.

As early as December 31 last Lord Olivier reported to the Home Government by telegram commencing as follows :

The gravity of the position now embarrassing the West Indian sugar industry, as ascertained by us, and possible loss of preference further threatening its virtual extinction, impel us to convey to you by telegraph this preliminary report of the effect of our general findings. Timely appreciation of true situation by His Majesty's Government appears to us essential with a view to early alleviation of immediate conditions and mature consideration of effectual Imperial policy. Present costs of reasonably efficient production, excluding provision for profit, depreciation, maintenance or improvement, exceed preferential market prices by amounts up to 2*l.* per ton. . . .

This telegram was not published till well into March 1930.

Lord Olivier's full recommendations and his admirable review of all the circumstances were transmitted in a final report dated February 1, 1930, and in spite of protests in both Houses of Parliament and protests in the West Indies this report was withheld for some weeks. When in March these two documents and a similar report by Sir Francis Watts on the position in Mauritius were presented to Parliament they were accompanied, not by any declaration of policy or offer of immediate help, but by a derisory and conditional offer to share with Colonial Governments threatened with something like bankruptcy half the bankers' losses on any advances they might make, not on last year's or this year's crops, but on the 1930-31 crop. The failure of the Government to appreciate the gravity of the present situation and their cynical dilatoriness in the handling of the matter have been voiced on more than one occasion by Lord Olivier himself. Accordingly, criticism of the Government's inaction cannot be attributed to party faction.

The main recommendations of the Olivier Report may be summarised as follows :

- (1) By way of an immediate moratorium the British preference on Imperial sugar should be raised as quickly as possible to 4*s.* 8*d.* per cwt.

- (2) A sugar-purchasing agency should be set up in Great Britain, buying Imperial sugar at 15*l.* per ton c.i.f. and foreign sugar at the market price.
- (3) His Majesty's Government should make a resolute endeavour to eliminate in concert with other Powers the present disturbing factors of high protective tariffs and subsidies.
- (4) A West Indian Sugar Technologists' Association should be formed with assistance from public funds.
- (5) Alternative industries should be encouraged wherever possibilities for such exist.

There are other recommendations, but the above five are those of major importance within the power of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain if they have the will to act.

Naturally the West Indies and Mauritius anxiously awaited Mr. Snowden's Budget statement. He had previously threatened the destruction of the small preference still given by Great Britain to Colonial sugars in return for the large preferences given by those Colonies to British manufactured goods. Happily the worst has not happened, and Mr. Snowden has continued the existing preference for another year, renewing, however, his threat to abolish it during the lifetime of the present Parliament. Doubtless he is torn between the declarations of his party regarding the trusteeship of Great Britain for the coloured people of our Dependencies and his hatred of all forms of Imperial Preference. The retention of some element of preference is, of course, a big concession for anyone holding the strict Cobdenite faith of Mr. Snowden.

But the fact remains that the Government have ignored the Olivier Report and have taken no action to implement any of its recommendations. If ever there was a clear case for an increased rate of preference the present emergency would demand it. The cost would be small, and there is no reason why such increased preference as Lord Olivier proposes should not be confined to the British non-self-governing Dependencies, for whose welfare and prosperity the Parliament at Westminster is still directly responsible.

But perhaps the more interesting and novel proposal of Lord Olivier is his suggestion of a purchasing board for the purpose of buying Colonial sugar at a fixed minimum price, while foreign sugar can be bought at the lowest world price. This plan is associated with those put forward by various members of the Labour Party, and notably by Mr. E. F. Wise. If ever there was an opportunity for a valuable experiment of this kind the present sugar situation provides that opportunity. It would appear that the conditions as to prices, etc., are singularly

favourable for the successful operation of such a purchasing board in connexion with this particular commodity. The experience gained in its operations would be of the utmost value in considering the possible extension of the same principle to other commodities for the purpose of stabilising and guaranteeing prices. A great opportunity is being lost.

Meanwhile distress is growing among the poorer classes of the sugar Colonies. Colonial revenues are declining, and some form of assistance will be required before many months are out. Relief works, unemployment pay, advances to peasant growers will no doubt have to be started, and doubtless the British taxpayer will be called upon to help. If trusteeship is to have any practical meaning, the Imperial Government will have to decide how best to relieve the situation. It refuses to act upon any of the recommendations of its own Commission, and must accordingly produce its own alternative remedies. The attitude of the Canadian Government may prove to be important as far as the West Indies are concerned, and the provisions of the new Canadian Budget are awaited with interest. The commercial, banking, and other ties between Canada and the British West Indies have been growing rapidly ever since the reciprocal arrangements between Canada and the West Indies were inaugurated. It is perhaps not realised how, owing to mutual preferences, the trade between Canada and the West Indies has been developed—partly, no doubt, at the expense of trade between Great Britain and her Dependencies. In 1913 the exports of Canada to the British West Indies were valued at 4,601,000 Canadian dollars. In 1929 they were valued at no less than 20,875,000 Canadian dollars. Canada is now predominantly interested in the British West Indian markets, and in default of action by the Government of Great Britain the islands are looking more and more to Canada. Canada may save the West Indies from complete disaster, but Mauritius is out in the cold. Mauritius must continue to look to Great Britain as its only market, for there are no commercial or tariff agreements between Mauritius and any British Dominion. In view of the peculiar history and composition of the population of Mauritius, a special responsibility rests upon His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, and upon them alone. The other sugar islands, such as the Fiji, market practically the whole of their product in New Zealand and Western Canada. The bulk of the sugar estates in Fiji and the dominant sugar company are Australian, but the Australian tariff and embargo shuts out Fiji sugar from Australian markets in the interest of Queensland producers. Only a very small proportion of Fijian sugar is sold in United Kingdom markets. India is also an important sugar-cane grower, but the

Indian crop is insufficient for domestic needs, and India annually imports large quantities of sugar from Java to make up for her deficiency.

As to the general outlook for the future, there would appear to be little prospect of securing any reduction of foreign tariffs, preferences and subsidies, or of securing free trade, or even preferences, for Colonial sugar in the markets of those British self-governing Dominions who are building up their own cane-sugar industry behind tariff walls erected quite as much against Empire as against foreign sugar. The whole problem comes down to questions as to the future fiscal policies of Great Britain and Canada and the effect of low prices upon production in the island of Cuba. In the long run Java can beat Cuba in spite of the American preference to Cuba. Java has climatic, technical, scientific, and labour assets such as are possessed by no other tropical dependency in the world. She is unlikely to co-operate in any scheme of restriction of output, and Java will exploit her great natural advantages to the full. Cuba is, like the British West Indies and Mauritius, in a serious plight. For political and financial reasons Washington cannot ignore the present position in Cuba. All these factors must be taken into account in determining the future course of British policy.

W. ORMSBY GORE.

THE HOUSING BILL

A FRESH offensive in the protracted campaign against bad housing, which started nearly a century ago, when in 1842 the Prince Consort became the first president of the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Labouring Classes, will begin this year as the result of the passing into law of the Government's Housing (No. 2) Bill. This passed its second reading without a division in the House of Commons on April 8, but will no doubt be amended in many details during the committee stage in May. Readers of the *Nineteenth Century and After* have been well forewarned of some of the factors involved by the two valuable articles contributed this year by Mr. E. D. Simon, M.P., and Sir Kingsley Wood, M.P.

My purpose here is to try and do justice to the present Bill so far as it goes. First, however, it is necessary to point out certain fundamental defects. If Mr. Greenwood, as an admitted expert on economics, had propounded a policy for dealing with the slum problem, apart from his position as a Labour Minister, with one eye on Parliament and the other on the next General Election, he might well have produced a Bill which would have lifted the housing question out of the party arena, and placed its control under a National Housing Commission similar to the Electricity Commission. Such a body would certainly not have approved of this Bill, which directly encourages filling up the vacant spaces in our cities with cottages or five-storey tenements and leaving it to future town-planning legislation to provide the antidote. In the debate on April 7 one Socialist M.P. actually advocated building temporary dwellings on 2000 acres of London's parks and open spaces. As will be shown later, it is essential to attract industries and homes out of our crowded urban districts, and the present Bill is likely to have a contrary effect.

Further, Mr. Greenwood, as an economist, must surely doubt the wisdom of a policy which proposes at a possible capital cost to the Exchequer of 250,000,000*l.* to tempt local authorities to fill each of the new houses to the brim. Overcrowding in one place may simply, under the Bill, be transferred to another site, unless

medical officers of health exercise a far more drastic administrative control than they do at present.

. Again, Mr. Greenwood no doubt understands that ultimately success depends upon the building industry. He acknowledges that the present subsidy is far more costly than any introduced so far except that of 1919. The capital value over forty years of the Chamberlain subsidy was 70*l.*, and of the Wheatley subsidy 124*l.* Now Mr. Greenwood offers as his lowest subsidy 195*l.*, counting five persons to a house, and rises to 301*l.* in case of high tenements. If, for lack of adequate central control, the demand again exceeds the present capacity of the building industry to supply, building costs will inevitably increase. If they rise by as much as 50*l.* a house, a small proportion as compared with the 500*l.* rise of ten years ago, the whole of the increased levy on the taxpayers will be spent without any corresponding benefit being given to tenants.

These are all fundamental criticisms, but, as members of Parliament of all parties have given the Bill their unanimous blessing during the second reading, it is only possible here to suggest such amendments as can be made in the committee stage. The Bill is in the main a political measure, shrewdly designed by officials who have handled the problem for at least ten years, and who do not think the time opportune for any revolutionary change. They prefer to follow the old paths, and to leave the main action to the local authorities. The burden of the attack on the slums will fall upon the front-line troops. The fighting men will be the members of housing committees of some 2000 local authorities in Great Britain; of voluntary housing associations, whose assistance in providing new houses for former slum-dwellers is welcomed; and, above all, the medical officers of health, the surveyors and the staffs of our local government authorities. They will be left to work out their own local schemes of attack, and to carry them through unhampered by too rigid control from the officials in Whitehall.

The Bill itself, containing the 'operation orders' for the new campaign, is an example of clear thinking on a complex subject. There are five parts in the Bill, fifty-six different clauses, and five schedules. The main provisions are simple and intelligible, with but few references to past legislation. It should be noted that officially there is no such thing as a 'slum.' This is a vague, although a convenient, word, used loosely to describe a variety of dwellings, ranging from some verminous and worn-out hovel to a well-built tenement that, properly reconditioned, can be given a new lease of life for another fifty years. To the official mind slums are only 'unhealthy areas.' The phrase suggests the root reason why public money is spent for the sake of the health of the community.

As long ago as 1851 the Government of that day, realising that bad homes were the breeding places of disease, immorality, crime, and discontent, decided that local rates could be spent on the erection and maintenance of lodging-houses for the labouring classes. The Public Health Act of 1875, a landmark in housing legislation, gave authorities some control over insanitary property. The great Act of 1890 was the foundation of the work of existing housing committees, and was followed by the 'John Burns' Act of 1909, the Coalitionist Act of 1919, the Conservative Act of 1923, and the Labour Act of 1924. Mr. Greenwood's Bill is a logical, and indeed an inevitable, development from this past legislation. With some slight additions, and minus a few trimmings, it might easily have been introduced by a Conservative or a Liberal.

It has only been possible to bring forward such a comprehensive measure in 1930 because Great Britain has done far more in proportion to her population than any other country in the world in providing homes for her people. The building of a million and a half new houses in ten years is a record of which we have good reason to be proud. The post-war English house, as a rule, is of a standard which surpasses any other working-class dwelling in the world, even those built by wealthy Dutch municipalities and the sunless rooms in American tenements. There is no need to decry unduly our housing progress. Because we have gone so far in meeting the post-war housing shortage as far as the middle classes and the upper working class are concerned, it is possible now to begin to face the difficult task of removing from his squalid surroundings the unskilled artisan and his family, whose wages are small, and whose rent, therefore, must be proportionately low. We may remember, too, that the rate of slum clearance is ten times as fast as it was before the war and take encouragement for the future.

The new Bill attempts to meet the needs of the low-paid workers who cluster in derelict properties in our towns and villages. Victory can be achieved, not only by acquiring and pulling down insanitary property, but by first providing suitable accommodation at low rents for those likely to be displaced. It is useless to pull down decayed tenements if the families simply seek for lodging in neighbouring houses and thus intensify the existing overcrowding. It is also useless to proceed on the lines of the Lloyd George Act of 1919, which gave unlimited State subsidies for houses on each of which there is to-day an annual loss of over 40*l.* a year.

Those responsible for the new Bill have rejected the unlimited subsidy. There have been eighteen different forms of subsidy granted by the State since 1919, and the majority have wisely

been stopped. How far they have increased building costs, as Sir Kingsley Wood urged last month, is a controversial point, but they have certainly impeded the reorganisation of the building industry, on which ultimately economic housing depends. A National Housing Commission would control building of all kinds, and would exercise a check upon the industry, including the provision of materials. As it is, housing policy, and the amounts of housing subsidies, have always varied according to political exigencies.

The new Bill has one outstanding merit, for it points the way to a future non-political programme, based on continuity of effort and scientific consideration of regional growth. Local authorities are asked to work out a coherent policy and to submit a programme. Much depends, however, on the success of the experiment of paying public money on a new basis. The change is difficult to explain in simple language. Under the existing law grants are made to a local authority towards the cost of a clearance scheme not exceeding one-half of the estimated average annual loss likely to be incurred by the authority in carrying out the scheme. The Treasury agreed in 1919 to pay a sum limited to 200,000*l.* a year for this purpose, but owing to the slow progress made, and, recently, to the legal obstacles following the 'Derby decision,' this amount has not been required in full.

Under the new Bill it is proposed to abolish this percentage grant, and to replace it by a fixed annual grant in aid of the expenses incurred by local authorities in rehousing persons displaced. These include the expenses incurred in acquiring, clearing, and disposing of unhealthy areas. The scope of the grant will be extended, and so fixed as to give an increased measure of financial assistance to local authorities, and thus enable them to let a considerable proportion of the houses provided for rehousing displaced persons at rents definitely lower than the rents of the houses provided under the Wheatley Act of 1924.

The grant is based on the unit of an individual person. The greater the number in the family to be rehoused, the larger the grant, and therefore it is anticipated that local authorities will select families with young children, in order to receive larger sums from the Exchequer. The amount of the grant will normally be 45*s.* per displaced person, to be paid annually for a period of forty years. In order to meet abnormal needs the grant will be increased to 70*s.* per displaced person, where it is shown to be necessary to provide rehousing accommodation in tenement buildings of more than three storeys on the site of the cleared area, or on sites the approved cost of which exceed 4000*l.* an acre. Thus, Liverpool dock labourers desire to live as near as possible to their daily work, but land in the centre of the city is necessarily

expensive. In London, too, railway workers close to St. Pancras, King's Cross, and Euston are unwilling to go to homes far away at Beacontree or Downham, two of the L.C.C. housing estates. In order to utilise to the best advantage highly priced land on such an area as Ossulton Street it is necessary to build high, and this is costly. The increased grant partially meets these abnormal cases. In agricultural parishes, where wages are low, conditions are different from those in the towns, and in such cases the grant will be increased to 50s. per displaced person.

Admittedly the cost of all these different grants will impose a heavy burden upon the public. How much, depends on how long the reduced rents are to be in operation, and how far the rate-payers will meet rents that are not paid at all. This aspect was ignored in the debate on the second reading. The official estimate given was that if 100,000 persons are displaced each year of whom 20,000 are rehoused in tenement buildings provided on the cleared sites, the annual Exchequer grant proposed would amount to about 250,000*l.* per year for forty years. This charge would necessarily increase annually as further rehousing schemes were completed. This estimate is admittedly tentative. The figure of 100,000 persons displaced in a year is far higher than has yet been experienced, but Mr. W. L. Hare, the well-informed editor of the *Journal of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association*, suggests that it looks as if '250,000,000*l.* will have to be spent before the task is completed.' The ultimate total cost will be governed, however, by the triennial review of the amount of contribution, and will be less than the colossal expenditure involved in the unlimited subsidies granted by the Coalition Government in 1919. The Lloyd George Act provided 173,000 houses at an unknown capital charge, which some experts estimate at as much as 400,000,000*l.* Mr. Greenwood has shrewdly avoided the mistakes of his predecessor. The present Treasury subsidy is limited, and the necessary brakes are provided in case of need.

The Bill does not, however, involve any form of compulsion upon tenants to move out from their slums into the new dwellings. The inmates of unhealthy dwellings cling pathetically to their old surroundings, where they have been brought up close to friends and relatives, to their churches or chapels, and the shops which give them credit in times of stress. In a purely Socialist State the authorities would no doubt be armed with powers to compel slum tenants to move to selected dwellings if required, and without such powers there is always the danger in this country that displaced tenants will take refuge with their relatives and friends near by, and will thus aggravate the existing overcrowding. This was one result of the clearances involved in the laying out of

the Kingsway. In order to prevent this disaster medical officers of health will have to be very much on the alert, keeping a careful card index of all families in tenement houses and carrying out regular inspection. Efficient administration applying persuasion rather than compulsion will be very necessary if the operations of the present Bill are not, in fact, to produce increased overcrowding. The housing and health committees of local authorities, under the guidance of town clerks (who will give legal advice), of borough engineers (who are supposed to have technical experience regarding buildings), and medical officers of health, will have to plan the offensive in their own particular district. To continue the military metaphor, there will be three lines of trenches to be taken :

(1) '*Clearance Areas.*'—These are areas where the dwelling-houses are in such a state of disrepair, or are so defective, that they are unfit for human habitation, or by reason of their bad arrangement, or the narrowness or bad planning of the streets, are dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants. These areas must be entirely cleared of all the worn-out and verminous dwellings.

(2) '*Improvement Areas.*'—Here the conditions are equally dangerous or injurious to health, but can be effectively remedied without wholesale demolition. Some of the houses, which block the entrance of light and air, may have to be pulled down, while others may need to be repaired or reconditioned. These 'improvement areas' are, in fact, secondary slums.

(3) '*Individual Houses.*'—These are like strong points that must be captured. They may be reconditioned or pulled down.

We must not expect spectacular results from the new powers provided to clear areas. Work in such areas has been proceeding for at least forty years, and much more has been done than is sometimes recognised. In Birmingham, Liverpool, Nottingham, Leeds, and many other centres tracts of open land, cleared of noisome courts and unhealthy back-to-back houses, may be seen. In London some thirty clearance schemes have been undertaken at prodigious expense and effort. But while clearances proceed on the one hand, every day more people flow from the provinces into the metropolis, hoping to find, if not fortune, at any rate regular employment, and the task of dealing with this tide of immigrants sometimes appears about as hopeless as that undertaken by King Canute. While, in some parts of the country, houses are standing empty owing to the move southwards, in London the pressure of new residents crowding into lodgings complicates the problem.

This aspect of the question should be dealt with in the new Town Planning Bill which is promised. The present Housing

Bill is one-sided, for it solely deals with clearing unhealthy areas, the remedying of unhealthy conditions, and the provision of alternative accommodation. It does not touch the equally pressing problem of trying to encourage industries to leave our overcrowded industrial centres, and to transfer themselves to garden cities like Letchworth or Welwyn, or to satellite towns, where the workers may dwell close to open spaces and walk to and from their daily work without the fatigue and expense of travelling by rail or road. The importance of decentralisation in dealing with this densely populated country, and of applying skilled planning to our existing urban areas, cannot be over-estimated.

The Bill endeavours to meet certain legal difficulties, but evades altogether the problem of paying compensation for property compulsorily acquired, which has been a bugbear of all housing reformers for the last half-century. Before the war the amount of compensation payable to property owners was frequently so great that authorities declined to pay the bill, and good schemes were abandoned. After the war the Coalition Government decided that compensation on site value alone should be allowed where land is purchased compulsorily. A Committee presided over by Mr. Neville Chamberlain reported in 1922 that this system pressed with special unfairness upon owners who were endeavouring to keep their property in good order. It is especially hard upon poor men who have bought their cottages on mortgage. The Committee recommended certain changes, and most students of housing expected that Mr. Neville Chamberlain would endeavour to remedy this present injustice. He had to concentrate on the great reform embodied in the Local Government Act of last year. His successor so far has made only one adjustment, for under the Greenwood Bill local authorities may pay reasonable allowances to persons displaced, who may themselves be property owners, towards the expense of removal, and compensation for loss sustained owing to disturbance of trade or business.

This is a concession that will ease the machinery enormously. I know one case where a poor man bought a small house, partly with the help of his war gratuity and partly with a loan from a building society. He secured a small income from a little shop in his front room. The house was condemned, and the total compensation offered was the site value of 30*l*. The local agitation against this obvious injustice was so intense that the whole clearance scheme was held up.

We may hope that the Government will consider further amendments, probably based on a carefully devised system proposed by the Surveyors' Institution, not with a view to showing

any mercy to the bad property owner, but so as to meet the hard case of the enlightened owner who has spent money to keep his property in as good order as possible. In any case, the English basis might well be improved on the lines of the financial adjustments allowed in the Scottish Bill.

It must be obvious to anyone who considers the question seriously that all the necessary negotiations involved in dealing with slums cannot be very rapid. Even under the quickened procedure it is most unlikely that the present Bill will lead to the clearance of many areas before the year 1935. In the first place, arrangements have to be made to provide accommodation for persons of the working classes who will be displaced. It is also necessary to purchase the land, and possibly to acquire also land adjoining so as to secure a cleared area of convenient shape and dimension. Often in the area there are licensed premises, and in such case negotiations have to be conducted with the licensing justices and the compensation authority under the Licensing Act of 1910. Or in the area there may be private or public rights of way. These and a thousand other matters have to be adjusted by consultation and agreement, and possibly only after a public local inquiry has been held.

The actual carrying out of demolition may be held up by an aggrieved person making an appeal. In the past the appeal was made to the Ministry of Health, but the Bill now allows an appeal to the county court. This is an effort to accelerate the present slow procedure, but it certainly will be severely criticised during the committee stage. For experience shows that county courts are likely to be moved by the human appeal of owners or tenants, and are sometimes not too sympathetic to the colder case put forward by a public body. Accordingly, local authorities will probably not be favourable to the introduction of county courts. In Scotland an appeal has been allowed to sheriffs' courts, without giving entire satisfaction to everyone.

On the other hand, those who object to the growing autocracy of Government departments will welcome the action of the Ministry of Health in divesting themselves of the authority to decide on appeals. From the practical point of view one result of the Bill will be a larger number of appeals, in many cases regarding the demolition of single houses. It will take time and money if the central Government have to despatch inspectors to different areas for appeals regarding huts or cottages. It is possible that in the committee stage an amendment allowing for a right of appeal in the case of large areas to the Ministry of Health will be allowed.

It will be seen that, in any case, clearances will take time. Much more rapid progress may be expected in 'improved areas.'

Here a new opportunity is provided for the cleaning up of a district without undue capital expenditure. But it will mean hard thinking on the part of housing committees and of their expert advisers as well as the support of public opinion. We may hope that men and women with education and experience will be ready to join local authorities and help in finding the right solutions of local difficulties. At present there is far too much criticism of local authorities by superior persons from outside, who talk and write much, but do not take their share in the drudgery involved. Certain bishops even are a little prone to condemn those who toil on local bodies, regardless of the innumerable difficulties not perceptible to outsiders. The new Bill, especially in connexion with improvement areas, will demand a spirit of citizenship in its operation and will involve many tactful decisions.

Rural districts are specially provided for, as the Bill allows a grant of 50s. for persons displaced from houses in agricultural parishes. It seeks to ensure the better provision of houses in rural districts by putting a new responsibility upon the county councils. These will be enabled to undertake building work on behalf of a rural district council and to contribute to the expense of rural housing. Furthermore, the Bill places an obligation on county councils to make a contribution of 1*l.* a year for forty years towards the expenses incurred in the provision of houses for agricultural workers or persons of like economic conditions.

There is a separate Bill for Scotland, in order to meet the different conditions and the increased costs. The grant is increased by 5s. in normal areas, but there is no special grant to help the provision of tenements of more than three storeys, nor are any facilities given to the building of smaller houses for aged persons. On the other hand, the unit grant is increased by a sum not exceeding 15s. a year to meet the situation of the tenement house in which there may be both sanitary and insanitary apartments. It also enables a local authority to provide hostels for single persons, thus setting free houses for families.

It is hoped that this survey, which, owing to limitations of space, has not dealt with every point raised in the fifty-six different clauses of the English Bill, will at any rate convince the reader that the advisers to the Government have framed an ingenious departmental and political measure, and evaded many fundamental issues. It must finally be emphasised that the success or the failure of the present Bill will rest with the local authorities. Whether they will be able, or sufficiently enthusiastic, to meet the strain is doubtful. In many cases existing committees will need to recruit fresh members, or even experts temporarily employed to act as guides.

After existing slums are cleared or improved the captured positions must be consolidated. Further education in schools, or through the medium of women property managers, or housing inspectors, will be needed so that the tenants of the new houses may keep them clean and in good order, for unfortunately in about one-tenth of the homes on post-war housing estates the conduct of the tenants, through ignorance, carelessness or drink, has left much to be desired, and arrears of rent have in many cases reached serious proportions. Fortunately the measure has been framed by those who are under no delusions as to realities, and the officials of the Ministry of Health will no doubt advise local authorities as to the best methods of avoiding the many mistakes made in the past through ignorance. The Bill deserves support, and we may hope that it will justify the high expectations which have been raised. In any case, men and women of all parties should support the local authorities, who are now to be called upon to do their utmost in the coming attack upon the most serious of our present-day social problems.

B. S. TOWNROE

RADIUM: ITS GROWTH IN NATIONAL IMPORTANCE

THERE were probably few scientists living in 1895 who would have predicted that the last five years of the nineteenth century would provide three discoveries of such far-reaching importance that they would strike at the very foundations of scientific belief. At that time chemistry and physics, more especially the latter, may be said to have been in a state of peaceful serenity, almost complacent in their sureness that no really astounding discovery in either chemistry or physics could be made. In fact, so sure were the physicists of the ground they trod on, that one of their number is said to have remarked that any future discovery in physics would be in the sixth place of decimals. Such a remark, even though it proved so completely wrong, is useful in showing that physics thirty years ago was exceedingly strong in a metrological sense. And yet another world was waiting to be opened up for measurement.

The discovery of X-rays in 1895 by Röntgen revealed a new type of radiation, though its place in the spectrum was not fixed for another eighteen years. Then it was shown that, roughly speaking, these rays are about a millionth of the wave-length of light. Röntgen's discovery was a direct incentive to Henri Becquerel to try to find whether any substance in a state of nature would give out anything like X-rays. Becquerel began a series of researches upon the uranium compounds, a large collection of which had been prepared by his father and grandfather. In 1896 he made the amazing discovery that uranium itself emits some rays which are like X-rays. This discovery was quickly followed up in 1899 by Professor and Madame Curie, who discovered two new substances, polonium (named after Madame Curie's native country, Poland) and radium. There are now nearly forty substances known which have similar properties. Becquerel called such bodies radio-active.

These were two of the three main discoveries referred to: one came from Germany and the other from France. The remaining one was made by Professor (now Sir) Joseph J. Thomson, of the Cavendish Laboratories, Cambridge, in 1897-8. Thomson dis-

covered the existence of electrons, minute negatively electrified particles much smaller than the smallest atom.

The discovery of bodies which spontaneously gave out rays raised many questions in the scientific mind; if these rays carried energy, would not such a discovery strike at the doctrine of the conservation of energy? If such rays came from the atoms, were such atoms likely to remain unchanged in the process? As a working theory of many new facts which had come to light by then, Rutherford and Soddy, in 1903, put forward their disintegration theory of radio-activity. To summarise briefly the main features of this theory is to say that any substance which spontaneously emits radiation is itself changing into some other substance. This may be said to have set the whole scientific world by the ears, except a small number of people who were so intimately at work on radio-activity that they saw no alternative to some such theory; the idea of atoms spontaneously changing into different varieties was particularly unwelcome to chemists. But to-day one hears no dissentient voices.

Radium is a metal, and has been prepared in the pure metallic state by Madame Curie; but for most purposes it is prepared and sold in the form of a salt—generally either sulphate, which is insoluble in most reagents, or bromide, which is readily soluble.

For many years the production of radium was carried out on a laboratory scale; the demand was small, being restricted mainly to a few physical and chemical laboratories. With increasing demands, mainly due to its therapeutic uses, radium production on a larger scale was undertaken. The first source of supply came from the mines at St. Joachimstahl, in Czechoslovakia, and the pitchblende, a mineral containing about 60 per cent. by weight of uranium, was either worked locally or sent to laboratories where the separation and concentration of the minute fractions of radium could be undertaken. Most of the radium used during the war came from the carnotite deposits in California, a very much lower grade of ore containing only about 2 per cent. of uranium. The value of a mineral ore containing radium depends on the percentage of uranium in it, and the ore found in the Belgian Congo just before the war is approximately of the same richness as the pitchblende at St. Joachimstahl. The Belgian company, whose factory is at Oolen, in Belgium, at the present time supply practically all the world with radium, as it is no longer worth while to work the carnotite deposits in California. Even the richest ore from the Belgian Congo will only yield one-fifth of a gramme of radium to a ton, so that 150 tons would have to be worked to recover 1 ounce. Radium has been found in several parts of the British Empire, but at present no very rich ore that could be worked profitably has been discovered.

Radium is a very costly substance. At its present price, 12*l.* per milligramme, which is less than half the price it was during the war, it is still probably the most expensive thing in the world to buy. Were an order placed for such an enormous quantity as an ounce, it is doubtful whether it could be bought for much less than 250,000*l.* sterling. Here is fine ground for controversy. Is there any justification for such a price? Perhaps from the purely business point of view such a question is superfluous, for a thing, no matter what it is, is sold for what the vendor can get for it, and if the purely business point of view is followed it may be rational to conclude that the Union Minière du Katanga have reduced the price to a figure which will keep out competitors and yet give them what they consider a satisfactory profit.

It may, however, be useful to look at the matter from another point of view. Radium is a substance which is being sought the world over as a remedial agent in the treatment of one of the most deadly diseases—cancer. There are two consequences of the high price of radium. One is that the people of rich countries have a bigger chance of getting radium treatment than those in poorer ones, and another is that even in countries which may be accounted rich there is not yet enough radium to go round. There are very few hospitals or institutions in which radium therapy work is being done where the shortage of radium is not felt.

The medical demand for radium does not, however, constitute the world demand, and the newspaper *Havas* recently reported a statement made by Professor R. B. Moore, the chief chemist of the United States Bureau of Mines, that more than one-half of the available radium supplies are used for illuminating the faces of signs, clocks, and watches. People can apparently afford the luxury of seeing the time in the middle of the night without turning on a light or striking a match, but not the necessity of treating diseases at their door. There are other demands for radium, it is true, but in peace-time they are small. Compass charts, rifle and gun sights for night work are illuminated by mixing a little radium with a fluorescent compound; the rays given out by the radium keep the compound glowing for a good many months on end, but the preparations gradually give out less light. The demands for radium for purely scientific purposes in this respect are very small and can in no way be said to influence its market price.

In the early years radium was a product of the laboratory, and preparations of a high degree of concentration were sold at about 30*s.* per milligramme of radium element content. Is there any justification for a current factory price of 12*l.* for something which used to give laboratories a profit at 30*s.*? In

fairness to those running the factory it can be argued: (1) that the laboratory production of radium was purely a side-issue of the main work—this was the case at the quinine factory at Brunswick, where Professor Giesel was one of the first to prepare fairly pure specimens of radium salt—while factory production needs a permanent working staff; (2) that the world will find itself supplied with enough radium in a few years and the factory will be idle; (3) that the type of labour required is costly. This much debated question was ventilated in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph* last year; while Professor Lindemann, of Oxford, took up the position that the present price is indefensible, Professor Sir William Pope, of Cambridge, argued in the opposite sense. They would probably both agree that the one thing certain to bring down the price is diminished demand. Let gun-sights and compasses be illuminated with a radio-active substance like mesothorium, and let people give up the luxury of radium-illuminated timepieces, and the radium supplies for cancer will automatically be increased.

Perhaps the most striking property of X-rays is their power of penetrating things opaque to light, and nowhere is this seen to greater advantage than in the tissues of the body. One of the first radiographs taken by Röntgen was that of a hand in which every joint could be clearly seen; copies of this photograph soon made their way into physical laboratories all over the world, and this new vision of the body was quickly developed by medical men. The aid of such a weapon to medical diagnosis need not be more than mentioned here. Radio-diagnostic technique has developed by leaps and bounds, but by a more patient and laborious way the therapeutic value of X-rays and the rays from radium has been slowly developed. It was natural, in the first instance, that the effect of these rays was tried upon skin affections on the lines initiated by Finsen in helio-therapy. It gradually became clear that these new rays could exert a beneficial action upon malignant and other abnormal conditions of the skin. Then bolder spirits attempted to use it for other malignant conditions which involved minor surgical operations; the radium was sealed in either platinum or silver tubes and inserted into the growth. One of the greatest difficulties in the early stages of such treatment was to know what dose of radiation to give. Even at the present time it still remains a difficult technical question, and each case of malignant disease needs definite consideration. The biological effects produced by exposure to radium are too numerous to be entered into here; as a whole, the general effect is a damaging one, but there is one outstanding fact—that the normal tissues vary enormously in their sensitiveness to radiation; malignant cells, too, are not equally sensitive. Some

malignant cells are said to be 'radio-sensitive,' which means they are more vulnerable than the surrounding normal tissues, while others which are less vulnerable are said to be 'radio-resistant.'

In therapeutic work, although the term 'radium burn' is used, radium should not be looked upon as a cautery, and to bring about the desired result in treatment the aim is to avoid anything approaching a burn. Broadly speaking, it may be said that in treatment with radium there are two obvious things to avoid—over-dosage and under-dosage. If the tissues are given an over-dose a state of necrosis sets in, which is an exceedingly difficult condition to deal with, and the last state of affairs may be worse than the first. On the other hand, if parts of the malignant growth are under-dosed, although there may be some temporary benefit, the growth eventually becomes active once more. Generally speaking, there is very little *immediate* effect upon cancerous growths when they are treated with radium. The aim of well-directed radium therapy is to avoid violent reactions and to give just the amount of irradiation which will stop the growth of the malignant cells and eventually cause their degeneration and dissolution, with only the minimum amount of damage to the healthy normal tissues. Although there appears to be no great difficulty in acquiring the technique of radium therapy, the best clinical results can only be obtained by the strictest attention to the details of such technique and a sound working knowledge of the biological and physical principles involved.

At the present time there are very few sites of malignant disease for which radio-therapy has not been attempted in some way or other. In Germany it has always been a source of national concern that she should be in the vanguard of everything connected with X-rays, and this is just as true for France and radium-therapy. By general consent l'Institut du Radium, under the direction of Professor Regaud, holds the chief position in radium therapy at the present time. In Great Britain a big scheme of radium research was initiated by the Medical Research Council immediately after the war. Radium was put at the disposal of the Council by the Government, and this was loaned to various institutions in the British Isles. The early reports which have been published by the Medical Research Council are embodied in a series of publications entitled *Medical Uses of Radium*. These reports summarise the results which have been obtained from year to year. The work which has been done in this way has given additional proof that radium, when carefully used, can be an extremely useful agent in the treatment of cancer. The opinion expressed in the report of the series for the year 1928 is that radium should at present be looked upon as an agent for the

• treatment of localised cancer, and the more limited the region affected, the more chance there is of success. Once the disease is generalised the use of radium is mainly palliative. This view is well exemplified in the treatment of cancer of the womb. If a cancerous growth be so limited in extent as to be called operable, then it can most probably, in proper hands, be eradicated by means of radium. If extensions of the disease from the primary focus make the disease inoperable, radiation methods may still be successful, but only if the treatment is planned to deal with the probable paths of extension of the disease. Much time must obviously elapse before statistical proof is available of the value of any particular therapy in a disease so likely as cancer to recur after some years.

Thirty years after the discovery of radium we find it assuming a place of national importance, or rather international importance, and a committee of the League of Nations has for some years been comparing the results obtained by radium treatment of one particular variety of cancer in many parts of the world. Evidence of its national importance to us was seen by the extraordinary readiness of the response to the appeal for radium which was made last year as a thank-offering for the King's recovery. With the money subscribed radium is being bought by the National Radium Trust, and the duty of distributing and arranging the conditions for use is in the hands of the Radium Commission, of which Lord Lee of Fareham is the chairman. The decision of this Commission has been—and few will doubt the wisdom of it—to concentrate the greater part of the radium at medical centres throughout the United Kingdom where medical schools exist. This will ensure not only a concentration of the radium for treatment at centres in populated areas, but it will ensure that the rising generation of medical practitioners will get instruction in a form of therapy the utility of which cannot be denied.

SIDNEY RUSS.

WIRELESS MUSIC

THE question of the relations between music and wireless is one which is already of importance, and which will become more and more important to the musician and the music-lover as time goes on. There is little doubt that the music-lover of the future will find himself practically restricted to wireless for his education and entertainment, since for each one concert that he can attend personally he will be provided with perhaps twenty by wireless, if he is a town-dweller; for the countryman the proportion will be more like two hundred to one. As a matter of fact, this is in reality no prophecy, but a mere statement of present-day conditions, except in so far as it may be contended that at the present day wireless reproduction is so poor (in the majority of cases) that one concert attended is worth more than the twenty (or even the two hundred!) heard by radio. This is, however, only a passing phase: already receivers are available that put the wireless listener nearly on the level of the concert-goer, though it seems likely to be a very long time before he will be quite on that level.

These relations between music and wireless can be considered from two points of view: first, the difficulties that present-day wireless technique puts in the way of faithful reproduction, and how these difficulties can be circumvented; and, secondly, the possibilities of new musical results that wireless technique offers. The difficulties are obviously destined to decrease in importance and the possibilities to increase. Again, both must influence the modern composer, whereas only the former need be considered in the case of works already existing. For these reasons, it will be clearer if they are dealt with separately.

First, then, as regards the difficulties imposed by present-day technique. As already stated, with the progress of this technique, these difficulties will undoubtedly decrease in importance. Nevertheless, they cannot be ignored at the present day, and we have no means of knowing with what rapidity they will be overcome. It depends chiefly on the receiving set and loud speaker. Progress here is bound to be slower than in the case of improve-

ments at the sending stations, since it is not a question of one rich company or corporation, but of a myriad of listeners. Should the 'perfect' receiving set appear on the market to-morrow, even at a price no greater than that of an average set to-day, it would be several years before it ousted all or even the majority of present-day receivers; and there is, unfortunately, little likelihood of it appearing yet—above all, at such a price. From the technical point of view the chief trouble is the bad reproduction of the high notes, and more especially of the high overtones. Without going into details, it may be noted that this is directly caused by the overcrowded ether. The excess of broadcasters limits the pitch of the highest notes that can be transmitted by any station without interfering with others, and also makes unsatisfactory the reproduction of the upper notes that are transmitted, because it is difficult to design a receiver that will reproduce them satisfactorily and yet be selective enough to meet present-day conditions.

The question of these difficulties is especially grave in the case of music already written which we desire to transmit by wireless, since the modern composer can take steps to get round them. It is the difference between the translation into a foreign language of an existing passage and the composition of an original essay in that language. In writing of the translation of poetry, Voltaire said that the best translation is that which produces in the mind of the reader as nearly as possible the emotions experienced by the reader of the original—that is to say, that the translator may use other means than those used by the original writer, and that, in appearing to depart from his text, he may be in reality drawing closer to it. To what extent, then, does music as heard by wireless reproduce the intentions of the composer?

The answer obviously depends on the music in question, and it can be said that, in general, the type of music that sounds best by wireless is that of simple melodic line, of strongly marked rhythm, and of fairly simple harmony. For example, Bach broadcasts better than almost any other composer, because his music possesses these characteristics. Another example is jazz, which also 'comes through' excellently as a rule, and, surprising as it may appear at first sight, for the same reasons: its melody is generally very easy to grasp, the harmony very simple (not to say puerile), and the rhythms extremely strong and heavily accented. Generally speaking, we may say, then, that any music possessing these three qualities is likely to sound well by wireless—provided that those instruments which are known to reproduce badly (we will consider these later) are not given too prominent a part.

It is interesting to note in this connexion that a good deal

of modern music broadcasts very well, the reason being that modern composers have to a very large extent returned to a greater clarity of style and have reacted against the very thick and complicated harmony of the music of twenty years ago. In fact, one can hardly do better than to quote as the ideal M. Florent Schmitt's description (in a personal letter to one of the authors) of his *Çaçunuk*, the first French work to be written specially for wireless: 'Pièces très claires, sans excessive polyphonie. Idées simples, directes, "sens unique," exposées de préférence aux instruments à vent qui sonnent mieux en T.S.F. que les cordes.' It is also worth noting that it is better to avoid large masses of sound—in other words, that a small orchestra is likely to be better than a large one. The examples given—Bach and jazz—hold good here also.

From what has just been said, it is obvious that the type of music which does not reproduce well by wireless is that which depends upon thick harmony and subtlety of orchestral colouring, and in which the melody (if any) does not emerge easily from the rest. One thinks at once of Debussy, and he is, indeed, one of the best examples of a composer whose music is badly reproduced by wireless. Wagner, too, is frequently (e.g., in *Parsifal*) most unsatisfactory when broadcast: the music is apt to sound confused and even turgid. The reasons, however, are not the same in the two cases: with Debussy broadcast performances tend to be unsatisfactory on account of the extreme subtlety with which he combines his 'timbres,' whereas with Wagner it is more a question of the simultaneous presence of various equally important *motifs*. Also, in both cases, the harmony is thick.

What can be done in such cases? The purist will no doubt demand that the music be played as written. This, if present tendencies are any guide, will mean that music which does not reproduce well by wireless will be more and more neglected—at any rate, until the time comes when wireless reproduction becomes 'perfect.' Something can, however, be done, even if the purist's contention is accepted, by rearranging the orchestra in relation to the microphone. It should, however, be realised that this is practically equivalent to altering the composer's scoring—at any rate, as regards the balance of his instrumentation.

Another possibility, and one which demands serious and immediate study, is the replacement of certain instruments which reproduce badly by others more adapted to wireless. The outstanding examples of such instruments are the double-bass and the timpani, more especially when rolled. Possible alternatives for the former are bassoons doubled at the octave by 'cellos; or bass tubas alone or similarly doubled; or possibly some special instrument to be developed, somewhat on the lines of the bass

saxophone, but coarser in tone. The replacement of the timpani roll is far more difficult, and the only likely substitutes seem to be in the nature of rough-toned organ stops, or of electrical audio-frequency oscillators modulated at sub-audible frequencies. There is also the possibility that, at any rate in some cases, the situation may be saved by adopting a *slower* roll—that is to say, one in which the separate beats of which it is composed do not follow one another so rapidly. This question of the replacement of instruments is one of the most important, since it means the salvation for the wireless listener of many of the greatest existing works. For example, in the allegro of Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony*, where 'cellos and double-basses have the melody in unison at the octave, not only is the double-bass part indistinguishable by wireless, but its presence makes the 'cellos also sound muddy. The same effect occurs in the last movement of the *Ninth Symphony*.

There is a good example of the effect of the timpani roll in the slow movement of Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony*, where the melody, in oboes, horns and trumpets, is accompanied by a demi-semi-quaver figure on violins and violas, and by the timpani. These last, in the first three bars, play detached notes, and everything remains perfectly clear; in the fourth and fifth they are rolled, and, as a result, the string figure mentioned becomes hopelessly muddled.

Finally, there are cases where such replacements of one instrument by another of similar colour do not suffice, and where it may be necessary to hand over the particular part that is lost in broadcasting to a completely different instrument. In extreme cases experience may even prove it necessary to suppress certain parts entirely. After all, such rescoring is no more sacrilegious than rescoring for small orchestra, and in so doing we may be more faithful to the intentions of the composer than in leaving things as they are. If it is sacrilege to change anything, it is in certain cases even more sacrilegious to leave it as it is and broadcast the result, and we are driven back to the view that such works cannot be reproduced by wireless at all, and must therefore fall into oblivion. The problem will have to be faced.

Above all, stress should be laid on the need for immediate and careful experimentation. For example, one of the works just mentioned should be played several times in immediate succession with various scorings, including the original, to a jury of musicians; this need not necessarily be done by wireless (though such a test would be extremely interesting—at any rate, in the later stages of experimentation), since the same result could be obtained by having the music picked up by a microphone and reproduced in another room by amplifiers and loud speakers,

provided these were adjusted to give 'average wireless reception' results.

Much can also be done by the broadcast engineer in the way of oscillograph studies of the 'difficult' instruments and their possible substitutes, of course in very close co-operation with musicians.

Another difficulty which has not so far been mentioned here is that of the scaling-down of nuances. An orchestra can range from *ppp* to *fff*, or about 1 to 1,000,000: for wireless reproduction the limits are from about *p* to *f*—say, 1 to 10,000, or 100 times less. If these limits are exceeded, the softer passages are liable to be swamped by parasitic noises (atmospherics, noises from electrical machinery, noises caused by the receiver itself, etc.), and the louder ones are liable to overload the receiver and 'blast.' At the present day the tendency in many cases is to allow the orchestra to play with normal light and shade, and to have this kept within the permissible limits by a more or less musical 'control engineer.' This is, of course, entirely wrong, and makes the conductor's position ridiculous, as his indications to the orchestra can in effect be reversed by the control engineer, who becomes master of the situation. There is room for one captain only on the orchestral bridge, and it is up to him to reduce the nuances, scaling them down throughout—that is to say, if the loudest passage be *ff* and must be reduced to *f*, all minor crescendos and diminuendos must be reduced on the same scale.

The part played here by the engineer should be reduced at the most to helping the conductor to realise how his orchestra is being reproduced in this respect, and this can be done by fitting a simple electrical indicator at his desk. A more radical innovation which has found favour in some quarters is that of isolating the conductor from his orchestra by means of a sound-proof glass partition, so that he hears only the performance as reproduced through a loud speaker. There seems considerable room for doubt as to whether such drastic measures are necessary or even desirable (except, perhaps, in the case of a conductor who has had little experience of wireless performances): it would make rehearsals unnecessarily difficult, and one would imagine that the conductor would feel too much isolated from his orchestra. In general, it would probably be better to expect conductors to develop a new technique and to train themselves to know how their orchestras are being reproduced, with, at most, the help of the indicator already mentioned. After all, under normal concert conditions, a conductor does not hear the orchestra as the audience hears it, and he has to train himself to allow for the alteration of balance by which, for example, soloists and violins appear stronger to him relatively to the rest of the orchestra than they do to the audience.

The dual control of conductor and broadcast engineer appears necessary in the case of public concerts which are also transmitted by wireless (and is one of the reasons for doubting whether such performances are desirable), since the concert-goer will demand normal light and shade. This, however, raises two very interesting points. First of all, the question as to the relative rights of the direct and the wireless listener: it is significant that the arrangement of the orchestra at the Queen's Hall B.B.C. concerts is no longer that which is generally accepted as giving the most satisfactory results to the direct listener, but one which better suits the microphone, and this is, of course, entirely as it should be. But there is the second and very fascinating question whether the habituating of the music-lover to the more delicate nuances of wireless transmission may not tend to make him satisfied with, and even demand, such reduced light and shade in all performances.

So far, then, in very brief summary, the principal difficulties as regards the performance for broadcasting of works already existing. As already stated, these difficulties are far more readily surmountable in the case of works specially written with a view to wireless performance. Thus, for example, the double-bass will not be used, and there is no need to seek for some instrument, or combination of instruments, that resembles it: the part can be taken by any instrument which the composer pleases, as, for example, the bass saxophone, saxhorn, bassoon, tuba. Again, timpani rolls will be avoided; possibly the timpani and some other percussion instruments will disappear altogether, and the weakening of rhythm thus caused may be made up for by other means, such as pizzicato strings or the banjo. And so with each difficulty. A more detailed study of the individual instruments from this point of view, by one of the present authors, will be found in the *New York Musical Quarterly* for January 1930.

Now that we have reached the question of works written specially for wireless, we can also deal with the *possibilities* of its technique, and this is an even more interesting subject than that of the difficulties. Unfortunately, to go at all fully into these possibilities would demand a technical treatment that would be out of place here. Some of the simplest ideas can, however, be indicated. One of these is the fact that the balance of the orchestra is now entirely in our hands, since we can adjust the distances of the various instruments from the microphone to suit ourselves. In this way, should we, for example, desire to give a solo to some instrument whose tone is feeble, such as the harp or bass clarinet, we need not reduce the rest of the orchestra practically to silence in order to make this one instrument

audible, since all we have to do is to move it nearer to the microphone. This same device allows also of a solo instrument being made to stand out from among others of its own kind, as in the case of a solo violin accompanied by violins. Further, instruments which are at present unusable in the orchestra because their tone is too feeble can, for broadcast purposes, be used in this way by merely locating them near the microphone. For example, the curiously individual clean tone of a tuning-fork can hold a middle pedal against no matter what orchestration and still be fully audible. There may be quite a brilliant future for the jews-harp, or for the humble mouth organ! In this connexion, also, a great deal could be done with the clavichord—an extremely beautiful instrument whose tone is unfortunately so weak that it is practically impossible for it to make itself heard against an orchestra in a concert-hall.

Again, still by the same simple method, the weak registers of existing instruments can be made audible without the need for repressing the rest of the orchestra—for example, the higher harmonics of a violin, or the middle register of the flute. Every composer knows how difficult it is to cope with this question of weak registers, and one continually hears passages which do not sound as well as they look on paper on account of a momentary inattention to this point on the part of the composer. A curious effect is that of a banjo (or pizzicato violin) plucked at some distance from the microphone and then swung nearer to it so that the vibrations of the string after plucking (normally almost inaudible) are strongly heard: this is, of course, a mere trick of very limited application, but the effect is striking.

Perhaps, however, the most interesting possibility in this direction is that of being able to retain the pianissimo *quality* of the solo instrument while causing it nevertheless to dominate any orchestration desired. This is, of course, particularly interesting in the case of those instruments where the difference between pianissimo and forte quality is most marked—the violin, for example. The effect of a muted violin played with the pianissimo quality and yet dominating a forte passage must be heard to be appreciated. But the instrument which lends itself most strikingly to this procedure is, without doubt, the human voice, since there is such an enormous difference between the loud and soft voice, both in quality strictly speaking (*i.e.*, the presence or absence of overtones) and also in the less readily defined *emotional* quality.

Thus, for example, for wireless production it is no longer necessary for the operatic hero to shout his love in order to be heard above the orchestra, nor for the orchestra to be reduced to almost complete silence in order to leave him audible when singing

softly: if he is near enough to the microphone he can coo as gently as any sucking-dove, and yet remain perfectly audible against orchestral tumults; and the really curious feature is that, though his proximity to the microphone makes his voice (as heard in the loud speaker) louder than the orchestral forte, one retains, nevertheless, the effect of gentleness, because the pianissimo *quality* is retained.

This curious feature is even better displayed when a solo voice speaks its part instead of singing, as in many modern works (*e.g.*, Schönberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* and *Gurrelieder* or Obouhov's *Book of Life*). Two very pertinent examples can be quoted here, both from ultra-modern music—Honegger's *King David*, not written specifically for wireless performance, and the Hindemith-Weill *Lindbergh's Flight*, which figured among the special 'Broadcast Music' at last year's Baden-Baden festival, and was transmitted by London (from Berlin) on March 18 this year. It will be remembered that in the former a 'narrator' speaks the biblical text against orchestra and chorus; in concert performances he is forced to strain his voice considerably, and even so is by no means always intelligible. The work was, however, done last year as a studio performance (from Radio-Paris, with Honegger himself conducting), and on this occasion the full beauty of the biblical words, spoken with a quiet and restrained solemnity yet at all times clearly audible, was fully realised, and the resultant performance was something to be marked with a white stone in one's musical experience. In the case of *Lindbergh's Flight* the effect was deliberate; and it is of interest that this appears to have been the first time that a composer has definitely indicated that he wished it to be produced. Here, in the dialogue between 'Lindbergh' and 'Sleep,' his replies to her sung temptations are spoken, each time more and more softly, until his last 'Ich bin nicht müde' is an almost inaudible whisper; that is to say, it has the effect of being almost inaudible because of its whispered quality, although in reality it is perfectly clear—probably nearly as loud as the voice of 'Sleep.' The resulting emotional effect can hardly be conveyed in words, but was overpowering at the moment.

Before leaving this simplest example of the possibilities offered by wireless technique by the placing of special instruments or soloists relative to the microphone it may perhaps be desirable to add that in the case of an instrument which is only momentarily to be thus used there is no need for the player to move nearer to the microphone: he can sit where he is and a separate hooded microphone can be cut in at the proper moment ('faded in,' to be more accurate) in order to pick him out from among his colleagues.

Although we are dealing now principally with music to be written in the future, which can therefore take advantage of the new technique, there is a fascinating question that cannot be passed over in silence: to what extent would composers of the past have used this technique, and more especially this simple device of 'unbalancing' the orchestra, had they been able to do so? The case that strikes one at once and most forcibly is that of the concerto for solo instrument and orchestra. One feels that the most perfect form of the concerto is that in which the accompaniment is of equal importance with the solo part—in fact, where it ceases to be merely an accompaniment. Unfortunately, in ordinary concert performances, this can hardly ever be the case, since the relative weakness of the solo instrument forces one of two alternatives: either a solo with the orchestra accompanying (that is to say, with the orchestra kept under) or alternate passages between solo instrument and full orchestra. It is obvious that the concerto form would be far richer were it not necessary thus to limit strictly the scope of the orchestra; and with wireless technique this is no longer necessary.

The question is not merely one of volume of sound, but also of the difference, in quality of tone and of technical possibilities, between the solo instrument and the 'tutti.' One notices, for instance, the lightness and crispness of a theme when played by the soloist, and its heaviness and clumsiness when played by the orchestra. It may be objected that this effect is intentional: in certain cases, such as Bach's opposition between the 'concertini' and the 'ripieni,' it undoubtedly is so; but in the great bulk of concerto music since the eighteenth century the effect is not intended, as is clear from the character of the themes. For example, take the main theme of the last movement of Brahms' great violin concerto. This theme, by its lightness and rhythmic accentuation, is delightful on the solo violin, but when taken up by the full orchestra seems blunted and lacking in the life it had previously. One cannot help feeling that, if Brahms could have done so, he would have preserved the true character of the theme by leaving it to the solo violin, and yet would have used the powerful fortissimo of the full orchestra at the same time.

Again, in opera surely composers would have been only too glad (and audiences equally so!) had they been able to allow the singer to make a real pianissimo without fear of being inaudible, while all the more 'frightful' side of opera, with its tempestuous tenors, screaming sopranos, and bellowing basses wallowing with 'cellos and trombones in a shapeless mass of sound, would become such a palpable absurdity that it could no longer be tolerated. Indeed, in opera the composer's indications as regards 'piano' and 'pianissimo' have often to be disregarded or taken only as

an indication of what would be desirable, so impossible is it to obtain the ideal balance between singer and orchestra. How much more effective, for instance, would be the greater part of *Pelleas and Melisande* were the singers not continually forced to sing too loud or to mouth the words, utterly spoiling the exquisite refinement of the work. It may, of course, be objected that this 'unbalance' by having the singer close to the microphone is not possible for opera; which, however, raises the question as to whether the ideal opera performance of the future will not be a combination of film and electrically recorded music, the singers and the actors not being necessarily the same—with the result that heavy-weight Hansels and Gretels and Evas and Davids may disappear.

But it is not only in music for solo voice or solo instrument and orchestra that the great masters of the past could have used the possibilities that are now offered to us. This is not, however, the place for a study of this question, nor does space allow examples to be given of cases where composers have obviously come up against the difficulty of balance, and as a result have given to a powerful instrument some melody which we might believe they would have given to a more delicate one had they been able momentarily to unbalance the orchestra in its favour. The above examples will suffice to make the matter clear to the non-technical reader, and will, it is hoped, give some idea of the vast possibilities lying dormant in a seemingly simple device.

This particular example of wireless possibilities, the 'unbalance' of the orchestra by the placing of instruments in relation to the microphone, has been dealt with at perhaps undue length, since, thanks to its simplicity, it can readily be appreciated without technical knowledge. A few other possibilities may be very briefly mentioned. For instance, normal instruments can be given entirely new tone colours by isolating their players in sound-proof booths each fitted with its own microphone, and by electrically filtering the outputs from these before they join that of the rest of the orchestra. Thus an instrument such as the natural trumpet, which already possesses a very pure and individual tone, can be 'etherialised' by the removal of upper harmonics, with the result that, practically speaking, we have enriched the orchestra by a new instrument, and that without the need for training players to use it. The reverse process, where the fundamental (the note actually played) and some of the lower overtones of an instrument are similarly filtered out, gives equally striking results: thus, for example, the upper overtones of the bassoon can be left 'floating' in this way, with the result that we have to all intents and purposes a new member of the wood-wind family, sounding perhaps two octaves higher than it is really playing.

Again, by a more complicated process, any instrument can be transposed up or down at will—that is to say, can be made to appear to be playing higher or lower in pitch than it really is. This enables the composer to write in any key he pleases, without troubling as to whether it is easy or difficult for any particular instrument (as, for example, the key of A flat major, extremely difficult for the flute), since the player will merely use another key in which the execution is easy, and the result will be transposed electrically into the key desired. This device can also be used to extend the register of any instrument upwards or downwards. Horrible thoughts suggest themselves of the coloratura soprano transposed, say, an octave higher than she is really singing!

One point should be emphasised—the need for immediate experimental work, by musicians and broadcast engineers in close co-operation. Germany is already doing this (at the Berlin 'Wireless Academy'), and the example should be followed in England. It should be noted that there is no need for these experiments to be themselves broadcast: as in the case of the experimental work which ought to be done on rescoring, it suffices if the music be picked up by a microphone and reproduced by amplifier and loud speaker, without any wireless transmission intervening at all. It is also worth mentioning that this same procedure can, of course, equally well be used for concert performances of specifically wireless music, the orchestra playing in a separate hall and being reproduced by loud speakers for the audience. At any rate in the case of small works (chamber music, etc.), this can readily be done at any hall fitted for the electrical reproduction of gramophone discs, as in the case with many cinemas and dance-halls, so that the composer who wishes to use wireless possibilities (that is to say, to compose music which would be unplayable except by wireless) need not fear that the B.B.C. monopoly will prevent his works being performed.

Nevertheless, for really satisfactory progress in this branch of music, it is almost essential that the B.B.C. should interest themselves in the matter, since, even in the case of such concert performances as those just mentioned, their store of accumulated knowledge of echoes, placing of instruments, microphones, amplifiers, and loud speakers is almost a *sine qua non*; and, of course, in any case their co-operation is necessary if the work is to reach the stage of wireless transmission. A possible suggestion is that they should produce, as public 'loud-speaker' concerts, such musical works of an exclusively wireless nature as may seem promising (perhaps together with wireless plays in order to vary the programmes), so as to give them a trial before deciding whether to broadcast them or not. In this way the composer would have more inducement to write for wireless, since his chances of pro-

duction would be greatly multiplied, and the progress of this branch of music in Britain would be greatly encouraged.

Meanwhile, the position is that Germany has taken the lead in the matter to a degree which cannot appear satisfactory to well-wishers of British music. Thus, for example, works specially written for wireless by Butting, Künnecke, Weill, Hindemith, Hermann, Humpert, Pepping, Fitelberg, Eisler, Grosz, and Goehr have been produced by German broadcast stations, and as a rule a new work appears at least every month. Outside Germany about all that can be quoted is a work by Goldbach (at Brno), and one by Florent Schmitt already mentioned, but not yet produced by radio. It is also understood that something is to be done shortly in Italy. It may, however, be added that, although in all cases the *difficulties* of radio transmission have been more or less satisfactorily overcome, practically no attempt has been made to take advantage of the *possibilities*, with the exception of the Hindemith-Weill *Lindbergh's Flight* already quoted, and here only to a very limited extent.

There is therefore still time for British composers to take the lead in writing music which can really be called 'wireless music,' exploiting its new possibilities as well as overcoming its difficulties; and the shortest way to attain this would be for the B.B.C. to follow the example of Milan, Brno, and above all of the German stations, and give the necessary encouragement.

LENNOX BERKELEY.

R. RAVEN-HART.

THE NATIONAL THEATRE

AFTER preliminary work lasting for a quarter of a century, the National Theatre movement has collected a sum of nearly 100,000*l.*, several distinguished protagonists, and the good-will of a Prime Minister, but not yet, apparently, a precise plan of campaign. This may soon be remedied, for the matter is being greatly agitated. A mass meeting has just been held, correspondence is appearing in the Press, and stimulating discussion is rife. This being the position, it is interesting to see if anything can be learnt from the history of the playhouse that holds the title of the National Theatre at present—that is to say, Drury Lane. A brief recital of its varied fortunes may serve as one beacon, at least, to those who are now at sea.

On May 7, 1663, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, was opened with a comedy by Fletcher called *The Humorous Lieutenant*. Thomas Killigrew, a groom of the bedchamber, was the manager, and he had with him a company of actors which had been formed under royal patent three years before at a house in Vere Street. Behind Killigrew and his company was the favour of the newly restored Charles II., who allowed them to call themselves 'His Majesty's servants' and to wear the royal livery. The only rival was the Duke's Theatre, which stood on the south side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and which was under the control of Sir William Davenant, the Poet Laureate.

The King's Theatre was a smallish place on a site of 112 ft. by 59 feet, with a pit open to the sky, covered boxes, and two covered galleries. It was quite probably designed by Christopher Wren. The prices of admission were, according to Pepys, boxes 4*s.*, pit 2*s.* 6*d.*, middle gallery 1*s.* 6*d.*, upper gallery 1*s.* Allowing for the difference in money values, these prices were high, and it is interesting to note that Pepys, himself a substantial official, used the middle gallery at 1*s.* 6*d.* It was certainly not a 'popular' theatre. The stage folk of that day lived by the king and court, and hated the citizens of London as much as they were hated by them in return. There was a good reason for this bad blood, for the citizens would not allow a theatre within the jurisdiction of the city on the ground that they encouraged the workpeople

and apprentices in idleness. In return the players were never tired of ridiculing the citizens, and kept a particularly insulting play called *London Cuckolds* for Lord Mayor's Day. Therefore, although Charles may have been playing for popularity in those times, the Theatre Royal was no part of a *panis et circenses* policy. It was essentially an aristocratic institution where court and society could enjoy current wit (and obscenity) and make the acquaintance of contemporary beauty, female parts now being taken by women instead of boys. Indeed, it would not be too much to say that it was the theatre of the court coterie, and almost the only outsiders ever seen there were the lackeys in the gallery who were waiting to take their patrons home.

The plays performed at both Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields were old Elizabethan stock pieces by Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger, etc., which were more or less amicably divided between the two managements. Thus Killigrew took *Othello* while Davenant took *Hamlet*, and so on. These plays were reinforced by new efforts of Dryden, Wycherley, Congreve, Mrs. Aphra Behn, Vanbrugh, Cibber, Farquhar and others. Scenery was used to some extent, while the costumes were usually cast-off clothes given to the actors by the court.

Things went very merrily for a time. There was a topical and sometime brilliant new play every week, and the actors, for the first time for a generation, felt sure of their living. The King and his nobles often attended in person, though, to be sure, their interest was more likely to be centred on the ladies in the boxes than on the actors on the stage. The behaviour of the gallants, too, was a sore trial for the actors, who were considered, socially, as being little better than servants, and who were, therefore, very much at their mercy. However, the drama flourished in spite of these drawbacks, and came to such a pitch of perfection that it bade fair to rival its former glorious outburst under Elizabeth. It all rested, of course, on a very insecure base—court favour; and before many years had passed an uncomfortable draught began to make itself felt. The nobles did not give the support they promised, while the more solid elements of the community held aloof on account of the licentious plays and the scandalous antics of actresses and gallants. Further, the Theatre Royal was burnt down in 1672, and the rebuilding, to designs by Christopher Wren, had saddled the company with debt. It was built on a larger scale than the first theatre, and needed more patrons than ever to keep it going. The Duke's company were also feeling the draught, and towards the end of Charles' reign the two companies united at Drury Lane.

By eliminating competition this eased things for a time, but the essence of the matter was that the theatre was now too big

for its immediate job. The court could not or would not fill it, and the middle classes looked askance. One trouble led to another, and internal strife broke out. A pushful attorney called Rich obtained control, but could not mend either the financial or the artistic fortunes. Betterton, the best actor they had, seceded, and, having obtained a patent of his own, took himself and several of the company to a new house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where they did so well that they very nearly extinguished their royal rival. Rich, however, was a pertinacious soul and held on grimly. A contemporary writer, Charles Gildon, tells us that he called in 'the Fiddle, the Voice, the Painter, and the Carpenter to help 'em: and what neither the Poet nor the Player could do, the Mechanic must do for him.' In justice to Rich it may be pointed out that he kept open in very difficult times. He is credited with introducing Italian opera to this country.

In 1708 Rich gave place to a triumvirate consisting of Cibber, Wilks and Booth, and, the times being more settled, the sun shone again. These men knew their business thoroughly and were all capable actors. They worked well in their triple harness, and did a great deal to stamp out the lewd customs that the Restoration had foisted upon the stage. They secured a royal order in 1711 forbidding anyone to go behind the scenes during a performance, and saw to it that nothing was acted 'contrary to religion and good manners.' Addison, Rowe, and Gay joined Cibber and Congreve in writing for audiences plays which were gradually becoming more 'popular' in type. The court of the period took little interest, and the citizens, becoming less Puritan, took more. The Restoration drama of manners began to change to the drama of sentiment. About this time other theatres began to spring up. Covent Garden, Haymarket, and Goodman's Fields began to rival Drury Lane in opera and pantomime as well as plays, but the times were good, and the Theatre Royal easily held its own. The management was excellent, and they held a trump card in the magnificent acting of Barton Booth, who became the talk of the town. There had been great actors before, but Booth was the first to have a popular 'attraction value' of his own apart from the plays in which he appeared.

Naturally the inevitable happened, and the management began to rely on the good actor to pull through a poor play. This policy holds good for a short time only, and when Booth retired in 1728 there was a slump. A dull period of about eighteen years set in, which was only relieved by another star—Macklin. The same year that Booth retired witnessed a great mistake by the managers. They turned down Gay's *Beggar's Opera*. A little later London was flocking to Lincoln's Inn Fields to see it, and the

other theatres, Drury Lane included, found that its success had temporarily killed serious opera.

In 1737 the famous 'Licensing Act' was passed, which was intended to close all theatres but Drury Lane and Covent Garden. It never quite managed this, but it did give these two houses a virtual monopoly of Shakespeare. This was a two-edged weapon, for it drove dramatists to the smaller houses, as they could not get their plays in at the classic theatres. The non-licensed theatres certainly had a hard struggle and were reduced to many shifts to keep open, but they won through finally. It was they who henceforward were to be the nurseries of English playwrights. In 1746 David Garrick started on his thirty years' course of glory, but, great actor and good manager as he was, he could not bring Drury Lane back to its old position as the only place in town where witty and up-to-date plays could be seen. He 'gave the public what it wanted,' and did it splendidly. He had a brilliant company which included Macklin and Peg Woffington in the early days, so it is not surprising that the 'Lane' became more than ever an actor's house. They mutilated Shakespeare, acted *Lear* with a happy ending, and staged a great deal of bombastic nonsense which only had value in so far as it allowed them to shine personally. Covent Garden was by this time well on its feet and a very serious rival. In 1750 an amusing duel was fought between the two houses. Covent Garden led off by announcing *Romeo and Juliet* for a certain date, only to be followed by Drury Lane announcing the same play for the same date. Neither would give way, and the productions had two simultaneous first nights. Drury Lane won by thirteen performances to twelve! Covent Garden also entered the field of pantomime, and attracted the public so much that Garrick had to play harlequin himself. It is on record that he did it very well.

After Garrick came Sheridan and *The School for Scandal* in 1777. Sheridan, although a brilliant playwright, was an indifferent manager, and, in spite of his own plays and the acting of Mrs. Siddons, his day closed in debts for himself and his theatre. In 1791 he thought fit to knock down the now dilapidated house and to rebuild it. Unfortunately he had not the good judgment to trust to his own splendid art to fill his coffers. He built the new theatre for spectacle, in an endeavour to make it 'more deserving royal countenance and the patronage of this great metropolis.' It was the era of the Industrial Revolution, and invention was in the air. On his opening night in 1794 he proudly exhibited a real iron curtain, which was ostentatiously struck with a hammer, and a lake of real water on the stage. The auditorium seated 3600 and, according to Mrs. Siddons, was 'a wilderness of a place.' It was so big that the acting, which had held up its

fortunes for so long, could neither be seen nor heard. Deterioration once more set in; Kemble, the manager, and Mrs. Siddons deserted it for Covent Garden, and the fortunes of the Theatre Royal touched bottom. It was burnt down in 1809, which was perhaps as well, as it enabled the proprietors to get rid of Sheridan and to rebuild the place on a more workable scale. The reopening took place in 1812, and the new building was, as far as the main exterior is concerned, the same theatre that stands to-day. It was half-way in size between Garrick's house and Sheridan's house, which was a move in the right direction, but it was still too big and none too good for seeing and hearing. The proprietors again had to fall back on scene display, and Lord Byron, who was one of them, complained about the dearth of plays suitable for the 'Lane.'

Edmund Kean revived affairs until 1819, although he had a hard fight with the huge auditorium, the critics complaining that they could not appreciate his delicate acting in such a place. For the next twenty years Elliston and later Bunn tried every means in their power to pull the people in. There is still preserved at Drury Lane a playbill of this period which never fails to give a severe shock to those who imagine that the past history of the Theatre Royal was one of classic dignity. The playbill is dated December 15, 1835, and invites the public to see an opera called *The Jewess*, and, judging by the relative sizes of the type, the chief attractions are the real suits of armour worn by the knights and the burning to death of the Jewess! Bunn also tried circuses and concerts, but retired heavily in debt in 1839. Macready then took over, and honourably did his best to elevate the drama that he loved. He lasted two years only, and then Bunn came back again, with no better luck than before. Anderson tried his hand after this, on the same lines as Macready, but he also was beaten in two years. He had the further mortification of seeing the theatre filled a little later by an 'American Equestrian Entertainment.' Chatterton was the next to act as mahout to the white elephant, and he retired minus 35,000*l.*

Then in 1879 a genius arose who diagnosed the trouble. The industrial era and free education had by this time provided a huge semi-educated audience who would take drama in little doses and stage tricks in big ones. Sir Augustus Harris therefore gave to the nation spectacular melodrama and pantomime on a scale which had never been dared before. He improved both the stage and auditorium, and was financially successful, as he deserved to be. His productions, though not immortal, were sincere attempts to give pleasure to the public in a clean and wholesome fashion, and the public responded nobly. After his retirement Mr. Arthur Collins carried on his tradition until 1924,

in which year Mr. Basil Dean tried to emulate Macready and lead the public taste rather than follow it. It was an interesting experiment and well worth doing, for by now the auditorium had been rebuilt in such a way that, large as it was, the lines of sight and the acoustics were very much kinder to the actor. They were not kind enough, however, to let the intimacies of 'London life' get very far, and the experiment failed. Except for a charming revival of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the following Christmas, Drury Lane was given over to spectacular American musical comedy. The first production of this type was *Rose-Marie*, and there can be no doubt that the public loved it. It ran for two whole years, and it is estimated that about 2,000,000 people paid to see it. Other musical comedies of the same kind have followed and, except for a brief interlude of pantomime last Christmas, are still in possession.

This history, brief and full of omissions as it is, is sufficient to show the transformation of Drury Lane from a little theatre of a coterie to a great theatre of the people. It was, of course, never subsidised, and since Charles' day has only very occasionally had the support of the monarch. The royal patent expired in 1843, and Drury Lane has now no advantage over other theatres, with which it competes on absolutely equal terms—except perhaps for its wealth of tradition and the affection it inspires in its servants.

PETER BAX.

THE HORRORS OF GOOD PLAIN COOKING

THE writer of this was grounded in cooking in a hard school. If he blacked his fagmaster's toast or set before him porridge insufficiently cooked, he probably received seven strokes with a wire toasting fork; while an egg hard boiled or scrambled eggs spoilt by over-cooking meant at least ten. With the result that now, separated by many decades from corporal punishment, his blood runs cold to see careless cooking, and he would feel indescribably guilty if his hands were, through any accident, stained with any such crime. This discourse is particularly directed at the vast body of girls, either already housewives or soon to become such, who may be assumed still to be enthusiastic in the matter of house-keeping—girls who have, or will have, to run a small house with one to three servants or even with no servant at all.

The most important department of any establishment is the kitchen; and it may be said, almost without danger of contradiction, that in Great Britain this department is woefully inefficient. Cooks are regarded as creatures apart, whereas in most civilised countries every woman is a cook and takes pride in it. In France and in most European countries if a traveller is stranded in the most out-of-the-way spot at any awkward moment he is reasonably certain to be able to sit down in an incredibly short time to a quite delightful repast. There will be a perfect omelette, very probably preceded by a bowl of excellent soup from the standing stock-pot, very good bread and butter and a piece of local cheese, all helped down with a local wine and a cup of good coffee, though it must be confessed that coffee is not as invariably good as it used to be. If your car breaks down at the back of beyond in England, what hope have you? Quite possibly you may find literally nothing. If there is an inn there may be forthcoming a lump of tough cold beef, a stale loaf and a slab of American Cheddar: at the very best there may be fried eggs and bacon, the bacon almost certainly being impossibly nasty.

The raw materials of meals are generally good in England, and meals, from the dietetic point of view, are satisfactory. It is fashionable nowadays to talk and write about food values: we

have to consume proteins to build us up and to repair damage and carbohydrates and fats to give us heat and energy. We must on no account omit from a diet certain essential salts, iron, phosphorus and lime, and the merest child knows all about the necessity for stowing away vitamins A, B, C, and D. All this chemistry of food is quite new: in the childhood of most of us none of these mysteries had been unveiled, but, whether by accident or because they possessed some scientific knowledge which they did not talk about, our forbears have handed down to us meals—the ordinary meals of the ordinary Englishman—which chemically and scientifically leave very little to be desired, and left still less before bread was made of the now fashionable white flour. The stereotyped English breakfast—eggs with or without bacon, toast and butter and marmalade, coffee and milk and perhaps sugar—is scientifically almost a perfect meal, and to most people it is attractive and palatable. It is the later meals which all too often are almost entirely without attraction. Take this dinner: soup, boiled white fish and so-called white sauce, roast mutton and boiled potatoes, and a green vegetable, perhaps salad, and blancmange—*i.e.*, cornflour shape—with tinned apricots. Scores of thousands of middle-class English families have a dinner like this every day. Dietetically it is excellent; it is a meal on which heroes may be brought up and flourish. All its constituents are probably of the best; but it is deadly dull, and it is extravagant, because so much more might be made of the materials employed. The soup is either a vague 'thick' soup, stodgy, and a very bad foundation for a meal; or if it is of the genus called 'clear' it is opaque, very likely tasting of meat extract and with shining splashes of grease floating on it. The fish has been boiled (and the water thrown down the sink) and covered with a so-called white sauce, which only too often is made of milk and cornflour; and here perhaps one may be allowed to remark that any woman who makes white sauce in this horrible way ought to have fourteen strokes with a heavy wire toasting fork; it is one of the major culinary crimes.

The mutton is probably quite good, especially if it is New Zealand lamb—English mutton is almost certain not to have been properly hung. But the course will be spoiled by the potatoes and the cabbage, both boiled and served sodden with water. The salad is lettuce leaves sliced into narrow ribbons with a steel knife and drenched with vinegar to which a small amount of oil has been added. The sweet has been selected for no other reason than that it is easy to make.

It requires only a very little imagination and cooking sense to produce, from the elements of this deadly dinner, a meal which it would be a pleasure to anticipate and to set before even intelligent

friends ; but alas, the middle classes of England are at the mercy of the Good Plain Cook, who has neither imagination, nor knowledge, nor cooking sense. She may be as good as gold ; perhaps she supports a widowed mother and is the guardian angel of a flighty relative. She may be as plain as Cinderella's sisters, but cook she is not. This would not matter so much if she recognised her limitations and was anxious to improve ; but nothing is further from her mind than the faintest idea that she is not perfection, and no wonder, because she is adulated and cajoled, the supply of her being less than the demand.

Imagine an ordinary household at the end of a terrible dinner. The plates that should have been hot were cold, and the courses have ascended, in a crescendo of culinary crime, from tepid greasy soup to a soufflé like porridge. The mild individual who calls himself the head of the house breaks out at last 'Araminta,' he says, 'this whole blessed dinner has been the absolute dog's body : you must set about that woman and tell her she's got to cook properly or go.' Araminta tactfully promises, and the following morning we see her entering the kitchen. In heaven her task would be very different to what it is here on earth. She would advance on the cook with a stern look, and would say as bold as you please, 'Cook, the dinner last night was the absolute dog's body : what about it ?' Cook would reply with extreme humility that she quite agreed it could scarcely have been worse and that she was ready and willing to take her punishment. She would go down appropriately on the kitchen arm-chair, take a dozen with the toasting fork, and she would conclude by thanking her mistress for her moderation and promising to do her best in the future. That is what would happen in heaven ; the mundane procedure is quite otherwise. Poor Araminta creeps into the kitchen, and after some ingratiating small talk, very coldly received, says in fear and trembling, 'Oh, and about dinner last night, Cook.' Cook, with the light of battle in her eye, demands whether she is to understand that there was anything wrong with last night's dinner, and is told, 'Oh no, Cook, dinner was very nice indeed, but Sir Marmaduke, when he was serving in Madras, got into the habit of liking soufflés fluffy and standing up, so we must try to have them like that instead of the ordinary way.' With that Araminta makes her escape, just pausing *en route* to offer Cook another hour on her night out.

There is probably no hope in connexion with the hardened good plain cook ; but may one not hope that among the latest recruits, and more especially among the young women who for various reasons (which have nothing to do with cooking ability) will form the next generation of cooks, there may be a proportion

with some possibilities, if only a generation of mistresses can arise possessed of consummate tact, unlimited enthusiasm, determination, and some knowledge of cuisine and of planning meals ? In the hope of this, one may be permitted to offer some suggestions.

To begin with, successful cooking is largely a matter of intelligence. There are born cooks, just as there are gardeners born with a green thumb, and born poets. They are generally housemaids discovered as cooks by accident, and shortly afterwards they marry the chauffeur, but an ordinarily intelligent person, after a small amount of instruction in the elements of cooking, can successfully accomplish quite a lot by means of recipes and cookery books. It is quite worth the while of any young housewife to lay herself out to accumulate a library of books dealing with cooking and the management of dinners, and also with wines. It would be invidious to single out cookery books, but mention may be made of one—namely, the large French edition of *Escoffier*, and it is a library in itself. Having acquired it, it should immediately be strongly bound—its original binding is vile—as its owner will always work it hard. Now for four general principles :

(1) To have everything down to the smallest detail, in the kitchen and in the dining-room, scrupulously clean. A modern *batterie de cuisine* is much easier to keep in order than the old-fashioned sets of cooking pots and pans, and there is no excuse whatever for any departure from perfection. Smears of ancient mustard on plates are very unpleasant, though perhaps the presence of long black hairs in soup is worse (black hairs always seem more repulsive in food than blonde), and at any risk such lapses should be the subject of a very severe reprimand.

(2) To insist that everything that should be hot is really hot, and what should be cold is really cold. There is nothing which gives such an immediately bad impression in a strange house as tepid soup in cold plates. Practically all food should be served either hot or cold, an exception being asparagus, which is at its best tepid ; but many people will not agree with this.

(3) To see that frying is mostly done in *deep* fat or oil, and that use is made of a frying basket. What most Englishwomen mean by frying is frizzling in a frying pan, and they know no other way. If they have met or heard of the proper method they put it aside as extravagant because of the large amount of material required ; but if one lot of fat is kept for fish, another for other things, and both are strained every time they are used, they last indefinitely with the addition of a little fresh fat now and again. The secrets of frying are to have plenty of fat, to

use it really boiling, and not to put too much material to be fried into the basket at one time.

(4) All meat that is cooked should be so treated that the outside surface is sealed in order to retain the juices and make it tender. In roasting (or baking as it really is) in an oven this is done by having the oven very hot to start with; in grilling, either real grilling on a gridiron or in a frying pan, the iron or pan should be hot, and as soon as the side nearest the fire has just turned colour the chop, or whatever it may be, is turned and the other side cooked, and finally turned again for the first side to cook. Most women cook one side and then turn the meat to cook the other, with the result that the juices evaporate and you get the usual dry, tough chop. All meat for cooking in small pieces, such as the inside of pies, should be dipped for a few seconds in boiling fat in a frying basket before being put into the piedish.

Coming to actual food, the young housewife will be wise if she endeavours to break away from the stereotyped stodgy form of English cooking, and the following suggestions will help her to do so.

Soups.—Always keep a stockpot going and use the stock for vegetable and other thick soups and sauces. Thick soups are useful for short meals, but at the best are a heavy foundation for a meal: for longer meals and on all party occasions a consommé is almost the only soup; and how seldom does one see a really well-prepared consommé except in a club or restaurant! There is, however, no difficulty in making consommé; it requires patience and intelligence, and when made it keeps—nothing gives such a cachet to a dinner as a properly made and properly flavoured clear soup.

Sauces.—The ordinary good plain cook has no idea whatever of sauces; and one can scarcely blame her, because until quite lately an English cookery book would allude to sauces at the end of the book as a difficult mystery, and give the impression that no one short of a *cordón bleu* should attempt them. Nothing is farther from the truth. Any Frenchwoman has the basic sauces at her fingers' ends, and would turn green with horror at the idea of pouring a disgusting mixture of milk and cornflour over any sort of food. Therefore let the budding young housewife teach herself to make the various white sauces—béchamel, velouté, and suprême. The base of all is a *roux*—that is, flour cooked in butter. Béchamel is a *roux* with milk added and perhaps a little stock, and velouté is a *roux* with stock added and perhaps a little milk. Suprême is a *roux* with cream added. All of them can be flavoured in any way desired, and, with the addition of other ingredients, are used to make the whole range

of white sauces. Sauce mornay, for instance, is a béchamel or suprême flavoured with cheese.

Could anything be simpler? Any intelligent girl can learn in half a morning more about white sauces than most so-called cooks have ever heard of. Having done this, she will proceed to study the range of sauces known as gravy sauces, of which the type is sauce espagnole, and she will then be quite well equipped and in a position to make tactful suggestions to the lady in the kitchen. The whole theory and practice of sauce making is clearly set forth in *Escoffier* and (perhaps in less detail) in most French cookery books which include elementary cuisine.

Cheese.—In England not nearly enough use is made of cheese, both *au naturel* and in cooking. In recent years there has been some improvement as regards the former in the shape of cheeses in small round boxes divided into sections, but while these have lent variety to a course which used to consist almost entirely of Cheddar—and American Cheddar at that—they do not go far enough. Anyone within reach of London can quite easily obtain the well-known small French cheeses such as Camembert, Reblochon, Brie, Port de Salut, and best of all Pont l'Évêque, which is square and almost twice the size of a Camembert, which it rather resembles, but is never so strong as a ripe Camembert, and has the virtue of remaining in condition for some days. For large cheeses nothing can beat a perfect Wensleydale or a ripe Cheshire, but these are only obtainable with the greatest difficulty. A Stilton ripened in the old-fashioned way is excellent, but such are a tiny fraction of the Stiltons on the market. Gruyère, which should be fresh, can always be procured in London, and Roquefort in most large towns. Those who like such a dreadful substance as Gorgonzola are fortunate, because there can scarcely be a village where it is not on sale. Thus, for those who take the trouble, there is no difficulty in providing a very satisfactory variety of cheeses as a course to finish a light lunch, or as a meal with bread and butter, salad, and fruit. As a cooking material, the good plain cook uses cheese—always Cheddar—for Welsh rarebit, cauliflower au gratin, and macaroni cheese—all good dishes at their best, but, coming from her hands, usually dreadful. The Welsh rarebit is a stringy stick-jaw, and the other two dishes are only too often made with cornflour and milk with cheese added.

The best cheese beyond question for cheese dishes is Cheshire. There is no comparison between toasted cheese or Welsh rarebit made with Cheshire and the same dishes made with any other cheese. But these are not for everyone—they are beyond the digestion of most of us, and it is as a flavouring material that cheese has its most important place. Sauce mornay is the

typical cheese sauce, and an addition of this or of cheese otherwise treated to many made-up dishes—often just a mere *soupeon*—will turn a dull item of the menu into something extremely attractive. The cheeses that can be used in this way are Cheddar, Cheshire (not old) and Parmesan, the last used practically always on the top of a dish.

Where port is to be drunk after dinner or a vintage Bordeaux, it is almost a necessity to finish dinner with cheese or something flavoured with it. A strong cheese is not very suitable, and perhaps the most fitting and convenient finish is provided by biscuits made of puff pastry, well flavoured with grated Parmesan cheese and served hot.

Eggs.—There is no more valuable article of diet, and none more easily handled and quickly cooked, than the universal egg, but it is comparatively neglected, except boiled and fried, and very commonly murdered. The young housewife would do well to extend the use of eggs and to make herself thoroughly acquainted with the simple ways of cooking them, especially scrambled eggs and omelettes. These are both made of eggs and butter; the late Mrs. Beeton ought to have been tarred and feathered for laying down that milk should be added. The only reason that one can see for this most vicious instruction is that it makes the eggs and butter go farther. The good plain cook always puts in milk, and one can scarcely blame her when she can put her finger on Mrs. Beeton as her excuse.

Scrambled eggs are made in a small saucepan or a very small frying pan, and the eggs are broken into a cup, beaten sufficiently to mix the yolk and white, and no more. The butter is melted in the pan, and when just melted the egg mixture is poured in and pepper and salt added. The butter and egg mixture is stirred until it appears about three-quarters cooked and is then taken off the fire. If the scrambled eggs are only part of the dish of which fish or meat, with or without cheese or anything else, forms the remainder, these other materials are added immediately after pouring the egg on to the melted butter. The really important thing is to stop the cooking in time—*i.e.*, before the egg becomes, so to speak, hard-boiled. Up to a point an omelette goes the same way: the eggs are broken and lightly mixed, the butter is put into a small frying pan; and here the resemblance ceases. The butter is cooked until quite liquid with a blue smoke coming from it. The egg mixture is then poured in and allowed to settle for a moment. The outside is then turned over with a knife all the way round towards the centre, the pan being slightly rotated with the other hand. When the under part is just set and the upper part, at the centre, seems about half cooked, take the pan off the fire,

slide the omelette on to a hot dish, and as the centre goes over the edge of the pan turn the pan right over so as to fold the omelette in two. For an omelette aux fines herbes the seasoning and chopped herbs are added to the mixture before being put into the pan. When there is a filling, such as chopped kidneys, or asparagus or jam, this is put in after the mixture begins to set, and rum for an omelette *au rhum* is poured on at the moment before turning the omelette out. The secret of making an omelette is twofold—(1) the butter must be really boiling before the mixture goes into the pan; (2) the cooking must be stopped before the omelette appears to be finished, because the egg goes on setting after it is taken off the fire.

There are, of course, very many ways of cooking eggs—a chef in London lately demonstrated 150—but these elementary methods must suffice for this article. The household that can turn out a really good omelette is certainly a rarity. Mention must, however, just be made of the value of beaten white of egg, not only in soufflés, but for lightening many small dishes that might otherwise be just a trifle stodgy.

Vegetables.—English menus very seldom make sufficient use of vegetables as a separate course: in fact, except asparagus and occasionally artichokes, one scarcely ever sees a vegetable course. This is a great mistake; many vegetables are quite excellent in this way and help out a menu most usefully. Peas, broad beans, French beans, and carrots, all very young and served with butter, are delicious: endive, lettuce, and chicory, steamed and dressed with a gravy sauce, are nearly as good, and salsify fritters, if properly made, are always a success. From this selection a vegetable course can be found in most months of the year.

Salads are another neglected item. To the ordinary cook salad means lettuce cut up with a knife into ribbons and soaked in vinegar to which has been added a little oil. There is nothing better than lettuce as salad, but it should be made only of the heart, torn to pieces by hand, and an oil and vinegar dressing should be made thus: on a pinch of salt, a dab of made mustard, a dust of pepper, and a little sugar pour a tablespoonful of real olive oil: mix well and add about three-quarters of a teaspoonful of vinegar—or a dessertspoonful of white wine. For this and other culinary purposes the leavings of bottles should be kept; it matters little how stale they may be.

An uncommon and very attractive dressing for lettuce is melted butter; it should be melted quite liquid and the torn up lettuce tossed in it till every piece is covered with butter. For this, and indeed for any salad, the lettuce must be quite dry. Lettuce, however, delightful as it is, is only one of a multi-

tude of materials from which salads can be made: green things include endive; corn salad, mustard and cress (which can be grown very conveniently on a piece of wet blanket), water-cress (this can be grown in any garden); and salads other than green can be made from many vegetables and fruits, such as cooked potatoes, carrots, peas, beans of all sorts, beet and raw apples and bananas, in various mixtures, and for these a cream sauce is perhaps more suitable than oil. An attractive way of serving these is in small shapes, the constituents being bound with a stiff white sauce.

Made-up Dishes.—The last suggestion in the matter of actual cooking for the budding housewife is to accumulate recipes and ideas for using up left-over odds and ends of meat and fish. The good plain cook will suggest rissoles for an end of meat—but nothing less than about a pound is any good to her—and fish-cakes for a pound or so of fish. These will be made of solid mince squeezed together, egged and breadcrumbed, and fried, first one side and then the other, in about a quarter inch of fat in a frying pan. The result is a hard top and bottom and a soft middle and the whole thing greasy. Compare this with the following. To use up, say, 2 or 3 ozs. of any meat or fish. For the meat, chop it rather fine, scramble very lightly an egg or two mixed with the meat, add a little thick white sauce, put the mixture into small fireproof dishes, dust a *souffçon* of Parmesan or Cheshire on the top, and put in a hot oven, or under the electric grill till just brown on the top.

For the fish, take a little béchamel sauce, add the fish and the yolks of a couple of eggs, stir well in, and then a little grated cheese, and pepper and salt. When lightly cooked put on the side of the fire. Beat the whites of the two eggs, add to the mixture, pour into a suitable soufflé dish, and cook in a quick oven, not forgetting to tie a piece of paper round the soufflé dish projecting above the top. Dishes such as these are very economical, very easily and very quickly made, and are fit to put before Brillat-Savarin himself.

So much for articles of food. Here are four rules, perhaps very obvious, to be observed in planning a menu:

(1) Avoid like the plague having two similar items in one menu—*e.g.*, an omelette early and pancakes at the end; and, following the same idea, if there are two vegetables with the main course, they should not both be boiled, as so very often happens. Can anything be more unattractive and stodgy than, say, boiled mutton with boiled potatoes and cabbage?

(2) Always have a *pièce de résistance*, a sort of centre-piece, to the menu.

(3) Endeavour so to arrange any menu of five or more courses

that if any two items are missed there remains a well-balanced meal.

(4) It should be suitable to the occasion.

Only a gourmand wants a long, complicated dinner every day. A gourmet likes a simple meal as a rule, and reserves longer dinners for entertaining friends; though it must not be thought for a moment that a six or seven course meal means eating too much, or, indeed, eating more than with a short menu. The people who have the greatest feeling of 'fulness after meals' are those who dine off, say, beefsteak and trimmings, a pudding and some trifle like Welsh rarebit to fill in the cracks.

As this discourse is written primarily for young ladies, it will conclude with a menu which there is some reason to believe was suggested by a considerable number of them recently when taken out to dinner in London by their godfathers, who had asked them what they would like to eat:

Caviare	Manzanilla
Turtle Soup	
Sole Colbert	
Caneton à la Presse Salade	Clos de Vougeot (1911) or
Champignons Suprême	Montrachet (1921)
Mango Melba	Château Y'quem (1921)

It might be argued that the first three items are all fish; but both caviare and turtle soup are laws unto themselves. The mushrooms are a trifle rich to follow a duckling, but the guests of honour were of an age when too much consideration need not be paid to such trifles. Possibly they were disappointed at the absence of champagne, but their hosts would have explained to them that with the *pièce de résistance* nothing but Burgundy or Bordeaux was possible; and perhaps they would go so far as to add that at any time a good Burgundy or Bordeaux is worth all the champagne that was ever manufactured. The last course and its wine were specially designed for the occasion: there is no wine in the world with the marvellous flavour of Y'quem; but it is extravagantly sugary, and the only way to drink it is with a sweet. If the first sip is taken before the sweet the improvement after tasting the sweet is most apparent. This no doubt was the text for a lesson by many of the godfathers, providing a fitting and instructive end to a pleasant meal which wound up in a rather unusual manner.

In conclusion, a few words just to touch on the fringe of the subject of drink as a concomitant to food. Young ladies are begged to leave cocktails alone: they are pernicious and dangerous, and no cocktail that ever was shaken is a patch on a glass of good sherry. If a young person, however, *must* have a cocktail, let it

be a Parmacheene Belle—half gin, half orange juice with a few drops of grenadine.

At dinner, a clear soup demands sherry as its associate, and there is nothing as good as sherry to drink with lobster in any form. *Bisque homard*, for instance, is greatly improved by being made with sherry instead of the usual white wine. Oysters require stout. With fish no wine goes really well, but a light white wine assimilates best with this course. With the *pièce de résistance*, especially with game or mutton, a red Burgundy or Bordeaux is indicated. In the matter of these wines there is a world of difference between a vintage and a beverage wine, the latter being, as the French say, *pour le soif*. If one can run to it, a bottle of a good year of, say, Clos de Vougeot or Clos de Tart among the Burgundies, or of one of the 'big four' among Bordeaux wines, will make a *fête* of the dinner which it graces. If not, there are plenty of minor wines, red and white, from France, Spain, Portugal, and many other countries, which are wholesome, pleasant, and cheap. When one does order an expensive wine in a restaurant one owes it to oneself, and one's guest, to see that the real thing is produced, with the label of a reputable French bottler, or in the case of some of the Bordeaux wines, the *château* label. Among the most delicious wines for lunch or dinner, where a big red wine is considered too heavy, are the good white Burgundies, such as Chablis Moutonne, the Montrachets and Mersault. These add distinction to any meal; they are not quite as harmless as they appear.

This is no place to speak about vintage port, beyond that it is in its place after dinner, and must never, never be preceded by a savoury tasting of fish. By far its best precursor is something tasting of cheese. Champagne can apparently be drunk by those who like it at any time of the day or night, and with or without food.

Coffee.—Nothing that is set on an Englishman's table is so grossly maltreated as coffee, and there is nothing more easy to make.

Requirements: an earthenware jug holding about 1½ pints; coffee freshly roasted and ground. There is a great choice of excellent coffees from many parts of the world, but a blend of Jamaica Blue Mountain and Bogota is very hard to beat.

Stand the jug on the hob or on a hot plate, and when *really* hot put in 2 ounces or more of coffee. When this also is hot pour over it a pint of boiling water and stir well. Wait two minutes and stir again. Wait two minutes and drop in either (a) the broken-up shell of an egg that has just been used, (b) a few drops of lemon juice, or (c) a teaspoonful of cold water. Leave for three minutes or longer, and pour carefully into another

jug without disturbing the grounds. Could anything be easier?

> *Finis*.—If any young housewife has read this appeal and feels thereby moved to any degree of enthusiasm or to make any effort to break away from the bonds of Good Plain Cooking, good luck to her.

FRANCIS COLCHESTER-WEMYSS.

T. E. BROWN

T. E. BROWN was born in May 1830 ; and whatever may be said about centenaries in general, in a case like his it may well be useful to observe the hundredth anniversary of his birth. Everyone knows his name ; indeed, the perpetual attachment to it of his initials has almost the effect of a nickname, and suggests that it is not merely well known, but affectionately known. It is always T. E. Brown ; who ever heard of Thomas Edward Brown ? Yet his poetry as a whole occupies a somewhat ambiguous place in our literature. It can hardly be said to have admirers ; if it has, they keep very quiet. It can hardly, in fact, be said to be known ; for if it was known, surely it would be discussed : no poetry is more provocative of discussion than his, no one can read it without wanting to argue for or against his peculiar methods. Were they, or were they not, the right methods for his no less peculiar purposes ? But one hears nothing of this. Two or three snatches of his lyrical verse are, indeed, echoed from one anthology to another ; they are probably admired as much as they deserve, which is saying a good deal ; though a dozen or a score equally fine might be disinterred from his collected poems. To know these lyrics in connexion with the rest of his work is to know a very important direction to which his poetry inclined ; but to know these only is to know almost nothing of T. E. Brown the poet—that extraordinary personality which coined itself so richly, so lavishly, and withal so problematically, into poetry. Everyone knows his name ; and from that the assumption is made that everyone knows his work. But it turns out that what everyone knows is *O Blackbird what a Boy you are* and *A Garden is a lovesome thing* ; and these pieces, notable as they are, are the merest fraction of the art that was capable of *Bella Gorry* and *Dartmoor*. Two or three lyrics in the anthologies known to everyone ; and the rest of his work (over 700 pages of it in the collected edition) practically ignored : not judged and found wanting, but simply neglected. That is what I call an ambiguous position for a poet to occupy ; and the observation of his centenary may do something to clear it up, if only by drawing attention to the fact that Brown's peculiar character as a poet can never be

represented in the anthologies. His main achievement is the *Fo'c's'le Yarns*—more than 500 of the 700 odd pages of his collected poems ; and certainly one of the most individual achievements in modern English poetry. This massive affair (for it is not a mere collection of tales—it has a decided unity as a whole) is not his finest work ; but it is his greatest, and the one in which his peculiar genius could extend itself to the full. It is also probably responsible for the ambiguous position of Brown's poetry. For it appears that the collected edition has, in fact, sold pretty widely. But it is not at all difficult to imagine a well-disposed reader being so discouraged in his attempt to tackle the chief thing in the book, the *Fo'c's'le Yarns*, as to conclude that the anthologies would give him all the T. E. Brown he wanted. The discouraging quality of the principal section of Brown's poetry, however, can not only be accounted for—it can be surmounted ; and anyone who has surmounted it is unlikely to be content with what the anthologies have to offer.

But, if his poetry is, on the whole, so neglected, how is it that his name is so well known ? That, I think, is easily explained. A poet may owe a good deal more to his editor and publisher than he might care to admit. Brown published four volumes of poems during his lifetime, three of them chiefly taken up with instalments of his most ambitious but, as I suggest, in some ways unattractive work, the *Fo'c's'le Yarns*. These volumes won for him a certain reputation, but not enough to satisfy his friends, some of whom believed, as Brown himself once half-humorously suggested, that as a poet he was more of a 'major' than a 'minor.' Then came his death in 1897. A man who had been vice-principal of King William's College, Isle of Man, headmaster of the Crypt School, Gloucester, and for close on thirty years second master at Clifton, was naturally pretty well known ; though his pupils' recollections of him were not always, it seems, agreeable. The publication of his *Letters* served not only as a memorial for those to whom he had been, at one time or another, a familiar figure, but brought into general notice the unusual charm of his many-sided character. It was very properly thought by his friends that the time had at last come to establish Brown's position as a poet. Accordingly, in 1900, the collected edition was issued, including, besides the contents of the four previous volumes, everything that could be rescued from the magazines, and a number of poems, many of them of invaluable quality, discovered in his notebooks. All this matter was put, under three main headings, into orderly arrangement by its pious and skilful editors—the chief advantage of which was the grouping together of all the lyrical poems in one section, and of all the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* in another ; these latter thus appearing in the collected edition for the first time in the form

Brown had always intended them to assume—the form, namely, of a single composition, a large and highly complex design unifying an immense mass of mixed wealth into a characteristic world of its own, a rich but coherent version of the human comedy. The other section, 'Aspects and Characters,' is more of a miscellany, and the inclusion of several poems in it seems to be a little arbitrary: they might have gone more suitably among the lyrics. Still, it must be admitted that the collected poems were most skilfully edited; Brown's whole achievement as a poet could hardly have been more conveniently displayed, or more in accordance with its nature. It is, indeed, sometimes difficult to trace, in this arrangement, the chronology of his work. Some guide to this might have been given; but perhaps it was found impossible to work it out completely, and perhaps it is not of the first importance for the appreciation of the poet.

It may be said, then, that Brown's first effective appearance as a poet was in the collected edition. It could not have been a more effective appearance. It came at just the right time, and it certainly came in just the right form, to induce the public to accept Brown as a poet of very respectable standing. For, apart from the excellence of the editing, the book appeared in the familiar and honoured green-cloth livery of the great series of Complete Editions issued by the house of Macmillan. The format itself carried no inconsiderable authority. Only poets of undisputed reputation had hitherto appeared in that livery; it at once associated T. E. Brown with Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Matthew Arnold. Moreover, no less a critic than William Ernest Henley contributed an introduction to the book, in which he roundly told the public that it was only with such names as these that T. E. Brown could properly be associated. The effect was that the editors—Henley himself, H. F. Brown, and H. G. Dakyns—did indeed achieve their laudable aim, in so far as they induced the public to accept henceforth T. E. Brown as one of the important names of the late nineteenth century. The anthologists soon got hold of him, though, as usual, they showed the anthologists' sheep-like habit of jumping where their predecessors jumped. They at any rate made a few of his lyrics as well known, perhaps, as any poems in recent English literature. But not even Henley (except perhaps just at first) could persuade the public to possess itself of the main bulk of Brown's poetry, let alone to rank it where he ranked it.

Henley was determined that it should not be his fault if his old friend's work did not at last succeed as well as he had long thought it deserved to succeed. He saw his opportunity, and took it in his most masterly fashion. He pitched his praise of T. E. Brown—I will not say as high as he dared, for Henley was a critic

who dared do anything—but just as high as it possibly could be pitched without seeming unreasonable. He was undoubtedly sincere. Brown's merits shone so bright before him that he could see no defects; the only obstacle to appreciation he could allow was the dialect, the Manx-English in which most of Brown's work is written; and Henley rightly maintained that this would prove no obstacle at all to anyone willing to tackle it. Everything he has to say about the nature of Brown's qualities is admirably right; but his estimate of their worth is less happy. To exalt Brown, he must disparage Browning; though there is really no resemblance whatever between the two. But at any rate he leaves us in no doubt where he would put Brown's whole achievement. Of Tom Baynes, the chief narrator of the *Fo'c's'le Yarns*, he says that his creator gave him 'a very great deal to say that none of our Laureates as yet has had the wit to conceive.' It is not clear why the Laureates should be brought in; but this is no mere flourish, for he goes on specifically to mention Jonson, Wordsworth and Tennyson, and to add: 'Despite the magnificent achievements of these three . . . I hold that none is greater and sounder than Brown's; that there are essentials in which all are less than Brown's. That,' he goes on, 'is for the years to approve.' Well, they have not approved it yet, and it may be doubted if they ever will. But Henley was a notable judge; and in thus summing up he had quite clearly in his mind what is certainly the case: that if Brown deserves a verdict anything like so favourable as that, it must be by the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* that he will deserve it. It is not, by any means, a case of the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* or nothing. Henley himself would hardly overpraise some of the lyrics and reflective poems. But if Brown is ever to be reckoned a major poet, if that much-misused word 'great' is ever to be his epithet, it will be as the author of *Fo'c's'le Yarns*, as the creator of Tom Baynes and Tom Baynes' world.

Indeed, this is sufficiently evident from the mere arrangement of his work in the collected poems. It was in the imposing series of these narratives that his genius expanded, and most diligently elaborated itself: here was his ambition, this is the work he would be judged by. The rest of his poems, one may almost say, are 'poems by the way': studies for the great work, as in some of the 'Aspects and Characters' (such as *In the Coach*, *Mater Dolorosa*, *The Christening*, *Peggy's Wedding*), or brief experimental vacations from the main purpose (including the lyrics which everybody knows). Now it is precisely this fact, I believe, that has been, and perhaps will always be, the stumbling-block in the way of Brown's reputation. For, as I have said, the reader who attempts the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* for the first time may very well find himself baffled and dismayed; he is likely to conclude,

hastily but not unreasonably, that this great ambition of Brown's did in fact turn out a failure, and that consequently Brown himself was on the whole a failure as a poet; hence he is likely to be quite content that persons whose endurance is tougher than his own, men who make it their business to read unreadable poets, should go through Brown's 700 pages and pick out the plums; to be satisfied with the pieces in the anthologies, that is, the lyrics in which Brown (as it must then seem) somehow or other managed to strike out a sort of accidental excellence. This, I say, is not unreasonable. But the exercise of some patience will, sooner than one might expect, make the faults of the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* give way to their virtues; the real purpose will appear through the clumsiness of the medium; the reader will find, with delighted surprise, the whole series of the narratives impressing him as a work extraordinarily rich in substance, and very splendid in its spirit. And the shorter poems and lyrics will then seem to be nothing accidental, but highly concentrated essences of the genius which is everywhere in his work.

However, the faults of Brown's narrative verse, his main achievement, cannot be got over without frankly recognising their nature; a plea for patience with them is not likely to be effective unless it admits that they are about as serious as they could be. What fault could be more serious, in a writer of narrative verse, than inability to tell a story when he had a good one to tell, unless it were inability to perceive that the story he had to tell was not a good one? Both of these faults were Brown's, so long as Tom Baynes is the story-teller; that is to say, in all but two of the *Fo'c's'le Yarns*. It will not do to say that Brown *could* not tell a story; for in *Bella Gorry* he achieved, with perfect assurance, an 'exemplary novel.' But it is unmistakable that he *would* not, when Tom Baynes was his mouthpiece; for in these ten tales it was not the story he was intent on, but something altogether different. The story was the mere vehicle of this, like the grease in an ointment. But when a man offers to tell us a story, whatever his ultimate purpose may be in telling it, it is to the story that we first attend. If narrative is used as the vehicle of something else, obviously it fails in its purpose as a vehicle if it is not good narrative. Now the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* are anything but good narrative (except for those two appended stories already mentioned, which, however, are somewhat loosely attached to the scheme of the whole); and the faults are of such a kind that it may seem poor consolation to be told that they are deliberately committed. In the first place, never was a story-teller so long-winded as Tom Baynes. Taken simply for their narrative, his tales must surely seem bewildering, stunning, devastating, in their prolixity. For pages and pages nothing happens. Thus,

The Doctor is a story well over 4000 lines long—almost as long, that is to say, as half the *Æneid*, or the first five books of *Paradise Lost*. Just think what Virgil and Milton managed to say in such a space; and compare this with (as it must at first seem) the intolerable dilution of Brown's narrative! The comparison is very unfair, of course; I only wish to emphasise by it the scale on which Brown sinned against the art of narrative. For it takes 30 of the 115 pages of *The Doctor* for the first incident of the story to occur; and when it does occur it is quite a simple incident: the doctor falls in love, and the lady's father disapproves. When, at long last, the action of the story emerges, this incident is seen to be the beginning of a terribly subtle and complicated tragedy. But what a prodigious faith Brown calls for in his readers, so mercilessly, page after page, putting their natural interest off! Anyone who had the least concern for narrative as such would have had his readers in possession of this incident at the very beginning; Crabbe would have despatched the whole affair in less than a dozen, probably, of Brown's pages. Crabbe, assuredly, would not have missed the tragedy; but then Crabbe, with his stern concision, would never have thought of attempting what Brown was endeavouring to capture with his formidable prolixity. Still, the fact is glaring that Brown, in the person of Tom Baynes, is the worst story-teller in the world; it is scarce possible, at least, to imagine a worse. And there are ten of these stories!

What is going on, then, while Tom Baynes talks and talks and talks? What is this prolixity all about? Very often it seems to be prolixity for its own sake. Tom is fond of interrupting himself with superfluous exclamations—'All right! All right,' 'Of coorse! Of coorse!' and so on; indeed, the very structure of his syntax is apt to be exclamatory and incoherent, and repetition is his favourite figure—it is noticeable how often nothing less than a three-fold repetition will do for him. This is a fair specimen of a good deal of Tom's narrative art:

But *the gel*—did you say? I know! I know!
The gel! the gel! just so! just so!
Gels! gels! gels! and sorrow and sin
They're in everythin', in everythin'.
And *what was she lek*? Yes! yes! I hear—
What was she lek? aye—never fear!
The little girl that was took from the wreck?
What was she ek, eh? What was she lek?
Is it what was she lek? Stop! stop a bit!—
The way she'd stand, the way she'd sit!

and so on. At this rate, the 500 pages of the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* might seem easily accounted for.

This kind of writing may, in a ludicrous sort of way, be quite

effective. Here is the formal pietist agonising in his carnal temptation :

And—' God in Heaven ! ' he'd say, ' O God !
I know Thy rod ! I know Thy rod !
She can't be mine ! She can't be mine !
O Nelly Quine ! O Nelly Quine !
But why ? Oh, why ? Isn' there a place
In all the world, a little space,
Nowhere ? nowhere ? a space, a spot—
Oh, is there not ? Oh, is there not ? '

Rather too much of it ! But this is Tom Baynes ironically caricaturing the man he detests. It would have been a good deal keener if these inept repetitions had been less like what the reader has by this come to recognise as Tom's own habit of style ; but the real fault here is that these private ejaculations have to be shouted aloud in order that they may be overheard, and thus reported. The *Yarns* are full of equally clumsy improbabilities, which merely disguise that very considerable measure of omniscience Brown had to confer on Tom Baynes in order that he might do his office as narrator. Such faults may perhaps be accepted as inherent in Brown's plan : much more troublesome to the reader, probably, is Tom's habit of altercation with his fo'c's'le audience—debates in which, since dialogue is not permitted, Tom himself has to repeat in italics every comment, question, and objection put to him in order, as a rule, lengthily to declare that it is not worth answering. These perpetual interruptions of the narrative, combined with the lavish interjections and Tom's incurable idiosyncrasy of saying a thing two or three times over, so water the story down that there sometimes seems nothing but a faint flavour of it left. Add to this that Tom can never resist the temptation of talking at large about any topic the story may suggest, or of tumbling out of his capacious memory, helter-skelter and hugger-mugger, any reminiscences that may be associated with it. Add, moreover, what is even more exasperating, that, when at last he has worked himself up and got the story going, he frequently shows a singular inability to tell his audience distinctly what is happening ; so that when an incident does occur, even an incident crucial to the plot of the story, it is often by no means easy to make out exactly what it is. Partly, this is due to the language—not because there is any difficulty in the vocabulary, but because, as Tom Baynes uses it, the primitive and scarcely articulate syntax of the dialect is extraordinarily incapable of clear and definite statement. But partly, too, this lack of definition in the sense is due to Tom's peculiar mind—a mind revelling in undisciplined impressionism, delighting to circle round and round his topic, vividly darting in

on this side and that with continual approximation, but disliking to put an end to this process by saying exactly and unmistakably what it is all about. He can be as downright as anyone could wish in reflection, especially in sardonic reflection, and remarkably direct in description ; and nothing could be better than his expatiating impressionism for conveying the very life of some psychological situation, or the subtle and often perverse relation of character to behaviour. But it is not good for narrative, for the lucid delineation of events. And it was not intended to be that.

A moment ago I called all this exasperating. It is exasperating, so long as one reads the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* for what they ostensibly are. It ceases to be exasperating as soon as one perceives that their ostensible motive is very far from being their real motive. Their real motive is not to give us the stories, but to give the man who tells the stories. Other poets have allowed the manner of the narrative to hint at the character of the narrator. With Brown it is the other way round ; it is rather the narrative that is hinted at through the unconscious self-portrayal of the narrator. Brown did not create Tom Baynes primarily as a story-teller. The stories provide the occasion for Tom's existence ; but he exists for his own sake. And the moment that is understood, his abundance of speech ceases to be superabundance ; all his vagaries, his repetitions and exclamations, his interruptions and digressions and altercations, become most skilfully managed strokes in portraying the spirit and maintaining the manner of his personality. And what a personality it is ! The pervading quality in it is its amazing capacity for experience. It is not merely that a great many things (some of them very odd things) have happened to Tom Baynes, but that nothing seems ever to have happened without being stored up and somehow related with everything else that he has known. This rich and varied experience, animated by Tom's vivid energy, is what he prodigally pours out upon his listeners. If you are listening for the story he is professing to tell, this prodigality will seem what I called it just now—helter-skelter and hugger-mugger. But if it is simply for Tom Baynes you are listening, you will soon perceive how closely and finely all this is organised in Tom's personality : how strangely the absurd and the tragic illuminate each other in his mind, how perfectly compounded are moods and senses, whimsies and reflections, loves and hates, knowledge of men and women and knowledge of things by sea and land. Nay, even those outbursts of sentimentality and religiosity which, if we are attending to the story, often break into it in a manner scarce to be borne—on one occasion Tom holds up the course of events in order to conduct a service—become more than tolerable : unpleasant as they are in themselves, no one with any zest for

portraiture can fail to see how exquisitely *necessary* Brown has made them to the completion of Tom's character.

But is not 500 pages a little too much for the portrayal of a personality, even so rich a personality as Tom Baynes? The fact is, however, that when Tom Baynes gives us himself he gives us his world, a world thronged with vivid people and vivid things. And not *his* world only. Tom is a profoundly *typical* character—the crowded circle of his experience is not so much the property of a nature exceptionally endowed, as the representation, in terms of an eminently individual life, of the world of a whole community. Tom Baynes, in a word, stands for the folk of the Isle of Man. The poet, more than once, in his prefatory verses, warns us of this. His intention, we may say, was, by means of Tom's deeply imagined and splendidly substantiated character, to do for his beloved island what Burns had done for Scotland. It was what we should nowadays call regionalism. But it has none of the defects of regionalism. The interest in it is nothing provincial. It was simply that this Manx life was what Brown knew and loved and found significant. He objectified it in a typical Manxman—typical except for being furnished with all the gifts Nature had so generously bestowed on his creator. Tom's life represents the life of his people. But in doing so it represents life perpetually—often harshly, always courageously—in contact with actualities—the actualities that everyone can understand. As a Manxman Tom's world is founded on his intimate knowledge of the two industries which, of all others in the world, mean most to man and provide the richest experience—farming and sailing. But indeed, out of his own passion for every kind of actuality, T. E. Brown made the unwearying voice of Tom Baynes the instrument of a poetry which, more than any other modern work (except perhaps Mr. Wilfrid Gibson's), deserves to be called the poetry of the actual world—the common livelihood and the common holiday-making of mankind. And especially noticeable in this world of Tom Baynes' is the actuality of human nature. The characters he gives us are presented with penetrating intuition of the working of hearts and minds, yet always with a sense of the insoluble enigma in every personality. All his stories exist for the sake of a psychological situation, always at last irresistibly brought home; and some of these situations are strangely exciting and memorable. Of the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* it may truly be said that they deepen and enlarge one's sense of the possibilities of human nature.

But it need not be repeated that the proper way to read the *Yarns* is to allow the stories as such to take a secondary place in one's interest. When one does so, they have, in the whole effect, a very considerable value. Some of them are first rate as stories,

or would have been if they had been told by a poet whose main concern was the telling of them. Others are very decidedly second rate, as in *Job the White*, where the apparent tragedy of the conclusion has, since it is a merely irrational accident, no significance and is therefore no tragedy. But in itself the material in which the story is substantiated is always good. As a specimen of this, I quote a passage which will also serve to illustrate Brown's singular indifference, in the use of his material, to the art of narrative. The whole contrast of temperament in father and son is finely given by contrasting the methods of their seamanship.

Now this lad was a very gentle sort,
And hadn' none of the fiery spir't
That was in the father—it's faithful he was,
Faithful, and houldin' terrible fast
To them he liked, and perseverin'
Uncommon—Look at the either steerin'
And you'd know the odds; for Hughie was all
For humourin'; but the skipper would hawl
On a wind no matter how it was blow'n,
Just like a dog would be peelin' a bone,
Greedy, you know, like a hungry dog,
Greedy, suckin' his luff like grog.
That's the way, and Hughie would look
On the sea like a man would read in a book,
Spellin' big spells, and gettin' them right,
But the Captain would stand like sniffin' a fight
Far off—he would—like challengin'
Suspicious lek, like sayin'—' Now then !
You're at it ! are ye ? Who'll strike first ?
Come on, ould stockin' ! do your worst !'

This is excellent in itself. But this contrast between father and son has absolutely no importance whatever in the story. It means nothing at all, as things turn out. But what is really extraordinary is that it might have meant a very great deal, if it had been made between the right persons. For the story is one of tragic antagonism between this captain and—not his son at all, but another captain. And it is exactly the kind of antagonism that is illustrated by this particular contrast in seamanship. Moreover, the tragic conclusion occurs precisely by reason of this very difference in seamanship; at the crisis of their relentless unspoken rivalry (superbly worked out in all its subtle reverberations by Tom Baynes' uncanny insight) the daring captain cracks on all sail once too often, and his luck deserts him just when he needs it most. As far as the art of narrative is concerned, there could hardly be a more flagrant waste of admirable material.

When all is said, Brown's indifference to the requirements of narrative must be allowed to be a most serious defect in the

Fo'c's'le Yarns, in spite of their extraordinary merits: we are left balancing many virtues against one heavy fault. In order to achieve his poetic purpose Brown adopted a poetic method which proves radically incompatible with that purpose. The method is one which, by its very nature, obtrudes itself on our attention; and its failure therefore also obtrudes itself. Once arouse the expectation of a story, and the continual putting off of the story's accomplishment cannot but produce a certain irritation, however notable the stuff may be to which the story is postponed. This is the price Brown (and his readers) must pay for his determination to make Tom Baynes, in the act of telling a story, a figure typical of the whole life of his people. When this problem no longer haunted him—when, as in the old 'pazon's' story, *Bella Gorry*, the narrator is a person who has no need to represent himself as typical of a whole community—Brown showed what he could do in the way of direct, forthright narrative. Once more the story is one leading up to a remarkable psychological situation—as remarkable as anything in the *Yarns*, which perhaps is almost as much as to say, as remarkable as anything anywhere. Certainly I cannot think of either poet or novelist who has more profoundly conceived the passion of motherhood than Brown has done here, or brought it to a stranger or more beautiful conclusion.

No one who has ever read it is likely to forget that final glimpse of Bella worshipping the beauty of her daughter. And, without any interruptions or divagations, the character of the teller is perfect in the manner of the telling—in his casual reference to Liverpool as 'that awful place,' for instance, or in the simple tact with which he describes the final scene of Bella caressing her naked daughter on the night before the wedding—'This Sybil clinging to this Venus'—and the unforgettable phrase he has for that mysterious act of adoration: 'Nursing the baby!' This surely must be reckoned one of the finest narrative poems in our literature.

The blank verse of *Bella Gorry* is something of a relief after the busy, rattling, and rather structureless octosyllables of Tom Baynes. But the purpose is clear enough in the use Brown makes of these octosyllables—we had better call them four-foot verses; for every possible liberty is taken with the number of the syllables. It is the same as the purpose in his use of dialect. This is not a dialect which can for a moment be compared with the noble language Burns had at his disposal; but it enables Brown once more to bring his poetry into contact with actuality—the racy, careless actuality of the language of everyday life. Just so the elastic metre of his four-foot lines is pulled out, compressed, twisted this way and that, in order to make the rhythm of the

verse represent as closely as possible the very tones and accents of living speech. It is not only Tom's mind we are to understand, but equally his voice we are to hear. The effect is often good, but perhaps as often decidedly awkward. The fixt metrical scheme would not tolerate some of the extreme modulations Brown tried to force on it. In two of the stories he experimented with a more irregular scheme; but without much success, except in snatches. This is the method, however, which he used with masterly success in the best of his lyrics. The language here is no longer dialect, but the full and noble range of literary English; yet it is literary English pregnant with the ever-varying intonation of *speech*. This is the result of the metre. It is not, as it is sometimes miscalled, 'free verse'; for the rhythm is persistently and definitely a formal rhythm. But instead of modulations being fitted into a scheme, the scheme is made to depend on the modulations. The secret of it is, in fact, that the natural cadences of speech are allowed to determine the length of the line. This sounds simple; but in execution it is apt to prove exceedingly difficult. Its supreme practitioner is Coventry Patmore in his odes; but T. E. Brown comes very near him: witness the two astonishing little lyrics called *The Bristol Channel*, charged with the very accent of spoken words:

The sulky old gray brute!
But when the sunset strokes him,
Or twilight shadows coax him,
He gets so silver-milky,
He turns so soft and silky,
He'd make a water-spaniel for King Knut.

—
This sea was Lazarus, all day
At Dives' gate he lay,
And lapped the crumbs.
Night comes;
The beggar dies—
Forthwith the Channel, coast to coast,
Is Abraham's bosom; and the beggar lies
A lovely ghost.

This power of making subtly elaborate language move with the apparent freedom of natural speech is the most striking thing in the technique of Brown's lyrical verse; and whenever he uses this power he exerts on any sensitive ear an extraordinary fascination, however slight the topic ('I bended unto me a bough of May,' for instance). But his lyrical topics are as a rule far from slight. He can put into lyrical form the most audacious philosophising, as in *Dartmoor: Sunset at Chagford*; he can make simple language thrill with personal anguish transmuted into

beauty, as in the poems which directly express his great bereavement, or in those re-echoings of it which sound so keenly in other contexts :

Not less to us the things which most we cherish
Fade from our eyes, and perish, perish, perish :

Tom Baynes' habit of three-fold repetition for once made genuinely poignant ! And again and again his mystical sense of the closeness to him of the divine in all the actuality of life (whence his passion for actuality) seizes on his reader's mind in some unexpected image or in some phrase of startling simplicity. With the extraordinary wealth of substance he gives us in the *Fo'c's'le Yarns*, along with, to balance their defects of art, the exquisite accomplishment and lucid depth of his lyrics, T. E. Brown's whole achievement as a poet must ultimately make its way to a very high place indeed in the literature of the nineteenth century.

LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE.

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR

SOME PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

THE first time I ever saw Arthur Balfour was in 1886 or 1887. I had been invited to dine with an old friend, Mr. Godfrey Webb, famous as a wit and a charming host. He used to give small dinners in his Victoria Street flat of just three or four people, but those people were always carefully chosen. Arthur Balfour was already a legendary social figure in my imagination—a detached, fascinating, unapproachable being, of his political career, beyond the fact that he was Chief Secretary for Ireland I knew little. Mr. Webb had been asked by A. J. B. as he was always called, to join a little party in the House of Commons, and had replied that he could not as he had a party of his own, upon which Arthur Balfour asked him to bring his guests too, and that is how I came to be included. We dined in the noisy House of Commons restaurant downstairs, and I can only remember, besides Godfrey Webb himself, three people—George Curzon, Margot Tennant, and our host Arthur Balfour.

After dinner we went up to his big private room, and, though he had to leave us for a debate, we sat on round the fire absorbed in one of those eager discussions about poetry or fiction or biography that certain kinds of people always indulge in, and which led at that time to the nickname of 'Souls' for a particular small circle of friends, among them some distinguished men. The poems of Tennyson, and especially *Maud*, were the theme, and I well remember the enthusiasm with which George Curzon declaimed :

All night have the roses heard
The flute violin bassoon.

The poetry discussion did not amuse Arthur Balfour, nor did he appreciate the love poems in *Maud* when he returned to us, and he lolled in his chair and took no part.

Meeting him was always an adventure : one suffered trepidation, due to the intense desire to amuse and interest him felt by almost everybody. I think most people, too, had the deeper longing to stand well in his eyes, for, delightful as it was to make him laugh—and no one ever laughed with more utter abandon—

ment—it was still more wonderful to make him turn round and look you in the face with the remark, 'Now that really interests me very much, because . . .'; and the enchanted listener might be in for a devastating criticism, or an enthralling monologue. The one fatal note was insincerity; he could tolerate, indeed enjoy, simplicity or stupidity, but pretentious insincerity had short shrift. An instance of this is the famous story of his treatment of Frank Harris at a dinner when this brilliant but aggressive talker suddenly announced in a loud voice, 'All the evils of the world are due to Christianity and journalism.' I can see Arthur Balfour look up and hear him say in a quiet, level voice, 'Christianity of course, but why journalism?'

It was not, however, till I married perhaps his greatest friend, Alfred Lyttelton, and grew intimate with many members of his family, that I received the freedom of his inner circle and saw him constantly. I was not among those who talked to him about their private affairs and difficulties; I was too shy of him in those days for that. I never corresponded with him either, but it so happened that more than once I was with him in hours of anguish and suspense, as well as in some of joy and relief, and it was an experience not only never to be forgotten, but one which became a very part of existence. Once in early days I said to a near friend of his, 'Why doesn't he sometimes express his sympathy; he's so cold?' 'You wouldn't say that if he'd ever been close to you in sorrow,' replied his friend, and indeed, long before such an experience came to me, I had realised the deeply emotional character of his temperament. The real truth was that he felt things too intensely and he was afraid of any form of expression—afraid, that is, of loss of control. You might almost say that the more moved he was, the less he showed it, and he was in reality very easily moved about comparatively small things. I remember when my husband was beaten at tennis by Sir Edward Grey (afterwards Lord Grey), and so lost the Amateur Tennis Championship which he had held for some years, I was sitting in the gallery beside Arthur Balfour, and, being very near tears myself, said something silly. He looked at his watch, snapped the case, and in an aggressively cheerful voice answered, 'Oh, no, I won't admit that; it doesn't matter in the least; Alfred isn't in practice, that's all'; and I realised that he was in much the same condition as myself. In deeper, more serious moments he would either remain absolutely silent, sunk in a kind of muffled depression, or be so overcome that it was necessary to help him down to a more ordinary level. Like others endowed with an acutely sensitive nature, he shrank from the sight or sound of pain and distress even to the point of refusing to read any book which ended badly, or of seeing any tragedy on the stage. It was a

weakness, of course, but not a callousness. Perhaps some of his curious ignorance of the public, and of what the average man or woman might be thinking or feeling, was due to his constant aversion from the spectacle of sorrow and despair. He possessed a belief in the greatness and dignity of life and its ultimate meaning, and an unswerving conviction of survival, held like Socrates up to the moment of drinking the hemlock. If he could have walked into the shadows side by side with his friends, he might perhaps have understood the sufferings of the miserable and the poor better than he did; but he dared not hazard a disintegration of calm.

We are apt in our present period to feel that the most important equipment for any statesman is a desire to remedy the position of the unfortunate; there are, indeed, many who would obliterate admiration of any man whose nature was not obsessed by pity; but support, sympathy, encouragement—they, too, are needed by the fortunate possessors of talent and intellect, and even enthusiasm. Arthur Balfour gave of these, without stint or reserve, all his life, both to young and old. To go to him with a new idea, a project, a discovery, even a crude theory, was to know the delight of attention and interest given by a supremely quick, adaptable, and penetrating mind, which was never for a moment hampered by even the faintest consideration of his own relation to the subject. This is so rare a quality that its presence may often be recognised in a man's character while it is overlooked in his mind; what Mr. Asquith called 'intellectual hospitality' was one of Arthur Balfour's principal gifts, and enabled him all through his life to keep abreast of the latest developments in thought and science. It was never the personal aspect which affected him, but the thing in itself, not the fact that a friend brought an idea to him, but the idea itself, which called forth his championship, though no one ever took a greater pride than he in the accomplishments of his friends. Just as he would give his thought freely to any project which seemed to him worth while, not thinking either of recognition or gratitude, but merely of being useful, so, too, he would quite naturally expect the same spirit in others. It was this standard, almost unconsciously held, which gave him his surprising severity in judgment.

I once heard a man say of him that he was the most implacable being he had ever met. Implacable I think he was when he considered that another had failed in tolerance or generosity, or public spirit; but, as to a personal injury, the saying is probably authentic which I saw quoted in a paper, 'I never forgive, but I always forget.'

He had one of the most defective memories which ever cursed a great man. Certain periods of English history he was so familiar with that even he could remember the details, but in matters

which affected his own person or life (as when on his eightieth birthday he spoke in public of his having been Home Secretary, an office he had never held) it is impossible to exaggerate his indifferently blankness. One would think an accurate memory an indispensable weapon for a great debater, but he fought all his many battles without it, and it hardly seemed to hamper him. This was partly because his great strength in dialectics lay, not so much in a detailed and devastating exposure of statements, but in a piercing and often deadly dissection of his opponent's reasoning or his argument. This form of debate seemed to come very easily to him, and his power of analysis, like the rapid illumination of lightning, disclosed a hidden landscape. His wit and his humour made a wonderful combination with his occasional felicity of epigrammatic phrase. I say occasional, because as a speech-maker he was not nearly up to the level of his own intellect. His delivery was apt to be hesitating and bad; he was for ever qualifying his statements; his whole method gave an effect of coldness and dispassionate reason, incapable of firing the enthusiasm of a popular audience. 'Peroration!' he once exclaimed to a friend who asked him how he composed them. 'I say what I've got to say and sit down at the end of the first grammatical sentence.'

Arthur Balfour could not lead a forlorn hope which needed the dazzled acquiescence of his followers, but he might turn a forlorn hope into a complete victory if thought, courage, resolution, and resource could be brought to bear on a situation from his writing-table or in personal consultation. And not once but many times in his life he did something akin to this, and moulded the shape of history. His gift was, not to inspire men to great deeds by speech, but to give them the opportunity for great service by his penetrating judgment and his powerful influence. It is perhaps true to say that politics as such were never his chief pre-occupation. His sister the Dowager Lady Raleigh told me the other day that she remembers walking late at night with him from the House of Commons at the beginning of his career as a member of the Government, when he remarked casually, 'I don't believe I really care for politics.' She said she could not credit that. 'Well, I'll tell you why I don't believe I do,' he said; 'I never think of politics in bed!' His thoughts were probably on philosophy or some form of speculation, or on the principles governing certain developments, rather than on their political significance. I believe that he really enjoyed writing much more than speaking, or even debating. A passion for exact statement which he shared with many members of his family is not much gratified in public argument. His style in writing was pure and limpid, and it is strange to remember with what strenuous labour it was done. He had no flowing pen: everything was written

and rewritten and recast; no slovenly phrase or careless epithet was ever passed by him. I possess among my papers the manuscript of a short letter to the *National Review* which he wrote in reply to a purposely provocative article on golf by Alfred Lyttelton called 'Is Golf a First-class Game.' Arthur Balfour was really stung into rejoinder in defence of the Scottish game. The editorship of the *National Review* had just been assumed by our friend Leo Maxse, and the golf article had been written partly at his suggestion. When it brought into action the heavy gun of Arthur Balfour it was a triumph for the new director. We were staying at Whittingehame at the time, and I was used as a copyist, so that I know well how every phrase and every epithet was struggled over. The manuscript—my copy of his first draft—is covered by erasures and additions in Arthur Balfour's hand. Many years after he asked me to find this forgotten letter, as he had promised to meet Leo Maxse in some public debate arranged for a charity, the subject being 'Does Golf do more Good than Harm?' Leo Maxse seems to have objected to golf as being a game for the middle-aged. Lord Balfour, in reply, said, 'The mere fact that international financiers can play golf and improve their figures, even if they attain no other advantage, is not a sufficient reason for criticising a game which requires all that Nature has given us of muscular adaptation, accuracy of eye and of judgment, delicacy of touch, and of temper.' Golf was indeed a very serious matter at Whittingehame, and depression would fall on some members of the family if shots had been fozzled or balls sliced. I can remember Mr. Balfour saying gloomily, 'The worst disaster that can befall an unmarried man has fallen on me; I have been off my drive for three weeks.'

Gerald Balfour, his wife Lady Betty, and their children, Eustace Balfour, his wife Lady Frances, and their children, always spent several months of the year at Whittingehame, Arthur Balfour's Scottish home. He loved to be surrounded by his horde of nephews and nieces; he took the deepest interest in their amusements, even their more serious efforts at writing or drawing or botany or chemistry; he suffered no sentimentality, no hero worship, and appeared to be entirely unconscious of the love and reverence which wrapped him round. Everyone tried to earn his approval or appreciation, thus anything that happened had a double value, its own, and its value as a story to be told at luncheon or dinner for the host; a guest inevitably fell into the prevailing custom of treasuring up each amusing incident or piece of news for the delectation of this astonishingly responsive listener.

But no story was allowed which held an element of sadness or possible disaster. There was an occasion when one or two of

us were involved in a motor accident. Arthur Balfour had, of course, been one of the very first people to invest in a car, and a young man employed in the stables, a son of Brett, the old coachman, had been in training as a second chauffeur. The day came when Lady Frances and I were allowed to go into North Berwick piloted by this young man. On the box beside him sat Mrs. Jane Mercer, the wife of the grieve of the home farm, taking advantage of a lift to see her boy in hospital. We had hardly got out of the gates, when a violent skid sent us across the road. I confess to having felt rather nervous; possibly if I had had more experience I should have been even more so—the car was so powerful, the boy seemed to have so little control. But Lady Frances's courage was undaunted. She said to me fiercely, 'Whatever we do we must not break his nerve; we must go on,' and on we went. All was well in North Berwick; we did our errands, Mrs. Mercer did hers, and we turned homewards. Then going down a steepish hill after passing Tantallon Castle there was another skid and a wrench, and we mounted on a bank with a sickening bump. The figure of Mrs. Mercer flew over our heads, looking, as I recognised even at that moment, like a horizontal figure of Victory. She landed on her head in a field, and lay still, bleeding from some bad cuts. It was raining, and we were several miles from home. This is not really the part of the story for which I am telling it, but I must just say that the heroic Mrs. Mercer could murmur nothing but, 'Thank God it wasn't you, my lady' many times. We got a passing baker's cart to fetch a doctor, we helped the poor woman to a lodge near by, and we despatched the dejected chauffeur on foot to Whittingehame and told him to send a good old-fashioned horse brougham to fetch us home. I have no doubt Arthur Balfour had been anxious; it was dark, it was late, and we were out in this new machine with a very inexperienced driver, whom, if I remember right, he had not himself passed as sufficiently trained to drive the car. So the scene was set. We entered the long library feeling like minor heroines: the washing and sewing up of poor Mrs. Mercer's head wounds, performed by the light of a small kerosene lamp which I held, had been an upsetting experience, and there were other incidents, adventures, and humours which we were eager to relate. But Arthur Balfour, sitting by the fire with a book in his lap, merely looked up and in a cross sort of voice said, 'Go and wash; go and wash.' By this chilling reception one could measure his dislike of the whole business, and the fears he had entertained. Mrs. Mercer got quite well in time, and her condition was reported to him constantly, but I do not think we were ever allowed a long recital of the affair, which in any lesser event he would have enjoyed down to the minutest detail.

All sorts of distinguished men and women came to Whittingehame—politicians, scientific men, writers, professors, 'fashionables,' golfers, a constantly shifting kaleidoscope during the autumn and early winter. Staying in the house was always a delightful experience, whether there were other visitors or not, for the members of the family itself were most interesting and stimulating companions.

In the morning our host never appeared. All his life he had his breakfast in bed and got through some of his work there in quiet, and he devoted his whole morning when out of office to work in his own library—a big dignified room lined with his own special books. For luncheon he would emerge ready for talk, and there was an unbreakable rule: no one sitting at the table was allowed to speak in a low tone to his or her neighbour; the talk was always vociferously general. Lady Frances would scowl if by chance one had lapsed for a moment. It was therefore no special advantage to be placed next the host, for wherever you might be you were eagerly spurred on to be provocative or impertinent or amusing, according to mood and opportunity. It was a most entertaining game; to make Arthur Balfour laugh immoderately or argue intensely was like receiving a crown of laurels, not merely because of the joy of the moment, but because of the subsequent congratulations.

Sometimes there were fierce dialectical duels between our host, Mr. Gerald Balfour, and some distinguished man or other, to which we would all listen, and receive a violent reminder from Lady Frances if we inadvertently interrupted; sometimes there would be anecdotes earning the abandonment to laughter, for which we all played. I shall never forget one success I had of a childish kind when I told him about the adventure of a mutual friend with a tramp in a third-class railway carriage. The story is not worth repeating here; it shall be like the grouse in the gun-room, but it made Arthur Balfour laugh till the tears ran down his cheeks, and he almost disappeared under the table. I have never forgotten it, because I was acclaimed afterwards as if I had won the principal race in the Olympic Games.

Miss Alice Balfour, our hostess, had all the labour and trouble of running this huge establishment for her brother, and the task, considering the mixture of young and old, all with strongly marked individualities, must often have been a difficult one. If our host wanted to have a quiet talk with anybody he would invite them to come to his room: among his women friends who enjoyed this privilege were the present Lady Weymss, Lady Desborough, and Lady Salisbury, and no doubt there were others. I was invited thus once when I was still rather shy of him, and I was never so frightened in my life. It makes me smile now to

think of it, but he really was rather formidable. It was neck or nothing; of course, to be afraid of him was fatal. I remember hearing a woman now dead say that there was no secret in her private life or in that of her friends which she would not serve up to prevent a pause when *tête-à-tête* with him.

As a guest one could not but derive a certain amusement from the continual hubbub of service for his pleasure and amusement which went on round him. He always appeared blandly unconscious of it. It would have utterly ruined most men, have made them selfish, conceited, and inconsiderate. The fact that it did not damage him is only another proof of the peculiar inviolability of his character, and if he had been a different kind of man he would probably never have been offered this domestic devotion. He was spared the discipline of the mechanical difficulties of life, and so perhaps was too little aware of them.

Music was always one of his greatest pleasures; he has written supremely well about certain composers, and he never lost his delight in the kind of music which appealed most to him. Naturally he was among the earliest to possess a mechanical piano-player. The first one he ever came across I discovered in a shop at Leeds. We had made a little party to attend the festival, several of us engaging lodgings, and of the company were Arthur Balfour, Alfred and Lady Elcho, as she then was. We were very strenuous over the music, missing no concerts, and I had some difficulty in getting him to come to the shop and hear a 'Welt Mignon' perform. Alfred and I, rather staggered by the price, decided that we should get tired of hearing, say, Paderewski or Mark Hambourg play the same pieces precisely the same way over and over again. How wrong we were; it was not long before Miss Balfour found for her brother another player, the 'Dea,' which continued to give him intense pleasure down to his last weeks at Whittingehame. The gramophone, too, was very soon a friend and companion, and he listened to music on it, his favourite Handel, within a day of his death. Music, moreover, at Whittingehame did not displace brilliant and amusing talk, our host often standing with his back to the fireplace, his legs a little apart, not dominating the conversation so much as permeating it: one could have listened for hours.

Whittingehame is a very beautiful place; the policies are finely timbered, the glen quivers with the life and light of a brown stream, the sea gleams on the horizon. He loved it all, he took great pride in it, he shared it with the whole of his family. Every detail about the farms, or the shooting or the forestry brought to him, received his most earnest attention, although he was unable, amid the continuous pressure of public work, actually to manage his estates. If philosophy had not been the overmastering

passion of his intellect, he could never have accomplished his two or three books. He would write at all sorts of odd moments. We were staying with the vicar of Leeds (afterwards Bishop Talbot) and his wife, my husband's sister Lavinia, both intimate friends of his, for another Leeds Festival, and I can see him sitting at a rickety tea table in the common sitting room, full of people, working at the manuscript of his *Foundations of Belief*. In the train, too, he would pull out a manuscript and browse over it, adding a sentence here and there. To the end of his days praise and appreciation of something he had written was a greater delight to him than most of the tributes to his public life: he felt instinctively, perhaps, that thought is a creative principle and the very root of growth, and it was the search for understanding which possessed him.

God make my brooding mind a rift
Through which a meaning gleams.

I often thought of these lines of Masfield's when I heard him talk.

I cannot pass from these days without a word about the charming relationship which developed between their uncle and his nephews and nieces. Perhaps the two who were nearest to him were 'Baffy,' now Mrs. Dugdale, and Joan, now Mrs. Lascelles, both daughters of Lady Frances, but one cannot expose and analyse these sort of intimacies in the lifetime of people, though afterwards there is often none left who could do so. It was not only the girls whose adventures and fates interested him: there was his eldest nephew Frank and his heir 'Ral,' now Lord Treprain, and Oswald, Lady Frances's youngest son; all of them were in his constellation of happy stars.

I have seen it stated that Arthur Balfour's great fault as a statesman was the difficulty he found in taking decisions. A clever doctor once said to me that the strongest characters were not those who made up their minds quickly and then never deviated, but belonged to those people who kept their minds open and took no final decision until it was absolutely necessary. This was the kind of strength possessed by Arthur Balfour, and it was often mistaken for weakness; his dilatoriness was due more to his fastidious and critical mind than to any failure of his ultimate will: given the necessary emergency, and no one could act more swiftly or more vigorously.

I doubt, indeed, if any statesman has ever taken a larger number of fateful decisions for his country—the 'black week' in the Boer War when he sent out Roberts, for example—and some of the most important developments occurred in the last ten years of his life, after he had resigned the leadership of his party. One has only to mention the Washington Conference in 1922, the Balfour Declaration about Palestine, and the handling

of the 1926 Imperial Conference, when the status of the Dominions was given shape, to say nothing of the establishment of the Civil Research Committee, which was in the main due to his initiative. In 1926 he was already nearly seventy-seven. I was at a party given by General Herzog when I heard enthusiastic comments on his chairmanship of the Committee on Constitutional Relations in the Empire. It was Mr. Amery, then Secretary for the Colonies, who then told me that it was a wonderful feat, and, in fact, said very much what he wrote in a letter to *The Times* published after Lord Balfour's death on March 22, 1930:

If we arrived at a unanimous conclusion on matters of immense consequence to the whole future of the Empire, it was due in no small measure to our chairman's unique authority, to his clear perception of the issues involved, his quickness to find ways round difficult corners, his unfailing charm. But it was due even more to his unwavering conviction that the future unity of the Empire, in which he passionately believed, could only be maintained on the basis of unquestioned equality of status and rights as between its partner members.

I soon came across Lord Balfour himself at the party, standing beside one or two people and looking rather tired. I shall never forget his reception of my report of the praise I had heard from more than one. His delight was very characteristic of his essential modesty, and in a delightful boyish way he asked me to pick up anything about the matter I could, for he said, 'You will hear much more than I ever shall.' With some people this might have been a symptom of doubt as to whether he had helped to the really right decision; with him it was merely a human pleasure in the praise and approbation of his fellows. I should like to quote the concluding sentences of Mr. Amery's letter:

It was because they felt that he was completely at one with them on the fundamental principle, and not with hidden reserves, paying mere lip service to it, that the Dominion representatives, of every school of thought, were willing so largely to be guided by him and to accept his drafting. I would only quote one instance. When, after a week of intimate and immensely interesting dialectical discussion, Lord Balfour had brought us to agreement on the famous sentence embodying the definition of the British Empire, I suggested to him as we broke up that such a sentence should not be left to stand by itself, but should be fitted into the general reasoned framework of our report. Next morning he summoned Sir Maurice Hankey and myself and showed us a brilliantly written memorandum which he had drafted as soon as he got home, justifying the Empire as a heritage of enduring value to its peoples, into which the dry dialectical definition fell into its proper place, and from which it derived life and a fuller meaning. A day or two later this memorandum was adopted by the Committee without the alteration of a single word and now figures as the opening page and a half of the report.

I was in Canada this year, and heard many references to the momentous guidance given at a critical moment.

As for the Balfour Declaration, opinions, of course, differ about the wisdom or unwisdom of his policy. When my husband was Secretary for the Colonies he became deeply interested in Zionism, and inherited the idea from Mr. Joseph Chamberlain that a possible solution might be the assignment of a piece of territory in Africa. I think a definite project was formulated. But the Zionists would have none of it. What Lord Balfour did was to recognise the strength of the bond with Palestine; I heard a leader among them once express his emotion at being able at last to welcome a distinguished visitor on the soil of his own country; for centuries this had not been possible. Time alone will show how far this Declaration was prescient and displayed the highest imaginative power. I was witness of the extraordinary outburst of gratitude and appreciation evoked by his death among Jews from every quarter of the world, and if I had not already been a believer in the possibility of a national home for that race the perusal of these glowing messages would have made me one.

I must bring these random reminiscences to an end. Many people have written appreciations of Arthur Balfour's character and his genius, and many have made critical studies of his career; there will be a large crop of historical essays and short sketches, to say nothing of the memoir on which he was at work when illness overcame him, and which perhaps may be published as a fragment, and the big official biography certain to be placed in very competent hands. It is impossible to give an adequate picture of this unique personality. One can only light up here and there little corners of his life—catch him on the stairs, as it were—and record the immediate impression. And at the end of these scribbles I feel I have said nothing which will recall the instant radiation of the atmosphere the moment he entered a room, the sense that everything in life was suddenly worth while, that you must bring your best, be at your most vital, that you must not be heavy or dull or pompous, that everything natural and human interested and amused him, and that pretentiousness was anathema—all these confused feelings assaulted you when you saw his long form enter a room and heard the clear full tones of his voice. Constantly he took no notice whatever of his intimates—in the way, I mean, of formal greetings; I grew to understand that for Arthur Balfour not even to shake hands with you usually meant that he accepted your presence as part of his equipment. If you were next him at a dinner party you had to work for your reward; he rarely started topics, or asked questions, but you always had your reward if you earned it. In the last year or

two of his life it was different : he greeted his friends with delightful warmth. The springs of his deepest feelings were released, and it was wonderful to watch the fundamental enthusiasms and aspirations of his being come up to the surface, for these emotions, drowned before in the full stream of his life, betrayed the quality of his greatness. He cared passionately for the land of his birth, Scotland, and quite as passionately for England, to whose historical past he was intimately linked through his mother Lady Blanche, sister of the great Minister of Queen Victoria, Lord Salisbury. Tell him something that a man or woman of the British race had done in any quarter of the world—in Canada, Africa, Australia, in the East—that showed the ingredients he admired of pluck, resource, generosity, thought, and his whole being would quiver.

Over and over again I have seen him hardly able to speak, so moved was he by a kind of synthetic admiration, not perhaps for this or that person, but, through his national sense, for the whole human race, and his intense appreciation of the struggle in which we as sentient beings are involved. A sentence of his own written some forty years ago, quoted by the writer of articles in the *Scotsman*, so aptly describes this feeling of his that I must transcribe it again :

I like to think of the human race from whatever stock its members may spring, in whatever age they may be born, whatever creed they may profess, together in the presence of the One Reality, engaged not wholly in vain, in spelling out some fragments of its message.

People have written about his faith and his Christianity : Lord Cecil the other day at the Zionist memorial service in the Albert Hall said Lord Balfour drew his inspiration, not from the things that were seen, but from those that were unseen—a good description of his mental attitude, for his thoughts and desires were ever roaming in the world of ideas, and the life of the Spirit was a supreme reality to him.

This faith of his, and his high resolve, never failed for a moment, nor would he allow anyone else to shirk the smallest duty for his sake if he knew of such an intention. ' Nonsense,' he would say ; ' it is very important, you must go ' ; or ' you must not refuse.' His exquisite consideration for those about him never failed either, and made the last months of his weakness a precious memory for those who loved him and were privileged to be with him.

It is impossible not to feel that this faith of his has been abundantly justified, and that somewhere afar is wielded that strength and is shining that brilliant unwavering light.

EDITH LYTTTELTON.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



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THE PRESENT SITUATION IN INDIA

INDIA is in the forefront of the world's news to-day, and she finds herself in that position because of the interest roused by Mr. Gandhi's personality and actions, and by the serious events which have followed in the train of his most recent attempt to overthrow British rule in that country by methods which are now peculiarly associated with his name, which are a compound of passive resistance and active opposition to the working of the administration, and are known the world over by the compendious title of non-violent civil disobedience. It is natural that Mr. Gandhi's doings and their results should occupy, not merely the centre, but practically the whole, of the Indian stage so far as newspapers and their readers are concerned, for Indian politics are a baffling, recondite study, which need continual first-hand observation by students if these are to keep their knowledge up to date and accurate, and very few have the opportunities for undertaking such observation. In these circumstances the natural tendency to identify a political movement with some

leading personality, and to seek a full and satisfactory explanation of its origin and character in his sayings and doings, has very little to check it. But these considerations do but make it all the more necessary to stress at the outset the fundamental truth that Mr. Gandhi's latest movement and its consequences, which form the most spectacular side of the existing political situation in India, and the side on which attention is now exclusively focussed, are, after all, only part of the situation and only one factor in present-day Indian politics. If, for example, Mr. Gandhi occupied to-day the position which he occupied ten years ago, when he was leading the old non-co-operation movement of 1920 and onwards, his actions would epitomise the actions of political India, and be commensurate with the general movement of Indian politics, much more nearly than they do and are. For in those days Mr. Gandhi had not only mass sentiment on his side, but he also had the willing, enthusiastic co-operation of most of the political leaders of the country, of whom only a comparatively small but, for the most part, intellectually brilliant section held aloof from a movement which, they clearly foresaw, must inevitably lead to disorder and bloodshed. Most important of all, he had behind him many influential Muhammadans and the driving force of the Khilafat agitation, in which the Indian Muhammadans gave expression to their resentment at the terms of the Peace Treaty with Turkey, and made their effort to get it modified. To-day, however, the Muhammadans are not only not with Mr. Gandhi, but are openly opposed to him, and the rest of political India has preferred a different way from his, and one which is to lead ultimately to a different kind of Swaraj. It will be the aim of this article to demonstrate the truth of the above judgment, for in the demonstration the essential features of the present situation in India will emerge.

Two outstanding events have more than anything else influenced the course of recent Indian politics, and, in consequence, have largely determined the conditions which we observe to-day. These two events are the appointment of the statutory Commission in November 1927 and the now historic announcement made by Lord Irwin on October 31 of last year. The statutory Commission, or, as it is more popularly known, the Simon Commission, was appointed in fulfilment of the obligation conferred by one of the sections of the Government of India Act of 1919—the statute which implemented the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The section in question provided for the appointment of a Commission after a period of ten years to inquire into the working of the existing system of government in India and into certain cognate subjects. By the middle of 1927 the situation in India seemed to be about as favourable as it was ever likely to be for

the appointment of the body to discharge these duties. Except for sporadic recrudescences of Hindu-Muhammadan rioting, India was quiet from end to end. The active phases of the non-co-operation, Khilafat, and Akali Sikh movements had finally spent themselves, and the most prominent leaders of these movements were either busily engaged in the work of the legislative bodies, both central and provincial, which had been set up under the Act of 1919, or else had retired from active politics. Mr. Gandhi himself had been in retirement for nearly three years when the announcement of the personnel of the Commission was made. The Hindu-Muhammadan disturbances, which had formed such a prominent and important feature of Indian public life during the preceding four years, were clearly dying away into the lull which has now lasted, with but few interruptions, for about two years. From every point of view, therefore, the time seemed a favourable one for His Majesty's Government to begin the fulfilment of the obligation imposed on them by the Act of 1919. The absence of Indians from the Commission gave rise to resentment and determination to boycott in many influential quarters in India. In the event, however, the boycott proved to be less general than the resentment, for there were important adhesions to co-operation in the work of the statutory Commission, and the legislative councils of every province but one in India decided, either without a division or by a majority, to elect a committee to work with the Commission on the lines indicated by Sir John Simon in his letter to the Viceroy of February 1928—the letter, that is, in which he explained his conception of the work of the Commission, together with the committees chosen by or from the various legislative bodies, central and provincial, as that of a Joint Free Conference. On the whole, it is fair to say that the minority communities of India decided on co-operation with the Commission, as also did the great non-Brahmin political organisation of the south of India, the well-known 'Justice' Party. In the Punjab and Bengal, where the great bulk of the community is located, and in the United Provinces, where they form a very strong minority, Muhammadans were mostly in favour of co-operation, but elsewhere they seem to have been divided, with, on the whole, a majority in favour of boycott of the Commission. But the All-India National Congress, the Nationalist Party in the Legislative Assembly, and the All-India Liberal Federation, which represent a very large and influential section of organised political opinion in India, decided to boycott the Commission. The Legislative Assembly, by the narrow majority of six votes, accepted a resolution in favour of boycott moved by a member of the Nationalist Party. No further account of the division of Indian opinion on the subject of the statutory

Commission is necessary, because it is clear from what has been said that opinion was not only divided, but, in view of its broad division between the majority community and the various minority communities, was divided in a manner which gave a sharp edge to the division.

One inevitable reaction to the appointment of the Commission was an attempt by the boycotting element to produce their own solution of the great problem set by the future government of India, and simultaneously with the beginning of the work of the Joint Free Conference early in 1928 began a series of 'All-Party Conferences,' composed of leading representatives of the boycotting sections. The Muhammadans were represented by the leaders of that group which acknowledged allegiance to the All-Indian National Congress, by the leaders of the Independent Party in the Legislative Assembly, and by one or two who belonged to the All-Indian Liberal Federation. From the beginning the crux of the discussions at the All-Party Conferences was formed by the all-important question of the safeguards, political and economic, to be ensured to Muhammadans by any future Constitution which might be devised for India. Muhammadans were, and are, for all practical purposes unanimous in their determination to retain the existing system of communal electorates—that is, the system by which purely Muhammadan communities return their own members to the various legislative bodies. They further wished to ensure the permanency of their majorities in the Punjab and Bengal, and a minimum representation in the public services and legislatures, central and provincial. Even the leaders of the extreme left wing of Muhammadan opinion were not prepared to go the whole way towards joint electorates, but insisted on the reservation to Muhammadans of a certain proportion of seats in the legislative bodies. Clearly these are questions of fundamental importance. The differences of opinion to which they led were sharpened when, during 1928, proposals that Sind should be separated from Bombay and made into a full province, as well as the North-West Frontier province and even Baluchistan, were definitely formulated and discussed. For the implementing of these proposals would imply, if we exclude Burma, that there would be eleven major provinces in India in five of which the Muhammadans would be in a majority. Organised Hindu opinion, particularly that part of it represented by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, which is an organisation for the promotion of the general interests of the Hindu community, strenuously resisted these demands, and in the circumstances it is not surprising that no settlement of Hindu-Muhammadan differences could be reached in the open meetings of the All-Parties Conference.

It was necessary, therefore, to delegate the task of making proposals for the reconciliation of these fundamental disagreements to a smaller body, and in consequence a sub-committee of important leaders of the schools of thought represented in the All-Parties Committee was chosen to study the whole matter and submit a report to the All-Parties Conference. The sub-committee carried on its work throughout part of the summer of 1928, and in August of that year submitted a Report which embodied their suggestions for the future government of India, including, of course, their solution of the difficulties inherent in the position of the minority communities, particularly of the Muhammadan community. The Report was the work chiefly of two of the most prominent men in Indian public life—Pandit Motilal Nehru, leader of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, leader of the Indian Liberal group. Whatever opinion may be formed concerning the adequacy of their Report as a solution of the immensely difficult problems involved in the construction of a future Constitution for India, there can be no doubt as to the earnestness of their desire to deal fairly with the interests of the different communities, and contemplation of the fate of their Report, now usually known as the Nehru Report, throws much light on the fundamentals of the existing situation in India. Interest in the Report was focussed on the solution of the problems presented by the rival claims of the two great communities, and it was on this part of its recommendations that the Report ultimately foundered. The protagonists of both communities attacked the Report, the Muhammadans chiefly because it did not meet their views with regard to the electoral system and the proportion of representation which they desired in the legislatures, the Hindus because they believed that the creation of 'communal' provinces in addition to communal electorates cut at the very roots of Indian national unity. The existing differences between Hindu and Muhammadan ideas of the future government of India have taken shape and form from the vigorous controversy which raged round the Nehru Report. Virtually the whole Muhammadan community is now firmly united in a series of demands the satisfaction of which its leaders regard as of vital importance to the future of their community. The core of their demands is that for the present, at any rate, the system of communal electorates shall continue, that Muhammadan representation in the central legislature shall not be less than one-third, that Sind should be made into a separate province, and that reforms on the same footing as in other provinces shall be introduced into the North-West Frontier province and Baluchistan, and that the form of the future Constitution shall

be federal, with residuary powers vested in the provinces. There are other demands, notably one for an adequate representation of Muhammadans in all the services of the State, but these need not detain us. The fundamental importance of those already detailed is at once apparent after what has been said above.

The general effect of the Nehru Report, then, has been to crystallise Muhammadan political claims and range the community solidly behind them, a statement the truth of which may be seen from the proceedings of the very representative gathering presided over by His Highness the Aga Khan at Delhi during the first week of January 1929; the debate of March 11, 1929, in the Legislative Assembly; and, lastly, the proceedings of representative Muhammadan meetings and authoritative pronouncements by Muhammadan leaders during the past few weeks. And just as Muhammadan opinion hardened and unified in favour of these demands, so did that of a large section of Hindu opinion, particularly that represented by the Hindu Mahasabha, against them, until by the summer of 1929 claims and denials were ranged over against each other divided by a gulf which seemed unbridgable by the leaders of the two great communities. On this side, therefore, the Nehru Report had clearly broken down; and it had been hotly assailed from another direction also. For the Report is based on full Dominion status for India; but a section of the All-India National Congress, composed chiefly of the younger men, claimed nothing short of complete independence for India, and soon it became clear that this issue of Dominion status *versus* independence would in all probability be the chief subject of discussion and vote at the annual meeting of the All-India National Congress at Calcutta in December 1928, the leading advocate there of the independence group being Mr. Srinivasa Ayengar, an ex-President of Congress and Pandit Motilal Nehru's rival for the leadership of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly. The rivalry between these two leaders, together with the controversy over the respective desirability of independence *versus* Dominion status for India, calls for mention, because it was the immediate cause of Mr. Gandhi's return to politics, with the important consequences which have since flowed from that event. Mr. Gandhi devised a formula satisfactory to each of the two contending leaders and sufficiently vague to allow of its acceptance by both the believers in independence and the believers in Dominion status. But during the same week in which the Congress session was held there was also held the last meeting of the All-Parties Conference, at which a final appeal was made by Mr. Junnah, the spokesman of those Muhammadans who had boycotted the statutory Commission, for the acceptance of the Muhammadan demands. With

the final rejection of this appeal the attempt of the leaders of the boycott to reconcile Hindu and Muhammadan political aspirations ended for the time being, and so also, in effect, did the validity of the Nehru Report as a measure of common agreement between the interests represented at the All-Parties Conference. The formal abandonment of the Nehru Report by the All-India National Congress came in December 1929.

In general, the political record of 1929 in India is a tale of drift and indecision on the part of political leaders, of growing sharpness of separation between Hindu and Muhammadan political claims, of a general falling asunder of the bonds which had held the various boycotting parties and interests together during the time that the presence of the statutory Commission in India gave reality to the boycott and life to the proceedings of the All-Parties Conference. But the developments outlined above in Hindu-Muhammadan relations proved a disruptive force, as also did the proceedings of the Calcutta session of the All-India National Congress. In the main resolution of the session, drawn up by Mr. Gandhi and adopted in open Congress, the warning was given that unless the British Parliament accepted the Constitution outlined in the Nehru Report on or before December 31, 1930, the Congress would revive non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and every other aid to the Government. The fissiparous influence of this resolution, so far as Hindu-Muhammadan unity is concerned, is sufficiently clear from what has been said above, but it had a disruptive effect inside the Hindu ranks themselves. For practically all the non-Congress parties and groups definitely abjured non-co-operation after the bitter and tragic lessons of the old non-co-operation movement, and inside Congress there were many who looked askance at a policy of independence and at movements of non-co-operation or civil disobedience designed to implement it. Therefore during 1929 such groups or organisations as the Liberals and the Hindu Mahasabha let it be known that they had no taste for Mr. Gandhi's threatened revival of non-co-operation.

There were good reasons for their distaste. The Muhammadans, the non-Brahmins of the south, and other powerful interests and communities would quite obviously hold aloof from any form of civil disobedience, whilst unrest among the industrial masses and political agitation among the youths of India had already by the spring of 1929 produced a dangerous state of feeling in these two elements of the population, which of all others are the most easily stampeded into action and the most impossible to control once they are on the move; and, lastly, among the Liberal and Hindu Mahasabha leaders is to be

found a great part of the constructive political talent of India, and it cannot be doubted that the change in the attitude of these men towards the question of once more co-operating with the Government was at least partly due to the natural instinct of strong and constructive minds to be up and doing something practical. And among the more thoughtful and responsible leaders of the Congress Party itself these same forces were at work to produce much the same attitude and the same results. They had all made a sincere and determined effort at constructive politics with the Nehru Report, and its overthrow by forces which neither they nor any others could control, and also their knowledge of the dangers inherent in a revival of non-co-operation, which this time would depend for its strength practically entirely on the two unstable elements mentioned above, had forced them, if not back to the side of the Government, at any rate into a position at which they could be met by a wise and conciliatory move by the Government. This was the situation which Lord Irwin's insight led him to appreciate in the summer of last year, and which he handled in masterly fashion by his statesmanlike announcement of October 31. The announcement made on behalf of the Home Government declared that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as contemplated in the declaration made in Parliament by the late Mr. Montagu in August 1917, was the attainment of Dominion status. The announcement further stated that after the publication of the Reports of the statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee and the consideration of these by the Home and Indian Governments it was proposed to invite representatives of the different parties and interests in British India, together with representatives of the Indian States, to meet His Majesty's Government to discuss British India and all-India problems. The effect of this announcement was immediate and encouraging. For some time previous to the actual publication rumours of an impending important announcement by the Viceroy had gained circulation, and even the approximate date was guessed with some accuracy. The political leaders were not, therefore, taken by surprise, and two important meetings were convened, one in Delhi and the other in Bombay, to discuss the announcement. Each of these meetings was attended by politicians of first-rate importance, and the most prominent leaders of the boycott of the statutory Commission attended one or other of them. The Bombay meeting unanimously and cordially accepted the invitation to the Conference and welcomed the announcement. The Delhi meeting was the more important of the two, for Mr. Gandhi was there with Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyar, the two most prominent leaders of

the Indian Liberals, together with prominent Nationalists and Congress men. This meeting, with the exception of the representatives of the left wing of the Congress Party, of whom the most determined was Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru, son of the Congress Party leader, was disposed to welcome and accept the Viceroy's announcement unconditionally, but Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru wished to reject the invitation to the Conference. It is strange now to remember that it was Mr. Gandhi who persuaded him to go along with the others present at the meeting, but this took some time, and the deliberations extended over a second day.

In the end a manifesto was issued over the signatures of all present. The manifesto declared the appreciation of its signatories of the sincerity underlying the Viceroy's announcement, but stated that they regarded it as of vital importance that two or three things—one of them was the declaration of amnesty for political prisoners—should be done by the Government so as to demonstrate the genuineness of the offer. Also the manifesto said that its signatories understood that the Conference was to meet, not to discuss when Dominion status was to be established, but to frame a scheme of Dominion status for India, a very vital extension of the meaning and wording of the announcement. This manifesto was curiously misinterpreted at the time, both in England and in India. It was held to prove that the representatives of the more moderate sections of opinion had capitulated to the adherents to extremer views; actually the exact opposite represents the truth. It was the extremists who had had to advance more than half-way to meet the others. Nothing would have pleased Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru and his colleagues better than to have persuaded the Liberal and Nationalist and other leaders to lay down binding conditions of acceptance of the invitation to the Conference as such as could not possibly have been agreed to by the Government. The rejection of these conditions could then have been denounced in the Congress Press and on their platforms as a proof of the insincerity of the British Government and of the merely formal character of the proposed Conference.

But the Liberals and Nationalists present made it quite clear that they were going to accept the offer of the Conference, and that also was the attitude of more than one important member of the Congress Party who was present. With the report of the proceedings of the Bombay meeting before him, Jawahirlal Nehru realised that if he rejected the offer of the Conference forthwith he would find himself with a very small following isolated from the rest of political India. Mr. Gandhi also saw this; and there is, moreover, good reason to believe that at first he was inclined to welcome the announcement, both

because of its intrinsic importance and because it offered a way out of the difficulty in which he was placed by his threat to start civil disobedience on January 1 unless Parliament in the meantime accepted the Nehru Report. Therefore, in the end, Jawahirlal Nehru and the other die-hards were forced to accept the hard logic of facts and sign the manifesto giving their wishes the form of recommendations, and not conditions. The more moderate leaders signed it, recognising that it was the greatest common measure of agreement which they were likely to get, and, of course, from the point of view of tactics, unity was all-desirable. It is necessary to notice that this manifesto was reaffirmed by the same signatories nearly three weeks later—that is, after the debates on the announcement in both Houses of Parliament. These debates were vigorously denounced by a large and influential section of the Indian Press as showing that the process of whittling down the importance and the potentialities of the Viceroy's announcement had already begun, and strenuous efforts were made by those interested in frustrating Lord Irwin's policy of conciliation and co-operation to get the Indian leaders to insist on definite guarantees on the lines of the recommendations contained in the manifesto. In particular, great stress was laid on getting a promise that the Conference would meet to devise a Constitution on the basis of immediate Dominion status for India. Nevertheless, the manifesto was reissued in its original form, a circumstance demonstrating the strong hold which the Viceroy's announcement had already taken on the imagination of India, and, what is also very important, that Mr. Gandhi had still not made up his mind to reject the offer of the Conference. His rejection, except on the obviously impossible condition that the Conference should meet to draw up a Dominion status Constitution for India, was announced, however, on December 23, on the eve of the annual session of the All-India National Congress, which was to be held in Lahore. The impossibility of accepting Mr. Gandhi's condition did not lie only in constitutional reasons, but in the existing circumstances of India. At once Muhammadans and the other minority communities asked the question 'What are the details of the Constitution which Mr. Gandhi wants?' and in view of the fate of the Nehru Report the question was unanswerable. Only in the most extreme circles was any jubilation displayed at Mr. Gandhi's surprise decision; on the contrary, even some of the most prominent newspapers of the Congress section of the Press showed disappointment, whilst the rest of Indian political opinion was openly hostile to it. It is profitless to try to probe Mr. Gandhi's motives, and even his own explanations have not been clear of obscurity and contradiction. In the Lahore Congress a great fight took place behind the scenes

in the Subjects Committee, where many of the most influential delegates, including ex-Presidents of the Congress itself, withstood his efforts to get the open session of Congress to endorse his action. The proceedings of the Lahore session were given world-wide publicity—at least, the more sensational proceedings and speeches were. The internal and far more important proceedings were not described in any detail even in India, far less outside; and, as is generally known, Mr. Gandhi succeeded. The open session of Congress, it is necessary to state, is composed of delegates of the local Congress organisations, and in practice anybody can become a delegate on nominal conditions. But Mr. Gandhi paid a heavy price for success, the price being isolation from almost every other section of political India, and even from a by no means unimportant section of the All-India National Congress itself. Clearly he was greatly shaken by the opposition which he had encountered at Lahore, for immediately after the close of the Congress session he announced publicly that his threatened civil disobedience campaign, which, as we said, was due to start on January 1, could not be undertaken, as India was not ready for it.

The situation at the beginning of this year was, broadly speaking, as follows. The Viceroy's announcement had passed through several severe trials, and was left with the support of all political India except the extreme left wing of the All-India National Congress organisation, which had been split into several factions by disagreements over the Viceroy's announcement or by personal quarrels. Schemes of civil disobedience were at a discount because the best part of India was attracted by Lord Irwin's offer of a Conference, and because the dangers of a new non-co-operation movement following the inflammatory agitation which has been carried on of late years among the industrial masses and the impressionable youth of India threatened results from which all but the least responsible recoiled. After the excitement of Lahore the political leaders began to settle down to preparations for constructive work for the forthcoming Conference, and these were already under way, when in February, a bare six weeks after he had publicly acknowledged the impossibility of starting a civil disobedience campaign, Mr. Gandhi announced that he proposed to set such a campaign on foot at once by breaking the Salt Laws at an early date. Again his decision came as a surprise, and again he can have derived but scanty encouragement from his study of Press comment and the attitude of his fellow-politicians, even of many who had been his associates in his old non-co-operation movement. The salt tax, of course, was a popular object of attack, not because it is onerous—its incidence is about 2d. per head per annum—but because of the dislike in which it is

held for historic reasons, and it is fully clear from Mr. Gandhi's sayings and doings before he embarked on his campaign that he was confident that he would be immediately arrested. His immediate or very early arrest seems, indeed, to have been his one hope of regaining a measure of his past influence and power with the leaders of some, at any rate, of the parties who were standing aloof from his boycott of the Conference offered by Lord Irwin; for there is no doubt that a wave of sympathy for him would have swept the ranks of political India had he been arrested before it had been shown beyond all possibility of doubt that his defiance of the law must lead inevitably to the dangerous consequences to which, in fact, they have led.

Public opinion in India is not like public opinion in this country, broad-based on a reasonably high level of general education and on correct information, and also on long practice in the actual use of political power. Therefore the attitude of a comparatively few leading men can and does determine the response of public opinion and the Press in India to any particular development in politics. The importance of not alienating the leaders is therefore obvious. It would not be right to speak dogmatically on the actual results achieved in this direction by the Government's waiting policy, but all information at present available certainly seems to justify it, for most of the supporters of the London Conference still appear to be standing where they did.

It would be a profound mistake to underrate the importance of the unrest set up by Mr. Gandhi's movement of the past eight or nine weeks, but it would be an equally profound mistake to overrate it. It was shown earlier in this article that the movement has nothing like the volume and weight of support which his old non-co-operation movement had, and the history of the disturbances which have followed in the train of his actions since he left his home on March 12 proves completely that the political parties and the political leaders have held aloof from them. In a word, the mainspring of the disturbances has been mob excitement engendered by the activities of workers belonging to the extreme left of the old Congress organisation, using Mr. Gandhi's name and personal prestige to effect results which he could not possibly approve, although he seems to regard them with more complacency than he did some years ago. The recent events in Sholapur are a good example of this, for the clashes between the mob and the police originated in the action of youths and others who, among other things, used Mr. Gandhi's temperance movement to justify the leading of a mob to cut down the palm trees from which toddy is made. Similarly, the anti-salt tax campaign quickly passed out of his control and developed features and produced results which he can hardly have contemplated at first.

A survey of the disturbances which have occurred shows them to be sporadic and due to popular exuberance, not the outcome of wide based political movement supported by political leaders and political parties. Moreover, the disturbances have been both fewer and less widely spread than they might have been. Before Mr. Gandhi's arrest riots took place in Bombay, Karachi, Poona, and Calcutta, but these were, so to speak, isolated and self-contained events, quickly arising and quickly checked. Chittagong and Peshawar, far and away the most serious incidents of all, were apart from the movement. The Chittagong affair was the result of the recrudescence of the old Bengal revolutionary movement, whilst the Peshawar affair was as much due to the unfortunate resentment against the passing of the recent Child Marriage Act as to anything else. The Frontier Muhammadans do not marry their girls young, but they maintain that legislative intervention in the marriage age interferes with their religious law—always a source of danger with such people as those of the North-West Frontier. Also the turbulence of the Peshawar mob is such that almost any spark can fire the inflammable material always lying about there. Even Mr. Gandhi's arrest evoked active response in very few places, the most serious affair taking place in Delhi, where the police had to use their firearms. In short, this present movement of Mr. Gandhi's is on a totally different scale from his earlier movement. But in saying this the gravity of the situation created by him must not be overlooked. Mob passions have been aroused, the law has been defied, and unrest and hatred of authority have been engendered in many places other than those which have witnessed actual outbreaks. Mr. Gandhi had to be arrested, but his arrest took place after the failure of his movement had been demonstrated, for Mr. Gandhi set out to inaugurate a great national non-violent movement against the present Administration of India and to rally political parties and leaders to his side. His movement never became the national movement which he desired; it gave rise to violent outrages almost immediately, and most of the parties and leaders, except the Congress left wingers, have remained aloof. But, though Mr. Gandhi's movement has ended in this way, the main political movement in India goes on. Mr. Gandhi's policy may not find wide acceptance in responsible quarters, but the goal of Dominion status mentioned in the Viceroy's announcement of last October does. Happily, the present storm does not seem to have killed the response—which we have studied in this article—to Lord Irwin's policy of advance by conference and co-operation. That is what matters more than anything else.

J. COATMAN.

THE NAVAL TREATY

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S modesty over the results of the Naval Conference has disarmed hostile criticism, and his request that we should regard it as a prelude, and not the end, of the song will be very generally respected. But one has only to throw one's mind back to the time of his American visit to realise how great the disappointments of the Conference have been, and how much offence he would have given had he been other than modest. His was the first visit ever paid to the United States by a British Prime Minister in office, and to an occasion so extraordinary a more than ordinary sequel was expected. The London Naval Treaty between the three Powers has solid and useful virtues, but it is of no use to deny that it is an anticlimax to our hopes. The Treaty will save money and forestall any idea of naval rivalry between this country and America, but we should probably have saved the money in any case, Treaty or no Treaty; and had not President Hoover by his overtures gone half way to make amends for the quarrel at Geneva and invited this country to go the other half? If Mr. MacDonald could have done no more than he did, it is difficult to imagine how anyone could have done less. More was certainly expected by our people, and, unless gossip is more than usually ill-informed, more was talked of in the conversation between the Prime Minister and the President. Positive results no one could command, but one certainly expected some new idea to emerge which, if it were not carried, would at any rate put the problem of disarmament on a high and hopeful plane. As it was, the Conference was exceedingly tedious in performance and exceedingly conventional in its ideas. One hoped for some flight in imaginative statesmanship. One saw what, except for its incredible displays of tact, was little better than a class in arithmetic.

Without quarrelling with the Treaty, still less denouncing it as dangerous to the safety of this country as so many Conservatives seem inclined to do, so weak a conclusion from so brave a beginning must suggest serious doubts in many minds. Mr. MacDonald himself has invited us to make the test one of future hope rather than of the immediate performance. One must therefore look to

the future and ask whether there is really much hope of further progress on present lines. As far as possible, the Conference tried to empty all politics out of disarmament and reduce the problem to something no more soulful than arithmetic or than a simultaneous quadratic. Shall we get any further in this mathematical school of disarmament? Or shall we not, having emptied politics out of the problem, have to bring them back and find the solution by their help? It is, after all, only by an accident that the mathematical school has acquired its present vogue. The Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations at Geneva had no other course open to it than to discard politics and try to find common divisors of armament power. As might have been expected, it became hopelessly embogged in trying to find common divisors for naval, military, and air power, and to work out how many cruisers went to an infantry division and how many submarines equalled an air squadron. It was then that the United States first intervened with the suggestion from which the Geneva Conference resulted—that we might have a better chance if we took naval power separately. But both at Geneva and then at London we remained faithful to the mathematical school of disarmament. Many even of those who appreciate the good that is in the London Treaty are beginning to doubt whether our methods are right, and whether the disarmers will not be wise to take up once more the discarded political methods.

The technical details of the Conference were examined last month in these pages by Admiral Dewar, and in this article it is sought only to disentangle a few leading ideas over which the differences of opinion at the Conference and about it have arisen. The battleships give little trouble. They are useful to fight fleet actions only, and probably the weight of opinion is in favour of the view that actions in which a whole fleet is deliberately pitted against another belong to a bygone era, and that for this and other reasons battleships are obsolete. The same considerations apply more or less to the larger cruisers, whose main function is as auxiliaries of the battleships in a fleet action. For this reason in the draft agreement that we made with France in 1928 we were quite content to have an equal tonnage with her in cruisers carrying heavier than 6-inch guns. Broadly, you may say that the effective criticism of reductions that have been made in fleet action or capital ships is not that they have been so great, but that they ought to have been greater. After all, if we are not to fight actions at sea with the United States, the principle of parity with her is purely sentimental. Apart from her we have ample margin of superiority in fleet action or capital ships. At the other end of the scale of size are the destroyers and submarines. These craft are used as auxiliaries in a fleet action, but their main

function is, not to fight battles, but in the one case to protect and in the other case to attack merchant shipping in war-time. To this same category belong the smaller cruisers. Here the Treaty gives us a parity with the United States which corresponds with no conceivable naval contingency, but that parity gives us nothing like the same margin in European waters that we have in capital ships. Thus, as compared with France, the scale agreed with America allows us an excess or plurality of nearly two to one (619,000 tons against 334,000) in capital ships, but in the smaller craft of all kinds, whose main function is to attack or defend commerce, the plurality is less than six to five. It is most unfortunate that in all the discussions about reductions in this second general category argument should have been so conducted as to imply that there is a rivalry between ourselves and America. Except that the size of the American fleet determines that of Japan, her strength makes no practical difference to us. But in the narrow waters nearer home, where shipping may be exposed to most deadly attack, parity with America in small craft commits us to a plurality over France, which if war came would be lamentably below our requirements. This danger is in effect admitted by Article 21 of the Treaty, which contemplates an increased provision of these craft in certain contingencies.

To say that there is a risk is not to say that it ought not to be taken. But a risk that it may be wise to ignore is not therefore actually non-existent, and that it should exist at all is undoubtedly a very serious flaw in the mathematical reduction of fleets category by category. Parity with America cannot be squared with any rational view of the functions of the British Fleet. It yields two navally perverse results, and one that is politically dangerous. First, because America wants a certain excess of ships in relation to Japan, it condemns us in fleet action or capital ships to an actual excess over our requirements. Fleet actions between our own and American navies are ruled outside the bounds of possibility. It is barely possible to imagine any circumstances in which we should be fighting fleet actions without an ally with the Japanese navy. Thus parity, so far as capital ships are concerned, though it reduces numbers, still maintains our armaments beyond reasonable requirements. The second perverse result is that parity with America should commit us to a scale in ships for protecting commerce in home waters that is below the standard of safety. Germany never had more than thirty submarines at sea at once in the last war, but we were in grave danger, despite a superiority in small craft that was overwhelming. No one in his senses would maintain that a superiority of six to five would be adequate against dangers that, for reasons that need not be discussed here, would be vastly greater. Lastly, there is also a

political risk ; for, if the naval risks now deliberately taken by the Admiralty proved too great, we should have to denounce the formula of equality with America in these smaller craft and no doubt incur much unpleasant criticism from the Senate. It may still be argued quite fairly that these objections must be swallowed for the sake of greater, if contingent, good that may follow. Our Admiralty, again, may have perfectly good reasons for taking the risk, apart from any desire to speculate for a rise in Kellogg securities. Balancing the smallness of the risk between now and 1935, when the Treaty may be revised, against the very definite advantage of having a navy of later date, it may well be old Adam making calculations which are by no means in keeping with the spirit of the Kellogg Pact. But these objections, though not decisive against this particular Treaty, are sufficiently serious to condemn mathematical disarmament. It may not have taken us too far, but will it take us far enough in the future ; and have we not already reached the measure of its usefulness ?

It is said for the Treaty that at any rate it has made up the open quarrel between us and America at Geneva. Strictly, that is an exaggeration, for the quarrel had been made up when Mr. MacDonald visited America, and the Treaty is only a formal registration of a political fact that already existed. Registration is no doubt extremely important, especially when it takes place, as this has done, under the eyes of the world ; but it does not alter the naval facts, which are that we are over-insured against dangers on the high seas which are exceedingly remote and under-insured against dangers in the narrow seas round our own coasts. The original objections to restrictions on smaller craft according to any standard that may apply to the conditions of the United States still remain unchanged. They have taken three forms—in 1921, at the Geneva Conference, and now. The first was excellently expressed in the despatch from the Coalition Government to Lord Balfour at Washington, which Mr. Churchill has been so severely censured for quoting. Whether the quotation was a breach of official secrecy need not now be discussed ; it was certainly a most valuable addition to the public argument, for the new Treaty had been represented as a natural and logical extension of the Washington Treaty. It is, on the contrary, as the quotation showed, a break with the principles of 1921. Press by all means for the abolition of submarines, said the despatch, in effect, but even if, contrary to what is to be expected, you can obtain it, you must consult us before you agree to any reduction in smaller craft ; and the reason given is that the position of Britain, with her world-wide possessions and her need of food supplies, clearly requires an entirely different standard from that acceptable by self-contained communities. That is a decisive rejection

of the idea of a common divisor for small craft. The despatch continues :

We cannot in the face of French freedom to construct a great submarine fleet, to say nothing of the submarine and cruiser construction of other Powers, enter into any agreement fettering our liberty to build whatever numbers and classes of cruisers and anti-submarine craft we may consider necessary to the maintenance of national and Imperial life.

The quotation finally concludes with the instruction to insist on this liberty even at the cost of a complete rupture. In the light of that passage it is absurd to represent the disagreement at Geneva as though it were a mere fault breaking the continuity of the stratum of disarmament from the Washington to the London Treaty. The diplomacy at Geneva may have been clumsy, and the open quarrel was a disaster, especially when it was followed by the draft Treaty with France, against which the common-sense of the country rose in revolt. But it was the politics of Geneva that were bad, not the naval argument, for this was identical with the instruction to Lord Balfour. Whatever may be thought of Mr. Churchill's propriety, it was a useful correction to the misrepresentation of the policy at Geneva as a foolish and mischievous Admiralty interpolation between the wisdom of Lord Balfour at Washington and that of Mr. MacDonald in London. The break came in the London Conference, and even there it was not complete, as Article 21 of the Treaty shows. And, legitimate and laudable as may be the hope that the new spirit of the Kellogg Peace Pact will produce political results that will neutralise the stark naval facts, is there anyone who will guarantee this result ?

The truth is that the Geneva disagreement, though it has been cut down, still has its roots not only in geographical facts which cannot be changed, but deep down in the story of our relations with the United States. The friendship between this country and the United States will always be liable to disturbance by naval disagreement until the conspiracy of silence on the real trouble between us and America is ended. Only a hero can end that trouble, and one cannot blame Mr. MacDonald for having failed. But one had hoped that he would try, and one cannot but express regret that he apparently fears departmental opposition more than he trusts in the strength of the disarmament cause and in the magnificent popular support that a courageous lead would have won for him.

The trouble between us is that, mainly for historical reasons, this country and the United States have radically different ideas about the belligerent rights of a navy against merchant, and more particularly neutral, shipping. Count Bernstorff, when he was German Ambassador in Washington, nearly succeeded in making as ugly a bugbear of our 'navalism' as was German militarism

Germany had invaded Belgium, it is true ; but had not Great Britain also interfered with American shipping to neutral countries, and was not the rigid application of our naval blockade as dangerous to women and children as the German air raids ? The protests of America against our naval policy lacked nothing in asperity, and at one time threatened real danger to our friendly relations. This disagreement was cut down by later events, just as the disagreement at Geneva has been cut down by the Treaty of London ; but the roots remain and—a fact that we persistently refuse to recognise—they are the same roots in both cases. In the despatches on the 'freedom of the seas' before America came into the war we were asserting belligerent right against that of the neutral and non-combatant. The issue is precisely the same in the controversy over submarine war on neutral shipping. But whereas in the one case America was the complainant against what she regarded as our abuse of belligerent right, in the other case we are the complainants against the building up of great submarine fleets whose main use is to defeat blockade and unlawfully to interrupt commercial communications, and thus contemplating an abuse of belligerent right against ourselves. It is out of that prospective abuse and the special dangers to which our geographical position and our far-flung Commonwealth expose us that the whole trouble at Geneva arose. We argued that we needed an excess of small craft disproportionate to the needs of any Continental Power. This claim has not yet been met. America, it is true, supported us in our proposal for the abolition of submarines, but everyone knew that it had not the slightest chance of being carried. But the claim to make special provision against a special danger has not been recognised by the United States or any other Power. It has, no doubt prudently, been withdrawn from controversy, but it is still visible awash in Article 21 of the Treaty.

There are two reasons why the claim could not be admitted. The first, on which enough has already been said, is that there is no room for such a claim in any mathematical scheme of disarmament. The second, and perhaps more important, reason may be best illustrated by a reminder of how our early war quarrel with America over belligerent right came to the surface in the Allied negotiations for the Armistice terms at the end of the war. One of President Wilson's Fourteen Points was the 'freedom of the seas' ; Mr. Lloyd George early in the Allied negotiations insisted that this should not be made a condition of the Armistice with Germany, and this question nearly broke up the Conference. Colonel House, who tells us the whole story, says that he threatened to withdraw from the negotiations if this condition were not accepted. 'The question would then arise,' he told them, 'whether America would not have to take up these matters

directly with Germany and Austria.' When Clemenceau declared that that would amount to a separate peace between the Central Powers and the United States, Colonel House said, 'It might'—a statement which, as he telegraphed to President Wilson, 'had a very exciting effect on those present.' President Wilson, in reply, sent a cypher telegram confirming Colonel House's proposition. 'I feel it my solemn duty,' he telegraphed, 'to authorise you to say that I cannot consent to take part in the negotiations of a peace which does not include the freedom of the seas, because we are pledged to fight not only Prussian militarism, but militarism everywhere.' In the end the subject was excluded from the Armistice terms with Germany, but Mr. Lloyd George gave a general assurance that 'we were quite willing to discuss the freedom of the seas in the light of the new conditions that have arisen in the course of the present war.' The comment of Colonel House is worth quoting, for it still has relevance. He wrote :

With the Freedom of the Seas guaranteed by a Covenant between nations, there would be no incentive for the United States, France, Germany or Russia to maintain navies larger than were sufficient for peace. To say that such a treaty would not be regarded in times of stress is to condemn all treaties. . . . The benefits which would accrue to Great Britain through the Freedom of the Seas would be free communication with her Dominions and the certainty that her food supply and raw materials could never be interrupted. Such a policy would eliminate the terrors of submarine war, for submarines could only be used against battleships and craft of war.¹

With this wrangle fresh in our minds, we now know why the Lloyd George Government wrote the strong despatch to Lord Balfour which Mr. Churchill has revealed, and why the Admiralty insisted so strongly at Geneva on our right to make an especial provision in small craft against a danger that threatened us as it threatened no other Power. But we also know why America has not acknowledged that right.

The London Treaty, subject to Article 21, allows the claim to be at any rate temporarily shelved, and to that extent breaks with our position at Geneva, Washington, and at Paris when the Armistice terms were being discussed. The American argument against our right has also been suppressed out of politeness, but it still holds and is capable of being revived. 'How can you,' America might ask, 'claim the right to special measures of protection against one abuse of sea power when you are insisting on what we have always maintained since Benjamin Franklin's days is another abuse of sea-power? How can you complain that the seas will not be free for your communications in war-time when you have yourselves resisted our insistent demand for the

freedom of the seas? You are basing a demand for additional armaments of small craft because the seas are not free. But it is your, not our, fault that they are not free. If you abated your belligerent right and the seas were free, not only would you not need additional armaments of small craft, but the way might be open to a general naval disarmament.'

'The freedom of the seas' is a vague phrase which is very differently interpreted, and it is here put forward only as a suggestion of the general direction in which reform might tend, and not as a specific project of reform. The amazing fact about the London Conference is that the two countries chiefly concerned seem to have been in a conspiracy to say nothing whatever about it. Mr. MacDonald and President Hoover must have discussed it intimately together, for both must be presumed to know the recent and somewhat sensational history of the idea. Why was it shelved? Mr. Lloyd George's position at Paris was perfectly logical. 'We do not believe in the freedom of the seas,' he said in effect, 'for the exercise of our full belligerent right pulled us safely through the Great War. Therefore let us dodge the subject.' Equally logical was the position of Lord Balfour at Washington. 'We might extend reduction to small craft if there were no submarines' (so, in effect, his instructions ran), 'but break up the Conference rather than discuss this reduction while we are still faced with the danger in home waters of submarines.' 'And therefore,' ran the continuing logic of Geneva, 'we must insist on the right to make special provision in certain classes of craft against dangers to which we are especially liable by reason of our wide-flung sea communications and the menace of submarines to our commerce in the narrow seas.' These may be regrettable conclusions, but their logic is no more to be resisted than is the logic of America in not recognising our right to excess provision so long as our principles of armament are merely arithmetical. Mr. MacDonald seems to make the worst of both worlds. He neither consents at the Conference to discuss proposals which might by freeing the sea remove the danger of our position; nor, on the other hand, does he make special provision in small craft against this danger. He makes Conservatives uneasy, and, at the same time, he leaves the reformers unsatisfied. He seems, having taken the key to the whole problem of disarmament into his hand, to have deliberately decided to let it drop and to content himself with doing sums in arithmetic instead.

No doubt there is an inner history behind a failure which, on the face of it, is inexplicable. Nothing is more likely than that any interpretation of the freedom of the seas such as America would agree to would be vigorously resisted by our Admiralty. It may be that Mr. MacDonald did not wish to begin the Conference by the

¹ Colonel House's *Memoirs*, vol. iv., p. 192.

resignation of the Board of Admiralty. That might conceivably have been the consequence of his taking up a project which, when all is said, is the only basis of a permanent naval friendship between England and America. He may have been attracted by unexpected concessions that the Admiralty was ready to offer in order to keep projects for freeing the seas away from discussion. Probably the Admiralty realised that such projects, if carried, must ultimately denavalise the sea altogether and convert it into a neutralised area like the Great Lakes in North America, and so end its own existence except as a superintendent of one branch of an International Water Police Force. It may also be possible that America, in polite consideration for Mr. MacDonald's difficulties and in genuine desire to put our friendship in no jeopardy, deliberately kept in the background the oldest traditions of its own naval policy.

Moreover, only a hero could have carried this sweeping reform through to a success, and we can hardly make it a complaint against anyone in these days that he is not the stuff of which heroes are made.

We have no right, then, to make reproaches. But the fact remains that this tactical prudence and excess of caution dropped the chance of making the London Conference for ever memorable. As it stands it is a useful measure which no one will either praise or blame without reserve; there is nothing in it, limited as it is in time, that anyone need regard with alarm. But it is not a great contribution to disarmament, and does not mark the beginning of a new era. Perhaps the best to be hoped for is that from its comparative failure may be drawn encouragement to courageous constructive statesmanship later.

HERBERT SIDEBOTHAM.

ENGLAND AND EGYPT

THE breakdown which has just occurred in the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations over the proposed Treaty affords a much-needed opportunity for surveying the relations between the two countries. The people of this country, still, alas! in the main very uninstructed and vague about our foreign commitments, rights, and obligations, are apt to find, when seeking for guidance about our relations with Egypt, two sharply contrasting schools of opinion—one of the right and the other of the left. This leaves them confused and hesitant in regard to what their attitude should be. I believe that both those schools hold incorrect views, and I wish, before dealing with the recent negotiations, to explain my reasons for so thinking. Indeed, without such a preliminary review, it is difficult to deal with the matter at all.

The school of the right persists in regarding Egypt as a part of the British Empire, which, save during the brief period of the Protectorate, it has never been. It is at least doubtful whether the late Lord Cromer, whose position as the greatest craftsman in weaving a working relationship between Great Britain and Egypt has never been challenged, ever seriously regarded such a position even as a *desideratum*; but even if he did, the *pronunciamentos* of the late President Wilson and our policy in Arabia from 1916 onwards have rendered it impracticable. The school of the left, though it may not admit the fact, approaches the question as if Egypt were in the same category as any small, but economically important, State with which we are on terms of diplomatic friendliness.

Such an attitude wholly ignores our vital interest in the Canal, the obligations which it involves to Australia and New Zealand, and the growing importance of the India Air Route; equally it ignores our responsibility for the Soudan; finally, it is oblivious of the character of the Egyptian population. Egypt is neither a homogeneous African, Asiatic, nor European State. The peasant population of Egypt is ethnologically of very ancient North African stock. One of the most erudite of all Egyptologists told me once that he believed the genuine fellahen to be descended almost without admixture from the Egyptian peasantry of the

time of the Pharaohs. The town population, on the other hand, is of an extraordinarily diversified character. There is the 'pasha' class, derived from Turkish, indigenous Egyptian, Circassian, and, in some cases, negro slave origins. I think scientists would rightly describe this class as being the result of miscegenation, and attribute some of its instability to this cause. The native bourgeoisie and town artisans are almost as mixed in their origins as the pasha class, and hardly more stable. Finally, there is the class of those whom (to borrow a term familiar thirty years ago) may be called the 'Utlanders'; they hold most of the key positions in the finance and commerce of the country; many of them belong to families who have been resident in Egypt for centuries. They comprise Greeks, Italians, French and British, with a small number of Americans, Germans, and other nationalities.

History has again and again proved that the lives and property of these people are unsafe without special measures for their security, which Egyptians themselves cannot or will not provide. Let me give one or two examples which have occurred in recent years. The British who lost their lives in the 'train murders' during the 1919 outbreak were butchered amid scenes of indescribable savagery; responsible Egyptian officials in the vicinity did nothing to restrain the fury of the mob. During the riots in Alexandria in 1921 European nationals were insulted and assaulted (and some murdered) without the slightest real effort on the part of the police to protect them. Just after this occurrence I met an Englishman occupying a responsible position in Alexandria, where he had lived for over forty years. He told me that he believed he was the only one of our fellow-countrymen who had seen the outrages against Europeans in Alexandria before the bombardment as well as the riots of 1921. He said that the Alexandrine mob had not altered one whit in the intervening years; there was the same furious blood lust against Europeans in 1921 as in the 'eighties. The police, without their European officers, were as useless and supine in the later outbreak as in the earlier; their attitude was that it was not their business to protect foreigners. He added an interesting statement, the accuracy of which, though I have never heard it confirmed from other sources, I see no reason to doubt. It was to the effect that the captain of a foreign warship which happened to be in the port informed the authorities that, unless British troops were within an hour put on the streets to restore order, he would land a force to do so. This officer is stated to have said that international conventions and arrangements, however admirable in times of tranquillity, should not be held to preclude the captain of a man-of-war from protecting the nationals of his country from

loss of life and property, if other people, including the British authorities on the spot, did not do so. In fact, British troops did turn out and the rioting ceased. But if they had not done so, and this naval officer had carried out his intention, could the British Government, in view of certain incidents in our past history in Egypt and elsewhere, have taken serious objection, unfortunate as would have been the effect on our prestige? Supposing the same circumstances to arise again (which is not a very audacious presumption for those who know Alexandria), and there are no longer British troops there. Will the French or Italians be entitled in time of disturbance to land sailors or troops to protect their nationals? Clearly, it will be difficult to prevent them doing so, and equally it will lead to a division of authority, a divergence of method, and probably considerable ill-feeling between them and us.

The British, when dealing with disturbance at home or abroad (as, for example, in India), invariably wait for a policeman or soldier to be gravely assaulted, or even killed, before taking any action that will jeopardise the lives of the mob. Even so, if a rioter is seriously injured or killed, the Government of the day is liable to be assailed by questions in Parliament from indignant Liberals and Socialists, resolutions of protest are passed, and *clichés* about repression never solving grievances are plentiful in the weekly reviews. In the case of Continental countries, when dealing with trouble at home or abroad, the slightest injury to a single man in uniform is almost automatically the signal for a sabre charge, or the use of revolvers. Outside of extreme Socialist and Communist circles, no one regards the killing of, or serious injury to, a dozen or more rioters in such circumstances as unusual or undesirable. Authority has been defied, and this is the inevitable result. I am not concerned to say which is the best method, but I do feel the two cannot exist side by side; therefore I should regard it as deplorable if those nations who have large interests in Egypt found it necessary, in time of disturbance, to intervene with their armed forces because ours were not on the spot.

It may, of course, be urged that should serious anti-European outbreaks occur in Cairo or Alexandria, or even in places with a much smaller European population, such as Zagazig or Damanhur, it is inconceivable that, with a large force of British troops on the Canal, steps would not be taken to move some of them by the railway (if available) or by car and air to the succour of our own nationals and foreigners generally. But, in view of the clear language of Article 6 of the proposals made by the British Government in July last (which places responsibility on the Egyptian Government for the lives and property of foreigners), it would be difficult to do so until very grave events have occurred.

Again, to judge from past events, such outbreaks might gradually increase in violence; there might be isolated attacks on individuals, followed by concerted attacks on the different European communities. An almost intolerable responsibility would be placed directly on the British High Commissioner, and indirectly on the British Government, to decide at what point they must declare that the Egyptian Government had failed to carry out its treaty obligations, and that intervention by armed force in the internal affairs of Egypt was justified. Doubtless the Egyptian Government would, whilst expressing its deep regret at the outrages, continue to assert its ability to restore order eventually, even when the European quarters of Cairo and Alexandria were in flames. Meanwhile, one or more of the European Powers having large interests in Egypt, but not being, let it be remembered, signatories of the Treaty, would hardly refrain from landing forces if they had ships of war in or near Egyptian ports. If they reached the scene of the trouble before the British troops, all the difficulties which I have enumerated would arise.

This question of the security of the foreign communities demands far more attention than it has received so far from the public here. It must frankly be admitted that the existence of these communities is an irritant to the Egyptians. The predominance of Europeans in the higher ranks of industry is resented less than the fact that so many foreigners, especially Greeks and Italians, are small shop-keepers, shop-assistants, and even artisans. Probably for this reason there have been in recent years much graver attacks upon Europeans in Egypt than there have ever been in India, even in the most disturbed periods, since the Mutiny. But the people are there, and must remain there, since no sane person has suggested they can be made to migrate in a body. Their presence vitiates, to a much greater extent than any other factor, the arguments of the school of the left that we ought to treat Egypt like any other foreign country.

The protection of the Canal zone and the frontiers generally is, by itself, a far easier problem than this one of internal security. If it were possible to obtain real assurance that the Egyptian Government could and would protect foreigners, it should not be impossible to place cantonments in or near the Canal, where the troops could live in reasonable health and comfort. My war-time experience convinced me that there are several places near the Canal healthier than Cairo. Unfortunately, however, it is impossible to disentangle the two problems. I do not know, because the Government has given us little information on the subject, how far the highest military opinion acquiesced in the offer to the Egyptian Government to remove the troops from Cairo and Alexandria. If there was acquiescence, it must have been based

purely on the suitability of the Canal zone as a strategic position for troops to defend Egypt from invasion and the Canal itself from damage or destruction, and also as a locality in which those troops could be stationed without injury to their health or morale. For not even the existence of troop-carrying aeroplanes and fast motor transport can convince me that a whole army corps on the Canal could as effectively protect foreigners in Cairo as a single brigade distributed between the barracks of Abbassia, Kasr el Nil, and the citadel in the town itself.

Article 11 of the proposals for a settlement contains a promise by the British Government to endeavour to secure the abolition of the Capitulations. There is no departure, I think, here from previous policy. Undoubtedly, in many respects, the Capitulations involve injustice to Egypt. On the other hand, the many pinpricks which foreigners have had to suffer from purely Egyptian institutions since 1922 make the task of abolition an act of doubtful safety on its merits, apart from the almost insuperable difficulty of obtaining the consent of other Powers. Though the Mixed Courts could be trusted to administer the law fairly, I think it is very doubtful if the Egyptian Parliament could equally be trusted to legislate for foreigners without any safeguards or restrictions.

The attitude which successive British Governments have taken up towards the question of the Soudan—the factor principally responsible for the breakdown of the recent negotiations—is too well known to require much exposition, but the reasons for that attitude merit very detailed consideration. This is especially true because the most potent reason of all, which is the military one, can obviously be handled more frankly by a private individual than by any Government in published despatches and memoranda. But both objectively and subjectively this aspect of the case is a delicate one for British Governments anxious to be friendly to Egypt. In these days, particularly, no one likes to be reminded of the possibility of a war; still less do they like to be told that, if there is one, their character and circumstances may together make them less than a match for their potential enemies. As in regard to the foreign communities, so in regard to this matter of the Soudan, the British Government is by no means actuated solely by selfish motives or the defence of the legitimate interests of the British Empire. The Soudanese themselves do not want any Egyptian influence in their country. Arabs and negroes alike have, rightly or wrongly, the same feeling of contempt and dislike for the Egyptians which the Pathans or Rajputs have for the Bengalis. Egypt grossly misgoverned the Soudan for many years. Even without the Mahdi's aid, there would probably have been a successful rebellion sooner or later against that misrule. The climate

of the Soudan does not suit most Egyptians, and few Egyptian officers or officials were really happy there in the period from the reoccupation. All the while they looked longingly to the north—to Masr—as the exiled Parisian looks to Paris. To-day there is an alarmingly large class of educated Soudanese competing for work in the limited area of official and business posts open to them. Very soon—if, indeed, it is not the case already—there will be a real danger of a discontented mass of young men who have failed to secure a job owing to the fierce competition. No one who has followed the course of events in India can regard such a position with equanimity. Obviously an influx of Egyptians would immensely enhance the competition and arouse the most dangerous resentment.

The Soudan was reconquered by joint British and Egyptian effort, involving loss of life and limb and the expenditure of money by both countries. On this the Egyptian claim to participation in Soudanese affairs is mainly based. There can be no question that this claim is supported by every Egyptian in public life, and by most of them with the sincere conviction that it is a completely just one. I believe logic to be wholly against them. The direction, the initiative, and the organising power of the Soudanese campaign, which resulted in the reoccupation of that country, came almost entirely from the British. We could, had we chosen, with British, Indian, and West African troops, have defeated the Khalifa without the use of a single Egyptian soldier. True, we did not do so, and the cost to us would have been greater, but that does not really affect the argument. Does anyone, except an Egyptian, seriously believe the Egyptian Government and the Egyptian army could have done the same thing without our aid? But the most powerful argument of all in refutation of Egyptian claims is the indisputable fact that the safety of Egypt from invasion depends upon a Soudan which is either friendly, or prevented, by superior force from attacking the sleek and rich north. The Soudan, under Mahdist rule, was most unfriendly to Egypt, and only prevented by our presence on the Nile from sweeping down to the Mediterranean. To-day the Soudan is comparatively civilised, and peace is maintained by British authority. Our presence there insures Egypt, at no cost to herself, against the possibility of invasion on her most dangerous and exposed frontier. It is true that Egyptians set off this cheap military security by fantastic fears that we may interfere ourselves, or allow the Soudanese to interfere, with the Nile flood-water in a way prejudicial to the prosperity, and even existence, of Egypt. The steps which the British Government have taken by the most definite and solemn pledge to remove this chimera have proved so unavailing that one is driven to the disagreeable

conclusion that leading Egyptians use the argument merely as a tactical weapon in the controversy to alarm their credulous fellow-countrymen.

Supposing that a weak British Government in the future, controlled, let us imagine, largely by the Clyde group, yielded in full to Egyptian demands, and even went beyond them, spurred to do so by the 'League against Imperialism,' what would be the position which would thus arise? The Soudan would be evacuated, and the British troops and all British administrative influence (except in the case of a few individuals whose services the Egyptian Government might desire to retain) would be removed from Egypt. As one must give even an extreme left wing Socialist Government some credit for sanity, I should visualise, in such conditions, the Canal zone being handed over to a mixed gendarmerie (perhaps under the auspices of the League of Nations), who would, nominally at any rate, protect the Canal and the lives and water supply of its staff, as well as European employees, who at Ismailia and elsewhere form an administration in itself. There would, in other words, be a Suez Canal conclave in which we should have an interest as a European and colonial Power, but, apart from that, we should possess no more rights or influence in Egypt than we do in Turkey to-day. What would be the military effect on Egypt? Her raw and undeveloped, but virile, southern neighbour, the Soudan, would just have received her complete freedom. Mr. Buchanan, M.P. for Gorbals, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, himself bitterly opposed to war, as he had proved from 1914-1918, would, in conferring this independence on behalf of the British Government, express a fervent hope that Arabs and negroes alike in the Soudan, forgetting their ancient military traditions, would for ever eschew that hateful thing war. No doubt at first they would take his advice. Young Arabs and negroes, trained in the Gordon College, would be anxious to test their talents in higher branches of administration than had hitherto been open to them. I think many of them would do well, for the various Soudanese racial elements contain strong layers of probity and vitality. Soon, however, a cloud would appear. Even in the Soudan, with her small population, there is one of those racial problems which turn the hair of administrators and statesmen prematurely grey. The Soudan is ethnologically divided into Arab and negro strains, though, owing to former slavery and other causes, the two merge into each other in some localities. Nevertheless, there are whole tribes of pure Arab or negro origin. There has always been some rivalry and ill-feeling between the two races. This would be exacerbated by the struggle for place and power in the young State, with danger to its welfare.

The Soudan, as I have said, has a virile population not wanting in natural leaders. The circumstances would encourage such a one to come forward. Let us imagine him as a man of mixed Arab and negro race. He had received his education at the Gordon College, visited in his youth Great Britain and France, as well as Turkey and other Asiatic countries, been an officer in the Soudan Defence Force, and afterwards lent to the civil Administration as an inspector (a rank which corresponds, or used to correspond, to a collector in India) in the southern province in the days of the British Administration. Thus he has had military and administrative experience in addition to a good education, and the advantage of contact with European and Asiatic countries. He joins a natural shrewdness and firm will to a real interest in and capacity for politics. Small wonder that he is elected by acclamation the first President of the new republic. He is confronted at once by all the signs of a slow but progressively developing crisis. For years the putty that has filled in the crevices in the unity of the country (due to its bilateral racial character) has been the cry of 'The Soudan for the Soudanese.' But by the act of the Right Honourable Mr. Maxton (immediately on his accession to office), in conferring complete self-government on the Soudan, the putty has come out and the cracks are revealed. There must be a new cry. Slowly, but surely, an external grievance must be formed in the minds of the populace. Clearly it can be formed by developing over some years (since an immediate war is undesirable) the latent hostility and dislike against the old oppressor of the country—the land of Egypt.

So the usual pinpricks of speeches and inspired articles appear, until the President is ready to launch his torpedoes and tell the Egyptians that, unless the unfair fiscal treatment which is being shown to Soudanese goods is reversed, retaliation will take the form of interference with the Nile flood water. The Egyptian Government indignantly repudiates the complaint, and, impelled by the natural conclusion of the nation that at last fears have become actualities, and their irrigation water is in danger, threatens in its turn a recourse to arms. Let us suppose that the action of the League of Nations proves unfruitful and hostilities commence. What would be the strategical position of Egypt? Unquestionably, I think, a precarious one, since the Bedouins and Arabs generally in the desert on her eastern and western frontiers would almost certainly see an opportunity for mischief and pillage by raids, if not by actual invasion. Nor would the danger end there. It should not be forgotten that prior to the war the Asiatic Red Sea littoral opposite the Egyptian coast from the Gulf of Suez to the Soudan boundary was at any rate loosely held by the Turkish Empire, which precluded attacks from that

quarter upon Egypt unless the two countries were at war. Moreover, the Hussein family were then Sherifs of Mecca. To-day a competent statesman and fine military leader, Ibn Saud, rules most of Western Arabia, and the northernmost posts of his redoubtable Wahhabite warriors look out across the narrow seas towards the Egyptian coast. In the Sinaitic peninsular, I think, the territories claimed (even though it may not be administered) by Egypt and the King of Mecca lie side by side for several hundred miles. It would, indeed, be irresponsible and improper to suggest that Ibn Saud himself would go to war with Egypt, but no one can tell what his successor may do. Moreover, even the powerful Ibn Saud might not be able to control his tribesmen.

It is, at least, conceivable that in the event of an Egyptian-Soudanese war, in addition to raids from Arabs nearer home, the Egyptian Government would be faced with the even greater menace of organised and concerted attacks by camelry who had come up *via* the Gulf of Akaba to the Gulf of Suez and had themselves and their camels ferried across the latter piece of water. To cross the Suez Canal would not, of course, be open to them in the circumstances which I contemplate, because of the enclave to which I have already referred. But the international zone would not extend south of the town of Suez, and the British Navy or Air Force could not intervene in the Red Sea, because we should have relinquished our military rights and obligations in Egypt and the Soudan. The League of Nations means no more to-day to the Wahhabites than it does to the Afghans or the inhabitants of Turkestan. I doubt if it ever will. Egypt to them represents a land bursting with sin and prosperity, in the looting of which you would acquire merit in heaven and riches on earth; because it is inhabited by a people who are almost worse than infidels, since, whilst paying lip-service of devotion to Allah and his prophet Mahomet, they have discarded every real tenet of the faith. A rigid Wahhabite of the desert looks on an educated Egyptian as a pious Puritan backwoodsman in Massachusetts looked on a courtier at St. James's in the reign of Charles II.

It may be urged that the possession of aeroplanes and armoured cars by Egypt which, assuming her complete dependence upon her own defence efforts, she would possess would more than compensate her for any superior individual fighting power which her enemies possessed. The desert raiders would have neither, and the Soudan, in the first decade of her independence, would be unlikely to be able to afford many. I am not a military expert, and I hesitate to enter a field of discussion which is already the battleground of air and ground force enthusiasts, not to mention the protagonists of mechanisation *versus* brave, capable, and well-led mobile riflemen. Still, the subject has so big a bear-

ing on the whole question that I venture to give a personal experience.

I saw a great deal of desert warfare from 1916-1918 with both the British and Arab forces. In the latter year I was with a mixed force of Arab, Indian, French, and Egyptian troops approximating in numbers to a British brigade. This force, commanded by an Arab officer of courage and experience with the staff aid of Colonels Lawrence and Joyce and a few other British officers, was attacking the Hedjaz railway north of Deraa one morning, when two or three aeroplanes from that town came out and bombed us. When they had dropped their bombs they returned to refill, and altogether, in the space of an hour, let go about sixty small bombs. We had no aeroplanes, and our only reply, which was wholly ineffective, was from four small mountain guns. Our casualties were about thirty men hit, of whom, I think, three were killed. During their air bombardment our advance was held up and the force scattered in irregular groups over a wide area. The camels were barracked (*i.e.*, made to kneel down) and the men sought what shelter they could, the colour of the one and clothes of the other merging into the brownish yellow ground. At the end of about an hour the enemy, who had been quite unprepared for our attack, evidently exhausted their available supply of bombs. The advance then continued, and, after a fight with a blockhouse, the line was crossed and part of it blown up. The enemy planes appeared later to fight a single British machine which was coming to us with a message, but did us no harm. By the rules of the game as stated by some air experts we ought to have been demoralised and dispersed. On the contrary, save for the unfortunate casualties, the raid did us no harm and gave us a much-needed rest and the chance of getting a breakfast (even if a somewhat agitating one!) after a hard night trek. In the circumstances I have contemplated the Egyptian air force would have to deal with dozens of raiding and invading small bodies of camelry over hundreds of miles of front. I doubt if they would be more successful than the Turks were on the occasion in question. In regard to armoured cars, while I admit their immense value in certain circumstances, an experience which I had in one in action in the height of summer in the desert makes me very chary of saying they are an effective bar to Arab raiders.

I have dealt with the question of the Soudan at such length because, so long as all Egyptian Governments maintain the same illogical and unalterable standpoint, it is a barrier of steel and reinforced concrete against any adjustment. Egypt cannot defend herself unaided against a hostile Soudan, with all the other embarrassments which would follow. A friendly Soudan postulates either the continuance of British administration, or a self-

governing Soudan restrained by British influence from interference with her neighbour. Having regard to the present tendency of administration in purely Asiatic and African countries (I mean where there are few British settlers) for which we are responsible, the latter status is likely to follow within a generation. How fatal it would be meanwhile, in order to titivate the *amour propre* of Egyptian politicians, to allow them to send Egyptian officials and soldiers to a country where they are not wanted, which they do not like, and from which assuredly they would be turned out when self-government comes! Even if there were not grave doubts about Egypt's judicial claim to participation in Soudanese government on the grounds of a share in reconquest, the claim is nullified by every aspect of the principle of self-determination.

How far is it true to say with the school of the right that we have 'surrendered' in Egypt in recent years? Strategically our position, with more troops than in pre-war days and our hold on Palestine, is stronger than ever. In imports of merchandise our relative position is weaker than in pre-war days, but such a situation, unhappily for us, can be paralleled in most countries of the world, and it is doubtful whether it can be attributed in Egypt to political events. We still have a big share in Egypt's banking, finance, and carrying trade. We have certainly surrendered to a very large degree our influence over the internal administration of the country. It is undoubtedly sad to know that a number of highly competent and loyal British civil servants have had their careers terminated whilst still in their prime, even though they have, in most cases, received fair compensation. But since Lord Cromer's time until 1922 the British element in the Egyptian services grew more rapidly than some impartial observers believed to be desirable. Moreover, in the last twenty years the demand for British civil servants and administrators in the colonial Empire has more than balanced, I think, the decrease of the British element in the Indian and Egyptian Civil Services. Having regard to the effect of heavy taxation upon the class in this country from which such men are mainly drawn, in causing its members to enter commercial life in the hope of more substantial rewards than service under the Crown offers it is at least disputable if the supply is more than equal to the demand. Thus the argument that, in allowing the Egyptian Civil Service to be closed to young Englishmen, we have curtailed the public school and university boy's chances of a career is of doubtful economic merit, even if it were not deeply resented by Egyptians.

Unquestionably the administration, especially the irrigation service, has deteriorated under purely Egyptian management. Some, indeed, say that bribery, corruption and intimidation are

as rampant as they were in pre-occupation days. The fellaheen are suffering, and will suffer, from the change. But if they were as grateful to us as they ought to have been, they should have shown it by thwarting the efforts of their politicians to drive Englishmen out of the service. They cannot have their cake and eat it. Probably they will be governed no better, and no worse, by these politicians than the peasant class is governed in Turkey or in Persia. The apparent inability, under indigenous auspices, to provide clean and pure government is not confined to countries bordering the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

Apparently the same symptoms are visible in Spain and Portugal. I have no doubt that, if asked to do so, the British Government could for a term of years provide greatly improved administration in Spain, but no one in his senses suggests we should do so. Instead we hold Gibraltar. There is some parallel in the two cases.

Comparisons, not favourable to us, are sometimes made between the great success of French effort in Algiers and recent events in Egypt. There is no real parallel. Algiers, to all intents and purposes, is a part of France. For reasons which are familiar to all who have studied the racial elements and climatic conditions of North-West Africa and the Mediterranean coast of France, there is an affinity between France and Algiers which renders social intercourse and interchange of population (as witnessed by the number of Algerians in and around Marseilles) possible to a degree which is clearly forbidden between a Nordic people like ourselves and the Egyptians.

Lest what I have said in this article may be wounding to any Egyptian readers of *The Nineteenth Century*, I would like to make clear that I have throughout been countering, with what I believe to be fair weapons, certain contentions which their Government has put forward. The nation itself has many good qualities. One of them, a most competent and hard-working peasant population, we in this country may well envy. There is, too, a hospitality and sense of humour among Egyptians which is not always conspicuous in lands further east. But these qualities, while they should make for understanding and goodwill between us, do not justify by themselves the pretensions of Egyptian policy.

WINTERTON.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK

UNDER this same title Mrs. Hamilton contributed to the May number of *The Nineteenth Century* a spirited and engagingly written article, which her colleagues would do well to consult when they come to write their next election address. There they will find a vigorous defence of all that the Labour Government have done during their first twelve months of administration; plausible, if specious, excuses for all that they have failed to accomplish; and forcible, if familiar, criticism of their Conservative predecessors. But with regard to the outlook they will not find a word, save in one vague sentence at the end of the article, where it is admitted that the sky is darker than it has been since the end of the war, but suggested that it is 'shot with a hope that is more authentic, more realistic, and more intelligent than has crossed it during the intervening years of illusion.' I do not quarrel with Mrs. Hamilton for cautiously refraining from prophecy, but I would suggest that she might have found another title for her article.

What strikes Mrs. Hamilton as most remarkable in the altered conditions produced by the last election is the increased interest taken in politics by men and women in all quarters. She was not herself, unfortunately, a member of the last House of Commons, and she is a member of the present one, so perhaps she will permit one whose position is the reverse of hers to assure her that his experience has been different. It is impossible to be dogmatic upon such a subject. Personal experience is the only guide, and such experience must be affected by chance, by circumstances, and by prejudice. It may, however, not unfairly be asserted that when we are in the House of Commons we are apt to imagine that everybody is very interested in our doings, that the Palace of Westminster is the centre of the world, and that our friends and acquaintances will be grateful to us for recounting to them the latest political gossip; when, on the other hand, we have ceased to belong to it, the proportions of that building dwindle in our eyes, the chatter of the lobbies grows faint in our ears, and, by some well-appointed law of compensation, we learn to hold a lower opinion of what we have lost.

But not so low, I must admit, as to prevent us from using every endeavour to recover it.

The reason for the altered attitude of most people towards politics, which Mrs. Hamilton has noticed and I have missed, is, in her opinion, to be found in the fact that politics are no longer dull; dulness in politics, as in life, she asserts, is deadly, and she compares the Baldwin *régime* to the rule of King Log. Here we are brought up against a difference of attitude towards political questions which is fundamental, and which, I am afraid, will divide Mrs. Hamilton and myself as long as we live. She holds that dulness in politics is deadly—deadly, I suppose she means, to the State. I am convinced that politics ought to be dull; that the nation which has no history is happy; that the quiet, eventless years are those in which a nation gathers strength, and prosperity and wisdom; and that it is excitement in politics, not dulness, that leads to death. So far as I remember, in the fable to which she has chosen to allude, the frogs, it is true, grew tired of the dull reign of King Log, but heartily wished him back again during the more exciting administration of King Stork, for they found, what many more intelligent electorates have discovered since, that even stagnation is better than destruction, and that it is pleasanter to be bored than to be eaten alive.

'Socialism, as a bogey, is thoroughly out of date,' writes Mrs. Hamilton. The statement would be more true if the words in italics were omitted, or if 'as a practical policy' were put in their place. That the present Government has realised this fact is abundantly plain, for not only have they refrained from introducing any frankly socialistic measure, but they have not even come forward with a proposal to which the epithet 'socialistic' could be applied with as much justification as it could to the Electricity Bill that was introduced by the Conservative Party.

Whether Socialism is out of date as a bogey is another question. I suppose that the word 'bogey' means something which is unreal, but of which people are afraid. I myself have always been inclined to regard Socialism as something of a bogey, or rather as a bad dream, which, in this country, could never come true. It seemed to me that there were three very adequate lines of defence: the first was the good judgment of the leaders of the Labour Party; the second was the power of delay still exercised by the House of Lords; the third was the commonsense of the people. So far the first line has proved sufficient; and it is likely to remain so. There have been many Socialist Governments in many countries, but nowhere, save in Russia, has a sincere attempt been made to transform a Capitalist into a Socialist State.

As this fact comes to be realised, as the electorate learns that

our Labour leaders are not remorseless Bolsheviks, but rather woolly-headed, weak-minded, well-meaning Radicals of the old school, the bogey of Socialism certainly will forfeit its power of frightening, but the ideal of Socialism will also lose its power to attract. The effect upon English politics of the simultaneous destruction of what has been for some a nightmare of terror, but for others a beacon of hope, is a question that really does provoke speculation and profoundly affects the political outlook.

The first effect that might be expected would be a genuine movement from the Liberal Party towards, not coalition, but assimilation with Labour. Evidence that nobody, except a few of the noisier members of the I.L.P. who are Communists in all but name, really believes in Socialism in our time should incline hesitating Liberals, who had been terrified by tales from Russia, to throw in their lot whole-heartedly with one of the only two parties that are ever likely to hold office, and thus escape their present thralldom to a leader whom they all distrust. The defection of the present Attorney-General so soon after the last election was open to criticism upon the ground of precipitation, but it was, in fact, the logical and not disloyal action of a sincere Radical who was prepared to fight for the Liberal Party so long as there was a Liberal Party worth fighting for. Treachery is largely a matter of timing. The first to leave a sinking ship are notoriously the rats, although their action is believed to be due to better information, superior acumen, and clearer foresight than are possessed by human mariners. When in course of time it becomes evident, even to the latter, that the vessel is doomed, nobody blames the passengers, nor finally the crew and captain, for taking to the boats.

At the last election Mr. Lloyd George hurled into the fray, with his accustomed prodigality, the whole of his inspiring energy, which is his form of genius, and, it is said, the greater part of his collected money bags, which are his form of political munitions. A Liberal, wavering towards the left, had good excuse for believing that the chance which had come for the revival of his party might be the last one, but it was certainly a chance. But on the morrow of the election he could realise that the last die had been thrown, and had been thrown in vain. Liberals who then decided, like Sir William Jowitt, to join the real party of the left, but, unlike him, postponed taking any action in the matter, will not incur the same opprobrium when in due course they follow his example. And it is surprising that more have not followed it already. One of the main reasons for the comparatively meagre dribble of Liberals into Labour during the last twelve months lies in the fact that there is small inducement, save office, for a Liberal member to change his party between

elections. A Liberal member is in some ways the envy of his fellows. If he wants to speak, he usually can do so, because some attempt is made to hear a spokesman from each party in turn, and, as the Liberals are less than a quarter as numerous as either of the other parties, each Liberal gets more than four times as good a chance of being heard. Not only, however, can the Liberal speak when he likes, but he can say what he pleases. With a smug assumption of benign impartiality he can damn the Socialists one day and the Conservatives the next, and on each occasion be sure of enthusiastic support from one side or the other, who will hail him as a broadminded Daniel come to justice. Finally, he may choose his own lobby and flaunt his own Whips, a privilege which the voting records of the present Parliament prove that he has abundantly exercised. So the Liberal member is a very happy if rather contemptible creature, who will not willingly barter his freedom for the bonds and gags of real Government supporters or the heavy burden of real opposition.

It was from the unsuccessful rather than from the successful Liberal candidates that the Labour Party had to expect the larger number of recruits, and many rumours have been current as to mass movements of this nature that were likely to take place. But rumours they remain. Nor is it impossible to suggest reasons why Liberal candidates hesitate to transfer their allegiance. In the first place, without the slightest desire to suggest discreditable motives, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the majority of such candidates are not very rich men. At the last election they were presented with a blank cheque upon the bank of Ali Baba, and could well afford to take a month's holiday at somebody else's expense, during which they could give free vent to their rhetorical impulses and support causes in which they sincerely believed. Nor had they to fear—those of them who were professional men or engaged in commerce—that their former clients or customers would in future look elsewhere for advice or for supplies rather than employ the advocates of revolution, the enemies of hearth and home. Liberalism, if discredited, was still respectable. It had an air of decayed gentility about it, of which the most timorous could not be afraid. But, as they are well aware, there awaits them in the Labour Party no such substantial financial backing, and no such venerable guarantee of constitutional reliability. Many of those who stood light-heartedly as Liberals at the last election would be taking their lives, or at least their livelihoods, in their hands if they stood as Socialists at the next. Labour Party finances seem to be controlled with admirable economy, and the tried veterans and the working-class candidates will obviously have first claim upon them. The feeling, although it is dying,

still persists that the Socialist is an enemy of society, and those who rely upon the support of society to make their livings must think twice before they brand themselves with what is still a stigma.

There is another reason why Liberals are not throwing themselves into the arms of the Labour Party. They find, to their astonishment, that those arms are not so widely open as they had anticipated. When it was a question of capturing the best brain at the Bar for the only party that has ever suffered from a lack of lawyers, the arms not unnaturally flew open to their widest possible extent. But when they are faced by a melancholy procession of high-browed gentlemen in black, whose only recommendation is that they have lost an election, and whose only qualification is acquaintance with the economics of John Stuart Mill, the arms are apt to remember that they should be in shirtsleeves and to fold themselves rigidly upon a bosom wherein still beats a proletarian heart. Having accounted for the delay that has taken place in the transference of Liberal loyalty, I would not be taken to infer that that transference need be further or unduly prolonged. I have tried only to show that it has not been, and will not be, so simple a matter as it might at first sight appear. The majority of those who call themselves Liberals to-day are Liberals for the reason which in the eyes of Conservatives is the most respectable—they are Liberals because they always have been, or because their fathers were before them. No true Tory can fail to reverence such desperate loyalty to a lost cause. But there comes a time when the best of causes is no longer tenable, and when continued devotion to it becomes nothing but sentimental absurdity. We can all admire the Jacobite who fought for the Old or for the Young Pretender, but we can only despise or pity the members of the White Rose League who continue to do homage to some minor German royalty as the rightful heir of the Stuarts.

So far as the political outlook is concerned, the most important event that has taken place this year is the secret agreement concluded between Mr. Lloyd George and the Government. The terms of it we do not know, for both Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald are experts in secret diplomacy, but the existence of it is a patent fact to the simplest tyro in politics. There were whispers of intrigues, there were rumours of agreement, there was a little luncheon party, and then Mr. Lloyd George, who had pulled every string that he commanded to defeat the Government upon the Coal Bill before Christmas, informed the House of Commons that the Coal Bill must go through at all costs, lest its failure should endanger the success of the Naval Conference. When so astute a parliamentarian is content to

make himself a figure of fun, we may be sure he is not doing it for nothing. Further evidence of the hidden deal was revealed at the by-election in West Fulham. First the Liberals withdrew their candidate in order to improve the prospects of the Socialist. But this was not enough. Certain independent Liberals having dared to suggest that votes should be given for Capitalism rather than Socialism, no less eminent a Liberal than Professor Ramsay Muir was compelled to mount a platform paid for by Socialists in the hope—as it proved, a vain one—of persuading the electors to vote for the new allies of his new master.

What are the Liberal Party going to get out of the deal in which their leader has involved them? If they imagine that the present Parliament is going to pass a new electoral measure, I venture to prophesy—a very dangerous thing to do in politics—that they will find themselves deceived. Such a Bill would consume months of parliamentary time which a Government that is already being badgered by the trade unionists upon the one side and the educationalists upon the other could not hope to find during the next eighteen months. And what would their own supporters, not one of whom cares a rap about proportional representation or the alternative vote, think of a Government that wasted its time upon doctrinaire details while the figures of unemployment were soaring up? To a Bill for the redistribution of seats for the benefit of the Liberal and Labour Parties the same objection would apply, besides the unpopularity that would attach to such a palpable job. For what other prospective blessings have the Liberals bartered their independence? A few months more of parliamentary life for their three score members? Many of them certainly know that they are under sentence of death, but I should have thought that every one of them would have preferred to have marched to the stake as a Protestant martyr rather than be led to the slaughter-house as a patient ox.

There remains one possible explanation of the mystery. The next election may result in a tie. The steady trend of the Conservative Party towards a reformed fiscal system has destroyed the last hope cherished by Liberal leaders of creeping back into office under the wing of a Conservative coalition. It may be, therefore, that in the not impossible event of the Labour-Liberal majority being considerably diminished, but not wiped out, as the result of the next election, Mr. Lloyd George has his claim already pegged out, his seat upon the Treasury Bench assured. In that case it remains only to be seen whether he can fulfil his part of the bargain, whether the Liberals in the country will continue as docile as they have proved hitherto, and whether, having so complacently submitted to being bought by their

leader, they will as meekly allow themselves to be sold. Such a coalition Government, if it ever became a fact, would prove of short duration. Astonishing as are the tergiversations of politics, I cannot believe that Mr. David Kirkwood would ever sit a silent supporter of a Government that included Mr. Lloyd George. If he did, then Mr. Maxton would really have something to cry about. The left wing, who are already restive, would certainly rebel, and the country, having to choose between a Ramsay MacDonald-Lloyd George coalition supported by an independent Communist Party on the one hand and a united Conservative Party on the other, would undoubtedly prefer the latter.

But, it may be fairly questioned, would the Conservative Party be then united, and are they united to-day? Upon all major issues of politics, save one, there is no doubt that agreement exists among the leaders and throughout the ranks of the party. The incident of the United Empire Party is closed, and its leader, while perhaps too eager to dictate policy and to expel heretics, bids fair, if he can keep those tendencies under control, to become the dynamic force within a party that has too often lacked, and is too easily suspicious of any manifestation of, dynamic energy. It may now fairly be stated that the whole Conservative Party are of the same trend of economic thought. In that house there are many mansions, but the apartment of the complete Cobdenite has been converted into a padded cell. Rational protection for our industries and closer communion with our Empire are principles which must be held by every member of the present Conservative Party. Which industries most need safeguarding, the amount of the duty to be applied, the exact steps that should be taken before an Imperial Conference, the exact steps that should follow it, and the amount of time that will be required, these, surely, are matters where individual opinions may be allowed to differ, if they agree upon the end in view.

The outlook, therefore, is more favourable for the Conservative Party than for either of the others. The Government, as the by-elections show, is losing credit every day, and losing it far more rapidly than was to be expected, yet they have still to approach all the most difficult parts of their programme and still to deal with the most critical of Imperial problems, the question of India. They cannot much longer postpone the introduction of a Trade Disputes Bill, which, if they are as good as their word, will have as its object to legalise the general strike and to rearrange the collection of the political levy in such a way as to enable the trade union bosses to squeeze, worry, bully, or intimidate Conservative and Liberal members of their unions into subscribing from their wages towards paying the expenses of Labour members of Parliament. Such a measure must be produced within the

next twelve months. If the Liberal Party vote for it, the last rags of decency will have been stripped from them, and they will never be able to hold up their heads again. If they vote against it, the Government will have been defeated on a vital issue and a General Election must take place.

There is a school of thought—and many who belong to it must command our respect—which holds that it is better that the Labour or the Liberal Party should have to settle so grave a problem as that of the future of India, because so long as the Conservative Party is out of office the Government of the day can rely upon a loyal Opposition. Either this is a fallacious argument, or if it be true, then it must follow that the safest plan would be for the Conservatives to remain in opposition for ever, as we can never tell when questions of Imperial or foreign affairs may not arise in which the assistance of a loyal Opposition would be desirable. It were surely as sensible to argue that if there were one man in a platoon suspected of treachery or cowardice it would be a good plan to put him in command, in order that his more reliable comrades might support him if he behaved properly, and in order to render it impossible for him to shoot his officer in the back.

I do not share this opinion, nor do I believe it to be a blessing that grave issues upon which much may depend should be settled by a weak Government with no majority and Ministers who lack experience. The Conservative Party need not be afraid of the next election, whether it come soon or late, nor should they seek to bolster up a tottering Ministry in order to lay upon it a weight of responsibility that it is ill fitted to bear. A loyal Opposition is a useful asset, but far better is a competent and courageous Government with an independent majority.

DUFF COOPER.

THREE IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCES

It was in the summer of 1909 that the idea came to fruition of bringing together the representative newspaper men of the Empire to confer in London. There is really not very much that newspaper men throughout the Empire have in common as newspaper men. The distribution of news by cablegram and wireless is certainly of universal concern to them, also the question of paper supply, but it is surprising how comparatively few subjects there are to be discussed affecting newspapers of the Empire generally when Empire newspaper men get together. Still, from other points of view, the first Imperial Press Conference was a wonderful success, as were also the second Conference held in Ottawa in 1920 and the third in Melbourne in 1926. They were Empire gatherings of considerable Imperial significance. They were representative of the people who do much to create public opinion in every part of the Empire. In these democratic days Governments and Parliaments are but the creatures of public opinion, and those who form and guide public opinion are doing work of the greatest importance. The forming and guiding of public opinion is certainly not less important than the work of Governments that merely give effect to that opinion. The gatherings undoubtedly helped to a better understanding of Imperial problems by those who controlled the Press of the Empire. In other words, the Conferences helped mutually to educate the educators of Empire public opinion.

At the first Conference there were fifty-six overseas delegates in all, including men from Canada, India, the West Indies, Straits Settlements, Burma, Ceylon, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. Most Pressmen avoid public notoriety. They are of retiring disposition, and the overseas delegates were overwhelmed with the attentions they received and the public and private hospitality extended to them. The late King Edward was specially gracious. At their first meeting at the Waldorf Hotel, which was their headquarters, the first duty was to draft a telegram to His Majesty expressing fervent loyalty and good wishes towards himself and his family. Promptly, in reply, came a telegram of thanks from the King hoping that the

delegates would enjoy their stay in England. Subsequently, at a garden party given to them at Marlborough House by the Prince and Princess of Wales, King Edward and the Queen asked to meet the delegates personally, all of whom, with their wives, were then individually presented. Later, the delegates were the guests of King Edward and the Queen at Windsor Castle.

The overseas delegates were shown all phases of English life. The Government gave them a banquet; the Lord Mayor entertained them at luncheon at the Mansion House; a luncheon at the Houses of Parliament with the Speaker in the chair was given them by literary and journalistic members of both Houses. The Labour members of the Commons were their hosts at afternoon tea on the terrace. They were invited to a military review at Aldershot and a naval review at Spithead. They were taken for a motoring tour, with visits to Coventry, Warwick, Stratford-on-Avon, Manchester, the Ship Canal, and Sheffield. A short stay in Scotland comprised visits to Glasgow, the Trossachs, and Edinburgh. A day was spent at Oxford University, where they had luncheon with the Chancellor, Lord Curzon. The originator and organiser of the Conference, Mr. Harry Brittain (now Sir Harry Brittain), made certain that the delegates saw English life as it was in King Edward's time. Social gatherings, politics, industries, and commerce were all included.

Perhaps the most impressive sight that the delegates witnessed was the naval review at Portsmouth. They were the guests of the Admiralty and were entertained on board the *Dreadnought*. There were eighteen miles of battleships, cruisers, destroyers, scouts, and submarines. The fleet was in charge of Admiral Sir John Fisher, then the First Sea Lord. Nelson's old flagship, the *Victory*, was gaily beflagged and recalled memories of long ago. When the special train that took the delegates from London reached Portsmouth, the steamship *Volcano* was waiting to take them along the lines of the fleet. A few bluejackets attended to them. No one met them officially. A quietly, almost shabbily, dressed elderly gentleman in civilian clothes, unnoticed by any of the delegates, unostentatiously boarded the steamer. As the *Volcano* went along the lines the delegates consulted copies of a plan that had been supplied to them showing the position of each vessel of the fleet and giving particulars of the names, tonnage, guns, etc. A member of the overseas party, the youthful daughter of one of the delegates, was reading aloud and, for the benefit of those near, giving particulars of the ships she pointed out.

'Excuse me,' said the old gentleman, 'you are reading the plan wrongly.'

He then gave the names of the ships passed, mentioned many details about them, referred to the careers of some of the vessels, and answered various questions about them.

'You seem to know a lot about the ships,' remarked the young lady.

'Oh,' he replied, 'not so very much.'

'Indeed you do,' was the response.

'Well,' he answered with a strange smile, 'I don't know as much about them as I'd like to, but I'm always trying to learn more.'

The young lady, who seemed to think she had discovered some Portsmouth journalistic authority, insistently went on: 'And what have you to do with the ships?'

'Well,' he remarked, 'I happen to have charge of them. My name is Fisher.'

Opportunities were provided the delegates for meeting at private houses the leading statesmen and most of the notable people of England. Mr. Lloyd George was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and parties of three or four delegates were invited to breakfast each morning with him and his wife and family at his official residence in Downing Street opposite the Foreign Office, where the Conference was held.

Most of the great political leaders addressed the Conference, which lasted some days. The one thing that struck us was that the Conservatives especially were impressed with the danger of a great European war caused by Germany's scheme for aggrandisement. Though not in so many words, yet the message that the homeland gave to us to take back was, 'Keep your eye on Germany.'

At the banquet given by the British Press to the overseas delegates at White City a feature of the evening was Lord Rosebery's great 'Welcome Home' speech that has now become an English classic. It was perhaps his best effort as an orator. A strange story went the rounds of London regarding the speech. It was said that the promoters of the Conference specially desired to get the finest orator of the Empire to deliver a welcome address to the delegates. He complied, but later, as he thought over what he should say, he changed his mind and told them that on reconsideration he would rather not do it. They endeavoured to get him again to change his mind, but without avail. Finally, the late Lord Burnham approached King Edward, and His Majesty was sufficiently interested to speak to Lord Rosebery on the matter. Lord Rosebery, feeling that it was a royal command, tried to excel all his previous efforts. And he did. None who heard him can forget the attractive diction, the touches of humour, the charm and foresight of his utterances.

Lord Rosebery put the ominous international position as it then existed in the plainest language. 'There is a hush in Europe, a hush in which one might almost hear a leaf fall to the ground, and yet,' he added, 'there never was in the history of the world so threatening and overpowering a preparation for war.' He went on to issue this significant warning:

Take back to your young Dominions across the seas this message and this impression—that some personal duty and responsibility for national defence rests on every man and every citizen of this Empire. Yes, gentlemen, take that message back with you. Tell your people—if they can believe it—the deplorable way into which Europe is relapsing into militarism and the pressure that is put upon this little England to defend itself, its liberties and yours.

Lord Roberts, then seventy-seven years old, was even more prophetic when addressing the Conference. I can see now the old warrior—short in stature, but an erect, soldierly, well-proportioned and commanding figure. With his face keen and his eyes sharp and alert, he was the embodiment of mental and physical energy, despite his wrinkled face and grey hairs. He stood up to address us, looking as if he had something definite and highly important to tell. And he had. 'A shot fired in the Balkan Peninsula,' said he, 'might produce an explosion which would change the fortunes of every remotest corner of the Empire.' These words were uttered five years before 'a shot fired in the Balkan Peninsula,' at Sarajevo, precipitated a war in which 'every remotest corner of the Empire' was engaged for four anxious years in a life or death struggle to maintain their freedom.

Next to the speech of Lord Roberts the most notable utterance made at the Conference was that of Mr. Amery, then one of the British delegates. The discussion was on the question of Empire defence. Mr. W. T. Stead and others had ably put forward the case for those who were inclined to oppose heavy expenditure on defence on the ground that it tended to provoke war. Mr. Amery, in a short speech of wonderful power, rebutted these arguments. There was no one who seemed to have a better conception of Germany's designs and Germany's strength.

Sir Edward Grey, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and now Lord Grey of Fallodon, was also remarkably prophetic. It was at a House of Commons luncheon to the delegates. No seats were allotted. Ministers and private members, notables and 'nobodies' were mixed up higgledy-piggledy. An Australian delegate found himself sitting beside Sir Edward Grey, who asked many questions about Australia. He wanted to know 'what would Australia do if Britain were in death grips with a

foreign Power or a combination of foreign Powers?' He was told that she would do what she did during the Boer War, and that in proportion to population there were fewer pro-Boers in Australia than in Great Britain. Then the Australian said that the average man in Australia who watched the warship building competition going on between Britain and Germany thought Britain should not allow it to continue. The action of Britain was as provocative as would be the massing of troops on a frontier in order to menace an adjacent country. Britain could smash Germany's fleet, whilst Germany's army would be helpless against England. Why not say to Germany, 'If you go on warship building, and thus menace England, we will regard it as a hostile act and take extreme measures.' It seemed but right.

Sir Edward listened patiently. He went to a lot of pains to reply fully. He said that that aspect was not overlooked, and he had strongly opposed the view expressed, and the Cabinet had upheld him. Nothing should be done in the way indicated to force Germany to limit her shipbuilding programme.

Germany has as much right as we have to build a fleet, and when war does come, if it comes, then we must be certain that Britain is in the right. Britain would not be right in saying that no other country ought to build a fleet as strong as her own. The next war will be decided by public opinion and many nations will be drawn into it, and we do not want to antagonise the rest of the world. It is true that Germany's army would be helpless against Britain whilst Britain held command of the seas, but she would probably invade France, and a European conflagration would ensue for which Britain would be blamed. When war comes it will probably be world-wide, and unless we be in the right we cannot have the world on our side.

How wise and statesmanlike these words were subsequent events proved.

Some of the English Pressmen did not love each other in 1909. One delegate found himself at a large public banquet sitting between two distinguished journalists, both now dead. The neighbour on his left whispered, 'It is most unfortunate that you should have to sit beside that terrible boulder on your right. He is an appallingly conceited individual who never lets anyone talk but himself. I haven't spoken to him for years.' Later, his right-hand neighbour, who was a knight, remarked in a low voice, 'What a shame to put you beside such an awful old bore as that fellow on your left. Thank Heaven, we don't speak!' Both were extremely talkative, so much so that the reason of their animosity was that neither, evidently, was prepared to hear the other talk. They each wanted to do all the talking!

The second Imperial Press Conference was delayed by the

Great War. The designs of Germany were revealed, and what we were warned of by Lord Roberts, Mr. Amery, and others had actually happened. The Empire and the world were deluged in blood. The second Conference was not held until eleven years after the first. At a meeting of the Australian section of the Empire Press Union held in Sydney I was appointed one of the Australian delegates to represent the Commonwealth. The number of delegates from Australia to each Conference was fourteen.

When in London on their way to Canada many delegates again met Lord Northcliffe. I was one of two delegates appointed at the first Conference by the Australian delegates to represent them on a sub-committee to frame the constitution and rules of the Empire Press Union, an organisation which the first Conference decided to establish. The more we saw of him at that time, the more we were charmed. Somewhat careless in his dress, at times almost shabby, but boyish in appearance and handsome, he talked little and was a good listener, always anxious to hear the views of others. With his firmly closed lips and Napoleonic face, he gave the impression that he possessed an immense store of reserve power. The sub-committee, which numbered about fourteen or fifteen members, had several meetings in the Savoy Hotel. Lord Northcliffe was a most regular attendant. Though an extremely busy man, he never missed a meeting, and he always arrived punctually. Controlling as he did so many newspapers, he should be more concerned in the new organisation than anyone present, but he had the least to say of those present. In fact, he only spoke once. It was when Mr. (afterwards Sir) Arthur Pearson attended and took the chair as chairman of the executive committee. Mr. Pearson and Lord Northcliffe were old newspaper rivals, but Mr. Pearson had been very ill—looked it—and was getting blind. Immediately the proceedings began Lord Northcliffe rose, and in a delightfully happy speech expressed his pleasure at seeing Mr. Pearson well enough to attend. The genuine warmth and friendly feeling that was displayed by the two towards each other caused surprise amongst some of the journalists, who only knew them as keen antagonists.

The Northcliffe of 1909 was quiet and seemingly shy and retiring, but the Northcliffe of 1920 appeared to us to be a different man altogether. He invited some of the overseas journalists who were on their way to Canada to visit *The Times* Office, where they were shown round the literary, mechanical, and other departments. In appearance he had grown coarse and bulky, whilst in manner he was talkative, self-assertive, impatient, and almost aggressive. He did not want to listen to others, but to talk himself.

Most of the British delegates to the Imperial Press Conference, as well as many of the overseas delegates, voyaged together on the C.P.C.S. *Victorian* from Liverpool across the Atlantic. There were a number of notable newspaper people on board, and they got to know each other intimately. There were several of the veterans of the first Conference, including the genial Sir Harry Brittain, as energetic and bright as ever, and Sir Gilbert Parker—novelist, journalist, traveller, and parliamentarian. A Canadian by birth, Sir Gilbert produced his first play in Australia. *The Times* was represented by another Canadian, Sir Campbell Stuart. Sir Roderick Jones, of Reuter's, and his newly married wife were also of the party. A most attractive delegate was Colonel Sir Arthur Holbrook, M.P. Though seventy years of age, in his ways he was the youngest of the travellers. He was the instigator of all the dances amongst the delegates, and he danced every dance. No matter how late the hour, he always wanted the dancing to be continued. The family record was remarkable. He had six sons on active service. One of them got the Victoria Cross and others got various decorations, but all of them came back unscathed.

Lord Athelstan was the principal Canadian host. He was at the first Conference as Sir Hugh Graham. He then struck everyone as remarkably retiring and unassuming. When the Glasgow University included him amongst the delegates on whom the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred he had doubts about accepting it, as he thought his educational attainments did not justify his carrying the designation of 'Doctor.' He feared he would feel that he was sailing under false colours. However, he was persuaded by his friends to take it. At fifteen years of age he was an office boy in the office of a newspaper of which two years later he was manager. He was half owner of the *Montreal Star* when he was nineteen years old and full owner at twenty-one. He was chairman of the Canadian Press Committee. He entertained the delegates at a brilliant banquet at Montreal. All the Canadian notabilities were there. Professor Leacock made a characteristically humorous speech; he told the visitors what was before them.

You are to be given dinners and luncheons all the way from here to Vancouver, to be shown waterfalls, factories and works of all kinds, and in the spirit of true British brotherhood you are going to stand for it. I form something of a mental picture of your delegate when he gets to a town at the end of the trip and they say, 'This is the principal factory of our town; we want you to see it.' Some men break down in hysteria and say in a quavering voice, 'Is that your principal factory, really?' Others go off in a flying rage and say, 'By Heaven, don't show me that.' But you are come to eat these luncheons and look at these factories, because that is the way we bind our British Empire together.

The visitors certainly had hospitality showered on them during their stay of more than six weeks in Canada. Their headquarters were two luxurious trains, in which they travelled from place to place. Their thoughtful hosts arranged that the monotony of the journey was broken by numerous motor trips and days and nights spent in the wonderful hotels of the Dominion. They saw Canada from east to west, travelling back by a different route from the one they went.

On arrival in Canada, when contemplating the lengthy programme of hospitality and travelling, one of the delegates, with a sardonic sense of humour, remarked, 'I wonder who amongst us will die in Canada from all the travelling and feasting prepared for us?' The reply promptly came in a shocked voice, 'No one.' He quietly answered, 'Surely it is contrary to the law of average, especially when so many of the delegates are old and some of them sickly, that they should all survive such lavish hospitality.' The delegate who made the gloomy prediction was much surprised when the tour ended and no one died. When asked to account for it, he replied that that was 'the most phenomenal thing about a trip crowded with phenomena.'

When the Blackfoot Indians were visited at their reservation near Gleichen, the head of the party, Lord Burnham, was invested with the honour of chieftainship and received the name of 'Old Sun.' He was solemnly garbed in Indian fashion, squaws danced, and there was an Indian and cowboy exhibition in which wild cattle were lassoed, infuriated steers ridden, and bucking horses mounted. The Indians made a splendid showing—mounted, painted, and in full war costume—as they swept across the prairie.

The Duke of Devonshire was Governor-General of Canada. The delegates to the first Conference had been his guests at luncheon at Chatsworth and the members of the Canadian Conference were his guests at Rideau Hall.

It was in September and October 1925 that the third Imperial Press Conference was held, and the venue was Melbourne. There were six of the delegates who had attended all three Conferences—namely, Lord Burnham, Sir Harry Brittain, and Sir Emsley Carr from England, Mr. J. W. Dafoe from Canada, and Mr. Theodore Fink and myself from Australia. Quite a number of the delegates had attended two of the Conferences. Lord Burnham, then Mr. Lawson, was an active participant in the first Conference. His father, the first Lord Burnham, was president of the committee that made the arrangements for the initial Conference, and on his death his son succeeded him in the presidency of the Empire Press Union. The second Lord

Burnham was the leader of the delegates who visited Canada, as he was also among the delegates who visited Australia, and in that capacity he was ideal, ever ready to say the right thing, and to the delegates courteous, considerate, and affable.

Amongst other delegates whose acquaintance it was a pleasure to renew were Sir Frank Newnes, son of the founder of *Tit-Bits*; Messrs. J. W. Dafoe, of Winnipeg, C. F. Crandall, of Montreal, and J. H. Woods of Calgary; and Professor Bartolo, of Malta.

The experience of the delegates to the third Conference in Australia was similar to that of the delegates to the second Conference in Canada. A couple of months were spent travelling from north to south of the continent and from the far-famed Sydney Harbour in the east to the picturesque blue reaches of the Swan River in Western Australia. They were brought through the pastoral areas to view the extent of the wool and stock-raising industries; to the agricultural districts to learn about wheat production; to see silver mining at Broken Hill, coal mining at Newcastle, and gold production at Kalgoorlie; to inspect dairy farms and apple orchards, vineyards, and vast city factories. They could not fail to be impressed by the wonderful resources of the continent and its immense empty spaces crying aloud for population. But what was even more useful from the Empire point of view was the close contact of the delegates with each other and the mutual exchange of knowledge and ideas of the Empire, with its multifarious problems. The fourth Conference will be held in London this month. It will be the twenty-first anniversary of the first Conference—the coming-of-age of the Empire Press Union. A new generation has grown up since then; the war has been fought and the menace of Germany no longer exists; most of the men then at the head of affairs have passed away and their places have been taken by new leaders. But the fresh problems that have arisen are scarcely less easy of solution than those of 1909.

JOHN W. KIRWAN.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN

By the recent general election the Japanese people has given to a single political party an absolute majority of seats in the national Diet, and Japan is thus at present one of the few countries in the world which is governed neither by a dictatorship nor by a coalition of distinct parties nor by a parliamentary minority. And as the elections which have so vindicated the Hamaguchi Ministry mark the fortieth year from the first convocation of the Japanese Diet, they would seem to provide an occasion for taking stock of parliamentary practice as it has so far developed in Japan.

The statesmen who framed the Japanese Constitution in the 'eighties were concerned above all things to maintain strong and stable government, and they considered that they had need of almost dictatorial powers to enable them to carry through the reforms which were to make their country one of the great states of the world. They were strongly influenced by the example of Bismarckian Germany, for Germany, like Japan, had been a late arrival among the major states and had been confronted by very similar dangers and problems. So the Constitution devised was in the nature of a compromise between parliamentarism and autocracy. The Diet was granted full legislative authority, but the Ministers of State remained responsible directly and severally to the Emperor. They continued to be men of no party affiliation, appointed from the ranks of the bureaucracy on the recommendation of veterans of office known as *genrō*, or 'elder statesmen.'

In such circumstances it is clear that the power of the Diet depended on the use it made of its legislative competence. With a united party holding a majority of seats and pursuing a definite and consistent policy the Diet could establish control over the Government, but not otherwise. Since the beginnings of representation, therefore, the actual development of the party system has been the measure of the importance of the Diet in the domestic politics of Japan.

The Constitution was originally promulgated in response to an agitation carried on by two separate political associations, the Jiyūtō (Liberals) and the Shimpotō (Progressives). These two groups formed the first two definite parties in the new Diet, but

neither could command a majority, and so hostile were they towards each other that for eight years they were unable to make headway against the bureaucratic super-party administration which dominated the Diet with a following of 'independents' and splinter groups. Then in 1898 Liberals and Progressives united to form the Kenseitō (Constitutionalist Party), which was supported by a majority in the Lower House and was called on to take office. A brief and disastrous tenure of power was sufficient to resolve the Kenseitō once more into its constituent elements; the former Progressives continued to bear the new name, but the Liberals were absorbed into a new party formed in 1900 by an experienced statesman and practical exponent of super-party methods, the Marquis Ito. This was the Seiyukai, now one of the two major political parties. From the beginning it had the form and organisation of a regular party, but it accepted the principle of ministerial irresponsibility to the Diet, and was designed to be not so much a party in power as an instrument of government. For a while it was extremely successful in this part; during many years it had no one considerable rival. In the elections of 1908 the Seiyukai won 195 seats as against 184 for four opposition parties.

The challenge to the Seiyukai came from a new party, the Doshikai, formed in 1912 by Prince Katsura from two small groups; in 1916—after the death of Katsura—this further amalgamated with two other groups and took the name of Kenseikai; by still another change of name this party became the Minseito, the party of the present Government. The Kenseikai adopted a platform of increased parliamentary control. On its formation it commanded a majority in the Diet and attacked the super-party Terauchi Ministry then in office; the result was a dissolution of the Diet and a general election in which the Kenseikai lost its majority, obtaining only 117 seats as against 157 for the Seiyukai.

But the advent of the new party had entirely transformed the political situation. With a really effective opposition in the Diet it was no longer possible for any party merely to play the part of the 'King's Friends.' The Seiyukai was driven to steal its opponents' thunder, the more so because a new unrest was manifesting itself in the electorate in the year 1917. Since the beginning of the century the bureaucracy had been for the most part devoted to the cult of things German, and the course of the Great War was adverse to its hitherto overpowering prestige. The navy contract scandals of 1914 had been damaging to the cause of 'clan' rule; the final defeat of Germany was disastrous to it. 'Democracy' was now the order of the day; was not the world fighting to make the world safe for it? Economic crisis

lent force to the new tendencies ; the widespread ' rice riots ' of the summer of 1918 brought down the Terauchi Cabinet. But the Seiyukai held the reins in the Diet, and so it was they who formed the first real party Ministry, that of Mr. Hara, who was Prime Minister from 1918 to his assassination by a Korean in 1921. In 1920 the Seiyukai again triumphed in a general election, and Hara was followed by another Seiyukai Premier. The new Ministry, however, was a failure, and there was a temporary reversion to super-party government. This was brought to an end by the elections of 1924, and since then all Premiers have been party leaders.

At the beginning of 1918 the electorate, limited by a severe property qualification, numbered only 1,500,000 ; by a Bill passed in March of that year it was doubled. The Kenseikai now took up the cause of universal manhood suffrage, and fought the elections of 1920 on that issue ; it was then defeated, but in 1924 was returned the largest party in the Diet, and carried through its Bill, so that subsequent elections, those of 1928 and 1930, have been contested under democratic conditions.

Neither the elections of 1924 nor those of 1928 provided any party with an absolute majority ; such a result, however, has been yielded by those which have just taken place, and the Minseito to-day has an ample margin of seats over the opposition total. The Diets of 1924-29, on the other hand, were characterised by log-rolling alliances, secessions, and balancing manœuvres with either coalition or minority Cabinets. But there was manifest during this period a tendency towards squeezing out the third corner elements. The third party in the 1924 elections was the Seiyu Honto, which had been formed by secession from the Seiyukai ; it won 94 out of a total of 464 seats. It subsequently reunited with the Seiyukai, and since then there has been no considerable third party. Politics have become more and more a duel between the Seiyukai and Minseito, which have increased their strength at the expense of the splinters and the independents. The following figures show the combined numbers of the two major parties relative to the third corner at the last three elections :

Year.	Seiyukai plus Minseito (Kenseikai).	Others.
1924	299 seats	165 seats
1928	435 "	31 "
1930	447 "	19 "

It is to be noted that the advent of Labour in politics has not so far resulted in the formation of a strong third party. In 1928 three Labour parties of varying shades of redness captured eight seats between them ; in the 1930 elections, contrary to expecta-

tions, they have lost ground instead of gaining it. This may be attributed partly to the dissensions which have torn the Labour movement ; partly to the fact that the proletarian parties have no leader who can compare with Mr. Hamaguchi as a popular figure. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that Labour in Japan is an inconsiderable force ; it is much more prominent in municipal than in national politics, and it seems probable that it will in the future greatly increase its strength in the Diet. Meanwhile the all-absorbing Seiyukai-Minseito conflict is analogous to the Conservative-Liberal politics of England before the rise of Labour—the state of affairs indicated in the guardsman's song in *Iolanthe*.

As far as an outside observer may judge of the domestic politics of another country, the Minseito, with its leader Mr. Hamaguchi, has well deserved its recent success. The vote of confidence given to Hamaguchi was the response of a people keenly concerned about its critical economic situation to the appeal of a man with a bold, definite policy and a reputation for sincerity. The gold embargo imposed after the financial crash which followed on the great earthquake of 1923 had left the country with the imperative but difficult task of returning to a normal economic life. The Seiyukai Ministry of the late Baron Tanaka undoubtedly shirked the issue and abandoned itself to a policy of drift. When the Tanaka Cabinet fell last summer in consequence of the ' grave Manchurian incident,' Hamaguchi was summoned to take office, and he at once took steps preparatory to raising the gold ban. The Minseito was aware that its policy required drastic retrenchment in national expenditure. Retrenchment, however, did not seem likely to be a vote-catching procedure. The Seiyukai had been accustomed to gain support in the rural constituencies by undertaking uneconomic public works, and the ruthless cutting out of such items from the Budget was not calculated to improve the chances of the Minseito in that quarter ; moreover, retrenchment could not fail to create fresh unemployment just at the time when the completion of the rebuilding of Tokyo and Yokohama was throwing large numbers out of work. To meet an inevitable unpopularity, therefore, and win over public opinion, the party entered on a nation-wide economy campaign with meetings, pamphlets, and radio. It was decided at a party conference that

Government representatives shall explain to the people the financial difficulties with which the country is confronted and bring about the self-awakening of the people by informing them that the only way to remove the difficulties is to lift the gold embargo and to improve foreign trade. The inseparability of Government finance and individual finance should be pointed out in order that the finance of individuals may be rectified

and improved and national policies such as the lifting of the gold ban and the improvement of trade carried out. In other words, it must be a joint effort of the people to conquer the present national crisis.

The election figures are the measure of the success of this campaign, for the elections were fought almost entirely on fiscal policy. Apart from finance, however, the Minseito has gained ground by its attitude on relations with China. Baron Tanaka's 'positive' policy in China did not show satisfactory results. The Minseito has long been an advocate of a more conciliatory temper, largely because of its close association with Osaka, 'the Manchester of Japan,' whose export trade is very sensitive to Chinese boycott. Relations have certainly improved since the Minseito came into power. This does not mean, however, that any appreciable difference has been made in national policy with regard to the rights and 'special interests' in Manchuria. Japan has reached a point in her economic development where it has become virtually impossible for her to dispense with her privileged position in what is formally Chinese territory, and the 'Manchurian question' remains as the most serious problem confronting her abroad.

The Seiyukai also suffered in the elections from the exposures recently made of bribery and corruption under the Tanaka Ministry, involving especially Mr. Ogawa, Seiyukai Minister of Railways. The Minseito, however, did not escape implication in some of the cases which the new zeal of the procurators has been bringing to light, and the Seiyukai need not have been damaged by them any more than the Republican Party in America has been ruined by the Teapot Dome. The real trouble of the Seiyukai in recent years has been lack of effective leadership. The first three leaders of the party, Ito, Saionji and Hara, were all statesmen of imposing calibre, but since the passing of Hara there has been no really eminent and inspiring personality in the Seiyukai. Tanaka was imported into the party to lead it; he was a man with a distinguished military career, but no experience of party politics, and he made blunders of the kind a man with such antecedents might be expected to make. The present leader, Mr. Inukai, has a good political record and rejoices in the attractive nickname of 'God of Constitutionalism' (*Kensei no Kami Sama*). But he is too old to be adequate to his task. The party undoubtedly needs a thorough renovation. There are said to be some able young men in the ranks, and no doubt a spell of opposition politics with no chance of log-rolling will bring to the front new political talent. But until this happens the leonine personality of Mr. Hamaguchi holds the centre of the political stage in Japan.

G. F. HUDSON.

WORLD WHEAT AND THE BRITISH FARMER

THE sharp trade slump throughout the world, coming on top of the special difficulties confronting British industry, has sent our unemployment figures mounting to unprecedented heights, and has at the same time reduced the prices of most farm products to absolutely unremunerative levels. Statistically, the crisis has been accompanied—whether as cause or effect is of no account here—by a catastrophic fall in the prices of primary products of all kinds without any corresponding drop in the prices of finished industrial goods. The *Economist* index of wholesale prices, comprising in the main basic raw materials and foodstuffs, is now less than 20 per cent. above its 1913 level; whereas the Ministry of Labour calculates retail prices still to be more than 60 per cent. above July 1914. Many raw materials—for example, some cereals, some oilseeds, and various descriptions of wool—are down to their pre-war price. This abnormal divergence between the general levels of agricultural and industrial prices provides a further aggravation of the depression, for low prices for farm products mean that the vast peasant and farming population of the world has so much less spending power and, correspondingly, purchases of industrial products are curtailed. The divergence between agricultural and industrial prices has persisted throughout most of the post-war period. But in recent months it has become more acute. It is symptomatic of the prevailing maladjustment and disorganisation of the world of trade and industry to-day. It is the visible evidence of a deep underlying disturbance of an economic system which in the years before the war was in a more or less flourishing condition. It cannot now be summarily disposed of merely as a temporary result of war conditions which will soon pass over. For the Armistice was signed nearly twelve years ago, and still nobody anticipates with any confidence the early re-establishment of pre-war conditions. Nor is it any longer possible to suppose that superficial palliatives will put things right. It is necessary to cut deeper in an analysis of the underlying causes, if real solutions which may set this and other countries on the road to a new prosperity are to be discovered.

Great Britain is affected by this situation directly in two ways. First, British agriculture has found that the price of many of its staple products has been brought down to quite unprofitable levels by the competition of low-priced imported supplies. Our system of free imports—whatever advantages may be claimed for it from the consumers' point of view—certainly leaves our agriculture almost entirely at the mercy of general world conditions. A drop in prices or a hold-up of supplies anywhere immediately affects the British position. Moreover, since British agriculturalists themselves consume a far smaller proportion of their own production than peasants who largely feed and sometimes clothe themselves from their own fields and flocks, low prices hit them even harder than most other rural populations. Nor have they the possibility of recouping themselves by reducing expenditure on wages, for their labourers' earnings are already unduly low as compared with the industrial population, and any further reductions would certainly bring them below the subsistence level.

Secondly, British manufacturing trades are badly hit by the reduction in purchasing power of the agricultural population at home and abroad. Before this new crisis came upon it British industry was already making heavy weather of its post-war difficulties. The growth of new industries in many countries which we used to supply before the war with manufactured goods and the growing severity of competition from the new industrial countries whose machinery and organisation have been installed since the war were having a grave effect on our exports. The present crisis has added to our troubles by curtailing exports still further on account of the sheer inability of many of our best customers to buy what they need. The drop in wool prices alone, for example, will affect the power of Australia to buy abroad this year by 10,000,000*l.*; and Canada's imports will be reduced by a similar sum, owing to the smaller amount she will receive in payment for grain exports.

It is surely time for a very serious and fundamental survey of the whole industrial position of this country as it is now and as it is likely to be in the next ten years. The purpose of this present article is the narrower one of examining the effect of this world economic trouble on British agriculture, more particularly in relation to wheat cultivation, and of relating some remedies proposed to the wider problems of both agriculture and industry. The case of wheat is for several reasons especially important. For many British farmers, in East Anglia particularly, wheat is still the most important crop. Psychologically and in its relation to other branches of agriculture it has an importance far greater than the place it occupies in the list of sales of farm produce.

Moreover, the proportion of imports to home production is so large that the home market is dominated by imported supplies. Since wheat, too, is a large element in our total imports, the countries who sell wheat to us are large customers, or might be large customers, for our manufactured goods. And, lastly, wheat bread is the most important article of food consumption in Great Britain, and its price vitally affects both the home consumer and, indirectly, the cost of production of all manufactured goods.

In an analysis of the situation in regard to wheat production and sale at home certain broad facts about the world wheat position must be borne in mind. First of all it should be noted that the bulk of the world's wheat is consumed in the countries in which it is produced. Of a total world crop of approximately 100,000,000 tons annually, only about 18,000,000 tons enter into international trade. The four important exporting countries at this moment, in order of importance, are Canada, the Argentine, the United States, and Australia. Of these, Canada, the Argentine, and Australia export each some three-quarters of their total production. But the United States consumes herself five-sixths of her production and exports only the balance of one-sixth. Before the war Russia and India exported wheat on a large scale. There seems little likelihood that India will again enter the world market except in years of exceptionally bountiful harvests. But there is a very considerable probability that in the next two or three years Russia, which before the war was a dominating factor in the supply of Continental Europe, will again become very important. In the meantime the reduction in supplies from India, from Russia, and from one or two other countries has been more than made up by an immense expansion of Canadian production and export. There is some evidence of a growing demand for wheat among Eastern populations who previously lived on rice. So far, however, the increase in Asiatic purchases has not more than compensated for diminished Continental imports on account of post-war poverty. Canadian wheat is actually sold now to nineteen separate countries, Great Britain herself taking less than 50 per cent. of the total Canadian exports. Fifteen million tons of the 18,000,000 tons traded internationally each year come to this country and the Continent of Europe. But nearly all European countries produce themselves more than they import. Great Britain is the outstanding exception. We import about 6,000,000 tons of wheat per year as against a home crop of approximately 1,500,000 tons, of which nearly 500,000 tons is consumed on the farms or sold for poultry-feeding purposes. Thus only about 1,000,000 tons of British wheat is used for flour as compared with about six times as much of imported wheat and

flour. It is inevitable that the price of British wheat should be dominated by the prices and supplies of imported wheat.

In regard to the organisation of the world wheat trade there has in recent years been a significant change. In pre-war days the grain merchants and the grain exchanges provided a fairly efficient machine for distributing stocks and equating supplies to demands. On the whole their operations tended generally to have a steadying effect on prices except in periods of exceptional speculation. But between them they were able to levy directly and indirectly a pretty heavy toll for their services.

Since the war there has been a remarkable development of centralised marketing in most of the wheat-exporting countries organised by the farmers themselves, sometimes with and sometimes without Government assistance. Some 60 per cent. of the Canadian crop is handled by the co-operative wheat pool. Half the Australian crop is similarly marketed by State pools, and there is a move to constitute a complete monopoly. The Russian exports are in the hands of a State-constituted monopoly. A few months ago the United States Federal Farm Board was endowed by its Government with wide powers and ample funds to control wheat marketing even to the extent, if it pleases, of centralised and subsidised dumping abroad of surplus supplies. The causes of this development are not far to seek. The agricultural populations throughout the world were already beginning before the war to resent the profits made out of them by the commercial interests. It is difficult to say exactly what percentage of the price of grain went to the traders. Anyhow, Canadian farmers, having discovered in the war period that this commercial organisation was not absolutely necessary, soon convinced themselves after the war that it was far too expensive. Moreover, they saw that organised and orderly marketing would enable them through their central co-operative organisations, not only to cut out the profits of middlemen and speculators to a very large extent, but also to effect vast reductions by bulk bargaining in the charges levied for storing, transport, financing, insurance, etc. And, on the other hand, the uncertainty and anxiety arising from having to sell in an ever fluctuating market would be replaced by the certainty of a fair average price, independent of the day or week in which the individual farmer sold his grain, by pooling the prices received for the whole year through a central agency. These expectations have to a very substantial extent been realised. There is little doubt, therefore, that centralised marketing of wheat by the Dominions and other countries is to be regarded as a permanent phenomenon.

In some quarters the development of co-operative pools has been viewed with suspicion and anxiety as likely to lead to

organised attempts on a world scale to force up prices against consumers. It is true that already the Canadian, Australian, Russian, and United States co-operative organisations are beginning, albeit tentatively, to come together with a view to co-ordinating their operations. So far, however, progress has not gone much beyond the exchange of information. Only if the volume of world supplies of wheat are somehow restricted can a higher price for wheat be secured by joint action. But if prices appreciably rise the pools would find it an almost impossible task to prevent an expansion of production by their own members. A higher price would also stimulate production in other countries. France, Italy, Germany, and also this country would produce more wheat themselves and therefore need to import less from overseas. Thus the pools would find themselves with larger surpluses to sell to countries who needed to buy less. An industrial combine with a monopoly of production can and often does force prices up. But there is not the least sign of any early likelihood of co-operative agricultural marketing organisations being able to control the individual operations of tens of millions of peasants and other producers, and so to raise prices. Indeed, the real danger from the British point of view concerns, not so much the interests of the consumer, but the power which centralised marketing on a national scale gives for dumping wheat in this country at low prices.

Though the concentration of selling has given undoubted advantages to the members of the pool both in better and more stable prices, it has been very far from giving a steadiness to world prices. The replacement of individual selling by thousands of farmers and small merchants by concentrated operations on a world-wide scale—accompanied incidentally by a corresponding concentration in the milling trades in Great Britain and the chief Continental countries—has, in fact, made prices more unstable. The variations of prices in these last few months have been unprecedented in their range and suddenness. The following table shows the quotations for No. 3 Northern Manitoba in London, ex ship, per quarter of 496 lb. in the last few months :

1929			
October 16	..	55s. 3d.	
November 13	..	47s. 6d.	.. 14 per cent. fall within month.
December 4	..	54s. 9d.	.. similar rise in three weeks.
December 24	..	51s.	.. 7 per cent. fall in three weeks.
1930			
January 1	..	54s. 9d.	.. similar rise in one week.
March 12	..	40s. 6d.	.. 26 per cent. drop in ten weeks.
April 9	..	44s. 6d.	.. 10 per cent. rise in four weeks.
April 23	..	42s.	.. 6 per cent. drop in fortnight.

The movement in British prices has not been so great, but it has been considerable. Thus the effect of low average prices on British production has been intensified by their instability.

The main cause of lower prices in the last autumn was undoubtedly exceptionally heavy exports by the Argentine in the months of August to November 1929. Instead of a normal export of 22,300,000 bushels—which was the average for the same period in the previous four years—73,000,000 bushels were shipped. Europe had the advantage in 1929 of a large crop in exceptionally dry and millable condition, so that Continental imports during this period of heavy Argentine selling were much lower than usual. The consequence was that the British market had to bear the brunt of Argentine dumping. This was all the more disastrous from the point of view of the British farmer, as Argentine wheat, though a little inferior, is of a type similar to British wheat.

In the meantime the Canadians have been in no hurry to sell during these months of low prices, and the Federal Farm Board in the United States of America has been keeping up internal prices by taking supplies off the home market and so piling up a big reserve stock. At any moment it may be decided that the time has come to disgorge this surplus by selling it abroad. And the British market is the natural, and in present circumstances almost the only, outlet for such a sale.

Thus German exports of wheat, assisted and stimulated by a complicated system of import rebates whose effect is much the same as that of a bounty on exports, upset British wheat prices in the early autumn, particularly in East Anglia. The forcing of sales by the Argentine produced similar but deeper effects throughout the autumn and the winter. The possible liquidation of stocks by the Federal Farm Board later this summer and the chance that Russia may take a hand in the game may also upset markets. Each country in its turn, seeking its own legitimate interests, is apt to play havoc, as things are, with British farming interests. The lot of the British wheat farmer is indeed a far from enviable one, and it is not surprising that he is in a state bordering on despair. His business operations are the plaything of forces entirely outside his control and largely beyond his knowledge. His costs remain constant whatever happens elsewhere. He cannot now economise on rents to any substantial extent, for rents are already at a minimum. And anyhow, a large number of farmers bought their farms after the war, and mortgages are apt to be less accommodating than landlords. Wages cannot be reduced because the wages boards quite rightly hold that they are already down to a low enough level. The *Gazette* average figures for the whole cereal year, apart from the wide

range of variation within the year, show prices ranging from 12s. 6d. per cwt. for 1924-25, to 12s. 3d. in 1925-26, to 11s. 11d. in 1926-27, to 10s. 3d. in 1927-28, to 9s. 11d. in 1928-29, down to probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of 9s. for 1929-30. There is no reason to suppose that the average level of prices in 1925 was more than enough to give the average farmer a reasonable return. In this case present prices are ruinous for the majority of arable farmers.

Wheat farming, in fact, is suffering from two evils. Prices generally are unduly low, though possibly this is a temporary phase. And, what is not a temporary but a chronic phase in the present organisation of the world wheat trade, prices are completely unstable. These two factors, of which the second is almost as great a handicap as the first, are causing a rapid diminution in arable cultivation as more and more farmers each year abandon wheat and turn to pasture. The change produces far less food and gives much less employment, but it is less risky for the farmer. At a time when the country is faced with a diminution of its power to buy food abroad by the difficulty of selling its manufactured exports, accompanied by an increase of unemployment at home, it is obvious that this is a tendency which is directly harmful to national interests. Mere acquiescence in the continuance of such conditions is an act of surrender to which no Government ought to succumb. The problem, then, is to find a means of giving the wheat producer a stable price, free from the irrational uncertainty of present conditions, and at the same time—for so long, at any rate, as the present unnatural depression of world wheat prices lasts—to give him a higher price than one solely determined by current world prices. Several schemes have been put forward with this object in view.

There is first of all the simple device of guaranteeing the price for home-grown wheat at a more or less arbitrary figure. This policy, to be effective, must be implemented in one of two ways: either the Government must pay the difference between the guaranteed price and the fluctuating market price of imported wheat of corresponding quality, or the cost must be thrown back on the consumer. The first was, in fact, the method adopted under the post-war Corn Production Act. It broke down for a variety of reasons, one of which was the difficulty of justifying special subsidies from the taxpayer to a particular trade, and not to others; another reason was the uncertainty of the cost likely to fall on the Exchequer. In any case, the problem of uniting in the mills British wheat at a fixed price with imported wheat at fluctuating prices—now more and now less profitable to the miller—is very difficult administratively without elaborate control

of the milling trade. The alternative course of throwing the additional cost of a guaranteed price on the consumer is also open to objections both administrative and financial. One method of dealing with the problem which has been suggested is that of requiring millers to utilise a certain proportion or quota of British wheat in their grists. But British wheat is used in varying proportions in different parts of the country and for different classes of flour. Many biscuit flours, for example, are almost entirely based on home-produced wheat. And many of the inland flour mills in the arable areas naturally rely mainly on British wheat. But in Lancashire and in the west of Scotland the proportion of British wheat used in the flours sold for bread-making purposes is very often negligible. The quota system would involve arbitrary interference with the quality of flour to which particular districts are accustomed; it would cause unjustifiable waste in transporting wheat across country from the places where it is grown and could best be used, to other parts of the country where neither millers nor consumers really desire it, and it would inevitably involve also some control or even prohibition of imports of foreign flour. Its economic results would be quite uncertain, and the method of its operation would undoubtedly arouse much opposition, a great deal of it hard to answer. It would not be easy, for example, to persuade the Lancashire housewife, who generally herself bakes the bread her household consumes, and who has been accustomed for years to particular brands of flour of high quality, that it was necessary for her to accept flour she would regard as of lower quality and to pay a higher price for it.

Protection, whether by means of a tariff on all imports or in Lord Beaverbrook's form of a tariff on non-Empire imports, altogether apart from its effect on bread prices, does not meet the real underlying difficulties. No doubt it would raise the general level of wheat prices and by this means make wheat production more profitable for some of the present arable farmers. And if the tariff was sufficiently high it would extend the margin of profitable cultivation. But it would do nothing to remove the instability and uncertainty of the market for a considerable number of farmers. Unless the tariff were adjusted week by week—a proposition which is obviously impracticable—the price would continue to fluctuate almost as much as at present, though between somewhat higher limits. It would still pay the Federal Farm Board to dump its surplus supplies in this country or on the Continent; and it would make very little difference, since the Continental prices would at once react on British prices, whether the Americans sold their grain on the Continent and the Canadians most of their exports here, or *vice versa*. The advantages

to British farmers would be altogether disproportionate to the disadvantages and discontent of the consuming population. Whatever may be the course of political opinion in this country if the present industrial crisis continues, there is no sign at present that the old and traditional prejudice against a deliberate increase of the cost of living by means of tariffs is likely to be quickly eradicated. The main difficulty is the dominance of the British market by the operations of those who control imported supplies. So long as this continues there is no safety or certainty for British agriculture.

The remedy appears to be to control imports by the establishment of an Imports Board which, exercising monopoly rights, would buy from the producers abroad the imported supplies needed for this country, would pool costs, and satisfy the needs of the mills at a steady average price quality for quality throughout the year. It would be able to make bulk contracts for large quantities with the Canadian or other pools under which deliveries would be regularised for considerable periods, and it would supplement these main supplies by day-to-day purchases as opportunity occurred. If wheat were offered by the Germans or anybody else at exceptionally low prices, it would purchase them, but it would not use these windfalls to ruin British farmers. Such dumped supplies would be resold to the mills at the same price as ordinary supplies and the profits put to reserve by the Imports Board.

Based on its contracts and the prices it expected to have to pay, it would guarantee a fixed price to the home farmer, to be paid either direct by the millers on its account or by local merchants acting on its behalf. The farmer would know when he sowed the price he would receive for his grain when he harvested it. In the original scheme worked out three or four years ago by the Labour Party Agricultural Committee it was contemplated that the guaranteed price would be on a parity, quality for quality, with the world price as estimated by the Imports Board, but the disorganisation of wheat markets in the last year and a half has changed this situation. It is true that such a price would be financially much more advantageous to the majority of farmers than the price they are receiving at present, but it is now vital to stop the decay of British agriculture by giving the farmer a more remunerative price, temporarily at any rate, than the low prices which for the time being prevail in world markets. Fifty shillings per quarter guaranteed for the next two years would almost certainly stop the rot. On present indications a parity with world prices for the next few months will not amount on an average to more than 40s. per quarter. Thus 50s. would involve paying the British farmer 10s. per quarter above world market prices.

Since, however, British wheat at present represents less than 15 per cent. of the total quantity of wheat used in the loaf, and is unlikely, even with the stimulus of a 50s. guaranteed price, to exceed 20 per cent. for some time, an additional 10s. per quarter is equivalent to not more than 2s. per quarter spread over the whole quantity of wheat used by the mills. Thus the whole of the Board's supplies, both home-produced and imported, could be invoiced to the mills at an average price of 42s., making of course suitable differences for quality. Two shillings per quarter on wheat means less than $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per quarter loaf. There is no reason to doubt that the centralisation of imports would enable considerable economies in regard to transport, storage, insurance, in financing and purchasing charges to be made at least on a par with those already made by the Canadians in centralising their selling. Moreover, the considerable increase in the margin between wheat prices and bread prices as compared with pre-war levels leaves little doubt as to the possibility of economies, granted a known and stable price for wheat, that could be made in milling and baking. Wheat prices are now very little, if anything, above pre-war, yet before the war a quarter loaf cost about $5\frac{1}{2}$ d., and the price now is between 8d. and 9d. It is surely no unreasonable assumption that from these various sources a much more than the $\frac{1}{4}$ d. necessary to give the farmer 50s. a quarter guaranteed price can be obtained without any increase in the price paid by the consumer. Indeed, the investigations of the Food Council, coupled with the figures which came into the Food Ministry's possession during the war, make it pretty certain that $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to 1d. could on the average be knocked off the price of the loaf, provided that a stable basis of prices for wheat was first secured.

It does not seem unreasonable to claim that if the State intervenes for the purpose of reorganising the wheat import trade in the national interest the British producer should have a share of the advantages. If this assumption be granted, the farmer could be guaranteed a remunerative price, and the uncertainty from which he suffers could be removed, without any increase in prices to the consumer or charge on the State. In the work of the Imports Board agriculturists, consumers, and the special skill and experience of the grain trade would of course be represented. It should be constituted as a statutory corporation, working under terms of reference laid down by Parliament and with definite finance guaranteed under Parliamentary authority by the Treasury. It would balance its accounts without profit or loss over given periods of years, periodically adjusting selling prices if necessary. It would present its accounts and make its annual report to Parliament. Subject to the carrying out of its

terms of reference to the satisfaction of the Minister responsible, it would be immune from day-to-day parliamentary interference in the details of its business to the same extent, for example, as the Broadcasting Corporation. It would, indeed, act on business lines, but it would not be a private profit-making concern.

One other aspect of this transformation of the national imports of wheat is worth attention. One very disturbing trade development in these last few years has been the stagnation of our export trade to the Dominions, and to South America, though their imports from the U.S.A. and elsewhere are increasing by leaps and bounds. The main object of the Beaverbrook scheme is to develop inter-Imperial trade by bargaining for Imperial Preference. But the proposal to raise the prices of imported foreign produce in order to confer uncertain benefits on Dominion exporters seems unlikely to commend itself to the British elector. And, on the other hand, the risks to newly-created Dominion industries by the unrestricted competition of British exports does not meet with much favour in the Dominions. And if trade is organised on present lines a full protective tariff seems to be the only means of equipping this country with bargaining powers. But an Imports Board would be in a position to give the Dominions or other countries commercial advantages of immense value to them. It could, in fact, by definite contracts guarantee the best market in the world for a period of years for specific quantities of Canadian, Australian, or indeed of South American wheat. Part of the consideration might be corresponding and substantial advantages for British exports. It ought not to be difficult to ask Canada, for example, to increase her imports of British goods by any means convenient to her—either by direct purchase under State auspices or by extra preferences for British manufactured goods—so long as Great Britain buys from Canada five times as much as Canada buys from her. Centralisation of purchase of British imports would give a direct and reliable bargaining power to this country in negotiating for an extension of trade. It would provide this on lines which would not conflict with the interests of the British consumer at any stage, nor by increasing costs here make it more difficult for British trade to compete with Continental rivals in world markets. Nor would it force on the Dominions any modification of their policy of industrial development. It would provide the basis for a real economic partnership in which mutual trade might steadily and confidently develop. It is the most direct and effective method of securing and maintaining our Overseas markets.

E. F. WISE.

'THE TRAGEDY OF PALESTINE'

A REPLY

THE article by Lord Sydenham in the May number of this Review was an attempt to show that the policy of the Balfour Declaration has been the source of all the troubles that have befallen Palestine since the end of the war, including the riots of last August, and that if that policy is continued 'dangerous conflicts on a larger scale must be expected.' In order to prove his thesis Lord Sydenham selects for quotation and comment a number of passages and statements from the Report of the Commission of Inquiry intended to illustrate alleged grievances of the Arabs and to reflect unfavourably upon the Jews, while he gives a fragmentary and misleading account of the activities of the Zionist movement both before and since the war. He not only refrains from referring to any statements in the Report that are unfavourable to the Arab leaders and to the Palestine Administration, as well as to any that are favourable to the Jews, but he maintains a discreet silence regarding the long and reasoned Note of Reservations by Mr. H. Snell (covering twelve pages), thus implying that all the members of the Commission were agreed in their conclusions. Unfortunately, even when reproducing some of the observations of the Commission, he is far from accurate, and his article contains some serious misrepresentations.

It is characteristic of Lord Sydenham's attitude to Zionism that he seeks to suggest some hidden connexion between that movement and Bolshevism. At the very beginning of his article, after mentioning the date on which the Balfour Declaration was communicated to Lord Rothschild, he appends a footnote in which he points out that five days later 'the German agents, Lenin and Trotsky, carried out their *coup d'état*, and Russia was quickly converted into a shambles, and became a centre of revolutionary infection and a malignant enemy of the British Empire.' Similarly, when referring to the procession of Jewish youths to the Wailing Wall, which took place eight days before the terrible outbreak of last August, he remarks in a footnote: 'This use of "youths" suggests inspiration from Moscow.' The

absurdity of such a view consists in the fact that Bolshevist Russia is the only country in Europe in which Zionism is prohibited and proscribed; for the last twelve years it has been systematically persecuted on the ground that it is a counter-revolutionary movement and an agency of British Imperialism. Thousands of Zionists in Russia have been imprisoned and cruelly punished solely on account of their Zionist convictions, and at least 1500 are at present languishing in gaols and in exile in various remote and inclement regions.

Lord Sydenham says that 'the introduction . . . of Bolshevism into the Holy Land must be abhorrent to all orthodox Jews.' The implication is that Zionism is responsible for its introduction. The fact is that the Zionist Organisation is opposed to the admission of Bolsheviks into Palestine, since their sole aim is to make mischief and to render the Jewish national home impossible. But the Arab leaders have no such scruples: they have been in association with Bolshevist agents for several years. As far back as November 29, 1923, the *Manchester Guardian* reported that a conversation had taken place at Lausanne between M. Rakovsky, the Soviet delegate, and Arab delegations from Palestine and Syria on the question of independence for those countries. A number of Arabs have been to Moscow for the purpose of being trained as agitators and have returned to Palestine. One of the most notorious is Hamdi el-Husseini, who attended a conference of the Anti-Imperialist League at Frankfort last summer and afterwards took part in inciting the Arab mob during the August riots. But even more distinguished Arabs are found in the company of Communists—namely, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and Jemal Husseini, secretary of the Supreme Moslem Council, whose names figured at the head of a secret 'Black List' of the police, which was published by a Palestine paper whilst the Inquiry Commission was in session.¹ The Arabic Press at Baghdad reported that the Grand Mufti might shortly resign because his position had been shaken by the revelation that he had connexions with Moscow, and that his brother might probably succeed him.² Thereupon the Haifa Arab organ *El Carmel* wrote:

Everyone is entitled to select any political or social programme he wishes, provided that it is not prejudicial to other men. If we admit that the Grand Mufti has connexions with Moscow, it cannot be considered a crime by the British Labour Government, which has resumed relations with the Soviet Government.

Further proof could be given of the connexion of the Palestinian

¹ See *Daily Mail*, November 5, 1929.

² Bulletin of Jewish Telegraphic Agency, November 27, 1929.

Arab leaders with Moscow, but enough has been said to show the absurdity of attempting to fix a Bolshevik stigma upon Zionism.

It is rather late in the day to try to bolster up the claims of the Palestinian Arabs to self-government by reference to the alleged pledge to the Sherif Hussein or to the Anglo-French Declaration of 1918, but Lord Sydenham appears to ignore the fact that those claims have been repeatedly and authoritatively repudiated. He speaks of 'the Treaty with King Hussein.' There was no treaty at all, only an inconclusive correspondence, and Hussein was not yet king. The promise in the letter of Sir Henry McMahon of October 24, 1915, to recognise the independence of the Arab territories south of latitude 37 was made conditional upon their revolting against Ottoman rule.^a The Sherif of Mecca revolted and was subsequently created King of the Hejaz. The Palestinian Arabs never revolted, but remained passive throughout Lord Allenby's campaign, and there is no evidence that they at that time understood or claimed Palestine to be included in the promise. Lord Sydenham asserts, with reference to the representations made by the Zionist Delegation to the Peace Conference in the spring of 1919, that 'there is no record of any consultation with the Arabs, whose vital interests were at stake.' He will find such a record in the Report of the Executive of the Zionist Organisation for 1921, from which he quotes, on page 23—namely, the letter of Emir Feisal (now King of Iraq), who was in Paris at the time in the Arab interests, and who wrote a letter dated March 1, 1919, to Professor Felix Frankfurter, in which he stated:

Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organisation to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best in so far as we are concerned to help them through.

According to Mr. Winston Churchill, who was Colonial Secretary at the time, it was not until January 20, 1921, that the first suggestion was made by Emir Feisal, in the course of a conversation at the Foreign Office, that Palestine was included in the area within which Great Britain undertook to support and recognise the independence of the Arabs. The British Government's point of view was then expressed, and the Emir accepted the statement that there had been no intention to include Palestine. Sir Henry McMahon himself, in a letter written on March 12, 1922, to the department of the Colonial Office most interested in Palestine, placed clearly on record that in his letter of October 24, 1915, it was his intention to exclude Palestine from an independent Arabia. The only

^a See Colonial Office White Paper (Cmd. 1700), 1922.

promise made to the Palestinian Arabs is that contained in the Balfour Declaration—namely, 'that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.' That promise has been faithfully kept.

As for the Anglo-French Declaration of November 7, 1918, whilst this document speaks expressly of Syria and Mesopotamia, it makes no mention at all of Palestine, and it cannot be regarded as tacitly annulling the Balfour Declaration, which had been on record for more than a year. Besides, such a view is negatived by the before-mentioned letter of King Feisal, which was written four months after the Anglo-French Declaration. Nor is reference to Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations of any avail, for the Palestine Mandate was approved by the Council of the League long after the Covenant was signed, and as they subjected the text of the Mandate to many months of minute scrutiny and repeated revision before they passed it, they must have satisfied themselves that it did not conflict with any article of the Covenant.

Lord Sydenham writes about 'a policy leading at best to the political extinction of the Arabs in the land of their fathers,' as though Palestine were the only country in which there are Arabs, and as though the latter ever formed a political unit in Palestine. The fact is that the Arabs number 38,000,000 and occupy nearly 2,500,000 square miles, stretching from the Atlantic seaboard to the Euphrates and the Gulf of Persia. The Arab nation is the richest in land among the nations of the world, and its culture free from all menace, whilst, on the other hand, the Jewish people, which has been oppressed and landless for the last 1800 years, has no other soil on which it can develop its national life and build up its national home except the land of Palestine, which forms only 170th part of the total area inhabited by Arabic-speaking peoples, and where there is ample room for Jew and Arab to work in peaceful co-operation.

In his fragmentary sketch of Zionist history Lord Sydenham writes of 'the first secret Zionist Conference, held at Basle in 1897 and presided over by Herzl.' He seems to suggest that the historic gathering convened by Herzl was engaged in some sinister plot. It was not a conference, but a congress; it was not secret, but public, as were all succeeding congresses, and *verbatim* reports have been published of the proceedings of every one. He also refers to 'an important speech by Dr. Max Nordau' which, he alleges, was recorded in an American paper on September 19, 1919, 'shortly after this Conference' (meaning the sixth Congress held in 1903), and in which Dr. Nordau, giving a forecast of Zionist developments, spoke of 'the future world war.'

As the World War had come to an end ten months before the alleged date of Dr. Nordau's speech, it is difficult to make head or tail of this piece of Zionist 'history.'

Lord Sydenham is just as reliable in dealing with the Report of the Commission of Inquiry. According to his version the August riots were caused by the procession of Jewish youths to the Wailing Wall. He writes: 'The news of this incident spread, doubtless with exaggerations, and I trace what followed mainly to the proceedings of these youths.' And then he gives the total casualties on both sides as though they followed immediately after the procession, merely adding that 'some of these casualties, mostly on the Arab side, were caused by the fire of troops and police.' Now the Report states quite clearly that the procession of Jewish youths took place on August 15 and the anti-Jewish outbreak began on August 23. Why did not Lord Sydenham mention what happened between these dates, and, above all, why did he not mention the other causes of the outbreak as set forth by the Commission? Probably because he would have had to call attention to the Moslem demonstration at the Wailing Wall on August 16, to the activities of the Society for the Protection of the Moslem Holy Places, to the 'exciting and intemperate articles of the Press,' to 'propaganda among the less-educated Arab people of a character calculated to incite them,' and to 'the inadequacy of the military forces and of the reliable police available.' His account seems to suggest that there was fighting between Arabs and Jews on equal terms. There was no such fighting. There was a sudden attack by well-armed Arabs upon unsuspecting Jews in various parts of the country, in which the Jews did their best to defend themselves. In Hebron and Safed the Jews, belonging to the religious and pious class, were quite defenceless and provided 83—men, women, and children—out of the total of 133 Jews who were killed. By far the greater number of Arab victims owed their death or injuries to the firearms of the troops and police who quelled the outbreak.

On the question of responsibility Lord Sydenham touches rather lightly. All that he says is that the Commission assigns to the Mufti of Jerusalem 'a share in the responsibility,' and that the Palestine Government 'emerge without discredit from the inquisition.' A careful reading of the Report, however, will reveal much more. The Commission state:

The innovations of practice introduced by the Moslem religious authorities, of whom the Mufti is the head, in the neighbourhood of the Wailing Wall were intended in part to annoy the Jews.

They also state:

... We have little doubt that some of the constituents who elected the Executive carried out among the more ignorant Arab people a campaign of propaganda calculated to incite them. It is probable . . . that individual members of the Arab Executive further exacerbated racial feeling after the disturbances had begun. For their failure to make during the week preceding the disturbances an attempt to control their followers by declaring publicly and emphatically that they were on the side of law and order, neither the Mufti nor the Palestine Arab Executive can be acquitted of blame.

Mr. Snell goes further. He attributes to the Mufti 'a greater share in the responsibility for the disturbance than is attributed to him in the Report,' and is of opinion that 'the Mufti must bear the blame for this failure to make any effort to control the character of an agitation conducted in the name of a religion of which in Palestine he was the head.'

Lord Sydenham approves of the Commission in exceeding their terms of reference by discussing questions of major policy, but gives an unsatisfactory summary of the Commission's findings. For instance, he refers to some of the obligations of the Mandatory Government in respect of the establishment of the Jewish national home, one of them being to encourage the 'close settlement of Jews on the land, including State and waste lands not required for public purposes,' and he tells us that 'the Commission declare, "without fear of contradiction," that full effect has been given to these provisions.' But the Commission did not make any such general affirmation. The only provisions of the Mandate to which they say full effect has been given are the Articles 22 and 23 (relating to the recognition of English, Arabic, and Hebrew as official languages, and to the recognition of the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for those communities), apart from the recognition of the Zionist Organisation as the Jewish Agency and the enactment of immigration and nationality laws making special provision for Jewish interests. The Commission do not state that effect has been given to the article requiring the Administration of Palestine to provide State and waste lands for close settlement by Jews, for the simple reason that this article has remained a dead letter. On the other hand, a vast area of State land at Beisan was given some years ago to a number of Arab squatters on a part of it, who were unable either to cultivate it or even to pay the Government dues on it, and who are now disposing of the greater part of it, which is useless to themselves, at speculative prices.

Whilst Lord Sydenham thus attributes to the Commission a statement that they do not make, he quite ignores their findings on other matters that they have investigated. He criticises, for instance, the concessions granted respectively to Mr. Rutenberg

and to Mr. Novomeysky and Major Tulloch (though he carefully suppresses the last name), and suggests that much 'is still unrevealed.' But the Commission found that the Arab complaints in regard to these concessions are not well founded and do not constitute a serious grievance. Lord Sydenham mentions that in 1927 the number of Jewish unemployed 'reached the high figure of 8440.' He chooses not to add, what the Commission state on the following page (p. 106), that by the end of September 1929 the number 'had fallen to about 800,' and that by the end of the year it 'had decreased still further.'

The argument that the Arabs in Palestine are worse off economically and politically than they were under the Turks is quite fallacious. Under the Turks the Arabs paid a tax that would be equivalent to-day to a sum of 1.430*l.* per head; to-day they pay only 1.290*l.* per head. On the other hand, the Jews, though only 20 per cent. of the population, contribute more than 40 per cent. of the Government's revenue. It is true that the Arabs in Palestine were able to send a few deputies to the Ottoman Parliament before the war, but for all the good they were able to do for Palestine they might just as well have stayed at home. Much greater progress in every direction has been made in Palestine during the last ten years without a Parliament than under the Turks with a Parliament or throughout the hundreds of years of Turkish administration. It is, indeed, significant that throughout the sittings of the Inquiry Commission not a single witness appeared who complained that he had been made landless through Jewish immigration, nor was there a single Arab among those tried in the courts for participation in the riots who urged in extenuation of his crime that he had suffered through the policy of the Jewish national home. The riots were provoked by mendacious stories that Jews had attacked the Mosque of Omar with bombs and slaughtered Moslems in Jerusalem; they had nothing whatsoever to do with land, immigration, or other economic questions, nor were they prompted by any feeling in regard to the political situation. The outbreak, say the Commission, 'was from the beginning an attack by Arabs on Jews for which no excuse in the form of earlier murders by Jews has been established.'

If there is a 'Tragedy of Palestine,' the victims are Jews, for ten years after the Mandate was conferred on Great Britain we find that the Government, so far from implementing the terms of the Mandate, has even gone to the length of violating them by ordering the suspension of Jewish immigration.

ISRAEL COHEN.

WOMEN POLICE

THE decision recently announced that the number of policewomen in London is to be increased has again brought to the forefront this much-discussed question. Women police have now become a recognised item in modern police organisations; but there is no subject in the whole circle of police work upon which more uncertainty of outlook prevails than upon this subject of the employment of women. The uncertainty touches mainly the question of duties, but also to some extent the question of status. The subject has been considered by two departmental committees, and also, *obiter*, by the Royal Commission of 1928-29, and the last-named reported that the time is now ripe for a substantial increase in the number of women police. Resolutions and deputations from various bodies demand the same thing, but the precise nature of the *police* duties which the women are to perform is not wholly clear. It is to be remembered in this connexion that the police are not the censors of public morals; the verdict of the public on that point has of late been very definite. The duties of women police, so far as they have been definitely laid down, are as yet mostly of the ancillary order, and women, despite their attestation as constables, have not really inherited full estate in the service. The problem hangs thus, unresolved.

The first point to consider is the real nature of police duty; and an obvious initial disability of women for such work must be faced.

I. THE DISABILITY OF WOMEN

'Right lives by law and law subsists by power'—such is the legend under one of the frescoes in the main hall of the Old Bailey. Modern government, though based upon consent, must command the means of coercion. It would cease otherwise to be government. In this country, being the people that we are, we can ordinarily depend for coercion upon the mere muscle of stalwart men, and at most upon the wooden truncheon.

Failure to provide the muscular arm would instantly depreciate the credit of the law. For this reason a recruiting officer will not

pass a candidate for the police, be he never so well-groomed and well-read, unless he has the physical strength to uphold the fabric of government. Let the stripped candidate turn his back, extend his arms straight from the shoulders and then above his head. The ripple of muscle will be seen as he moves. If good muscle is not there, out goes the candidate. Sheer strength is essential. Advocates of the employment of women may naturally argue that the law is poorly enforced if it is enforced by mere fisticuffs, and that moral suasion in this enlightened age is infinitely better. There is not a doubt of it; the police well know the value of tact. At the same time, once the moral suasion has been entered on, there can be no halting or turning back if it does not succeed. Compromise is not possible; the will of the community must be flatly imposed upon the individual, whether he likes it or not. It is a situation to which an old saying of Nelson rather aptly applies: 'To negotiate with effect, force should be at hand and in a situation to act.' If the moral suasion of the police fails, as at times it must, force must be available, and must be used. A constable does not satisfy the legal requirements regarding his post¹ unless he is 'fit and able' to apply that physical force.

The police constable thus represents the physical power of the law, and women do not represent the physical power of the species. The radical disability on the part of ordinary women to act as constables is therefore obvious; a disability which no argument, so far, has in any way discounted. It may be, as held by the Departmental Committee of 1920, that the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act has removed any legal disability²; but no Act of Parliament can confer physical strength. The Committee of 1920 really put the thing in a nutshell: 'We do not think,' it said, 'that policewomen should be required to perform duties which necessarily involve the exercise of physical force and consequent exposure to physical danger.' Everyone would no doubt agree. But if women are thus admitted to be unfit for the fundamental duty of constables, why insist on calling them constables? The position produced is a false one, being mere make-believe. To speak thus is not to contend that women should form no part of the police service, but only to indicate that, if the facts are looked fairly in the face, a need to redefine the status of policewomen will be at once apparent.

¹ Metropolitan police constables must be 'fit and able' persons 'for preserving the peace, and preventing robberies and other felonies and apprehending offenders against the peace.'

² The view was based upon a pronouncement of the Secretary of State, who, however, was careful to add that 'the physical disqualifications of women for performing some of the most important duties imposed upon police constables remain the same as they were before the Act was passed.'

II. THE EFFECT OF MECHANISATION

Clearly the problem of women's share in the police profession is not self-contained, but must be viewed in relation to the more general aspects of women's activities. The wider view helps to elucidate the immediate past, and is essential in estimating the future.

Miss Rose Macaulay focussed a whole fund of truth and humour into a scrap of casual conversation when she loosed the tongue of 'Mrs. Arthur' on the subject of journalism: 'Ed has to do it too,' said his mother. 'He mayn't describe a street accident without saying women were in it, and if they weren't in it he has to say they looked on. Haven't you, Ed?' It cannot be denied that just this impulse was in part responsible for the advent of the post-war policewomen. Women had to figure throughout the whole picture, the police included. In deference to the general doctrine of parity, they were subsequently also attested as constables in order to put them on a footing with men, the crucial point being thus ignored that the advance of mechanisation, which has put women on terms with men in so many other fields, has not done so in the case of police work.

The broad fact of the moment in the world at large is that the male genius has recoiled upon itself; men have proved themselves too clever by half. Male genius has reduced most processes that were coarse and arduous to a matter of machinery, controlled by the pressing of a button; and woman at that point has seen her opportunity. Once the button has been provided, woman has been prompt to point out that she can press it just as well as a man can. A woman aviator of late flew alone over continents. Obviously the whole thing was a dazzling triumph of male genius. This world of ours, once all matted over with forest and full of savage monsters, has been explored and mapped out by generations of tough male creatures, myriads of whom were sacrificed in the process. The seas were explored and charted by whipcord males of the type who could furl sails, stiff with ice and gone mad in a hurricane, on black nights off the Horn, aloft there on the footropes of a swinging yardarm. And God knows how many of them perished! Then travel, primitive at first with its camel caravans and wind ships, was gradually mechanised by steam, electricity, petrol. But holocausts of male victims had been levied in every field before the dainty aeroplane had been devised, with everything in a nutshell. The problem of transit has, indeed, been solved: a woman already can travel alone; next it will be a child, or a robot.

As in travel, so in warfare. Lady Rhondda was reported a

year or so back to have said that in the next war women will be conscripted. It may be. Battleaxes, calling for iron muscle, are not now used; male genius has mechanised all that. We do these things delicately now by the touching of triggers, or by electrically loaded machines that kill at a dozen miles; and there are no doubt many parts that women could play. Even to-day, however, in fields where mechanisation is not complete, women as a whole do not so simply follow in the wake of men, though individuals may do so. When the Rye lifeboat was lost, with its complete crew of nineteen men (who left behind them a small hamlet populated by widows and children), the Lifeboat Institution was asked whether a new boat would be installed. The answer was unequivocal: 'We could not get a crew. *The men have gone.*'

The police service, like the lifeboat service, is a field of activity where mechanisation is not complete. It is true that, with their motor transport, wireless, automatic traffic signals and so forth, the police are making progress in that direction. But machinery cannot as yet supersede muscle; the way has not yet been sufficiently smoothed for women to discharge full duties. Much has been done towards smoothing it. A hundred years ago, judging from the behaviour then observed, women constables would have run a very fair risk of being stripped naked and tied to gateposts, for male creatures did that sort of thing a hundred years ago, and man is a great brute as well as a great genius. Honest male muscle has curbed the baser orders since then; and, even in this mechanised age, male muscle remains the physical power of the law.

III. RECIPROCAL SERVICE

The Committee of 1924 recorded that some witnesses, 'especially those who advocate the employment of women on terms equal in all respects to those of the men,' considered it necessary that the women should become constables. The fact, as already shown, is that the terms are not equal: women are not recruited by the same standards as men, nor for the same duties. The general question of female employment is much influenced at the moment by women's recent proposition of sex equality—a claim not based upon super-cultivation of women's hereditary sphere, but upon suffrage and a general emulation of the work hitherto discharged by men. Considering the radical disparity of the sexes, the proposition of equality is likely to be about as useful as an attempt to prove precise equality between a locomotive and its permanent way, or between a house and garden. Obviously each sex is supplementary to the other; they are built to co-operate. The heavy burden of child-bearing falls

exclusively upon the woman, and it is a burden in regard to which man cannot help her. But man, differently built, offsets the burden by shouldering tasks not fit for woman, and the physical enforcement of the law is probably one of them.

A relevant point is the extreme suddenness of the present phase of women's activities, and the precipitancy of recent sex legislation. The village conclave of primeval man was the first social institution from which the complex institutions of modern life have sprung, and its lineal descendant in England is our own House of Commons. Ten years ago women had no direct voice in electing that chamber; to-day their voice preponderates over that of men. A complete reversal in ten years, after a history of ten thousand, may be well enough; but it takes one's breath away just a little. For the establishment of permanent social reform the 'inevitability of gradualness' is a recognised principle; it is also a commonplace to say that true evolution does not proceed *per saltum*. A 'jump' so sudden as this must certainly mean extreme instability in the future. As regards female employment, the chances are that the phase of the moment will not last; the mimetic impulse will exhaust itself, and women, with their new intellectual activity, will begin blazing their own new trails in wholly original directions. The modern ideas of equality, interchangeability, and competition are quite likely to subside as rapidly as they have arisen. Disparity, partnership, and co-operation are the old root ideas which are pretty sure to remain.

In the meantime, women's entry into the 'world's work' is a fact; and, from the point of view of the community, everything depends upon how that new accession of strength is to be applied. If women are content to work on men's lines, their advent is not of much consequence except to themselves, the accession representing merely so many additional units. If, on the other hand, women enter as women and remain distinctive and original, then the accession represents a totally new factor, likely to prove of quite unprecedented value. It may gratify the individual woman to take on a job which a man can do; it is likely to help the State a great deal more when she takes on a job that a man cannot do.

In that light the problem presents itself in regard to the police. Even if women were much fitter than they are for men's duties, the police service would gain no benefit by recruiting them unless the supply of men had run dry. But if, on the other hand, the police service can get women who really are women, and will bring the independent outlook and shrewd counsel which a sensible wife brings to her husband, then, indeed, the service may benefit exceedingly.

IV. THE PRESENT PROBLEM IN THE POLICE

It seems clear that (1) a proportion of women will be available to help man in fields which had hitherto been exclusively his; that (2) the police service will undoubtedly be the richer if it can really absorb women, acquiring with them the separate standpoint and solid wisdom of their sex; but that (3) if women are to be usefully absorbed into the police service, they must be taken on as women, and not, so to speak, as imitation men.

At present the only regular door of entry to the police is as a constable, and for the full duties of a constable women, as already indicated, are not fit candidates. Auxiliary duties, such as attendance on female prisoners and (sometimes) the taking of statements, are things that patently belong to women. But more than that is wanted; a sure footing in the general organisation must be obtained. For the logical admission of women two alternatives only are open: the first is to cease calling them constables, and the second is to redefine the qualifications of constables. The latter is probably the better alternative. It is here that the real difficulty lies. The difficulty is, in fact, part and parcel of a very wide police problem, a problem which involves the whole machinery of police organisation.

There can be little doubt that the organisation of modern police (a very young institution) is in an elementary and undeveloped condition as yet. Much, were this the time and place, might be said on that head; for immediate purposes it is enough to notice that at present the police constable, as a basic unit, appears to be deemed the only possible one. In London it is the rule, outside the Mounted Branch, the Public Carriage Branch, and Thames Division, for all uniform constables to be general practitioners in police work. Male constables are not, as a rule, highly educated; it is not expected that brains will be their strongest suit. Generally speaking, countrymen make the best constables—men taken from the tail of the plough. The task of turning such material into fit agents for the enforcement of the whole complicated law of England is a stringent one. No one, indeed, is more conscious of this than an official who has been in turn recruiting officer and staff officer. It is a chastening thought—when looking over the shoulder of some candidate whose physique and type are eminently good, and watching his crabbed caligraphy—to visualise in fancy the volumes of the public general statutes and the vasty aggregations of statutory orders and regulations! This man is the man who has to enforce them. It is a chastening task, also, to seek to resolve portions of that complex mass into terms which young constables can absorb and administer.

From that problem, it is probably true, there will never be

any effective escape; but it is probably not less true that the exclusive reign of the 'general practitioner' will not last for ever. While the police constable will remain the backbone of the service, he may before long be partially relieved by specialists, some of whom even may not be given his omnibus training. Objection to the creation of a body of traffic constables (trained *ad hoc*, without being put through the whole course) is partly based on the ground that a traffic constable might at any time be called on to perform any duty belonging to an ordinary constable, and he must not be found wanting. There is no reason why he should be found wanting: the special constable, much used already as an emergency substitute, has been able to play his limited rôle with real success. This prejudice is a survival of that impulse towards superficial uniformity which led, some thirty years ago, to the swearing-in of skilled engineers and carpenters to be responsible for the mechanical work upon the police launches in the Thames Division. That phase has passed; a reverse process has already begun of substituting clerks, mechanics, motor drivers, and other workers for police employed otherwise than on the true duties of officers of the peace. The process thus begun may well eventuate in a system of suiting the agent to the task. Traffic constables, women constables, and others may be as clearly differentiated from police constables as park constables and railway constables already are. Their attestation would be of a separate and different order. Working upon those lines, the difficulty of admitting women on a sound and logical basis would disappear and the present system of make-believe would be terminated.

It remains to discover the duties upon which women can exercise their own distinctive abilities. The question still perplexes even the most sympathetic observers; the perplexity was obvious throughout the Report of the Departmental Committee of 1924, and the Royal Commission has not finally resolved it, the subject being largely (it was found) beyond its terms of reference. The straight answer to the question is that the problem will not be adequately solved until it is solved by women, and by women alone. Men with long experience will be at hand to advise and co-ordinate; but the impulses must come from women only. And women cannot effectively work out their ideas from an armchair, but only from the streets, the police courts, the public-houses, the gutters, the slums. It would not be a case of employing 'teachers, nurses and women of university training' merely to carry out specified duties; the women would be expected, while carrying out duties already specified (*and no more*), to be bringing their minds constructively to bear, all the time, on the problem as a whole. The plan would certainly have its troubles; but then, after all, police work is mostly trouble. It may be

necessary to employ women almost unproductively for some long period, but, if full results are to accrue, it must be done. There must be no haste in this matter, save haste to make an effective start.

Advocates of the employment of women in the police have been apt to put themselves in the wrong, on existing standards, by confounding welfare work and police work. The point has been much discussed. Welfare work, immensely important as it is, is not at present regarded as police work. None the less, the instinct that reaches out in that direction may be a sound one. Under Blackstone's definition of the 'public police and æconomy' welfare work might, of course, easily be included; and the question may indeed become a living issue before long. The 'deterrent' effect of women in uniform is stressed by the Royal Commission, and an extension of their activities may well help to bring nearer the day when 'the individuals of the State, like members of a well-governed family, are bound to conform their general behaviour to the rules of propriety, good neighbourhood and good manners, and to be decent, industrious and inoffensive in their respective stations'—that being the true result of police regulation as envisaged by Blackstone.

The prime need of the moment is to obtain women of adequate mental calibre, and to have them out and about, assessing police problems from every angle at first hand. 'The vinegary spinster and blighted middle-aged fanatic,' to whom Sir Nevil Macready alluded, are perhaps figures of fiction rather than a factor of serious danger in this or any other field of women's work to-day. 'Broad-minded, kindly, sensible' women would be obtained. But women with the devotion, and the vision, of pioneers are at this stage needed; lesser women can follow when the paths have been made straight for them. To begin with lesser women will merely mean that the old mimetic lines will be followed. Recruitment of women for this purpose should not, for obvious reasons, follow the lines of male recruitment. Women should be recruited without any regard to their fitness for a 'rough-and-tumble'; they should often be taken as finely bred and intellectual as may be, subject only to their possessing a physique adequate to withstand the exposure to weather. The duty of the woman constable, faced with some male (or female) bully bent on mischief, would be to retire undamaged, just as a frigate was duty-bound to fly from a four-decker. The simile is old-world, but it cannot be rendered in modern terms, because mechanisation has supervened and the weaker now has torpedoes. In case, in that connexion, it should be contended that women could similarly overcome their physical handicap by resort to jiu-jitsu, the idea must be scotched at once. Violence begets violence. Jiu-

jitsu practised by women, though triumphant at the moment, would lead to female skulls being cracked from behind by male bullies in ambush. *Punch* made a joke of it when the woman candidate, on being questioned, said that she would 'call a policeman.' That, in fact, would be her literal duty.

It is already known in the police service that, apart from what they may be able separately to accomplish, women can at times usefully co-operate with male colleagues in matters of inquiry and observation. The Criminal Investigation Department also forms an important field. The practice of recruitment of men for the Criminal Investigation Department in the Metropolitan Police is to draw them from the vast field of selection offered by a force of 20,000 men, thus obtaining the men who, under police conditions, have shown sufficient aptitude. The plan answers admirably, and is probably better than a system of direct recruitment from unproved material outside the force. A similar (if smaller) field of selection among women is wanted, women who can be watched and assessed under police conditions before being absorbed for work of criminal investigation. This is already done in a small way. Although, on the one hand, the field of work open to women in the police is likely, for reasons already stated, to be a very limited one, that field, on the other hand, offers singular opportunities to the protagonists of women's work. Its problems are the primitive and enduring ones of ordinary humanity; and women do not start subject to the prodigious juniority which is theirs in the long-descended and expert sciences; they can 'start fair,' so to speak.

The all-important point is that women should be the architects of their own house, that they should be, *within the strict limitations imposed by realities*, the arbiters of their own activities. In police work it will be no case of easy platform triumphs; it will be a matter of solid and inconspicuous work at foundations, right out of sight. Educated women of the type who are ready to sacrifice themselves for a cause, and to work without notice or name, are not lacking in this country. Here is their opportunity.

If thus, in place of the rough-and-ready affiliation of women to men's institutions which is taking place elsewhere, the police service can absorb and employ its women on women's own lines, the result should be pre-eminent.

V. CONCLUSION

To sum up, the general position is this:

At the present time the public asks for women police, and the police service must react adequately to the demand. On survey of the situation it seems that certain difficulties exist.

The first difficulty is that constables represent the physical strength of the law, and physical strength is not the *forte* or *métier* of women. Women not possessed of the physical strength are not really placed on a footing with men by mere attestation; they are simply placed on a footing that is false. To deal in make-believe is no help to anyone—it serves only to damage a good case. The whole idea of parity is in this connexion a false one, and should be jettisoned at once. Women police are a branch recruited by different standards and for different problems from men, and their real value only accrues when they act distinctively as women. They should therefore stand on a sound and separate footing of their own, and not falsely on an imitation footing for which they are not qualified. This difficulty is easily obviated, if there is the courage to face the fact.

The second difficulty is that, after ten years' experience of women police, it cannot be clearly seen (welfare work apart) how women are to be employed, on the uniform side, otherwise than in the ancillary offices which were already being assigned to women before the war—namely, in effect as matrons, assistants, and so forth. The scope of these duties has been extended, but not really changed.

After all, however, it is not to be expected that the problem of women's future can be solved by men, however experienced, or even by intellectual women who have not had close touch with normal police work at first hand. A women's service, to be really adequate, must be designed as well as conducted by women. In order, therefore, that the public demand shall be met and the problem shall be adequately solved, the time has arrived when thoughtful and zealous women should have the opportunity of assessing the position at first hand over a considerable period, and of building up a true women's service in the same way as men have built up their own services. In this connexion it is only to be expected that, among other things, the much-discussed question of the border-line between police and welfare work will be once more revived. In any event, the problem of women's employment in the police should, as a result, be brought very definitely nearer an eventual solution.

H. ALKER TRIPP.

MODERN TENDENCIES IN EXPLORATION

THE traditional explorer was an individual; the modern explorer is an expedition. Discovery is rarely an object, and never the sole object, of the new explorer, whose aim is the exploitation of the scientific or the commercial possibilities of comparatively untouched ground. No treatment of the subject can ignore this modern reorientation; already the old-fashioned solitary adventurer is beginning to share the false glamour of the highwayman and the knight-errant; in a few years he will be dead.

It is not difficult to trace the reasons for the change. Explorers are the eyes and fingers of science; while science remains in an elementary stage, busy cataloguing the more striking products of the earth, any man hardy enough to penetrate into fresh regions can bring back with very little extra trouble collections which will appear satisfactory. In the same way, while a large part of the earth remains unknown to white men, any sort of sketch-map or compass traverse is a contribution to geography. From such poor scraps industrious experts soon produce a sort of order, so that indiscriminate collecting of facts and specimens is no longer of much service; work in the field becomes a question of filling in gaps and resolving uncertainties. The prestige attaching to this occupation, the excitement of the stay-at-home specialists as each problem is cleared up, and the growing scarcity of fresh worlds to conquer, lead to a pronounced concentration on such well-defined tasks. Explorers no longer able to gain serious applause by wandering at their own sweet will jostle one another in their efforts to be the first discoverers of new species of plants and animals, of unknown mountains and islands, and the sources of great rivers. It is notable that at this stage the explorer has already ceased to be a free agent, bringing back what he pleases to a receptive and uncritical scientist; already he has come to be simply the scientist's roving henchman. Under such direction, and the stress of competition, the phase rapidly passes; major problems of geography and distribution are cleared up in quick succession; science, having established its broad outlines, subdivides itself to an astonishing extent, turning to questions of function and detail whose solution

by the untrained traveller is no longer possible. Starved of the data they require, and tiring of valueless specimens without precise information and of vague reports which miss the point at issue, the stay-at-home specialists are themselves forced to take the field in order to learn what they want. The old-fashioned museum systematist begins, like the adventurous explorer who worked for him, to be superseded by a new type which is to combine the function of both. Younger men with wider outlook and a determination not to be at the mercy of inadequate observers band together in brief expeditions which descend as well-equipped raids on areas of scientific importance at the moment. Once the trained specialist has taken the field the untrained adventurer is doomed.

It is easy from these generalisations to fix the stage which we have at present reached. The process just outlined is by no means complete. There are still isolated subjects, such as entomology, where in many parts of the world purely indiscriminate collecting justifies itself, just as there are still territories, like the South Arabian desert, part of Matto Grosso, and the polar regions, of which even the sketchiest maps and descriptions would still be of value. Again, in the second phase there are still many points to be cleared up over which the untrained man can for one reason or another compete successfully with the specialist. But for the greater part of the earth's surface we have definitely come to the third and apparently final stage where only well-equipped parties of trained investigators can materially improve upon what has already been done.

The fundamental changes in exploration to which this development is leading us are only just becoming clear. In the first place, exploration becomes institutional. The old-fashioned amateur would usually be able to finance himself or live upon the country; the modern expedition, consisting of more or less poverty-stricken young scientists, is rarely in a position to do either. Therefore it must raise funds from outside, and in order to do so it must be based on a plan which will stand criticism and tied to an institution which will provide some sort of guarantee of the plan being carried out. This is one of the main reasons why a modern expedition is as a rule sent out, at any rate nominally, by a university, a national museum, a learned society, or even by the State itself. Private expeditions, unless their personnel inspires exceptional confidence, have to find their own funds. This question of finance is, in fact, the most serious that the ordinary modern expedition has to face; it is not likely to meet any such severe obstacle in the field. In America, where rich men are not necessarily mean, the private donor enables research parties to be properly, often even extravagantly,

equipped; in Great Britain, where money has to a large extent got into the hands of a class which does not know how to spend it either in public or in private, a few inadequate endowments and one or two small funds derived from the State are all that we have to fall back upon. Although the Empire Marketing Board has in one or two cases subsidised expeditions, it certainly cannot be regarded as a source of help even for those with a more or less economic objective. In fact, unless the aim is purely spectacular, scientific and other considerations being completely subordinate, the odds are very heavily against an expedition being able to raise funds to the extent of more than 1000*l.* And even this princely sum will not come in one or two large blocks which the expedition can count on; it will have to be scraped up in a dozen or more quarters, and its extraction will waste more of the organisers' time, unless they are very fortunate, than it is possible to devote to the actual preparations for the field. In addition, of course, they will usually have to haggle to the last penny for reduced passages and cheap or free transport, and write begging letters for gifts of stores and equipment which research in this country is too poor to be able to afford. A deficit may have to be cleared off by the sale of exclusive Press rights to some newspaper which will demand, and if necessary concoct, sensational accounts quite out of keeping with the spirit of modern scientific exploration, which regards unnecessary hardships merely as evidence of faulty organisation and adventures as a sign of incompetent leadership.

There is hardly a single newspaper in the British Isles which does not prefer a 'stunt show' of the most glaring kind to an expedition of scientific interest; few, in fact, will print details of any serious investigation at all, and in general the ideal explorer, from an editorial standpoint, is the monomaniac who sets off with a small party into the wilds, and after months or years of quite unnecessary privations perishes miserably, as any competent authority could have foretold, leaving a notebook of self-conscious fragments suitable for 'gutting.' And this criticism is not to be countered by the assertion that reports sent back by scientific expeditions are invariably dull and unreadable; the fact is that work which would have featured prominently in the evening papers for several days if it had been prematurely disclosed by a reluctant laboratory scientist to a persistent metropolitan reporter will not be considered worth printing if it comes from an expedition in the field, because to the editor, and through him his public, 'expedition' brings up visions of disasters, hardships, friction with savages, and, in fact, of everything which any well-regulated expedition can and should avoid. So long as this idiotic conception

of expedition news, deliberately fostered by the old-fashioned explorers for their own glorification, is retained by the Press, expeditions in general must take their choice between raising an appreciable sum out of their news communications and the luxury of not being misrepresented on a grand scale. Some expeditions have resorted to making a cinema film as a means of revenue; it rarely succeeds. Lecturing is not likely to be much good unless the work has been unusually spectacular and there is a member available for it who can do it well; much the same applies to the issue of an account in book form. On the whole the chances are against enough money being raised by these expedients to cover the cost of getting the scientific results published in the appropriate periodicals with adequate illustrations and maps. The obvious alternative of raising funds from the personnel is full of difficulties; it does not always happen that those whom it is most essential to have in the party are able to put down large sums of money. The combination of grants and large payments by members is, in fact, in many ways undesirable; acceptance of official grants involves a programme of work which must not be neglected, and which is not likely to satisfy those who have put their hands in their pockets with a vague idea of having the time of their lives in the wide open spaces. I assume here that the large subscriber is not himself a scientist, because as a matter of experience scientists who can afford to give largely are too scarce to be taken into account.

The question of expedition finance has been discussed in some detail in order to show how unsatisfactory the present position is. To sum up, it is out of the question for most qualified workers to undertake field research outside civilised areas without sacrificing a good deal of freedom by putting themselves under the auspices of some institution or learned body. That body will make several stipulations affecting the disposal of collections and so on, in return for which it will grant usually something like 50*l.* to 150*l.*; in rare cases as much as 600*l.* or so. You cannot charge it with parsimony; after all, it disgorges all it has. The organiser, therefore, will be faced with two distinct problems—to make the necessary arrangements for successfully attaining the object of the expedition and to find the funds to enable the idea to go forward. I have put the arrangements first, but of course in practice the funds have to come first, and the organiser finds himself for several months in advance engaged in a desperate struggle to put the scheme on a sound financial footing, wringing money and backing by dribblets out of bodies meeting on rare and inconvenient occasions to dole out the absurdly small sums at their disposal with more or less incompatible conditions attached. It is not hard to realise what a

crippling effect this struggle is likely to have upon the actual work of the expedition. In the first place, unless the organiser is wealthy and prepared to stake a good deal, it is for months impossible for him to guarantee that the plan will be realised, and in the meantime he stands to lose indispensable personnel who cannot hold themselves available indefinitely. Then, until a sufficient sum has been raised, it is not possible for him to enter into large commitments for stores, equipment or transport. Therefore equipment which takes some time to make for specification cannot be set in hand till the last moment, so that there is not enough time to test it and have any necessary alterations made before sailing. Similarly, it is impossible to arrange charters at foreign ports, or local transport where this is needed, until many months after the plan of the expedition has been settled.

There is no longer any question of the value of the work done by university and museum expeditions of the type I have in mind. All progressive Colonial Governments attempt to maintain a skeleton scientific staff to deal with their special problems in medicine, entomology, botany and so on. But these staffs are too small and too much tied down by routine to undertake far-reaching research, with certain conspicuous exceptions such as the tsetse investigation in Tanganyika. An expedition, on the other hand, brings out for a limited period a batch of highly trained men, few of whom could possibly have undertaken such work by themselves, or have absented themselves from England for any longer time, ready to tackle definite problems armed with the most up-to-date methods and a familiarity with related data. If the expedition visits British territory it can very usefully co-operate with the local staff, who on their side are able by their knowledge of prevailing conditions to be of the greatest value to it; if, on the other hand, its field of operations is outside the Empire, it cannot help being in a region more or less similar to some part of the Empire where its results may fruitfully be applied. This is true particularly of expeditions with a biological or geographical object.

The conclusion to which this inevitably leads us is that while the new intensive exploration is work of international importance, forming the basis for the medical and economic conquest of many undeveloped parts of the world, no provision whatever has been made, privately or publicly, for the altered character and scale of expeditions and the breakdown of the traditional means of financing them. The organiser is confronted with the assumption that a suitable personnel can be recruited from persons collectively able to bear the entire cost of the expedition—an assumption which was never true but has only lately become hopelessly untenable. He is accordingly forced

either to give up or seriously to curtail the expedition, or to eke out funds with a most uneconomic expenditure of time and worry from a variety of sources whose meagreness is their only common quality.

The result of these unnecessary obstacles at the home end is naturally crippling. In many cases where good work might be done no organiser capable of surmounting them is found and the idea is allowed to drop. Even then it is still a case of the survival of the fittest—organisers, that is to say, not the scientific staffs attached to them—for the sum total of funds available to be tapped for such work in the British Empire is hardly enough to keep more than one first-rate expedition in the field at a time, occasional special efforts by universities and the State excepted. No improvement seems probable until it becomes generally realised that scientific exploration is not merely something apart, an amusement for academic minds, but an indispensable accompaniment, and usually even an indispensable preliminary, of any further turning to account of the world's resources. Once that is admitted—as all Governments and large companies tacitly do admit it where their own interests are affected—it becomes obvious that scientific exploration neither can nor should be supported by the sparse guineas of the faithful or by the handful of insignificant endowments existing. Scientific work carried on with considerable discomfort in remote parts of the world cannot, in other words, be run on the same lines as a scheme for giving slum children a day in the country; it is not a charity, but a definite and often vital service to business and government development, for the maintenance of which business and Governments ought to contribute. It is not necessary to go into detail here on the form which such a scheme of support should take, but for the sake of example it may be suggested that something like the levy on bales of cotton imported which was raised in the interests of Empire-grown cotton might be applied by mutual consent to all such industries as rubber, fur, cotton, oil, timber and the like, which obviously stand to gain from the results of scientific exploration. On this basis all important firms concerned might contribute something to a central fund, the Government giving pound for pound or on some other agreed basis, and the allocation of grants being administered by some representative and authoritative body like the existing but hopelessly poverty-stricken Government Grants Committee of the Royal Society. Such a scheme would do away with both the very simple defects of the present time—first, that there is practically no money available, and, second, that its disbursement is in too many hands. The necessity for proving that any projected expedition had a competent personnel, a desirable object, and

a satisfactory chance of attaining it would remain unaltered. The fund would be available for scientific work in the field without unnecessary limitations, at the discretion of the committee—for biology, medical research, archæology, geology, topography and surveying, meteorology and so on, whether by individuals or by expeditions; and the circulation to all its subscribers of an annual report on work done under its auspices would be of service both to science in outlining the general trend and showing up the gaps and to industry in suggesting fresh points of application for the findings of research.

I have perhaps harped too long on this financial starvation, but not, I think, more than it deserved; for any scientific explorer it is not the tiger in the jungle, the polar bear on the pack-ice, or the snake in the undergrowth which are wild beasts to worry about, but only the wolf at the door.

Another modern tendency in exploration, although less fundamental than the change from the private party or individual to the official or semi-official expedition, is probably more obtrusive—the development of mechanical aid. Formerly white men were content in penetrating uncolonised regions to make use of whatever facilities had been developed by the natives in the way of sledges, dug-outs, mules or human bearers, as the case might be, bringing from their own world only such items as firearms and medical supplies. But native transport, diet, and so on are rarely more advanced than native medicine or weapons, and of this no one is more readily convinced than the natives themselves. Explorers of the old school, however, dislike the vulgar intrusion of cars and aeroplanes into their happy hunting-grounds, so that it is sometimes possible even now to see them cheerfully setting out by the slow and troublesome prehistoric methods in a region where the natives themselves, who have no such sentimental illusions, habitually travel by lorry or by motor boat. But these, of course, are hopeless anachronisms; the modern British expedition, generally speaking, will use the best technical apparatus of every sort that it can beg from enlightened manufacturers or scrape up enough money to buy, just as the modern American expedition, acting in the same spirit, will use the best apparatus obtainable.

A few points in this connexion are worth bringing up. First of all, time. Nowhere is the new ratio which mechanical transport has established between time and distance so striking as in exploration, where (even when the final stage requires the oldest of methods still) an immense mileage has often to be covered before the jumping-off place is reached. To the leisurely adventurer who went for the journey's sake it was no handicap to steam for thousands of miles at eight or twelve knots in order to start

up country on foot after a long pause to engage bearers. To the scientist who breaks off his work at home in order to get data on some particular problem loss of time is a different matter, and unless poverty makes it impossible to take advantage of them the great trunk airways which have lately been opened to Russia, Persia, India, South America, with those soon to be added for South Africa and Australia, will play a great part in enabling experts to work in regions where they could never have dreamed of going otherwise. Apart from this shortening of communications, which will soon have brought almost all possible expedition bases within a fortnight of London, there is the further great gain which may often be secured by taking out cars, lorries, motor boats and aircraft. For example, it takes ten days for the return trip from Georgetown in British Guiana to the Kaieteur Falls at the edge of the hinterland savannah; a seaplane service, now planned by a British company in connexion with the West Indies traffic, could comfortably do it in a day. The same, of course, applies wherever there are severe surface obstacles like virgin forests, mountain ranges, swamps or rivers broken up by many rapids. Where there are no such insurmountable difficulties the cheaper and more reliable motor or motor boat transport is good enough. How valuable the use of modern methods may prove, not only to the expedition using it, but to trade and administration, is well shown by Roy Chapman Andrews' introduction of the motor car to the Gobi desert, which at once established motor transport as the normal local service, creating quite a respectable demand for cars and greatly accelerating communications.

The modern expedition using all possible means of reaching its destination without delay has, then, the advantage of saving time on a really useful scale, and of correspondingly raising the standard of personnel by making it possible to enlist specialists with a definite job at home who are likely to be much more able and efficient than the habitual wanderers and unemployed from whom recruits would otherwise have to be drawn. Another peculiar advantage in the case of university and some other expeditions is that it enables undergraduates to get some beginnings of a working knowledge of the conditions of research in countries off the beaten track, widening their outlook and attaching them to a pursuit which is not easily forgotten. The first striking display of this possibility was the series of Oxford University expeditions to Spitsbergen organised after the war by G. Binney; from that pioneer effort has arisen a regular tradition of exploration work both at Oxford and Cambridge, harnessed in the first case by the Oxford University Exploration Club, which was started in 1928. During the last two years

there have been official Oxford expeditions to (West) Greenland (1928) and to British Guiana (1929), and unofficial, but equally strong, Cambridge parties to Labrador (1928) and East Greenland and the Azores (1929), all with geographical or biological objects. In most of these cases there has been an undergraduate majority, yet the quality of the work done has by no means suffered from it; in fact, where a capable leader is to be found, a party composed entirely of undergraduates and young graduates will do at least as good work with a minimum of friction as one made up of a greater mixture of ages. Oxford in Spitsbergen and Cambridge at Edge Island have shown what can be done by enterprising undergraduate leadership; nevertheless, bodies which make grants have a congenital preference for middle age.

But it is not difficult to see how modern conditions, while immensely extending the convenient striking range of the explorer and raising his standards of accuracy, have at the same time tended to fetter movement. To send an expedition to a remote part of the world purely for the study of ethnology or the collection of fossils is obviously wasteful; alert organisations like the Royal Geographical Society recognise this by making a point of attaching a surveyor or geographer at their own expense wherever there is a reasonable possibility of his proving useful. But then if all expeditions took out a representative of each study for which scope was likely to be found they would include botanists, zoologists, ornithologists, fresh-water biologists, meteorologists, geologists, archæologists, anthropologists, soil chemists, topographers, surveyors, photographers, artists, and a dozen or two more, so that with the addition of a doctor and assistants, such as hunters, mechanics, taxidermists, cooks and so on, the party would become much too large to travel far over undeveloped territory. And, although things do not in practice reach this logical conclusion at present, it is undoubtedly one of the chief problems of a modern expedition to exploit its opportunities sufficiently without growing so large as to forfeit mobility. 'Doubling' of parts is no solution at all; even if it proves possible to secure, for instance, a doctor who is also a competent biologist, a tolerable cook, and capable of taking all necessary photographs, the false nature of the economy will not be long in making itself felt in the field, and all the activities involved will be the worse for it. Only very clearly part-time jobs can be doubled with impunity; and the spectacle which has sometimes been seen of a first-rate scientist being employed as expedition cook when every moment was precious for observation in the short arctic summer is not creditable to the organisation. The same trend which forces the enlistment of specialists who are available for short periods only dictates the provision of all

possible mechanical and human aid to enable their time to be employed to best advantage—namely, of course, in research of the particular type for which they have been chosen. Thus there is a logical justification for a system, partly realised on the Oxford Spitsbergen and Greenland expeditions, which divides the party into two distinct classes—the pure scientists who are out for scientific results, and nothing else, on the one hand, and the leader with his henchmen on the other, who are primarily responsible for getting the party on to the chosen field of operations and maintaining it there in all necessary ways, using their spare time in more or less adventurous geographical excursions. There must, however, in almost any large expedition be another cross-division within these two classes, one section being attached to a base camp within convenient reach of rail head or water transport, where the bulk of the stores can be dumped in conditions suitable for settled scientific work, and the other section operating from this base in one or more field parties. By this means the very unwieldiness of the expedition may be turned to advantage, providing a much larger and more comfortable base than any travelling party could hope for on its own, and giving scope for much stationary observation of the sort which in most branches of science has become indispensable, constant movement from one camp to another prohibiting anything beyond scrappy collections and vague impressions. Where the objective is a coast, large river, or group of islands a ship may serve the same purpose as a land base, with the extra advantage of mobility. The combination of flying boat and water-borne stores in support has been proved feasible in very difficult circumstances by the Hamilton Rice expedition up the Rio Branco.

Exploration, however incoherent and poverty-stricken, is gradually organising itself in order to be able to make full use of modern technical methods in a final attack on the now insignificant undiscovered world, and in a more detailed probing of the vast regions nominally discovered but for most practical purposes unknown. Exploration, however, is no longer an independent activity, even in the limited sense that it was independent between the age of the buccaneers and the twentieth century. It is, in fact, nothing more than a branch of the intelligence department of science, and a subordinate one into the bargain, differing from the laboratory in the essential fact that its results are not comparatively finite or self-contained, but represent on the whole a series of successful raids in search of raw material which has still to be digested. The condition of this digestive machinery is worth at least a passing glance, for clearly, unless its working is reasonably prompt and efficient, the exploration which feeds it will not assume any significance and will accordingly

be discouraged. And while exploration, as we have shown, has made some efforts to keep pace with modern conditions, the systematic machinery behind it, at least in such an important department as zoology (and to a less extent botany), has made remarkably few. It is notorious that certain of Darwin's collections have not been named yet by the specialists concerned, and protracted delays in identifying collections are normal rather than exceptional unless the collector is himself a systematist in a favourable position for pushing the work on. So long as the organisation for dealing with such collections consists largely of a number of isolated workers scattered over Europe and North America, unconnected with any museum or institution of the kind, this state of things seems likely to continue. Enlargement of the staff of the British Museum (Natural History) under the recent interim recommendations of the Royal Commission may help to ease the situation, but no attempt to rationalise exploration can succeed without tackling the problem of providing an efficient and reasonably rapid machine for getting all collections identified.

The spectacular age of discovery is probably within ten or twenty years of its close and the romantic individualist is already superseded, but exploration in a broad sense has never possessed more vitality, and will long outlive the crude mapping of the continents which alone used to interest it. Yet the task of reducing to order the nineteenth-century legacy of chaos is even more pressing in exploration than in other spheres; while the work, being at the same time ambitious and ancillary, is more open to injury by poverty and the disorganisation of systematists. It is useless for Oxford and Cambridge to make efforts, as they are doing now, to develop a school of explorers if the other interests which have been shown in this hasty survey to be equally essential to ultimate success in exploration fail to rise to the occasion. Exploration is a productive undertaking; it is also a matter of prestige. This country, which used to be the first in the world for discovery, is perceptibly falling behind, and not by any means through the fault of its explorers, whose qualities have never shown to better advantage than in a period when learning the significance of facts under difficulties has become more important than the mere collection of them.

E. M. NICHOLSON.

THREE UNPUBLISHED 'IMAGINARY CONVERSATIONS' BY WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR

IN the spring of 1929, whilst resident in Florence, I had an opportunity of examining, through the kindness of my friend Mme. Eleanor Manzioni-Landor, the granddaughter of Walter Savage Landor, some papers and other materials which were found among the belongings of the latter after his death in 1864. Among other things, I was happily surprised to find three hitherto unpublished and completely unknown *Imaginary Conversations*, not inferior to the best of any of those imperishable masterpieces.

The three Conversations are between: (1) *Andrew Marvel and Henry Marten*, (2) *Diogenes and a Citizen*, and (3) *Solon and Pisistratos*.

The manuscript of the first Conversation was in such condition that there could be little doubt that it was a transcription¹ made from the original composition, for it is written out in a comparatively legible hand, and without any corrections or emendations. From a study of Landor's handwriting I am inclined to put the date of this transcription at about 1855-1860. There are certain fine evidences in the second Conversation between *Milton and Andrew Marvel*, first published in the *Athenæum* in 1862, which would indicate that it was written at about the same period as the *Marvel and Marten* Conversation. Altogether Landor published four Conversations in which Marvell figures, three with Milton (the first published in 1824, and the second and third in 1862), and one with Bishop Parker which first appeared in 1846.¹ It is interesting to note that Landor, who was somewhat of a faddist in matters of spelling, invariably, and incorrectly, writes 'Marvel' for 'Marvell'; I should not think, however, that this was more than an oversight.

Henry (or Harry) Marten (1602-1680) was a man much after the heart of Landor. The son of Sir Henry Marten (1562-1641), the great advocate, he was educated at University College, Oxford,

¹ A Conversation between *Andrew Marvel and Henry Marten*, with a similar opening to that which is here published, was included by Forster in his *Life of Landor*, 1869, and is to be found in vol. ii., pp. 584-586.

which he left with a B.A. for Gray's Inn. He made a marriage of convenience which turned out a failure, and as a 'gadabout' he soon acquired a reputation for fast and loose living. Aubrey, who is very fair, says of him, 'He was a lover of pretty girls, to whom he was so liberal that he spent the greatest part of his estate.' Charles, it is said, had him thrown out of Hyde Park. In 1639 he made himself very popular by refusing to subscribe towards the loan raised for the Scottish war, and in 1640 he was returned to Parliament as one of the members for Berkshire. In August 1643 he was committed to the Tower for asserting that it was 'better that one family [the King and his children] should be destroyed than many.' He was released a fortnight later, but was not readmitted to Parliament until 1646. He was the most prominent and the most active of all in bringing Charles to his trial, and in the establishment of the republic. During 1656-1657 he was an inmate of Southwark Prison, whither his debts had brought him. Though not a statesman, he was a great parliamentarian, a ready and brilliant speaker, whose eloquence often won the whole House to his side, and whose wit often saved the life of an enemy. He was generous, sincere, and a defender of the weak; he expressed himself fearlessly and even recklessly; he was a hater of tyrants and tyranny in any form, and doubtless his activities in this latter connexion attracted Landor most to him.

On the return of Charles II., Marten gave himself up on June 20, 1660, in obedience to the King's proclamation to the 'regicides.' On October 16 he was tried at the Old Bailey and found guilty. In accordance with the terms of the proclamation, execution was, however, suspended, and he was imprisoned. In 1661 the Bill for executing the regicides passed the House. Marten's life, however, was to be spared, only to be spent until his death in prison. In 1665 he was removed from Windsor Prison, where he constituted 'an eyesore' to the King, to Chepstow Castle, where he died on September 9, 1680.²

The date at which this Conversation is supposed to take place is most probably between the years 1670-1675. Marvell died in 1678.

The Conversation between *Diogenes and a Citizen*, as found by me, was evidently the composition as originally written. So many alterations, erasures, interpolations, etc., had been made

² It should be noted that it is quite possible that Southey, who was the greatest friend of Landor and in correspondence with him until his (Southey's) death, first drew the attention of Landor to Marten. Southey visited Marten's prison and wrote a sonnet on him in which he speaks of Marten having been 'For thirty years secluded from mankind' in Chepstow Castle. This is an error; altogether Marten spent twenty years in prison, fifteen of which were passed in Chepstow Castle.

that at first sight it seemed quite impossible that anyone would be able to decipher more than the title. But by the grace of the Italian sun and the help of a magnifying glass I eventually succeeded in deciphering all but one word.

From Lander's own note it is to be inferred that he sent a copy of this Conversation to Browning, who very likely advised Lander not to publish in view of the probable misconstruction which would be placed upon the expressions relating to Tyrannicide. It was then that Lander might have added the reminder 'that Diogenes was without the light of Christianity.' Forster has attempted to explain away and negative Lander's views on tyrannicide, but no impartial student who yet loves his Lander can have any doubt that Lander, indeed, regarded this as one of the sublimest acts of which a man can be capable. Coluccio Salutati, one of the earliest and the greatest of humanists, so regarded it, and Bartolus, from a rational and legal-political point of view, also thus regarded it. I see no reason, therefore, why Forster's misguided kindness should be allowed to continue to obscure Lander's real sentiments in this connexion.

The date of the manuscript of this Conversation I would put at about 1860.

A Conversation in which Diogenes figures is that great critical masterpiece of the Platonic philosophy, *Diogenes and Plato*, which appeared in 1829.

The original manuscript of the Conversation between *Solon and Pisistratos* was in even worse state than the *Diogenes* manuscript, so that, though I flatter myself upon the achievement of having deciphered as much as I did of it, I fear that Lander's handwriting at more than one place has here defeated my every endeavour, with the result that there is more than one lacuna in the Conversation as it now sees the belated light. With the exception of these few lacunæ the Conversation is in an otherwise perfectly satisfactory state, and makes a welcome addition to the *Solon and Pisistratos* Conversation, which appeared in 1832. The passage in which Solon taxes Pisistratos with having changed the laws is to be found in a somewhat different form in the earlier Conversation; nevertheless, I do not think that its recurrence in the present Conversation was an oversight on the part of Lander, or that, not intending to publish the latter, he borrowed the passage and adapted it to the published Conversation. On the contrary, I believe that this passage is quite deliberate and would have been retained by Lander. Moreover, it is not improbable that Lander intended this Conversation to form the first part of the 1832 Conversation in some future edition of his *Works*. In subsequent editions of his *Imaginary Conversations* Lander made extensive alterations, very often introducing a prodigious amount

of new material and cutting out a good deal of the old. In the present case the unpublished piece makes a fitting 'first part' to the published Conversation, and the first words of Pisistratos at the opening of the latter a not inappropriate reply to Solon's last words at the conclusion of the former. Again, the Conversations can stand quite as well separately.

The manuscript of this Conversation I would date about 1860.

With these words it remains only to say that I have retained the spelling and punctuation of the manuscripts, and that I have added neither letter nor word to the original. But let me no longer stand between the reader and his pleasure.

ANDREW MARVEL AND HENRY MARTEN

MARVEL. How art thou, Harry?

MARTEN. You see *how* I am seeing *where* I am. Prisons are but indifferent conservatories of health.

MARVEL. Breezes from the Welsh mountains and from the estuary under this Chepstow castle have kept the colour fresh on thy cheeks.

MARTEN. Yes, when I mount the table and look out, they do me good, however I would exchange them willingly for the smoke of our city and the fogs of the Thames, but your good master will not strike a bargain with me.

MARVEL. Never sigh, my man.

MARTEN. Pleasure hath her sighs, tho' shorter than those of sorrow, and your presence hath brought them out.

MARVEL. Solitude too hath its comforts and its quiet hours; more peradventure of these than crowded cities have.

MARTEN. Exemption from imprisonment is all I wish.

MARVEL. Let us confidently hope this blessing is nigh at hand.

MARTEN. The chaplain of my castle told me the same story, and that none but the reprobate were hard of belief, when he saw me shake my head. Year after year hath rolled over it and only made it the heavier. Before the present hour, few have been so consolatory to me as one last summer. A sailor with a broken leg was singing under my casement a new song. It began *Ye gentlemen of England who live at home at ease*. It is something to hear that any are now living at ease in England, after fines and confiscations, and under French government, patriots in prison and priests in palaces. Tie upon me! I am running into alliteration like a splenetic poet. I too was envious in my own way. I envied my sailor of the broken leg, for he could walk about with half of it, whereas I with a pair in good plight must keep within the courtyard at furthest. Albeit our gracious king's Majesty has provided for my health and longevity in furnishing me, ad libitum, with wholesome bread and water.

MARVEL. Humour is not parcht up in thee, my pleasant Hal.

MARTEN. There are voices that can open a fresh spring in the barren rock; yours hath done it tho' it trickleth scantily. I can enjoy fun in a poet, not being one myself. Were I one, my smile might be awry and my lip blue. On yonder shelf, which is half-full of books to the amount of thirty, there is *Hudibras*.

MARVEL. What a prodigious power of thought is there in Butler ; and even Bacon himself is scarcely more profound. Having a friend resident near Tewkesbury whither he invited me, I went to visit Butler in his little brick house between that town and Worcester, and took a salmon with me which had just been caught. I asked him whether he would receive a Roundhead, carrying the fish by a withy under the gills. He recognised me and shook me by the hand. I told him that the court had half converted me and that I could not conscientiously eat anything but fish, which I hoped he would permit me to partake with him. ' Luckily for you ' said Sam, ' for there is nothing in the house beside eggs and bacon.' We dined jovially on the salmon to which the cider seemed to give an invitation. Salmon like venison and mutton, ought to wait a few days for the cook's summons, but we did our best with it.

MARTEN. Ah ! how I should have enjoyed your conversation. Politics no wise man will talk about at dinner.

MARVEL. We did better. We avoided not only that topic but also the ordinary news of the day. Poetry was discussed.

MARTEN. Ah ! then I could have nothing to say, but I could listen, and should. Abraham Cowley was my *chokepear*. They called him metaphysical : does *metaphysical* mean *fantastical* ? Waller pleased me better because I always knew what he was driving at.

MARVEL. His verses on Oliver are gentlemanly and musical, but they want the solidity and strength of Milton's.

MARTEN. I know so much about the matter as that. Butler I hear is a great favourite with the king, who reads *Hudibras* as willingly as the Bible.

MARVEL. Perhaps oftener. He has paid four groats for the poem, but has never paid one to the author, who is as poor as Job or as Milton. Alas, poor Milton ! He lives solitary in a garden where no flowers can blow, and if they did he could not see them. Dryden, whom you may have heard of, threatened to rhyme the *Paradise Lost*, a poem of richer harmony than sequences of dactyls and spondees allowed to the Greek and Roman. Cowley, whom you perhaps remember, is lately dead. He dined with the Bishop of Rochester, got drunk, and died in a wet ditch.

MARTEN. I by the providence of the king's most religious and gracious Majesty, shall never die so, nor get drunk at the table of a Right Reverend. The Fathers in God are my godfathers, and are vigilant over me.

MARVEL. We may live to see better days yet, meanwhile let us live in the past.

DIOGENES AND A CITIZEN

DIOGENES. What seekest thou coming hither ?

CITIZEN. A man, Diogenes, I left a few behind me.

DIOGENES. Here is one canst not carry back. Hast thou any work or occupation ?

CITIZEN. I had lately : I was a soldier in our last battle.

DIOGENES. Thy country was then worth fighting for. Who taught thee thy duty ?

CITIZEN. Demosthenes. The Agora was my schoolroom, the field my book.

DIOGENES. Thy master was wise and virtuous, no . . . and quibbler, like the long-robed and light-slippered who amble in groves and gardens.

Thee peradventure I may have patience to listen to and converse with ; but my talk must be brief for I am hoarse, not by speaking much, but because I am out of practice. Be seated opposite to me. Mind ! Mind ! not upon that stone with the dry figleaves over it protecting my supper from the flies.

If thou hadst been among the idlers of yesterday thou wouldst not have come today.

CITIZEN. . . . I too am curious, yet I kept apart from them. Passing thro the streets along which they returned, the older, who could not follow them so far as to this place, inquired of everybody they met whether it was true or probable that the King of Macedon said that if he was not Alexander he would gladly be Diogenes.

DIOGENES. Did the fools wonder at a king ? In saying so he thought to compliment me, as the folk's jargon call it. What could ever make Alexander my equal ? He wants everything, I nothing.

CITIZEN. Let us hope that, now he has the power, he will render Athens prosperous and wealthy.

DIOGENES. Two widely different conditions. It is only the wealthy and prosperous that are subject to the pressure of calamity. Thou seemest old enough to remember the invasion of Sicily and so have been enrolled among the invaders. That island suffered much for her wealth, but less than her invader.

CITIZEN. Sad business ! We lost a stout body of men.

DIOGENES. And nothing more ? Ye lost your freedom with your equity. Ye never have been powerful since, and never have well deserved to be. Ye would perforce have other lands ignorant that it is more profitable to exchange ore for corn than blow for blow. When republics conquer other republics, kings finally conquer them. When two sparrows are victors down swoops the hawk and decides the contest for them. States can not firmly hold together. If communities are wise their only union will be temporary, and only against one that presumes to domineer and coerce, and such is the only union that can long exist. Smaller states may lend mutual support, but let them beware of adhesion to larger. Confederacies may exist when unions are dissevered. Where nations are dragged or abstracted too close, there is an end of enterprise and emulation.

CITIZEN. We may look forward from our lower condition to less of turbulence and discord in the city. And this benefit with perhaps some others, the Macedonian for his own benefit may confess. He is about to invade Asia and probably will conquer that proud kingdom.

DIOGENES. Yea, and bring back an accumulation of all his pride. Shall your souls be the loftier for the pride he mourns or your bodies the stouter for the purple he tears off. Every people is, sooner or later, impoverished by the spoilation of another. Our citizens well remembering what they suffered from the oriental despot, they now are running to implore the blessings of an occidental. I have heard them shout vociferously at his horses heels. Even heads that had lately worn their helmets confronting him ignominiously bowed.

CITIZEN. I beseech thee, O Diogenes ! I beseech thee to withhold such discourse from others.

DIOGENES. With others I am little inclined to hold any. A man who has fought for his country is worthy to hear it.

CITIZEN. There is danger in every word of it, for in every word there is truth.

DIOGENES. Never was there any danger for me. Death stands above danger and beyond. There are chains, and racks, I know, and other implements of torture in the dark store-room behind the treasury of palaces, but in many a field there is a blade of hemlock; and he must be an improvident herdsman who in weeding his corn, hath never for eventualities laid by a few ripe heads of poppy.

CITIZEN. Surely thou wouldst not anticipate the fatal hour.

DIOGENES. My honest friend, thou art no logician. The fatal hour never can be anticipated. Our sages tell us that it is 'rank cowardice' to fly from the evils of life, and they also tell us that it is 'rank cowardice' to stay an usurper. They have seen their young fellow-citizens maimed and mutilated, and thousand upon thousand times a despot, and have sung hymns to the despot that ordered it. He, it seems, is no murderer at all; the murderer is the solitary man who slays the million-slayer.

I never sang a note in my life, but I would go down into the street again to join the chorus on Harmodios and Aristogeiton on a similar occasion. The celebrated Theban never struck his lyre to a chaunt so animating or an exploit so grand. Tyrannicide is the sublimest act of humanity.* One right hand may achieve what legions fail to accomplish.

Macedon has deflowered Attica; may some brave youth avenge her!

* It must be remembered that Diogenes was without the light of Christianity. Rulers, in our day, are under its humanizing influence east and west. W. S. L.

SOLON AND PISISTRATOS

PISISTRATOS. It rejoices me, O Solon to see thy venerable head once more among our citizens at Athens.

SOLON. I also am rejoiced, O Pisistratos, that there yet remain citizens in Athens.

PISISTRATOS. What should have removed them?

SOLON. When the laws were removed, they were.

PISISTRATOS. No indeed. The wise laws thou thyself ordainedst are extant.

SOLON. But merely at thy will and discretion. Some are modified. Some abrogated.

PISISTRATOS. Whatever I have done was done to please the people.

SOLON. It is well to please the people, it is better to improve them.

PISISTRATOS. Laws must occasionally be modified, and occasionally abrogated.

SOLON. Yes whenever time hath been given to demonstrate their insufficiency.

PISISTRATOS. I have made few alterations in them.

SOLON. Who gave thee authority to make any?

PISISTRATOS. My alterations were ratified by the people's voice.

SOLON. Alas! there is an instrument of soft and silver tones to which the people's voice is made readily to accord. Hath not this voice been

* Immediately beneath the line which Landor drew at the conclusion of this Conversation there follow the words: 'I have listened to many odes by many poets, some of whom were born in free estates, which poets were silent as dormice on the exploits of their bravest fellow citizens, and extolled successful Power.' (Sent to Browning.)

heard recently at Athens? Thou hast assumed the supreme power against the statutes and institutions of thy country. I hardly know whether it is better for it that thou art gentle and humane. Substances and nations sink more readily than they rise.

PISISTRATOS. I would elevate the Athenians, I would never lower them. Greatly are they indebted to thee, Solon, for some of the more powerful means, which I also at the present time am employing.

SOLON. Pardon my ignorance, what are those?

PISISTRATOS. I am collecting and collating whatever can be recovered of Homer. Thou hast brought many parts from Crete, *** by the *** of the Cretans. These we have corrected from the little we could procure from Ionia. We have never been able to find the commencement of the Iliad. Homer invokes a Godefs: what Godefs? Evidently the Muse, whome he invokes at the opening of the Odyssea. Neither of us has ventured to alter a single word in any verse. I wish the father of our poets had not said that Achilles,⁴ in sending those thousands of souls to Hades, had not added that he gave the arms as well as the bodies not only to the dogs but to all the birds. Now surely there were many birds who would have declined the invitation to such a festival. It seems probable that instead of *μαε* there was a verb.⁵

SOLON. Such questions are likelier to afford thee greater satisfaction than any schemes of polity and ambition.

PISISTRATOS. I have none.

SOLON. Supreme power is never contented. Thou hast openly avowed thy love of peace. The people are happy but the happy are not always the most quiescent. There are rumours that thou wouldst enlarge the dominion of Attica. Beware! beware! Thou hast eyes which can see across far lands, but those eyes may be dazzled by nearer objects, apparently tangible. It is the interest of no people to declare war against another, and no potentate is long the happier for the most successful. Republics split by repletion. So long as they are agricultural and commercial they retain their power, because their neighbours profit by their prosperity. The people of Judea were opulent thro' Tyre and Sidon, but they were both avaricious and intolerant. They warred first against their nearest neighbours, because these had several Gods and they only one; and what in their opinion was worse, their lands were fertile and theirs less. Presently they siezed upon the sea coasts, which incursion brought against them Tyre and Sidon, and ultimately the kings of Egypt. These conquered them and led them into captivity, in which state they remained

⁴ Landor has here forgotten that it was Homer, and not Achilles, who was speaking.

⁵ In *Leigh Hunt's Journal* for February 15, 1851, Landor has a translation of the 'Beginning of the Iliad':

Sing thou the anger of Achilles, muse,
Which brought a thousand sorrows on the Greeks,
Hurrying so many to the shades below,
While beast and bird prowld over corse and arms.'

In a note appended to these verses Landor says: '... A suspicion has sometimes risen in my mind, that Homer did not write the word *μαε*, but a verb. Certainly the dead bodies were not

To every bird and every beast a prey.

Many beasts and birds would

let them alone.'

for many generations. At last they became so numerous, in a country already overpeopled, that a sagacious and politic, and a humane king connived at their flight beyond the Red-Sea. Their leader was also their Lawgiver. He carried with him all the wisdom he had acquired in Egypt. By degrees he purified it, instructing them in the worship of one only God, omnipotent and omnipresent. The worship of others was forbidden.

PISISTRATOS. Was this politic?

SOLON. He believed that it was not only wise but the command of that God who had been his and their deliverer.

PISISTRATOS. Had they no ceremonials and festivals, no processions and hymns?

SOLON. They had. The Lawgiver was likewise a poet, in his discourse he was eloquent as thou thyself art, and employed it to guide his countrymen aright. Fame followed him totally unsought and little heeded.

PISISTRATOS. Yet fame and glory are powerful incentives to great exploits. Why smilest thou? Is it not true, or is it so true as to require no note?

SOLON. When I was in Egypt I saw, in many temples, the images of Gods and Demons, above whose heads were circlets of gold which the priests and people in their peculiar language called *glories*. I thought it a strange and singular term for a thin piece of metal but not very inapplicable to the heads under it. We ourselves equally misuse the word *glory*. The only true and solid glory is that voluntary tribute which nations pay their benefactors, whether by raising their intellects in arts and sciences or by liberating them from an oppressor. . . . that ambition leads to hostilities against the lands in the vicinity to Athens. Success would weaken thy people and ultimately demolish thy power. Kings rarely are wise but rarely are they so unwise as to hazard what they have whether . . . or by popular grant. The race of Atreus is extinct. The noblest of it, Aulis . . ., felt as many pangs as he inflicted. Let us not read Homer in vain.

PISISTRATOS. Our countrymen are pertinacious of their claim to Homer's birthplace.

SOLON. They have a right to much glory, but none to that. If Homer had been a citizen of Athens it would be ignominious to retain no copy of his poems. A few disconnected and scattered parts were all that was remaining in the city over which resides the Goddess of wisdom.

PISISTRATOS. I hazard not to give a positive opinion on the subject when it is asked of me by the inquisitive and learned.

SOLON. Nor could you satisfy them, nor could I. Attic is not the language of the *Iliad* and *Odyfsea*. Poets have a . . . of their own, collecting as princes do their watches from many quarters. Homer was certainly an Asiatic. His partiality to that country is evident in the characters he has given of its chieftains, of Priam, of Hector, of Glaucos, and Sarpedon. At what period, or whether, he wrote the *Odyfsea* is uncertain. Its morality is less admirable than its poetry. His hero is a thief. But so are all heroes if they are successful. Believe me, Pisistratos, there is more courage and resolution in abstinence than in seizure and occupation. Falseness is always bad, but the worst when it is in action. No possessor of inordinate power is guiltless of it. He throws the people down to rob them.

PISISTRATOS. Solon, let us be friends as formerly. Share power with me.

SOLON. Willingly, on one condition.

PISISTRATOS. Speak it!

SOLON. When we have shared integrity.*

M. F. ASHLEY-MONTAGU.

* At the conclusion of this Conversation Landor has written the words *Not inserted yet*.

ROLLING STONES

AMONG the rootless vagabonds I have known, Jack Smith was the most satisfying. There are many who would enjoy tramping in the summer—a lovely summer evening on a white country road. But on a wintry night, when the wind cuts into your spine, Jack was as gay as ever. The tall trees swaying over the path, the dark massed clouds moved him, touched some hidden chord. He tramped from choice as much as from necessity, though he was usually penniless. Many a time when he had a good job he would throw it up at a moment's notice, spend all his money the night before he left town, and go out upon the road.

'Why do you want to go?' his foreman once asked. 'Isn't the job good enough?'

'It's too good,' groaned Jack. 'Three meals a day and a bed every night. I can't stand it!'

He spoke of his rambles over England as the one part of his life which he had really lived. 'All the rest,' he said, 'are just dirty, grey patches.'

He was a hoarse little Cockney, with a toothbrush moustache and a stubby chin, an untidy, likeable little man. He had a turn for public exhortation, varying from Hyde Park railings to pill-selling in market-places. He also made blacking and sold it, though I do not believe he ever used any. His friends knew him as the Westminster Demosthenes.

When he entered a town or a village his cracked voice and quaint humour assured his welcome. People competed to give him food and shelter, while the local cobbler regarded it as a privilege to mend his boots free of charge. His friend and close companion was a dark, curly-haired, pale-faced young man. Slim, neat, clean-shaven, he was a foil to the rough, unkempt, stocky build of the other. In a polished, elegant manner he would recite Oscar Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol* outside the local publichouse. Oratory and pill-selling were his chief accomplishments. Among his speeches was one against old age. Gathering a crowd about the village cross, he would begin his indictment of the aged. 'These men,' he declaimed scornfully, 'who have lived to an indecent old age, who dodder about and get in everybody's way,

should not be tolerated. Some of them even have whiskers!—he dropped his voice to a shocked whisper and wagged his finger emphatically—'whiskers, mark you, whiskers!' His village audience was more mystified than impressed. But they gave coppers to the collection, especially if an old veteran with a waving stick could be induced to come forward and defend his side. He had an anti-temperance speech, too, which used to drive teetotalers to frenzy. 'What is the use of fiddling about with a drink here and a drink there?' he demanded rhetorically. 'If a man cannot drink a lot he had far better leave it alone altogether! The moderate drinker is worse than the teetotaler. Can you point to a single man of genius who does not drink?' he demanded. 'Without exception, they have been drunkards. Look at the poets—they all drink; the dramatists—Kit Marlowe was killed in a drunken brawl through being hit over the head with a quart pot. What a glorious death!'

Once he procured an old tall hat which he wore at a meeting, sending it round afterwards for a collection. But this was a mistake, for the villagers had never seen the inside of a tall hat before, and they peered so long and curiously into its depths that they had no time to think of giving anything.

They tramped the roads together, meeting many adventures. As they neared a village one day, two girls who were cycling came up and asked the way. They had only a few pence, which they were saving for emergencies, but Smith at once invited the girls into a wayside refreshment-house, where they had lemonade in a rustic bower. He was uneasy till he found he had just enough money to pay the bill. Saying good-bye to the girls, they walked on with empty pockets. The pale-faced young man reproached the other bitterly for his extravagance, but Smith only answered, 'Fellowship is life; lack of fellowship is death,' and strode on. He had all the inconsequence of a true hobo. Once he set out from London on a ramble that was to last some months. I was surprised to meet him in the city in a week or two. 'Why have you returned?' I asked. 'I was standing by the station in a little village in Kent and I saw a poster advertising an opera season in London. It came to me suddenly that I hadn't heard a Wagner opera for months, so I tramped back,' he answered.

When in London the two of them, with others of a vagabond group, stayed in a room over a bookshop near Soho. The proprietor, a German, took them in more for company than money, for with them money was always rare. He liked to discuss books and life. In consequence the shop was always crowded, so that there was no room for customers. Amid piles of mildewed books they banged their fists and raised clouds of dust while maintaining their views vehemently. 'Nietzsche I love, and next to Nietzsche,

art !' declaimed the pale-faced youth, following this by demanding if any of those present had a pair of boots they could give him. 'I know it sounds funny,' he remarked. 'But it's damned uncomfortable to have wet feet !'

Eager disputants talked of art, science, literature ; Lombroso, Shaw, Nordau ; the men of the 'nineties, and whether George Moore was the greatest English novelist. The mournful books, sick Russians, gloomy Scandinavians, indigestible Germans, were the favourites. These vagabonds who had to 'beat up' money for food and lodging had a keen interest in literature and expressed themselves well and forcibly. Jack Smith was a skilled worker—a colour printer—so he found it easier to get work than his fellow-lodgers. But whenever he did, his companions jeered at him from their beds in the early morning, till he became angry and refused to get up and leave them. Eugene, the bookseller, roused them all at ten o'clock with the chorus :

Arise, ye starvelings from your slumbers !

Eugene had led a knockabout life from the days when, on leaving Germany, he had been a Buddhist missionary to the time when he made his headquarters as a bookseller in this London street. In Liverpool, where he was very hard-up, he had given some bread to a middle-aged woman, poorer than himself, and from that time she had decided to share his fortunes. She now presided over the domestic part of the establishment and was the vagabonds' landlady. She had no use for books except for Dickens. For everyone else Dickens was anathema. This started a feud between the lodgers and the landlady, until one day she decamped suddenly to continue her wanderings alone. Eugene loved variety, and her place was soon taken by a young Jewish cigarette maker with a flaming mass of hair which bobbed about excitedly in the gloomy shop, or on the narrow pavement outside, like a torch.

Lodgers were allowed a shilling a week in turn for cleaning the windows. But when it came to the pale-faced young man's turn he refused with dignity and walked out with empty pockets. Every morning the vagabonds gathered at a small restaurant run by Soho waiters. Here they filled up the narrow space in front of the counter and waited for someone to supply them with coffee and doughnuts. Apart from German, Swiss, Italian waiters, the main *clientèle* of the place were rolling stones. Here came American hoboes just landed from cattle-boats. They were housed by the obliging Eugene. One, a dope fiend from America, prowled up and down with a white, drawn face till he secured his daily supply of drugs. 'Besides board and lodgings he has to bum an extra shilling a day for dope !' said a fellow-vagabond sympathetically. At Eugene's the gas-meter was burst open occasionally ;

sometimes he would miss valuable books, at others he might buy them cheap from his lodgers. But in general a rough standard of honour and loyalty was maintained among them. They made outsiders pay. Eugene and his lodgers devised many ways of whiling away the tedium of life. One was to cut up the contents bills of newspapers and paste them together again in new order. One day they achieved a sensational poster which read in thick black type 'Ramsay MacDonald Assassinated.'

At the Soho restaurant the company ranged from ordinary casuals to a young man who made a living by annexing bicycles, and from the chorus-girls belonging to a neighbouring theatre to daughters of joy from the street. On Saturday night in a dark little hall at the back, three steps down, dances were held and a polyglot medley assembled. Girls, clad principally in red crinkly paper, whirled round, blowing kisses to their friends, their costumes becoming more tattered and scanty as the evening went on. One evening three American hoboes strolled in. They had landed from a cattle-boat that day, and stood by the counter regaling the company with stories of the lumber camps, the hordes of migratory workers trekking after seasonal jobs, the 'blanket stiffs' who walked, or jumped freight trains, with their blankets rolled up on their backs, the 'jungles' where they gathered—regular resting-places—each equipped with a huge stockpot and cooking utensils. Each group cleaned up and left provisions for those following on.

Fraser, a loose-limbed man in a big cowboy sombrero, told how while wandering through a small Western town, he had heard the sound of voices singing in the local 'lock-up.' They were singing the hobo song :

Hallelujah, I'm a bum ! Hallelujah, bum again !
Hallelujah, Give us a 'hand-out,' to revive us again !

He found that the singers were imprisoned as vagrants, so he passed the word along for more to come. They drifted in till nearly fifty were put in gaol. The mayor began to get alarmed. The gaol was small ; besides, there was the expense. 'Let us all out,' said Fraser, 'or hundreds more will come !'

They were hurriedly released and ordered to leave the town. But they demanded a substantial breakfast first. So they were herded into the biggest restaurant and fed at the town's expense. Still they were not satisfied. On the menu they saw 'Pumpkin Pie,' and they demanded this for dessert. It was moved, seconded and carried, that they would not go till they received pumpkin pie. These were the high days of American hoboism. Fraser spoke of the joy of riding the freights across the prairie, dropping into a village and knowing that somewhere, somehow, someone

was going to pay for his breakfast. 'It's a grand thing,' he said, absent-mindedly lifting a bun from the counter, 'to go round the world eating other people's biscuits!' Smith drew a deep breath, while the pale-faced youth's eyes were shining. The thin-featured Italian steward leaned forward between his two sizzling copper urns—one for tea and one for coffee. He grasped a duster in one hand with which he mechanically wiped the counter. Behind him, on the shelves, were packets of tea and groceries; a glass case contained exhibits of cheese cakes, buns, ham rolls, apparently preserved from antiquity. He peered wistfully at Fraser's tanned, hard-bitten countenance and at the loose, free gestures of the others.

Presently a tiny Chinese boy in a flat blue cap slipped in. With his expressionless yellow face he looked like a doll, badly dressed in baggy English clothes. Taking three short oblong sticks, marked with queer characters, from his pocket he threw them up in the air, juggling with them dexterously. Always ready to be amused, the group watched with lazy interest. Pulling off his flat blue cap, the boy silently went round harvesting coppers. Smith, with the easy generosity of a fellow-vagabond, took him down to amuse the dancers. The hall below was crammed with men and women of almost every nationality and colour. The boy arrived in the middle of a dance, and a woman from one corner rushed across to him excitedly and began twittering in an unknown tongue. He chirped back. It sounded like a gramophone when the needle gets out of its groove—a harsh whirring sound. Suddenly the M.C. burst into the group complaining in several languages that the dance was being interrupted. A babble of voices rose, and I saw that the Chinese boy, streak-like, had vanished.

The vagabonds spent their days and nights banging tin trays and roaring out choruses which drove the Italian hairdresser next door nearly frantic. Poking his indignant red face, crowned with a mass of black curly hair, in at the door, he would hiss, 'Will you geep quiet! You los me al my gustomers!' while his thick, short fingers worked convulsively.

'Go away,' replied Smith, pausing from beating his tray. 'You have no right to interfere with our concert!'

The barber retired discomfited, but with voluble abuse. The vagabonds dared each other to risk a shave in his shop. But none of them ever did.

One evening when the barber had been specially abusive the pale-faced young man slipped out and, by way of reprisal, hurled a stone through the window, crying in a loud voice, 'Down with Italy!' Doorways erupted humanity. From shops and houses people poured into the street, Austrians, Germans, Swiss, Italians

—an angry swarm. In a moment they were struggling, knives flashed, police whistles blew, and all the ingredients of a riot were stirred together.

Clustered about the restaurant counter one night some of the vagabonds were busy, as usual, discussing the affairs of the world. In the doorway, a cup of tea in his hand, stood a burly, bearded man in thick boots and a heavy tweed coat. Smith was talking about his travels and telling how the country looked, a subject which always stirred him. The stranger listened curiously.

'Would you like to go back to the land?' he asked suddenly.

'Why not?' said Smith. 'If we had the chance!'

'I have some land in North Wales,' explained the man, 'and if you really want to work on the land I'll give you the chance. Here are the papers.' He pulled out some official-looking documents. 'There is a house too,' he went on. 'You can live in that. I'll make it over to you. To make it legal you must give me something—a penny will do!'

'How do we get to North Wales?' objected Smith. 'We're stony.'

'I'll give you the money for your fares,' said the stranger, 'that is, if you're willing to go.'

It was agreed that six should go down, and the farmer gave them 30s. each and full details, even to the time the train started. He explained that there was a woman living in the house, but said they were to take no notice of her. They were not to say anything to the people in the village, but to go straight to the house. If by any chance they failed to gain an entrance, they were to take a note to the local scoutmaster, who would let them have a tent which they could pitch on the land. These rolling stones were willing to roll anywhere. It was all one to them. One or two suggested that they should spend their fare money on the way to the station. But the others were curious to see the matter through. So they tumbled out of the train at the North Wales station that evening. Their instructions were precise, but the place was unfamiliar. They left the village without inquiry and set off down a dark country road.

A tall, spare-boned countryman approached from the opposite direction. 'I'm going to ask,' said Smith, as there seemed no sign of their destination.

'You are on the right road!' said the man, in a high-pitched, sing-song voice. 'But do not go there to-night. It is too late. Come back to the village!'

They refused to do this, and when he had passed them they heard quick footsteps as if he had started to run. Huge branches sprawled across the road in twisted, menacing shapes. They began to feel an eeriness about the place. Round the bend was

a white house, standing alone, which tallied with the description they had. It looked ghostly in the gloom.

'It's now or never,' said Smith, as they arrived, grasping the heavy knocker and bringing it down with a crash. The sound reverberated, and then there was stillness. They knocked and knocked, standing in a shivering group. At last Smith, not to be outdone, wrapped his cap round his fist and smashed a window-pane. The tinkle of falling glass made them start. He was about to force the catch, when there came the sound of tramping feet, scrunching the gravel of the lane. It sounded like an army. Round the bend came about fifty men, each grasping a stout stick. They drew closer, muttering fiercely.

'Welsh!' whispered the pale-faced youth.

One of them stepped out. It was the tall countryman.

'You must come back to the village and not interfere with the lady of the house,' he said.

They looked at the men and decided it was best to obey. Their escort took them as far as the village publichouse, and they had hardly entered when the local policeman came in.

'Now then,' he began. 'What do you mean by making trouble here! Don't you know better than to be molesting a lonely woman!'

They explained about the agreement, all talking at once.

'I thought so,' said the policeman with a grin. 'He keeps sending men down here to annoy her. She's his wife, you know. The villagers take her side. I advise you to go.'

He went, and the dreams of their landed estate vanished with him.

Next day they went to see the scoutmaster, who handed them the tent. They fixed it up on the land and lit a fire in it which nearly smothered them. Then they wired to the farmer, 'In possession. Send money.' No answer came!

The following day began the retreat to London. The party broke up. Smith and the pale-faced young man went off together. Wearily they trekked for miles down a long road with a high wall on one side and a fence with tall trees on the other. Presently they reached a toll-gate where pedestrians had to pay. They had no money, but they did not want to go back. A tin can in which they boiled water for tea was their only possession. They explained the position to the toll-keeper and he let them through. But he kept the can!

Among these shiftless vagabonds some had talents. I remember the little poet who knew a surprising amount about books, painting and music, but still more about publichouses. The story of his travels was little more than an inventory of the inns and hostelrys *en route*, and his favourite method of progress was to

go zigzag like a horse drawing a cart up a steep hill. His dearest possession was a gramophone, which, when it did not accompany him on his journeys, reposed in a pawnbroker's until his return. When Mendelssohn's *Spring Song* or Rubenstein's *Melody in F* tinkled out gaily, his friends knew he was sober. But when he drank, the sombre tones of Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* would be played over and over again while he swayed to the music. Treated in this way it seemed more unfinished than ever. Yet he had a feeling for the beauty of words and of life. Down on the Embankment or around the London docks he dreamed, and out of his dreaming came verses filled with the wonder and adventure of wandering, of ships slipping away on the tides of the world. Of the East India Dock at midnight, where red and green lights blinked through the mist, while sirens hooted or shrieked across the dark water, he wrote:

Slowly the boat goes out,
Gigantic, gaunt and grey,
The captain claps the trumpet to his mouth—
'Star-r-board!'
His voice sings out within my soul,
But 'tis—O! so far away.
Out into the deep sea, deep night, and
Deeper, deeper silence
Slowly the boat goes out.

Such visions and verses filled his mind, their vagrant sweetness taking the place of a night's lodging and a meal. A very different character was the rollicking Jamaican, black and shiny, who was always ready to take a party to Chinatown to burn the nights in a riot of Oriental music and gaiety. He wrote of one such excursion to that shuttered quarter, so drab outside, so colourful within:

About Soho we went before the light,
We went, unresting six, craving new fun,
New scenes, new raptures, ere the fevered night
Of rollicking laughter, drink and song was done.
The vault was void but for the dawn's great star
That shed upon our path its silver flame,
When La Paloma on a low guitar
Abruptly from a darkened casement came—
Harlem! All else a blank I saw the hall
And you in your red shoulder sash came dancing
With Val, against me, careless by the wall
Your burning coffee-coloured eyes keen glancing
Aslant at mine, proud in your golden glory
I loved you, Cuban girl, fond sweet Diory.

Chinatown broke like a chrysalis, shaking free its coloured contents. At one concert from the ceiling hung gay blue, yellow,

and red streamers, with gold and silver Chinese characters scrawled across them. The orchestra sat on silken cushions on a raised dais at one end of the room. Some of these were graceful Chinese girls, though the long flowing robes which they all wore made the only mark of distinction their long black silky hair. Weird crooning instruments, drums of snakeskin, and shrill pipes were played. The room was filled with quiet Chinamen, some in blue dungarees who were themselves rolling stones of the world, cast up in these dingy streets, trying bravely to reproduce the colour of their native land. In a room beneath, a big handsome ivory-tinted Chinese woman sat with two small children who played with several fat little puppies. At a gloomy corner opposite a square lantern, with black spidery characters on the glass, was swinging in the doorway. Here, under the direction of a horribly cross-eyed Chinaman, opium and hashish were supplied. In this room inert Chinese lay, enjoying their pipe dreams.

Not far away was the Cosmopolitan Club, where the vagabonds warmed themselves at the big black stove or loafed at the tables. They warmed themselves in the gay atmosphere, too. Here all could have their fill of talking, of singing, of dancing. When the Jamaican first appeared at the club accompanied by a coffee-coloured friend, who contrasted pleasantly with his ebony features, there were murmurs among the white vagabonds because the girls of the club clustered about the new-comers.

'It's all very well to be free and easy,' growled one. 'But I don't like to see white girls running after niggers!'

White vagabondage has its conventions. Later the Jamaican—who achieved success as a poet and a novelist—got into trouble in New York through dancing with a white girl there. At the Cosmopolitan Club nationalities sorted themselves out roughly—one group of Estonians usually got together in a corner and pounded the table in time with their national songs. All were rolling stones who had gathered little moss. Broken boots, drink and sordidness punctuated the gaiety of their lives, but they remained faithful to their tattered flag.

R. M. Fox.

HAIG

THE recent controversy about Earl Haig's statue incidentally gave us a glimpse of the almost passionately affectionate admiration with which he was regarded by all those who were at all closely associated with him during the Great War or afterwards. It is as if a corner—one corner only—of a veil had been lifted. Hitherto that admiration has been almost inarticulate. Apart from the fact that soldiers are, from their training, prone to be tongue-tied, he was so sweetly modest himself that to praise him openly while he lived was impossible; and his unexpected death came as so staggering a blow that it left his friends dazed and breathless. The historian of the future, searching the literature of the day, would get no conception of the intensity of the feeling which he inspired.

Every writer who praises Haig seems to think it necessary to preface his eulogium with the statement that he was not a genius. One wonders. No word has been, perhaps, more variously defined, and none is more undefinable, than this same 'genius.' Samuel Butler wrote an essay, longer than was his wont, in an effort to find some sort of definition of it; and he told us nothing. He concluded:

He who would know more of Genius must turn to what he can find in the poets, or to whatever other sources he may discover, for I can help him no further.

One suspects that to those who deny to Haig this indefinable excellence the only real strokes of genius in the war were the Antwerp expedition, Salonica, Mesopotamia and the Dardanelles: all those short cuts to victory which the best soldiers in all the armies knew, so far as anything approaching finality was concerned, to be futile. When the Germans won successes in the east they valued them in proportion, as the result was to release troops for the real battlefield in France and Belgium. They had no shadow of doubt where the decision must ultimately be reached, any more than had Foch or Pershing or Haig.

Curiously enough, many of those who deny genius to Haig concede it readily to Foch, whose brain, it is supposed, conceived the plan of those concerted attacks which in the latter half of

1918 brought victory with such unexpected—such almost incredible—swiftness. But is it not time that the world was made to understand that in essential features the plan was more Haig's than Foch's: that whatever of vision or 'genius' there was in it was contributed by the British Commander's amendments of Foch's original and comparatively crude proposals?—

The truth has, indeed, been told. It was told by Dewar and Boraston in their volumes *Sir Douglas Haig's Command*; and more recently it has been told by General Charteris in his book *Field-Marshal Earl Haig*. But we are a curious people. It is entirely in accordance with tradition that a commander-in-chief, when in the field abroad, should be subjected to all manner of detraction and misrepresentation at home. It would have been strange if there had not been jealousy of Haig and cabals had not been formed against him. But there are some men still conspicuous in English public life who must shudder when they think what kind of figure they will cut in the eyes of posterity when diaries are unsealed and notebooks have given up their secrets to the historian of the future. Besides politicians there were, and are still living, writers of more or less distinction—novelists, journalists and publicists—who, if they had been Frenchmen and had been equally active as agents of defeatism in France, would surely have been arrested and tried. Some would almost certainly have been shot.¹

For the legend of our inferiority to the French in strategy, in the knowledge of war and the ability to handle large armies, Henry Wilson (whom no one will accuse of any crime more serious than vanity) was probably more responsible than any other man or group of men. At the beginning of the war the French themselves were less confident on the subject, and there are good authorities who believe that there was a moment when they might have accepted Lord Kitchener as Generalissimo, so

¹ It is worth noting that of the professional writers who, in the decade immediately succeeding the war, may be assumed to have most influenced English opinion the most conspicuous—Wells, Montague, Nevins, Tomlinson, Gibbs—were all by tradition either professing Socialists or members of the Liberal left wing. For some of them, with everybody else who knows them, I have, as much for their characters as their ability, a profound respect. But none of them could be said to be temperamentally prejudiced in favour of constituted authority. Together one writing in mere ignorance, another, I fear, in malice, and the other three with the best intentions and largely unconscious of the effect they were producing—they are responsible for an amount of misunderstanding and depreciation of the British High Command and of staff officers in general which has been cruelly unjust. Of the non-professional writers it would probably be difficult to select men less likely, by reason of their respective personal peculiarities or ambitions, to be just to our Commanders than the three whose writings have, perhaps, had most vogue: Repington, Henry Wilson, and Winston Churchill.

high was his reputation in France, and so obvious was it that they had no soldier of approximately his experience in actual warfare. If so, their mood of modesty was of short duration; and we, of course, never considered ourselves to have any claim to the chief command. The war was being fought on French soil, where our Allies marshalled armies compared to which the few divisions which we sent to their aid in 1914 were insignificant. Any suggestion of a British chief command would have been impertinence. The most that we could expect—and did demand—was that the British Army, while conforming to the strategy of its ally, would be treated as an independent unit for the safety of which the British Commander-in-Chief was answerable to the nation. It may, none the less, be interesting to consider what would have happened if Haig had been in command of all the armies on the Western Front even from 1914 onwards.

In considering the matter there is no need to go into hypothetical or controversial points. Certain things there are which must be accepted as indisputable by even the most patriotic Frenchman. For example:

(1) There would then have been no Nivelle fiasco in the beginning of 1917. Presumably there would then have been no mutiny in the French Army, nor any of that deterioration of *moral* which put that army practically out of account as a fighting force throughout 1917 and left it unreliable even to the end of the war.

(2) In their attack of March 1918 the Germans would have found the front opposed to them fully manned and ready, for Haig and the British G.H.Q. were in no doubt as to what was coming and where the blow was to fall. Nor, if the Germans had made any penetration, would there have been delay in throwing in reserves nor any of the miserable talk of falling back to cover Paris, leaving the way open to the enemy to drive a wedge between the Allied armies.

These two things, at least, and the two prime blunders of the Allied strategy on the Western Front—the Nivelle adventure and the failure to prepare any adequate defence against the German attack—would never have been permitted if Haig had had supreme authority.

So completely was the legend of French superiority accepted that it was only by slow degrees that any suspicion of the truth dawned on English minds generally, though it is known that neither Haig himself nor any of his immediate staff ever believed in it. One remembers now with amusement how gratified we were when a distinguished French soldier made a tour of our front and was afterwards reported to have formed a very high

opinion of our 'large' staffs—meaning, presumably, G.H.Q. and the armies—and that it was only the 'small' ones—supposedly the corps and divisions—which were so faulty. We thought it quite a flattering judgment. Certainly the French *liaison* officer who communicated the facts to us expected us to be much gratified. Only slowly did certain things force themselves on our attention.

It became impossible to ignore the inferior quality of the French transport (for all that individual transport officers on occasions worked miracles with the inadequate material at their disposal) and the inefficiency of their road control, in spite of the multiplicity of signs and the abundance of men on point duty. At first, again, when we heard that every French soldier had as ration a litre of wine a day, we thought how much better they were off than our men, and we recalled that the maxim that an army marches on its stomach was of French origin; but at quite an early stage in the war Haig ordered a lot of our rations to be given to neighbouring French troops because he did not believe that their own were enough for men to fight on. Also, anyone who moved much in French areas was obliged to see something of the shocking character of the French hospital system for care of the wounded. I have heard Frenchmen advance this as one of the explanations of the greater proportion of deaths to total casualties in their army as compared with ours, which makes it so difficult for us to understand French computations of their losses.

None of these three things may in itself be vital. But, while the Nivelle fiasco was the immediate cause of the mutinies in the French Army, it is impossible not to wonder whether, if the troops had had better transport, if they had been better fed and better cared for when wounded, they would not have been more contented and better able to resist the poisonous effect of the defeatist propaganda.

More important than any of these, however, was the inferiority of the French intelligence. One gathers, from French sources, that the rivalry between the military and the political intelligence staffs may have had much to do with it. Whatever its causes, the most notorious examples of this inferiority were:

(a) The French refusal, in spite of our repeated assurances, to believe in the German withdrawal in the winter of 1916-17;

(b) The disastrous failure to interpret correctly the German preparations for attack in March 1918.

(c) The stubborn reluctance a little later to believe, in spite of the arguments urged upon them both by Haig and by the British commander on the spot, General (now Sir Alexander) Hamilton-Gordon, that further attack was to be expected on

the particular section of the Aisne front to which five exhausted British divisions had been sent to 'rest'!

How far faulty intelligence was to blame for other French strategical or tactical errors it is as yet impossible to say; but it is remarkable that, in the course of his command, Haig, whose one object, in order to ensure co-operation, was always if possible to comply with every French request, even in opposition to the wishes sometimes of his own Government, found himself compelled either definitely to refuse to acquiesce in, or to comply against his judgment with, plans or orders of every one of the four successive French Commanders-in-Chief.

In the early stages of the Battle of the Somme Joffre desired Haig to go on with frontal attacks on the Thiepval positions, which could only have resulted in useless and terrible waste of life. It is said that he thumped the table to emphasise his '*J'insiste!*' Haig firmly refused and attained the ends Joffre sought by means which involved not a tithe of the sacrifice that Joffre's plan would have exacted.

That Haig had no belief in Nivelle's catastrophic master-stroke of 1917 is notorious. He was ordered to acquiesce, and had no choice but to do so or resign his command. So far as lay in his power, by the brilliance of his supporting operation he did all he could to make it a success. But he never believed that it could succeed. On the other hand, the French were profoundly distrustful of Haig's plans, as part of that supporting operation, for the capture of the Vimy Ridge, which they themselves had so signally failed to attain. The immediate and sweeping character of our success astounded them.

Nivelle was followed by Pétain, and it is not easy to put into courteous words even the briefest summary of his period of command: the political pressure which forced us to take over the extra line in spite of Haig's opposition; the refusal of the French G.Q.G. to believe in the peril to which the weakest point in the Allied front was exposed; Pétain's failure to move up his reserves in accordance with the spirit of the agreement made with Haig, and his pitiable decision, apparently the fruit of panic, to try to cover Paris at the price of giving to the enemy the very opening which he was risking his all to win. It is a disastrous tale; and it forced on Haig the conviction that Pétain, though preferable to Nivelle, was not a man on whom it was possible to depend in a crisis. Some man with larger vision, who could see the front as a whole, was necessary, and he knew that, if he was to be able to rely on the cordial co-operation of our Ally, that man must be a Frenchman. This conviction made Haig ask for a Generalissimo—and for Foch.

It is nothing less than deplorable that Clemenceau should have

left to the world the fantastic story of the attainment of unity of command which is given in his *Memoirs*. When the subject was first broached to Haig (in 1918—as if the subject were new to him then!) he 'leaped up like a jack-in-the-box with both hands shot up to heaven'—I quote from the serialised English version—'and exclaimed: "Monsieur Clemenceau, I have only one chief and can have no other—my King!"' All of which is obviously only a dramatisation of the way in which an imaginative Frenchman might suppose a typical British general to behave. As applied to the real Haig, it is merely grotesque. The whole story of the Doullens Conference, as given by Clemenceau, clashes at every point with the authentic records, and the only explanation is that in his last days the great brain of Father Victory was playing sad tricks with his memory.

In Foch, Haig had a gallant and honourable soldier with whom he could co-operate heartily. But the strategy which finished the war in 1918 was not Foch's, but Haig's own. If Foch had had the sole strategic direction of events without Haig's advice—nay, his pressure—it is, at least, improbable that the war could have been ended before, at earliest, the summer of 1919.

The first sharp difference of opinion arose over Foch's insistence that the British troops should make a frontal attack on the practically impregnable position of the Royes-Chaulnes line in the latter part of August 1918, to which Haig felt compelled to oppose a positive refusal. It was a repetition of the conflict with Joffre over the Thiepval operation; and once again events showed Haig to have been incontestably right.

More momentous was Haig's correction of Foch's whole scheme for the Allied advance, converting a series of local attacks with limited territorial objectives into the far-seeing plan which broke the German resistance. Even after he had accepted Haig's modification, Foch was still looking forward to the summer of 1919, when Haig, with what Henry Wilson called his 'ridiculous optimism,' was bent on victory that autumn.

This last statement, however, involves no disparagement of the great French Commander-in-Chief, whose name the whole world holds in honour. It has to be remembered that he was at the head of, and was surrounded by, an army in which war weariness and disaffection had lately led to widespread mutiny. Its fighting spirit had been partially restored, but partially only, as the sluggishness and backwardness of the French troops throughout the final advance, in comparison with the other Allies, showed only too clearly. Haig had behind him an army, war-worn certainly, but as magnificently willing as ever. It was impossible that the outlook of the two commanders should not have been in a measure affected by their knowledge of the spirit

of their respective armies. Foch understood, partially at least, because he more than once put a strain on British troops which it is unlikely that he would, at that stage of the war, either have expected or asked French troops to endure. But he may well have regarded as impossible an achievement which the British Commander-in-Chief knew to be not beyond the capacity of his army. If their places had been reversed, it might well have been Foch who held the more sanguine view, Haig the more cautious.

This, however, is surmise. Of the statements of fact in all the foregoing there is none which is open to dispute—none indeed, which is new or which will not be confirmed by every fresh disclosure of contemporary records. This being so—if these are not only the facts, but the known facts—how comes it that the world has so distorted a view of the events and personalities of the war? The chief causes have already been indicated: the cabals, intrigues, and jealousies which had hampered our commanders while the war was in progress clouded the air when hostilities ceased. Only those rushed into print—politicians, soldiers, publicists—who had something to explain, or to apologise for, and pacifists who, having been restrained from railing at the war or its conductors till the victory was won, now burst into agitated description of its horrors; the horrors which were too tempting a theme for both the writer of fiction and the sociologist—till the public, wearied, begged that there should be no more war talk. The clamour and the silence alike left Haig unmoved. Confident of or indifferent to the verdict of posterity, he went about the work which absorbed his later years, the endeavour to ease the lot of the survivors of the armies which he had led. And his self-effacement put a restraint on others. It was as if he laid a command on those who loved him to emulate his silence.

While, therefore, in England the only voices heard were those of depreciation of the British effort, of self-excuse and of so-called 'revelation,' France leaped to proclaim her glory and her suffering to the world. Whatever there had been of defeatism, of intrigue or of treachery in France while the war lasted, as soon as peace came soldiers, statesmen, writers of all kinds, united with one voice in calling the world to witness the splendour of the French achievement, the magnitude of the French sacrifice. Englishmen may have looked with something like aversion on both the bragging and the begging; but as an effort for national publicity it was magnificent. The story of Verdun (even of Rheims!) is familiar to millions in many countries who know nothing of Ypres. Putting Foch aside, there are many French generals—Gouraud, Mangin, Manoury, and the rest (splendid fellows all of them)—who are household heroes in places where

Haig is but poorly thought of and none of his army commanders is even a name.

General Pershing, with characteristic soldierly directness, has stated bluntly that Haig was 'the outstanding figure of the World War'; and if anybody was in a position to judge, it should be he. But it is curious that it should have been left to one who was not an Englishman to come out with the truth.

It is said (and probably the ultimate disclosure of all documents will verify it) that he was the first among the leading men of England, soldiers or politicians, to foresee that the war must be a matter of years; and that he had to urge his views on Kitchener himself. It is easy to say that a Napoleon would have found some short cut to victory. Very probably at one period he could—if, that is, he had had command of the French armies at the outbreak of war. But whatever chance there may have been then was thrown away by the initial French strategy. Once the struggle had settled down to trench warfare there was no alternative: the enemy must be hammered until his man power was exhausted or his *moral* broken. A whole college of Napoleons could have found no other way. Haig never wavered in his confidence that this was the only way and that ultimately he would succeed. But for the unkindness of the weather, a decision might well have been reached at the end of 1916 on the Somme; so Haig thought, and Ludendorff's disclosures have shown that he was right. If the plans agreed upon between Haig and Joffre had been allowed to stand, there is every likelihood that the war would have been ended in 1917; but the politicians took matters out of Haig's hands and the Nivelle episode followed, ruining the French Army and destroying all hope of victory till, at least, another year. It was, again, the politicians' insistence on Haig's taking over more line and the refusal to send out reinforcements that, after the Russian collapse had released the German divisions on the Eastern front, gave the enemy his chance in 1918. The Government—which, presumably, is to say Mr. Lloyd George—had visions of a victory in the Eastern theatre in 1918 to be followed by victory in the West in 1919 or 1920. Haig, Robertson, and others urged on him that the one essential thing was to prepare for and smash the great German offensive which was coming, for which purpose every man, gun, and aeroplane not needed for the defence of vital points elsewhere should be moved to France. That offensive once effectively crushed, the end of the war would be in sight. But argument was useless. Haig was starved of reinforcements, which were at hand, and, strongly protesting, made to face the crisis of the war with an extended line and his divisions reduced by the strength of three battalions.

Intrigues, cabals, jealousy—these things, as has been said, are the common lot of commanders-in-chief in the field; but Haig's treatment by his own Government was surely without a precedent—the holding back of reinforcements in crises where they were needed; the draining away of his strength in futile excursions of which he utterly disapproved; the quarrelling with his and his experts' views as to the artillery requirements of the Army; the disowning of all responsibility in one grave emergency after another, leaving him to bear the whole burden alone; and finally the unconcealed belief that French plans were always to be preferred to his. People at home knew nothing of the unnecessary load which the intrigues, the conceit and pettiness of spirit of some in high places at home laid upon him—a load which he had to bear in utmost loneliness.

Between Sir William Robertson and Haig, happily, the most cordial relations always existed. They had the same dislike of the talkers and amateur strategists; the same clear conception of the problem which the war presented and of the true means to its solution. The members of his Staff and his army and corps commanders—all the soldiers who had any personal relations with him—were loyal with a loyalty which grew with the passage of time, a loyalty compounded of confidence and a deep and affectionate devotion. None the less he was singularly lonely—partly from a certain shy aloofness which was of the essence of his character, but still more because he knew that in the last resort he could neither share nor shirk responsibility. Profoundly religious, he never wavered in his certainty that God would give us victory in the end. Never was man more steadfast, more sure of himself, or, for all his gentleness of manner, more immovable when once his decision was reached. No man ever saw him flustered or 'rattled.' Whatever humiliation the Government to which he ought to have been able to look for help and confidence put upon him, or however much it added to the difficulty of his task, he met it—for he was a man of few words—with a sentence of contempt and the quizzical smile which those about him knew so well. Rarely has man been given a face of such beauty—so compounded of sweetness and strength.

Haig's conduct of the war has never, in any material particular, been seriously criticised by any soldier of repute. Whether he should have broken off the Passchendaele offensive a week sooner—whether he ought to have foreseen that the divisions on the right of the Cambrai salient might break—these things may be argued for centuries, but they are details only. His superiority as strategist or tactician to each of the successive French Commanders-in-Chief has already been seen. Whether the clear-sightedness with which he foresaw the eventual course of the

war and the steadfastness with which, though harassed and obstructed by those on whom he ought to have been able most to rely for support, he held without swerving to the appointed end, finally bringing his army (which, Heaven knows, he had never spared) to the last great trial of strength the most splendid fighting machine that the world has ever seen—whether this was genius or not is mere word-splitting. If it was not, it was something finer.

As the war sinks into the distance, all the hubbub and distractions die away and disappear. In the light of fuller knowledge, with the exposure of all sealed and confidential documents, the intrigues and jealousies, the deceptions and disloyalties, will be understood for what they were. Already we are beginning to see the war as a whole—as Haig saw it from the beginning. Through the mists of time only the large outlines will stand forth and the great figures. And incomparably the greatest of these will be Haig. His soldiers, all those who were close to him, have never doubted it. They at least are secure in their confidence that posterity will understand, and that to future generations of Englishmen, if Nelson's name or Wellington's or Marlborough's stands as high as his, there will certainly be no other. Nor will any, even of these three, stand higher.

But it seems a pity that the truth should have been so hidden from the present generation. The injustice to Haig himself may be immaterial. He knew that he could wait. But it has been unjust to Great Britain's reputation among the nations, and, above all, unjust to our dead and to the survivors of the armies which he loved and in confidence in the ultimate triumph of which he never for a moment faltered.

H. PERRY ROBINSON.

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