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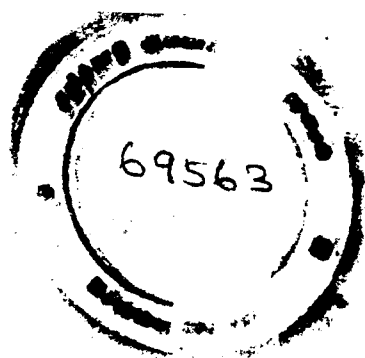
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LONDON, FORTY YEARS AFTER.

THE eighties in last century were a period of agitation and revelation for London. The confidence of Victorian peace, prosperity and progress was shattered by the disclosures of misery and destitution in the East End and in large patches of other districts often adjacent to the homes of the wealthy. The social work of the newly-formed Salvation Army, the *Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, the early Settlements, the Industrial Reconciliation Conference of 1885, the emergence of several schools of Socialism, the widespread influence of *Progress and Poverty*, parades of the unemployed, the great Dock strikes—these were diverse channels of the revelation. But the work which gave it authoritative expression was the inquiry instituted by Charles Booth and his little band of fellow workers, published under the title *Life and Labour of the People*, the object of which was "to attempt to show the numerical relation which poverty, misery and depravity bear to regular earnings and comparative comfort, and to describe the general conditions under which each class lives." The stark facts and figures in these revealing volumes did more than anything else to arouse that curious blend of pity, fear and compunction needed to arouse English people to effective action.

Now, forty years later, under the directorship of Sir H. Llewellyn Smith, one of the few surviving contributors to the earlier Survey, we have the introductory volume of a new Survey of London,* designed to furnish a comparative study of the changed conditions of the people. There is, of course, no smooth transition. For across every path of progress the Great War cut a deep gash, and the introductory chapter reminds readers that in many respects the contrast between pre-war and post-war London is more impressive than the gradual movements of the generation preceding the War.

The London handled in the new Survey is considerably larger than that of the earlier one, which was strictly confined to the County of London. Here, there has been added to the County not the whole of Greater London, but just that "fringe of outside urban boroughs necessary to produce an area which in its economic character is fairly comparable with the County of London in 1891." The great difficulties in making exact comparisons are frankly acknowledged, for neither population, housing, nor industries "stay put," and allowances (themselves not easily computable) must be made at every turn.

Two points of preliminary importance must be mentioned. The density of the population has become more uniform, the central

* *New Survey of London Life and Labour*. Vol. I. (P. S. King and Son.)
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boroughs being less populous than in 1891, while the outer boroughs have become more populous. Again, the average age of Londoners has shifted, partly from the decline in birth-rate and rate of mortality, partly from the destruction of the lives of men in the prime of life during the war. How are the people employed? Professor Bowley, who undertakes this part of the inquiry, finds insuperable difficulties in making a close comparison with 1891, owing to Census changes. But several marked tendencies are visible within the past twenty years, notably the expansion of the building, metal and engineering trades, and the enlarged occupation of women in shops, commerce and the professions, attended by a decline in domestic service and dressmaking.

One of the most depressing results of the earlier Survey was that thirty per cent. of the London population were in a state of "poverty," a large section in "destitution." The new Survey shows a very marked progress in the real spending power of the workers. The "poverty" has fallen to something like eight per cent., allowing for an advance in the "poverty line" from Booth's 21s. for a moderate sized family to 40s. or thereabout, as the modern equivalent in purchasing power. Money wages in most occupations have risen appreciably more than prices of commodities, while hours of labour have fallen to the extent of something like an hour per day. Women's wages have risen proportionately more than men's, while the number of occupations open to them has much increased. Not less important, wages for unskilled workers have risen more than for skilled. Thus an equalising process has been going on, with considerable influence upon expenditure and modes of life.

This favourable view of progress in wages and hours is supported by evidence regarding working-class expenditure. Though the bulk of the income of all the working classes is still spent upon the necessities of life, food, clothing, housing, light and fuel, there is abundant evidence to prove that an increasing proportion of the family income is expended upon drink, tobacco, travel and amusements. With regard to the necessities, the most striking fact is the high price of clothing and the increased amount of money spent thereon. One of the first tasks of the proposed "Consumers' Council" should be to inquire into the reasons why "the cost of clothing for working-class families in London is from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ times its cost in 1889-91." As for the non-necessary expenditure, the consumption of beer is considerably reduced, though the high taxation signifies an actual increase in money expended on it. In regard to alcoholic drinks in general, the high taxes have had a distinct effect in reducing consumption. This, however, does not apply to tobacco. The displacement of the pipe

by the cigarette for men, and the large advance in women's smoking, have made tobacco one of our most prosperous trades during this period of depression. "Assuming, as we reasonably may, that the London consumption followed the general trend of the country, it would seem that the average money expenditure per head of the London population on tobacco must be well over four times as great as in 1890" (p. 97). How far the increased expenditure in locomotion is a "necessary," linked up with housing and the spread of London, how far a "luxury," is a question incapable of settlement. But it is certain that the motor-bicycle and 'bus, together with the new amusements of the cinema, wireless, and the gramophone, have exercised an extraordinary influence upon the mentality of the mass of our city population; as well as testifying to the possession of some margin over the subsistence wage.

One of the least satisfactory conditions of London working-class life is overcrowding. Though rents have been kept in check since the war by the Rent Restrictions Act, and a considerable stimulus has been given to building by public subsidies, the pre-war decline in the building trades had stimulated overcrowding, and the pressure of space in Central London had left the situation there far from satisfactory. The general conclusion here drawn from a study of the statistics is that

while housing conditions in London, as measured by the degree of overcrowding, were not quite so bad in the year 1921 as at the time of the Booth Survey, the rate of improvement had been far from satisfactory, and that such upward movement as was in progress in the earlier years had very appreciably slowed down since the arrest of building activities in the early years of the present century, followed and aggravated by the almost total suspension of house-building during the war. In the outskirts of London, where housing conditions are still much less congested than near the centre, the evils of overcrowding actually increased in the decade 1911-21 (p. 159).

Since 1921 some of the leeway has been made up by public assistance, a net addition of houses in Greater London providing for twice the estimated growth of population, but the provisions for clearance of "slums" and for the proper accommodation of displaced slum population are still sadly defective. While housing is a factor of importance in every problem, moral, educational and economic, its most direct bearing is upon the health of the people. Those familiar with the housing conditions of any poor section of London are well aware how much the unhygienic congested life retards all other forms of betterment.

Nevertheless, vital statistics testify to a really remarkable advance in the health of Londoners. Here the outstanding fact is

the decline of the death-rate from twenty per thousand in 1890-4 to twelve per thousand in 1924-8, or thirteen per thousand if allowance is made for age adjustment and sex distribution. It used to be held that London was continuously fed by streams of healthy rural stock which died out in three generations of exposure to city conditions. This is certainly not true to-day. The difference between London and rural mortality has greatly diminished, and Central London in particular is peopled largely by families that have lived there for several generations. The chapter on "Health" here goes much further back than the Booth Survey for the improvements in Public Health Administration, tracing a series of campaigns in realisation of the "sanitary idea" connected with the name of Chadwick in the forties, and producing a "vast improvement in the health of the London population during the last eighty years." "The gains accruing from advance in material prosperity, from greater cleanliness, from improved drainage, scavenging, housing, food and water supplies, clothing and medical, surgical and nursing services" are assigned as chief causes of this improvement. But for a long time after a marked decline of the general death-rate, infant mortality remained almost stationary, and it is only within the last quarter of a century that infant welfare campaigns and other educational measures have produced a marked improvement. Several authorities here testify to the important part played by the Education Act of 1871 and the further development of popular instruction in this particular reform. "The progress of public health has benefited immeasurably both from the direct and from the indirect effects of the development of the London education service. A single example is afforded by the striking fall of infant mortality, and by the saving of child life, which came about as soon as a generation which had passed through the primary schools had become parents of a new generation."*

Thus we pass by a natural transition to examine the growth of the educational system in London as a general factor in the progress of its people. In 1851 there were only 190,000 children in all the elementary schools, or less than half the children of the then school age. By the time of the Booth Survey more than ninety per cent. had been brought into the schools, and at the present time the outsiders are less than five per cent., a figure that includes physical and mental defectives. But the improvement of elementary education contains other factors than mere number of scholars. A lengthening of the period of compulsory attendance, greater regularity of attendance, the larger proportion of staff to pupils, are valuable indices of increased efficiency. Diminished

* See Report of London County Medical Officer for 1925.

summonses for non-attendance show that the early unpopularity of compulsion has almost disappeared.

Not less satisfactory is the rapid development of post-elementary education. Many of the elementary schools now furnish advanced classes for children who stay at school until the age of fifteen. But new types of schools take over an even increasing number. By "free places" and scholarships the secondary schools are constantly fed by increasing drafts from the elementary schools. "The total number of elementary school children admitted in 1929 to grant-aided secondary schools in London was 4,525, or over sixty per cent. of the total admissions and about twice the number of scholarships awarded." One need only refer to the "Central" schools, which make special provision for elementary pupils who desire a more advanced curriculum, "Trades" schools of a definitely vocational character, part-time continuation schools, the Polytechnics and other technical schools, the Evening Institutes of various grades, not to speak of the higher education supplied by University Extension Lectures and W.E.A. classes, in order to indicate how widely spread is the educational net-work, free to the children and adults who can take advantage of these opportunities. But Sir H. Llewellyn Smith rightly reminds readers that this organic co-ordination of schools is still grossly impeded by the poverty of large numbers of parents who cannot afford to keep their children "idle" when they might be earning their keep. The apparatus of primary education is virtually complete, and great advances have been made in secondary and technical schooling. But the provision of any really adequate vocational training, and the relation of vocational to cultural instruction leave grave problems for those who recognise how far our cities lag behind several continental countries in realising the fuller meaning of education.

Under the heading of Amenities and Recreation the first place is justly given to parks and open spaces, not merely on general hygienic grounds, but as playing grounds for the young. Within our area there are no fewer than 536 open spaces, of sizes varying from a fraction of an acre to several hundred acres. Unfortunately they are very unequally apportioned. The greatest increase of spaces has been in the middle ring, comprising the outer group of Metropolitan Boroughs, while the more congested central districts show very little increase in forty years. This is in a sense inevitable. The provision of new parks in the congested built-up areas is impracticable, and the best that can be done is to make outside parks more accessible to those dwelling in the centre. Here once more we link up with leisure and mobility. Unfortunately leisure may take the form, not of shorter hours, but of unemploy-

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ment, in which case mobility becomes too costly. But taking a more general view, we find the last twenty years far richer in public amenities. Band performances are given in fifty-two L.C.C. parks, and arrangements are made for outdoor games, especially cricket, football, lawn tennis and hockey. Even the younger children are provided with sand pits, paddling pools, gymnasia, while youths enjoy facilities for bathing, boating, running and cycling unattainable until recent years.

There is, however, a *contra* account stated under the head of "disamenities." The nuisance of street noises and vibration has probably increased with motor traffic, and though we are apt to think that the old dense fogs have become less frequent, owing to the substitution of electricity and gas for many household and transport uses, the development of industries in and near London appears to have enhanced some forms of air pollution. At any rate the statistics indicate no progressive change in the amount of sunshine, and we learn that "the Kew figures of visibility seem to point to a real deterioration of atmospheric conditions in the last ten years" (p. 302).

Perhaps the most impressive change of the last few decades is the addition made to the effective income of the workers by what are known as "the social services," the various forms of public assistance which have grown up since Charles Booth's time:

They include Old Age Pensions, National Health Insurance, Unemployment Insurance, War Pensions, Widows' and Orphans' Pensions, Maternity and Child Welfare services, Public Health services, such as those for tuberculosis and venereal disease, Acts for the State assistance of the blind and various free provisions associated with education, and we are coming to realise that these developments represent a fundamental change in the relations of the State and the individual (p. 378).

Though the beneficiaries in some cases make a personal contribution towards the cost of these services, the great bulk of the expense is defrayed out of the public purse. Hardly less significant is the fact that Poor Law expenditure, which was expected to fall when some of its early services were taken over, has actually increased. This is partly attributable to the removal of the "deterrence" which formerly attached to Poor Law administration, and the abatement of the Workhouse test. Now, we are told, larger portions of the people in industrial London "have come to regard the Poor Law as one social service among others," and the old sense of degradation has almost disappeared from modern forms of Poor Relief.

This growth of practical communism has met no serious opposition from any political party, though there is much grumbling at the high taxation it involves. It has seemed to all humane citizens

a natural and a desirable method of dealing with the weaknesses and emergencies of the poorer classes and of safeguarding society against dangerous forms of discontent. Though London has suffered less from unemployment since the war than the great industrial areas of the Midlands and the North, the volume of unemployment in certain districts, especially West Ham, Bermondsey, Poplar, Stepney, would probably have evoked grave disorders but for the help furnished under the Unemployed Insurance Act.

The general effect of the evidence as given in this opening Survey is to show that in most of the factors of human progress and happiness London has made a notable advance during the past forty years. Though there still remain whole areas of poverty, there is much less actual destitution. Wages (especially if we count in social services) have made a quite considerable advance. Families are smaller, so that a larger proportion of the income is available for other uses than the purchase of bare necessities. Leisure, the opportunity of opportunities, has grown. Health is better, life is longer, every form of education and recreation has added to the interest of life, serious crimes against person and property are fewer than in any other great capital. Substantial additions have been made towards equality of opportunity for all grades of the people. But much still remains to be done so as to raise London to the level of a fully civilised community. One of the great services of this Survey will be to indicate what are the particular deficiencies which still remain for private and public activities to cope with and redress.

J. A. HOBSON.

THE NEW DOCTRINE OF EDDINGTON AND JEANS.

THE average man, who is not a trained scientist or mathematician, has every reason to be grateful to Sir Arthur Eddington and Sir James Jeans. They have presented the latest discoveries of physics in a way that is easily understood. They have helped us all to take hold of the new facts which are essential to sound thinking on some of the questions that matter most. We have a further reason for gratitude. Sir Arthur Eddington, in his Gifford Lectures on "The Nature of the Physical World," published two years ago, and Sir James Jeans in his Rede Lecture, "The Mysterious Universe," published recently, have done more than present the facts. They have drawn deductions from them, and deductions which have a close bearing upon some of the fundamental problems of religion and philosophy. The challenging nature of these deductions, and of one in particular, has aroused a keen interest and a discussion which is widespread.

It is legitimate that many should take part in the discussion; laymen are not disqualified from forming and expressing opinions on matters such as these. Accepting from the physicists and mathematicians the facts as they are stated, we are entitled to look closely at the conclusions which individual thinkers among them may wish to draw. We welcome the stimulus to thought and discussion; but the authority which these writers command as specialists in their own domain need not preclude examination, and, if need be, criticism when they travel into the wider domains of general thought.

The revolutionary idea in these books is termed by Eddington, following Heisenberg, "The Principle of Indeterminacy." He asserts that "physics is no longer pledged to a scheme of deterministic law. Determinism has dropped out altogether in the latest formulations of theoretical physics and it is at least open to doubt whether it will ever be brought back." Eddington asserts, no doubt rightly, that if this be accepted, the new principle will "rank in importance with the principle of relativity." "If our expectation," he says, "should prove well founded that 1927 has seen the final overthrow of strict causality by Heisenberg, Bohr, Born, and others, the year will certainly rank as one of the greatest epochs in the development of scientific philosophy." Both Eddington and Jeans draw the conclusion that this principle has thrown new light on the problem of Free Will. "Science," says Eddington, "thereby withdraws its moral opposition to free-will." Jeans states the position more tentatively.

Probably the majority of physicists expect that in some way the law of strict causation will in the end be restored to its old place in the natural world. So far it has not been restored, with the result that, up to the present at least, the picture of the universe presented by the new physics contains more room than did the old mechanical picture for life and consciousness to exist within the picture itself, together with the attributes which we commonly associate with them, such as free-will, and the capacity to make the universe in some small degree different by our presence.

In spite of the eminence of his guides, the layman will wish to see where he is being led, and why. When we come to look closely into the grounds for this revolutionary change in the scientific standpoint we find that it is advanced on account of the impossibility of explaining, with our present knowledge, the existence of Quanta and certain features in the behaviour of electrons within the atom. Because we cannot find the causes, we are to assume that no causes exist. Because in this obscure realm of the infinitely minute, which man has only just begun to explore, there are phenomena for which no one has as yet been able to suggest an acceptable cause, the principle of causation must itself be surrendered. Up to the year 1927 it was agreed that every physical event followed upon preceding events, of which it was the outcome. After 1927 science is to teach us that there are at least some physical events which follow upon nothing, but are the outcome of pure hazard; that "there is indeterminacy at the heart of nature." And if there are physical events which are uncaused, how much the easier to believe that there are uncaused events in the realm usually not regarded as physical, in the realm of consciousness. On a foundation so small, so new and so uncertain, vast is the structure which has been so rapidly built.

I would venture to examine the three illustrations which Sir James Jeans offers in support of his position. "If we spin a halfpenny," he says,

nothing within our knowledge may be able to decide whether it will come down heads or tails, yet if we throw up a million tons of halfpence, we know there will be 500,000 tons of heads and 500,000 tons of tails. The experiment may be repeated indefinitely, and will always give the same result. We may be tempted to instance it as evidence of the uniformity of nature, and to infer the action of an underlying law of causation: in actual fact it is an instance only of the operation of the purely mathematical laws of chance.

But the essential words here are the qualifying words—"within our knowledge." We cannot foretell whether the halfpenny will come down heads or tails, not because it is purely fortuitous which it will do, but because we do not know all the conditions of the

spinning, the precise strength of the flick of the fingers, the resistance of the air, the height to which the coin will rise and will fall. If all the conditions were given, the result would follow inevitably. It would be possible to devise a machine which would toss a halfpenny, and if the machine were accurately adjusted, we could place the halfpenny in it, head side uppermost and make it come down the same side, or, if we preferred, the opposite side every time. The fact that if we toss an immense number of halfpence, there will be an equal number of heads and tails, is also due to the fact that the conditions, as to the strength of the throw and so forth, vary indefinitely as between one coin and another; as there are only two sides to the halfpenny, the result must be a number of heads and tails which average out equally. But if the causes were made absolutely uniform, if, again, all the halfpence were tossed by an accurate machine, it could be so adjusted as to make every coin in all the million tons of halfpence come down the same side up. There is no "principle of indeterminacy"; there is only ignorance of the conditions.

So also with respect to another of Jeans' illustrations:

It is almost as though the joints of the universe had somehow worked loose, as though its mechanism had developed a certain amount of "Play," such as we find in a well-worn engine. Yet the analogy is misleading if it suggests that the universe is in any way worn out or imperfect. In an old or worn engine, the degree of "play" or "loose jointedness" varies from point to point; in the natural world it is measured by the mysterious quantity known as "Planck's constant h ," which proves to be absolutely uniform throughout the universe. Its value, both in the laboratory and in the stars, can be measured in innumerable ways, and always proves to be precisely the same. Yet the fact that "loose jointedness," of any type whatever, pervades the whole universe destroys the case for absolutely strict causation, this latter being the characteristic of perfectly-fitting machinery.

But is this so? If the bearings of a machine are adjusted to a thousandth of an inch and the machine works smoothly, are we to say that that is the result of causes; but that when they are worn the maladjustment is not the result of causes? If there is a "margin" in the innermost mechanism of nature, need we jump to the conclusion that it is arbitrary and uncaused? The very fact that Planck's constant h is "absolutely uniform throughout the universe," would seem to be enough of itself to establish precisely the opposite conclusion.

The third illustration is drawn from the disintegration of the atoms of radium. Out of two thousand atoms

science cannot say how many of these will survive after a year's time, it can only tell us the relative odds in favour of the number being 2,000, 1,999, 1,998, and so on. Actually there are rather long odds in favour of the number being 1,999; in all probability one, and one only, of the 2,000 atoms is destined to break up within the next year. We do not know in what way this particular atom is selected out of the 2,000.

From this the conclusion is drawn that every year "fate knocks at the door of one radium atom in every 2,000," and that this helps to show that "the future may not be as unalterably determined by the past as we used to think." But if there is no law, if it is a mere matter of "fate," how does it come about that it is one radium atom, or thereabouts, in every 2,000 that disintegrates each year? Why should there not be a thousand one year and none the next, and twenty the year after, and then five hundred? What are termed "the purely mathematical laws of chance" are only the expression of consequences which come to our cognisance from causes that are beyond our apprehension. "Chance," it has been said, "is a name for our ignorance."

In a later chapter of his book (page 140) Sir James Jeans himself recognises the fact of "the uniformity of nature." But uniformity in nature is the very negation of chance, of "the joints of the universe working loose," of "the principle of indeterminacy."

In both these books one finds a tendency to regard "unpredictable" as nearly equivalent to "uncaused" or "undetermined." Eddington goes so far as to say that if we have to admit the existence of unknowable elements in the universe, "this means a denial of determinism, because the data required for a prediction of the future will include the unknowable elements of the past." But why should determinism be linked with predictability? This is a strangely anthropocentric view. Prior causes may exist to determine events even though man does not know them, and may never know them.

It may be said that we should be eager to welcome this new phase in physics because it lends support to the doctrine of free-will, and therefore to morality, and so to religion. It may be regarded as a disservice to criticise. The objection is beside the mark. Sir Arthur Eddington and Sir James Jeans would be the last to advance it. In science nothing matters except truth. Is "the principle of indeterminacy" well-founded or not? If it is, it must be accepted, whether the ultimate consequences seem likely to be good or bad. If it is not, it must be rejected.

But I venture to suggest that its acceptance in the domain of physics, and its extension into the sphere of philosophy, and from there into the world of religion and practical morals, is likely to be harmful and not beneficial. It will give support to the anti-

intellectualism which is one of the greatest dangers in the modern world. No argument, indeed, is needed to prove the limitations of human reason. History gives abundant examples of its mistakes, and the present state of the world is evidence of their consequences. But deliberate unreason cannot fail to be worse. Any foolish superstition, any irrational act in private conduct, any perverse policy in public affairs, would be able to justify itself, if once the principle is admitted that events need not be the outcome of precedent causes, that chance and not law is sovereign in the universe. Let the new doctrines of Eddington and Jeans pass into the common currency of thought and they will be astonished to find for what purchases they will be used.

In a searching examination of this attack on the belief in causation, Dr. J. E. Turner suggests that, in essence, it is "on the same level as the child's attribution of Christmas superfluity to Santa Claus, or the savage belief that a lunar eclipse is due to a dragon devouring the moon. . . . They really present exactly the same features as the phenomena of the electron 'jump' theory—that is, either unfamiliarity or unusual complexity, or both combined, but resulting always in some infraction of the hitherto invariable order."* If great scientists declare that, because they cannot explain certain phenomena in their own sphere of research, we must conclude that the phenomena are exempt from the law of causation, will not the average man be tempted to quote their authority in support of the proposition that human affairs in general are essentially irrational, and that to search for any rule in economics, or politics, or ethics is futile? And if that be accepted, how are we to counter the "intuitions" of the obscurantist and the reactionary? What hope is there that mankind will ever attain to a rationally ordered society? Step by step these are the implications which may result from accepting the "principle of indeterminacy" and allowing it to percolate into the popular philosophy.

On the other hand, an answer may be given to the common accusation that determinism is a doctrine which is detrimental to morals and inconsistent with religion. That would no doubt be so if it were regarded as identical with materialism, or with any mechanistic view of the universe. Eddington is inclined so to treat it. But the identification may be disputed. True, that every materialist must be a determinist. But it is not true that every determinist must be a materialist. One may accept the reality of life and mind as distinct from matter, or one may hold that matter is only a manifestation of mind; one may believe in the divine

* *Causal Determination: Its Nature and Types.* By J. E. Turner. *Journal of Philosophical Studies.* October 1930.

origin and maintenance of the universe—and still adhere to the principle of causation.

As to human will and responsibility, there need be no inconsistency between determinism rightly understood and the current rules of morality. Each human personality is the product of causes; innumerable causes, originating in an immeasurable past and infinitely complex in their interaction. In the ordinary affairs of life and conduct each human personality must be regarded as "a fresh start." He is an individual to be accepted as such; just as he is a single living organism and not a mere system of millions of cells, made up of billions of molecules and atoms and electrons. As a personality he has a will, a character, a power of choice, a moral responsibility. All these are not undetermined; they are the outcome of causes; but they must be accepted, as embodied in the personality, for what they are and as we find them. The individual does not know, and his neighbours do not know, what has been the complex of causes which have made him precisely what he is, and have produced the character that will give rise to the actions he will take. Those actions are often, perhaps usually, unpredictable by him or by them. Life can only be conducted, therefore, on the footing of personal responsibility for choice of actions. If the criminal is to be treated as an entity at all, he must be treated as an entity that does actually carry with it a power of choice; in spite of the fact that the whole entity, with its power of choice and the character of the choice it will make, is the outcome of a vast complex of prior causes. So the criminal is rightly held accountable for his crimes.

From the divine standpoint, then, and on the cosmic scale, the law of causation holds; but from the human standpoint, and on the terrestrial scale, we must proceed on the basis of the actuality of free-will. Absolutely there is determinism; relatively to ourselves there is free-will. In this way the philosopher finds himself in reconciliation with the plain man, convinced of the reality of his own freedom of choice.* And there is no need to enlist the help of physicists to repudiate causation for the sake of saving morality.

HERBERT SAMUEL.

* A fuller statement of this position may be found in an article by the present writer entitled *The Relativity of Free Will*, published in the *Journal of Philosophical Studies*, July 1929.

THE OUTLOOK IN SPAIN.

OF late the affairs of Spain have become quite interesting to outsiders. Level-headed Spaniards fervently wish it were otherwise, for they hold that this interesting turn has a good deal to do with the fall of the peseta, with trade depression and the high cost of living, and they fear that it may portend further dire disasters. Many politicians angrily dissent from this view and describe the coming plunge into the unknown as the awakening of the nation. Spain, they argue, has at last moved into line with advanced peoples and is blithely forging ahead. But the symptoms do not bear out this diagnosis. The peseta has fallen and prices have risen proportionately, not to sink again even after the peseta has recovered. The cost of living is almost prohibitive for large sections of the population, who fail to understand why that should be seeing that the price of wheat has fallen. The working classes out of employment lack money and food, and many artisans are seeking occupation for half the minimum wage. Strikes are frequent and fruitless, and are often accompanied by bloodshed and acts of savagery. Badalona, Valladolid, Granada, are instances. The laws are still on the Statute book, but are no longer observed by the people nor enforced by the authorities. The police are stricken with palsy and are incapable alike of preventing crime and of punishing it. Students, like the working men, are in a state of dangerous ferment. University education is almost a disembodied idea. Utter confusion prevails in all Universities and many high schools. The old laws and regulations are set at naught and the new ones have never been put in force. The students claim the right of dismissing and electing professors to suit their caprice. Strikes are proclaimed and enforced with impunity, and the responsible Ministers, when questioned, reply that the country is only working its way to "normalcy."

The political parties and the general public are far from sharing this optimism. Their comments read oftener like the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah. Some of them cry out for a Moses, others clamour for a Constitution, a third group demands the restoration of parliamentary government under the very leaders who brought the nation to its present straits. Many long for a Dictator—not one of the mild type of Primo de Rivera, but a Spanish Cromwell, a man of blood and iron capable of protecting life and property and maintaining respect for law and order at all costs. All the party chiefs agree in condemning Primo de Rivera's one-man rule as unconstitutional in form and ruinous in its effects. Yet each one proposes a remedy which is both one-man rule and unconstitutional. The chief of the Democrats wants a Constituent

Assembly to be got together which shall sit as long as it likes and shall be indissoluble by King or nation. Only at its own request shall it be dissolved. That democrat's friends are nowise embarrassed by the circumstance that this would involve a breach of the Constitution which gives the King the right to dissolve all parliaments. Another proposal comes from a deadly enemy of one-man government, and it is to the effect that before the elections he and eight or ten friends of his should swing themselves into power and form a Cabinet without saying as much as "by your leave" to parliament or people. In a word, the main idea of each party leader is to snatch the reins of power before the elections, after which they can get any majority they like.

The Press, too, is in the front rank of the discontented, and has become a prophet of evil. One section bids the Government give no quarter to the elements of discord and reminds the authorities of what happened on the eve of the Revolution at the end of the sixties. One Sunday the Prime Minister—General Prim—when out riding, encountered a crowd that was protesting loudly against the War Ministry. The angry peasants surrounded him and insolently demanded the abolition of military service on the spot. The General addressed them amicably, but gave them no hope, and then he opened a passage in their midst and continued his ride. They followed him, shouting and casting stones at him, but Providence was merciful, and he went his way serene and unhurt. The authorities brought to task in the Cortes made light of the outrage and declined to take action against the mutinous rustics. A few months later, instead of stones, the rebels used bullets, and Prim's career was brought to a sudden close. From this tragedy readers are left to draw their own conclusions.

All parties demand, and the Government has promised, general elections which are looked upon as a sort of lottery that may bestow a great prize on one or the other groups irrespective of its merits and qualifications, and will certainly clear up the situation. Not that the Spanish people have ever taken much interest in that sovereign remedy of democracies, the ballot box. On the contrary, they have always given it a wide berth, and in spite of a law passed some years ago imposing disabilities and penalties on those who fail to record their votes, as many as forty per cent. continued to defy the enactment, stayed away from the booths and left the manipulation of the electoral apparatus to those experienced wire-pullers who can work wonders with it. Hitherto the Minister who presides over the elections, to whatever party he might belong, has always been able to garner in a good working majority of legislators ready to draw their salaries, deliver occasional speeches, vote with the Cabinet and leave the country to wait on Providence.

In this orderly way the work of fleecing the people and enriching the law-givers and their friends has gone on for generations. The circumstance that now the victory will be to the party that runs the elections has inspired all the heads to concentrate their efforts upon obtaining this great privilege. In one respect, however, the parties conscientiously complied with their obligations. They have always taken good care to give each other turn about in the government and let a sequence of fat years follow the lean. Thus between October 1918 and September 1923, a period of less than five years, ten different Governments duly succeeded each other in a *chassez croisez* which afforded the rank and file of politicians a welcome chance to feather their nests, and brought the country to the brink of Tophet.

It was at this point that the Army—the only compact organisation at that time in the realm—interposed and made Primo de Rivera Dictator. How that officer ruled and how the nation fared while he steered the ship of State are matters for the historian. His successor—General Berenguer—a man of recognised moral courage and rectitude, has been doing his best ever since to undo most of his achievements. One of his more recent acts which delighted men of culture and caused great fluttering among the doves of the reaction revealed the General as an enlightened helmsman. In the Spring of 1929, the students having in their usual impulsive and unruly way protested against the Dictatorship, the Dictator by way of calming and correcting them created an association of fathers of families, on whom he bestowed the right of keeping Argus eyes upon University Professors and denouncing their teaching, whenever it ran counter to the dogmas of the Church or the interests of the family. Every University was provided with a Board of Control consisting of four members, two of whom were to be orthodox *pater-familias* inspired by priests and prelates, whose pious object would be to keep scientific doctrine in strict accord with the inspired teaching of the infallible Church. This drastic regulation has recently been modified by the Minister of Worship, and now each University is left free to accept or reject this wardenship.

Generally, the present head of the Government deserves the indulgence of critics, seeing that the task set him is beyond his powers. And yet it sounds quite easy: merely to hold free elections, to keep monarchism on its feet, and to establish a genuine parliamentary régime. But simple though it looks, it is tantamount to the squaring of the circle. For during the seven years of one-man rule just ended, Spain has been undergoing an imperceptible change, and to-day it is becoming clear that a vast social and political landslide may take place at any moment. The General Elec-

tions may bring it about in a twinkling. And this deterrent perspective is causing the authorities to stay their hand and put off the day of judgment. Rumour has it that it is the monarch who is averse to haste. This, if true, would be natural. For one of the main issues the elections, if free, will put before the country and perhaps decide is whether or no Spain is to continue to be ruled by a monarch. Those who look beyond the narrow horizon of parties will agree with King Alfonso who, to the astonishment of the engineers whom he was addressing the other day on the Duero, laid it down that whether the country is governed "by a republic or a monarchy is a matter of complete indifference, the one thing necessary being to work for Spain." It was probably this which General Weyler had in mind when shortly before his death he said, in reply to a question as to his forecast of coming events in Spain, "How can one forecast the future of a country in which the King is Republican and the Republicans are Royalists?"

In spite of that utterance, which grieved his Conservative friends, the King is pretty sure to make a firm stand for his patrimony and for the vested interests of his faithful followers. And, theoretically at all events, his chances of scoring a victory strike people as serious. Republicanism has long been at a low ebb in the Peninsula owing to the backslidings of many of its chiefs, who showed themselves more solicitous about their own welfare than about that of the nation, quickly acquired wealth, went over to the Conservatives, or withdrew from politics altogether and now live comfortably as gentlemen of light and leading, supporters of the Crown, the Church, and the Army. But during the reign of Primo the places left vacant by these trimmers were filled with zealous converts from other political factions and the awakening masses, so the Republicans are now become a power in the land. Some of them in moments of expansion have been heard to say pathetically: "If only we were led by men of integrity, initiative and political vision we would surely come out top at the polls and sweep the monarchy into the depths of ancient history." The present hold of Republicanism on a large section of the people is largely the result of the shortcomings and blunders of the Monarchists.

The present position of Alfonso XIII has become precarious and that of constitutional monarchy crucial. This caricature of parliamentary government which vegetated under two kings has been sapped. The illustrious head of the present semi-autocratic régime will put up a good fight, for he is a past master of political adroitness and is gifted with uncommon resourcefulness which makes him more than a match for the shrewdest of his refractory subjects. It is urged that he has not been felicitous in the choice of his friends—few personal rulers are—and of those whom he selected as

the instruments of his policy hardly any made strenuous efforts to further it while the majority actually thwarted his plans and exposed his motives to withering criticism. Thus there were quacks who claimed to possess formulas for the creation of a new and prosperous era in trade, industry, agriculture, and there were railway wizards who undertook to conjure up a golden age with the help of monopolies or other concessions, and were lavish of enormous bribes which were pocketed one knew not exactly by whom. That these adventurers could not but damage the cause of the monarchy and drive the dissatisfied into the ranks of the Republicans is obvious, but it is equally obvious—so runs the plea—that the blame should not fall on the ruler alone. None the less the monarch himself is in an exposed and dangerous position and can plead little in self-defence. That is one of the direct consequences of the seven years of one-man rule. Primo de Rivera was a mild Dictator. He eschewed the harsh measures which the typical tyrant feels impelled to adopt, and he subdued political passions without solving political problems. None of these was even tackled. Neither were the ordinary institutions kept working. The Parliament in Spain has seldom been of much use as a legislative assembly, but at least one function it did perform—that of a screen or shield for the monarch. It accepted responsibility for the King's imprudences and relieved him of the need of self-defence. Constitutionally he could do no evil, and, later on, responsibility for everything blameworthy was shared by the Dictator. But now that the Dictator is dead the King must face his subjects alone and answer not only for his own transgressions but also for those of his deceased henchmen.

But it would be erroneous to assume that all Spain is Republican. Far from that. The Republicans, it is true, made a fine show a few weeks back with their twenty odd thousand members who assembled in a bull-ring, and still more by their complete self-command and discipline which took the authorities by surprise. But then they were on their mettle on that occasion and put forth strenuous efforts. It was interesting to note that after the King's profession of indifference to the form of government quite a number of Monarchists discreetly avowed to their political friends that they had been convinced Republicans for a long while but that owing to circumstances they had made no public declaration on the subject. It is chiefly from the big cities that the Republican ranks are recruited. In the rural districts, where the population is duly catechised, censured and inspirited from the altar, the pulpit and the confessional, politics can hardly be said to exist. If, however, to-morrow the fall of the Monarchy were proclaimed and a Republic were established, it would of necessity be a very

mild and moderate Republic, and would certainly be characterised by Conservative tendencies. For the influence of the clergy in most parts of Spain is still dominant. The word of the parish priest, of the bishop and the preachers of the religious orders carries the same weight as it did a couple of centuries ago. The explanation is obvious. The education of the children is largely in the hands of the religious orders. They are the teachers of the youth of the country. The Jesuits, the *Escuelas Pias*, the Salesians, the Christian Brothers, and a host of other congregations, possess the sesame that opens and shuts the souls of Young Spain. And like every church and sect and individual that possesses absolute truth, they are intolerant of competitors. Disposing of vast sums of money the religious orders bought and now occupy the finest sites in the country, have a monopoly of education, have excluded rivals, and are therefore in a commanding position. Nor can this state of things be readily altered. A revolution would not change it for a long while. For these religious orders are doing work that should be undertaken by the State, but which the State for want of funds cannot tackle. Consequently a Republican Cabinet, were it constituted, would have to choose between education as it is or none at all. In populous cities the schools are supported largely by the religious congregations and partly by the municipalities.

Such is the state of the parliamentary parties on the eve of the promised elections. But the elections have been postponed. For in this game of political chess the King had the first move, and he has grieved his supporters by seemingly turning for help to the Radicals. And the individual to whom he is said to have offered the first refusal of the Premiership and the organisation of the elections is the most Radical of the lot—Señor Santiago Alba—a politician whom he deemed it necessary for the public good to keep in exile for several years. The Conservatives, scandalised by the King's alleged appeal to their adversaries, argue that if the monarchist régime must be thoroughly purified it is meet that the process of purification be confided to Conservatives, or at any rate to men of a different type from Señores Alba and March. And they adjure the monarch to think well before damaging his good cause irremediably. Doubtless, in ordinary times, Señor Alba and his colleagues would score a brilliant success if they went to the polls. But the King has not yet definitely offered the task of reconstruction to the man whom he kept in exile as undesirable until a few months ago. He is reflecting, and seems disposed to lengthen the life of the present Cabinet.

Times not being normal, the country is now face to face with the unknown. Nobody, for instance, can say with any approach

to accuracy what the Syndicalists and other workmen's organisations may undertake, accomplish, or hinder. And that is perhaps the key to the situation. For they are not like other parties, nor has their strength as yet been properly tested. Their object is no mere change in the form of government. What they aim at is the downfall of capitalism, the wrecking of the social system and the apotheosis of the working man, objects which can be attained, if at all, only through bloody revolution and civil war. And from these lines of action they do not recoil. Even their everyday methods are drastic and have scared the authorities and capitalists. Into Bilbao and Barcelona flying columns of the *Guardia Civil* as well as detachments of regular soldiers have been drafted. In strategic spots machine-guns have been placed ready for action at a moment's notice, so that there is no fear of the Government being taken unawares, nor of a one-act revolution being effected in Madrid, Bilbao or Barcelona. None the less, the temperature of the atmosphere has become so heated that some of the more prominent dwellers in large cities have sent their wives and children abroad—for a change of air. For these reasons, among others, people doubt whether free elections will be held at all under the present Government. And yet General Berenguer, who is fair-minded and truthful, interprets the signs of the times as hopeful symptoms of the nation's passage from chaos to normal existence.

Besides the parliamentary parties who, since the restoration of the monarchy, played see-saw in the Cortes and are mainly answerable for the nation's calamities and humiliations, there are others that have to be taken more seriously—the Regionalists, for example, or as we might call them, home-rulers. They are stronger in Catalonia than elsewhere, but are also making a stir in the Basque provinces, in Valencia and in Galicia. One and all they are tired of centralism and aspire after a life of their own. But they are not unanimous. Some of them would reduce their relations with Spain to a mere nominal union, others hanker after complete separation, a third—composed of staid respectable party men—favour a federal system that would include Portugal, if possible. The leader of the Catalanists, who are the most earnest of them all, is a successful business man turned politician, named Cambó. He is a gentleman of refined taste, not insensible to the noble ambition of perpetuating his name in the history of Catalonia. His qualifications are his political achievements—he was Minister once for a short while in a Coalition Cabinet—and his social position—he has accumulated a fortune large enough to enable him to play Mæcenæ to Catalan men of letters, arts and sciences. And his money he dispenses in generous and lordly ways. Señor Cambó, then, is a politician of weight, who

eschews violence, loathes Communism and Socialism, deplors all excess of political heat, and is barely on nodding terms with Democracy. Like the other parliamentary politicians of the past, he is quite eager to serve the community in the same Ministerial capacity as before, and professes the same certitude that he then had of ultimate success. If ever Regionalism was dangerous to Spain, it is ceasing to be so now in view of the cosmic horizons to which the Syndicalists and their foreign congeners have opened the wondering eyes of the bulk of the nation.

Among Spanish parliamentarians there are many polished orators, but no men of action. For men of action one must go down to the Syndicalists and extreme propagandists who have already made a breach in the dam that heretofore kept back the inburst of internationalism. At present the quiet backwaters of Spanish politics are in permanent contact with the shoreless sea of class warfare and world revolution, and from time to time strikes, collisions, sanguinary strife, and a stoppage of the machinery of government attest the nature and force of the new disturbing element. One of the greatest assets of this group is its fearlessness. Its members are heedless of punishment. There are still statute laws against them which once served as a break-water, but have lately been sapped and are no longer of any use: the rebellious defy and the authorities do not venture to apply them. Recently one of the many popular agitators, haranguing a vast multitude, delivered a tremendous and, lawyers declare, treasonable philippic against Alfonso XIII, and managed by his tone, manner, and the minuteness of his indictment, to bring conviction to the minds and resentment to the breasts of his hearers, and to shake their loyalty to the monarch. This was all the less difficult that the present moment is revolutionary and the people are in ebullition and will believe statements that would have shocked them half a year back. The authorities angrily threatened the speaker with the rigours of the law, but he smiled disdainfully and still goes on with his propaganda work. In short, the country is full of confusing rumours, suspicions, and fears. The reports that were bruited abroad when the peseta fell to half its real value and the Vice-President of the Bank of Spain was summarily dismissed from his post were, if true, extremely sensational, for they tended to compromise the authorities, and colour was lent to these charges by the damaging fact that, after the removal of the obnoxious official, the Bank had no difficulty in raising the peseta seven points. Yet it was the curious and needless fall of the peseta that increased the cost of living. The people are ruminating on these things, and showing their feelings at times. The Government hesitates, vacillates, and does nothing.

The work of the extremist parties of action is attested by the strikes that have broken out in various parts of the Peninsula, some of them political like those of Lugo in Galicia, of Bilbao and Barcelona; others are economic in their form and partly in their origin, as the strikes in the mining districts of Andalucia, and several were "sympathetic." The young generation form the vanguard. The academic youth are prepared to lead the way to the revolutionary goal. For a section of them has been won over to the revolutionary movement. But after all, mad outbursts like those of the young Madrid and Barcelona students are not to be taken too seriously. To a statesman they are valueless as a clue to be followed up in politics. It would, however, be very different if one could credit the many circumstantial reports depicting the alleged success of revolutionary propaganda in the Army. But these are not to be believed without convincing proofs which have yet to be produced. It is true, as has been alleged, that this is the season when the recruits are taken from their fields, their schools, and their families, huddled into barracks which they loathe, and subjected to a discipline which they detest. And they are naturally open to temptation. It may also be true that here and there a few of the raw recruits and even non-commissioned officers have yielded to the temptation and gone over to the adversary. But to conclude from a few such cases that the Army or any large section of it is disaffected to the monarchy would be rash and illogical. It is still the guardian of the State system as it stands, as well as the unifier of the Spanish people. If ever it abandons these functions the entire political and social system will go to pieces. But too many powerful organisers are interested in hindering such a sinister consummation. By its timely intervention seven years ago the Army probably saved the monarchy and certainly strengthened the influence of the clergy. And now both the King and the prelates are paying back their debt with interest. It was a happy thought of Alfonso XIII to raise the pay of army officers from the rank of captain upwards and not to grudge the millions required for the purpose. The gift was a welcome "refresher."

To sum up, there are three political movements now struggling for the upper hand: the Regionalists, who demand home-rule for their respective provinces, who interest the larger community only when they propose federation, and who do not become troublesome until they talk of separation. Their importance as a factor in Spain's future would seem to be over-estimated alike by their friends and their adversaries. The politicians of the larger community are the old parties that have been weighed and found wanting, but are still rich in hope, although poor enough in ability.

To no urgent problem do they offer any solution, nor have they any leader of vision to discern or of character to resolve. There is, however, as we saw, another organisation in the country, partly submerged beneath the surface, which seems destined to bring about far-ranging changes in the social and political framework of Spain. I allude to the organisation that looks to Eastern Europe for its programme, to Syndicalism for its forces, and to the youth of Spain for its pioneers. To the never-ending strikes that attest its activity and display its progress one may add the ill-boding humour and rebellious utterances of the people and the wistful glances which they cast in the direction of Sovietdom. What can they know about the Soviets? one may ask. More than some of their neighbours. Spain is literally flooded with translations of Russian political writings, mainly communistic. These were exhibited publicly and sold rapidly on the streets of Barcelona a few weeks ago, and are being eagerly read by young and old. Among others, I noted several copies of one of the most interesting reviews I ever myself beheld: *The U.S.S.R. in Construction*. The value of this periodical lies in the truly realistic way in which it brings home to every reader the vast transfiguration which Russia is undergoing at the hands of the Soviets, and the benefits that the people may hope for when the aim is attained. The publication is profusely and artistically illustrated as only Soviet books and reviews are illustrated, and it is edited in various languages. The effects of this propaganda are visible already. Some Spanish cities have a large contingent of Bolsheviks, and in many cafés one may listen to lay sermons on the Sovietist paradise.

The parliamentary parties fight shy of this new international element which upsets their own quiet games and brings revolution and civil war in its train. It is excommunicated, therefore, as untouchable. But the more far-seeing among them have misgivings and are asking themselves whether Bolshevism and Communism are indeed cases for the police and the prison. What if this treatment is worse than useless? What if those extremists are not vulnerable by such weapons? What is perhaps needed, they say, is a broader angle of vision and a formula that will take due account of the country's wants. Even if Bolshevism and Communism have been refuted as doctrines, does it necessarily follow that as a great social experiment there is nothing worth learning, worth borrowing from them: their spirit of frankness, for example, their way of looking things in the face, their confidence in the future of the race, and their solicitude for the class from which we all draw our support? Of all this nothing has been taken over by the *Eminences grises* of the Peninsula. The good and the bad have alike been condemned, and there the matter ends—for a while.

A. FOMBONA.

COUNTRY HOUSE EXPERIENCES IN FRANCE.

IT is nearly twenty years ago since I first began a series of visits to the country houses of friends in France. As in all that time I have only met one other Englishman in any of the houses with which I have thus become fairly familiar, it may be of interest to English readers to hear how life is passed in a French country-side. The names I may give will be purely fictitious, for while information can legitimately be given, it should be offered with remembrance of inviolable friendship and hospitality.

I write then at a *château* which I will call St. Biez—and with the name begins that similarity between France and England which is at once so striking and so baffling. I was at a school in Somerset whose official address was Walton-in-Gordano. No one knew anything about Gordano; not the most learned archæologist hazarded more than a guess as to his, her, or its origin. It was buried in a mist of antiquity through which there was no visibility. All that could be said was that there existed a circle of little villages spread over a considerable area of country to which was attached a name of mediæval form which might equally conceal a history of British, or Roman, or Norman achievement. Here, too, St. Biez is officially addressed as St. Biez en Belin, and roundabout are other hamlets "en Belin." Who or what Belin was no one knows. It is true that a heap of ruins is pointed out as the "Château of Belin," but no history or legend is attached to them, and no age is attributed to them. Yet notwithstanding their obscurity of origin and poverty of achievement, the names of Gordano and Belin are certain to remain in common, if restricted, recollection quite as long as those of Edward III or Louis the Crusader.

St. Biez then, the *château*, not the village, is at once old and new. The old fourteenth-century house which has been in its present owner's family for many generations is surrounded by what was once a moat. Though the building was never actually fortified, the moat unquestionably served as a temporary defence in an unsettled country and period. Two-storied, three times as long as its height, the old building serves to-day as a museum for its owners of sporting trophies, and as a residence for the butler and the head forester, old and trusty friends in a land where domestic service is as mobile and difficult as in England. The stables, barns, orangery, storehouses, stand just outside the moated area. The inference is obvious, the danger of disturbance was real; the outbreak would take the form of a raid by local bandits whose aim was plunder, not political success. Horses

could be replaced, barns could be refilled, but it was essential to be able to protect life and limb for a few hours while authority was reasserting itself. So life remained inside, and property outside the protecting pale. More lately the modern *château* has been built by the descendants of the old family. During the building the owner suggested the provision of three rooms to be set apart for baths and cleaning purposes. His wife protested vigorously that no member of the illustrious family did, or could ever, want a bath—these were irreligious ideas collected in the course of odious foreign travel. A compromise was effected in a dispute which led to the steps of the law courts—for the money was Madame's—by the use of a cellar set apart for such unnecessary precautions against dirt.

During the conversation which procured this history, mention was made of a notary, and someone interjected "Did you see that the Society of Notaries had paid up frcs. 600,000 for M. so and so?" It appeared that M. *Tel et tel* was a rare, almost unique, instance of a defaulting Notary; that Notaries in France are practically an hereditary caste through whom the sales of property take place. They do, in fact, everything in the transference of land and houses except pay. They practically settle the price, they hold all existing deeds, or create new ones, and are responsible in law for them. Many, perhaps most, landowners have never seen their own title deeds—do not even know if they exist or not—but such is the universal confidence in the profession that every one is content to accept the mere word of his notary that all is in order on the side of seller as well as buyer. So essential is it to the profession to maintain this profound belief in their impeccable honesty that, whenever a lapse does most exceptionally occur, the whole profession unites in providing an indemnity with which to compensate the client whose interests the defaulter has betrayed.

Ownership leads not imperceptibly to cultivation. It is I think pretty generally believed in England that the French farm is admirably cultivated, and that the French peasant, owner or cultivator, is unalterably attached to his farm. I have observed a great change in both these respects since twenty years ago. It is, of course, unwise to judge of the general from the particular, of all France from a limited number of communes, but official statistics confirm personal observation. Here in South-Western France the standard of life of both farmer and labourer, of cultivation, of housing, sanitation, and cleanliness, is quite definitely lower than amongst the same class of South-Western England. The industry of the farmer and labourer begins earlier in the day and lasts longer in the evening than with us, but he works more slowly and his methods are more primitive. The cattle are fat—they yield

more beef than milk; the horses are good and well cared for; the farm buildings, while in appearance only up to our lowest standard of accommodation, are considered satisfactory for their purpose of giving warmth and shelter. Most of the land is held in small parcels, but there are several large estates round about, one exceptionally so of 12,000 acres, but a certain number of 1,000 to 3,000 acres. The fact that the sandy nature of the country both compels and favours the afforestation of much of the land no doubt accounts for the existence of these large properties, the tenants on which appear to be neither less nor more prosperous than their freeholding neighbours. But I am everywhere told that it was with great difficulty a satisfactory tenant could be procured when a vacancy arose, and that it was with equal reluctance that a son stayed on the land to succeed his parent. The work was monotonous and little remunerative, and a year in a garrison town unsettles youth nowadays, as it has never done before. Moreover profits were not what they should be or had been. I deliberately left out of my list of comparison and inferiorities production and profits. It is difficult to believe, it is impossible to doubt, the fact that owner and occupier all over France make a satisfactory living out of the land. I am not writing an agricultural treatise. I neither wish to, nor can, explain the phenomenon that much of France looks badly cultivated, while generally it is productive, and yields a good profit to the cultivator and an appreciable rent to the owner. Incidentally, successive Governments, it may be recorded, though always Republican, and sometimes Socialist, have refrained from taxing large country estates and houses out of existence. The part these play in rural France is purely economic, and being from that side desirable, and from the political side negligible, destructive taxation has passed them by. But the domestic-servant question has not, and, as with us, is a real economic problem. But to return to our farmer. The cultivator in France is protected against other, such as German, Dutch, or Belgian, competition, but there is a growing export of French colonial agricultural produce, e.g. corn, wine, flowers, oil, vegetables to France from Algeria, Tunis, and lately from Morocco, against which it is difficult for him ethically to protest. French by nationality, or by citizenship, by Parliamentary representation, these brethren overseas have certainly played their part in the decreasing ratio of agricultural to industrial France. They have attracted agriculturalists, and affected the monopoly of the remainder. France is their main market. If France is to expect, and to induce, her children to support an ever-extending oversea Empire she must clearly provide them with a market for their products. Her dilemma is this: large agricultural population at home, whose

cultural inclination for the country is decreasing, and whose financial possibilities must therefore constantly be maintained, and if opportunity occurs increased. On the other hand, a small, desirable and increasing agricultural population, trans-Mediterranean, whose chief, almost sole outlet is in the stationary population of France, already fed to the full by their own efforts. And behind these French "Colons" are vast numbers of semi- or non-civilised peoples who can only be kept harmless by the promotion of employment, and the absorption of their products. A truly difficult problem, one minor aspect of which is palely reflected in country house life.

As the village becomes restless and mobile, servants become more difficult to discover or retain. Cooks are as precious in France as in England, housemaids, who over here are housemen, are tyrannical and idle. A "*ménage*" for the kitchen garden or home farm is not easily obtainable if capacity and honesty are both rigidly insisted on. Partly, no doubt, this is due to the French country gentleman very seldom being an enthusiastic farmer, partly to the properties where bailiffs are required being comparatively few, and partly to Frenchwomen being rarely interested in gardening. They like and appreciate results, they are as a class indifferent to the how and the why of production. As one consequence gardeners are extremely difficult to obtain. There is apparently nothing to correspond with that trained and knowledgeable class there is in England or Scotland who are versed and skilful in all the arts of garden cultivation, and to whom, even to-day, hours of work are labours of love. Demand is always answerable for supply, and I at least have never seen in France a garden which revealed that understanding love of flowers by its owner, which I have so often noticed and watched at home. Of course it must be here, but its place is usually taken either by formality, gorgeousness or traditional economy, which are the enemies of that nature refined by art and love which alone produces a perfect garden. Nor are the cottage gardens comparable with those of our own island. Flowers I have indeed noticed in every house plot, but there is seldom any plan or order, however simple, in their planting. Thrown down as it looks, haphazard, the scarlet salvia, canna, balsam, give life and colour to the roadway side of every dwelling. One feels somehow that it is but a fleeting and intermittent interest which has created them, not the innate love of flowers and plants which characterises the Briton.

In our drive to-day to Alençon to a race meeting near that interesting market town, where every May one of the great horsefairs of Europe is held (in which horse coping still holds its own as a fine art), I noticed how quickly and completely France, like Eng-

land, changes her clothes. A little way north of Le Mans rolling hills supplant the flat sands of the Sarthe proper, the larger prosperity reflecting the better soil. It was reflected, too, in the attendants at the race-course. A local race-course occasions and displays those variations from our own habits which emphasise our likeness to and our difference from our neighbours over the Channel. You don't see the riff-raff at a French country meeting that is an essential of a similar gathering at home. The course is practically always enclosed and entrance money, however small, has to be paid. Whether racing is therefore considered more respectable in France than in England I don't know, but both at Les Pins and at our other meeting the benches of the tribune had a very visible attendance of elderly ladies in linen and laced caps who in pairs or little groups were enjoying a heart-to-heart talk on matters which plainly had no connection with horses. In other ways the crowd in France was less horsey in appearance than with us. No farmers were in breeches and gaiters. Dark trousers and large flapping black hats were the signs of the cultivators, though their wives were more, and their daughters were completely, up-to-date.

We had been obliged to start early on Sunday for our ninety-mile drive, that is at 10 o'clock, for we were to lunch *en route* at a friendly *château*. I was surprised at two things. First at the long strings of bicyclists. Mostly young girls and youths going into Mass, and secondly at the complete absence of *charabancs*. Here were excellent roads, three or four villages as well as two little towns through which we drove had their annual fêtes in being, the whole countryside was in movement, and yet no service of auto-cars was working or required. Was it economy or that conservative habit and tradition which makes France at once Republican and reactionary, or was it a real lack of spare cash? Perhaps, as one met or passed quite a number of country traps (some with the useful hood I have so often wished in old days to transplant to England), some families packed five or six into this old style dog-cart, this absence of a *charabanc* service is mainly due to the local and family interests of the self-centred French farmers and shopkeepers who feel no desire to widen their circle of experience. Anyhow great numbers of them got this Sunday afternoon to the course, did their racing and their betting in a leisurely and ordered contentment, and returned home without any save personal transport, and also without creating or leaving that atmosphere of rakishness which seems inseparable from horse-racing in England. A more intricate racing track was never devised. The course was laid out on part of the great Government Stud Farm, or "Haras," in the Department of the Orne, and was cut out of the

bracken and rushes of the swampy fields, through which the track wandered and doubled like a maze. The first race indeed put up two coveys of partridges which flew over the galloping horses, and added to the natural appearance of the course, heightened as this was by the haphazard character and position of the fences. These were of a flimsy nature and in very trappy positions, which enabled the races to be run at a great pace and with a very real danger to man and horse, fatal in one case to both.

It was, however, after the races were over that the real interest of our visit began. Close to the course was the great breeding establishment, set up by the Government in 1730 on the estate and in the *château* and stables built for Colbert by Mansard. Here are kept the heavy Percheron black and grey, thoroughbred, half-bred, and cob stallions which are at the service of both the army and the neighbourhood. As soon as the last race was over, the officer in charge of the establishment drove off the course in a four-in-hand of roan stallions at the head of a procession of five or six teams of stallions of all breeds. The procession was closed by two officials being driven away in a carriage either an original or a very good copy of that *désobligeant* in which Laurence Sterne made the first stage, from Calais to Amiens, of his *Sentimental Journey*. As the liveries were scarlet linen tunics buttoned down on white linen trousers, both of a traditional pattern, we had at the same moment that mixture of artistic understanding, of traditional practice and adherence, coupled with a knowledge of national domestic economy, which form so distinguishing a feature of French administration. Then pairs of stallions of each breed were trotted round the great stable yard, lined on either side by the semi-circular buildings of the eighteenth century which, bending towards each other at the outer ends and closed by great iron open-work gates, were the fitting approach to an avenue of those heavy, almost forbiddingly so, foliated trees which the eighteenth-century French painters reproduced with such life-like fidelity.

As we watched the horses the result of the German elections was becoming known; early but accurate guesswork was agitating groups of officers, officials, and country gentlemen. Did it mean revenge—would England stand with them or aside? When would Briand be pushed aside? Such were the issues which sprang to everyone's lips in a few minutes. There can be no question but that the French nation, as a political whole, is genuinely and seriously alarmed at the attitude of Italy and Germany, together or separately. If this was the occasion to do so it would be easy to relate the many occasions on which French vanity and avarice have caused them to offend everyone of their neighbours in turn. The main cause of their careless, even reckless neglect of other

national feelings is, I think, a real and deep-seated belief that France's late allies ought to be perpetually grateful to her for having been given the chance of defending, in the person of France, the cause of a civilisation higher and better than that of any other country. As for her late enemies who inflicted wounds on this super-excellent state, no humiliation should be spared them, and none should be resented by them. I never have encountered such a curious mixture of mental exaltation—it has too large an alloy of materialism to be spiritual, but it doesn't in some aspects fall far short of spiritual impulse—and with the same breath of nervous dread of a lurking assassin, who hidden behind the Alps or the Rhine may strike a felon's blow at an unguarded and virtuous orphan. The vagaries of the political thought of a French countryside are unbelievable and inconceivable until one bumps into them, and since France is still so largely rural, and as such bulks dominantly in politics, they no doubt make the path of a French Foreign Minister more delicate to tread than that of most of his *confrères*. These observations have been provoked by the sudden outburst of sentiment at a provincial and rural race meeting—and are no proper part of my tale.

Two more guests had arrived during our absence, and the proper seating of them at table became at once a serious question, the mishandling of which offered occasion for considerable social disturbance. I had thought that during an official visit to India some twenty years ago, I had met a system of social precedence and etiquette—necessary perhaps in a community of exiled officials—not to be matched elsewhere for rigidity and absurdity. In certain social circles in France one still meets with a system of social relations which is equally rigid and quite as intolerable. The position at table, luncheon, or dinner, is as strictly regulated as the order of arrival thereat, and the precedence in which first women and then men are helped to food and drink is as strictly laid down and as unalterable as the laws of Media. One good point results, punctuality is not merely a virtue in the social world—it is a necessity. No greater social offence can be committed than to be late for meals. One lateness is perhaps excusable and is overlooked. A second lapse is intolerable and menacing. A third results in outlawry. The excuse for such meticulous punctuality, and it is measured by half minutes, is that a breach of good manners towards one's neighbours has taken place. The real reason is that the *quality* of the dinner has been affected by the delay. In a country where guests not only enjoy but discuss each separate course at a meal, the tardy arrival of anyone who arrests the punctual arrival of a *plat* whose excellence depends on being cooked to the second is not so much a social as a gastronomic offence. I

was guilty in earlier days of half-unconscious, half-careless, sauntering into *déjeuner* ten minutes late, and then learned from an indignant, frank, and friendly hostess the full enormity of my offence, which has not since then been repeated.

I do not pretend that this little attempt to sketch life in a well-to-do French country house covers the whole gamut of such life, or that I have touched on all the occupations or amusements which filled our time. Much is done, before the public *réunion* at mid-day, in semi-privacy by the family or the guest, which is not formally recognised. There is a great deal to be said for this postponement of meeting. Business letters, riding, shooting, walking are disposed of before the mutual entertainment of host and guest begins. But somehow in the doing of all these things there is some subtle difference of spirit which makes what is familiar both strange and refreshing.

CHARLES E. HOBHOUSE.

CONSTITUTIONALISM IN EGYPT.

THE Egyptian Parliamentary régime is a direct consequence of the British Declaration of February 28th, 1922, which abolished the Protectorate proclaimed in 1914 and recognised Egypt as an independent sovereign State.* Accompanying the Declaration, which is the basis of British policy to-day,† was a letter addressed by Viscount Allenby, then High Commissioner, to King (then Sultan) Fuad, in which occurred the following words: "The creation of a Parliament with a right to control the policy and administration of a constitutionally responsible Government is a matter for your Highness and the Egyptian people to determine." It is in virtue of this passage that His Majesty's Government has adopted a strictly neutral attitude towards the recent constitutional changes.

The Constitution now amended was promulgated in 1923. It was the fruit of several months' labour on the part of a Commission of thirty eminent Egyptian jurists and notables. Bent on giving their country as modern an instrument as possible, they made an extensive study of the world's Constitutions. In due course they presented a draft which was mainly inspired by the Belgian Constitution, without regard for the different social and other conditions obtaining in Egypt. The result was that instead of developing Parliamentary government on rational lines the Constitution produced an atmosphere of bitter controversy which has effectively obstructed all progress. "Representative and responsible government," as we understand it, has hardly functioned at any moment.

Since the promulgation of the Constitution in 1923 Egypt has had eleven Cabinets; there have been four general elections, at each of which one party, the Wafd, representing mainly the illiterate masses, has triumphed; and Parliamentary life has been suspended for an aggregate of three years. There have been four attempts to settle the "reserved points," all abortive, although, as comparison between the Milner proposals and the White Paper on the last negotiations shows, Great Britain has been prepared to make concession after concession, often on points that have from time to time been officially proclaimed to be vital and fundamental. Every possible combination ranging from Representative, Neutral and Coalition Government to Suspension has been tried to bring about some sort of continuity and a settlement with Great

* Subject to four "reserved points": (1) The security of Imperial Communications; (2) the defence of Egypt against all aggression from outside; (3) the protection of foreign interests and minorities; and (4) the Sudan—in regard to which Great Britain retained absolute discretion until the agreement could be reached.

† *Vide* Mr. Henderson in the House of Commons, May 1930.

Britain. Each expedient has been of short duration and failed. The country was in June last far worse off from every point of view than before it received its independence. Seven years of constitutional life had, in fact, merely served to intensify political agitation, involve the Egyptian people in an inextricable maze of disputes about constitutionalism, place them at the mercy of a demagogic dictatorship of the worst description, create chaos throughout the administration, jeopardise the State finances, and stultify all economic and social progress. No more eloquent proof could be desired of the immaturity of the Egyptian nation for the very liberal constitutional régime conferred on it in 1923.

Even those who drafted the original Constitution now admit its total unsuitability to the social and intellectual condition of the country. As one of them, a distinguished magistrate, put it, "We have given Egypt a smock-frock which has proved too long and too wide for her. It requires considerable cutting down to make it fit." Unfortunately, no one had the courage publicly to propose any practical remedy until Sidky Pasha became Prime Minister.

His legislation comprises a two-degree electoral law intended to remove abuses, and an amended Constitution directed at remedying some of the more glaring defects revealed by experience. If we except the Wafd, which could not be expected to acquiesce in changes effectively preventing its retention of the dominant position which its intimidatory tactics had gained for it, the only dissentient voice has come from the Liberals, who declare that they cannot accept changes which "demolish the sovereignty of the people and render Parliament a useless instrument in the administration of the country."

The Liberals themselves favour an amendment of the electoral law.* The new measure is, however, no retrograde step. A two-degree law was, in fact, drafted by the Constitution Commission and promulgated at the same time as the original Constitution, and the first elections were held on that basis. But the authors of the Constitution had omitted to establish therein the principle of two-degree elections, although the promulgation of the two-degree law mentioned and a reference in the Constitution to "electors-delegate" made it clear that a two-degree system was intended. The Zaghlulist majority in 1924, thinking a change would strengthen their control over the fellaheen vote, and hence their chances in future elections, took advantage of this omission and passed as an urgent measure at the beginning of the session a one-degree law which was eventually promulgated in 1926 and used for

* When Mohamed Mahmud Pasha, their President, advised King Fuad in June 1928 to suspend Parliamentary life, he announced his intention eventually to reform the electoral law.

the elections that year. The passage of this one-degree law produced a bitter controversy among Constitutional lawyers, and the clash of interests in regard to the law to be used for the elections brought about the downfall of the Mahmud Cabinet in 1929. The establishment in the new Constitution of the principle of two-degree elections, while carrying out the original intention, will set a term to the incessant and profitless conflict which the ambiguity of the original draft created.

The reduced size of the two Houses is a move in the right direction, for the old Constitution meant a Senate of 135 and a Chamber of 235 members. The Legislative Assembly of 1913, of which the last Parliament was the direct lineal descendant, had only 83 members, i.e. one-quarter of the combined representation in the two Houses just dissolved. It may, of course, be objected that the population had meanwhile increased. But neither this increase* nor the social and intellectual development of the country in the interval could in any way justify such an enormous expansion in representation. There naturally followed a considerable lowering in the standard of membership of the Chamber and of the elected portion of the Senate. Obviously it is better to have a relatively small number of intelligent representatives with some definite stake in the country than the horde, assembled in the last Parliament, of mediocre intellects and often unemployed professional men whose main qualification was devotion to a particular party.†

Under the amended Constitution voters will still enjoy the right of manhood suffrage. But the minimum voting-age has been raised from twenty-one to twenty-five years. The reason is that when it was fixed at twenty-one the civil coming of age stood at eighteen. Since then the latter has been raised to twenty-one, and as the political coming of age was meant to be higher than the civil, the minimum voting-age had also to be raised. Each college of fifty voters will elect an elector-delegate, and the electors-delegate in each constituency will choose the Deputy. In the case of a population where eighty-five per cent. is illiterate, the fellah, if left to choose a delegate from amongst his immediate neighbours, of whose value and reliability he has daily opportunity of judging, is more likely to make a good selection than if, as one of 60,000 or 100,000, he has to choose from among men whom probably he knows but indifferently or of whom he may never have heard.

Elector-delegate must have resided two years in the constituency. They must also pay annually either a land tax of at least £E.1 or land rent £E.2, or, if in the cities, a house rental of £E.12,

* The Census shows an annual increase in population of 1.1 per cent.

† In the last Chamber of Deputies there were nearly as many doctors and lawyers, many of them third-rate, as there had been members in the old Legislative Assembly.

or they must possess a secondary certificate. These conditions are no more onerous than those exacted in countries of far greater social development than Egypt. They are intended to ensure that the final selection of representatives will be made with some sense of responsibility and some intelligence, which has certainly not been the case under the one-degree system.

Candidates must likewise have had two years' residence in their constituency. They may not stand in more than one Mudiria (county), but they may stand for two constituencies in their Mudiria. A residential qualification has been rendered essential by the practice, particularly followed by the Wafd, of nominating candidates who had no interest in their constituencies, were quite unaware of their requirements, and were often entirely unknown to the electorate, whom the Wafd notoriously intimidated into voting for them. A typical case was Alexandria, the most important commercial centre and the richest and the second largest city in the country, which had no voice in Parliament since none of its leading notables had a seat in the Chamber, or had even been able to stand as candidate.

Various new provisions should prevent abuses practised during previous elections or legislatures. The common manoeuvre of forcing, or of paying, opponents to withdraw is met by a provision that withdrawals less than fourteen days before polling-day will entail the nomination of a new candidate. Every candidate must state before election whether he stands as an independent or for a particular party, and if he changes party within the first month he loses his seat. This is to prevent members crossing over immediately on taking their seats (as happened on a large scale in 1925). Likewise, where a candidate is unopposed, he must go to election and receive at least twenty-five per cent. of the votes. If he fails, then all the electoral procedure must be repeated. If he is again unopposed he will be returned. The object is to ensure that each Deputy has reasonable support in the constituency.

The change in the proportion of nominated members of the Senate from forty per cent. to sixty per cent. may appear to give more power to the King, who has the right of nomination. In practice this will not be the case, as the Senate has no decisive voice in the question of Ministerial responsibility. On the other hand, since many of the *élite*, and retired public servants of distinction, display a disinclination to enter the political arena and offer themselves for election, it should afford them a greater opportunity for collaborating in public affairs. This should ensure expert consideration of problems before the country.

So much for the new electoral law. In the matter of the Constitution itself, the main objections of the Liberals are :

- (1) Finance initiative with the Government instead of the Chamber.
- (2) Faculty to close the session whether the Budget has been passed or not, which they claim removes it from the control of the Chamber.
- (3) Right of the Executive to open new credits and enact legislation during vacation without obligation to call an immediate extraordinary session.
- (4) Conditions under which a vote of confidence can be raised and voted.
- (5) Omission of the polling-date in the dissolution decree, and extension of the interval between that decree and elections.
- (6) Restitution to the King of the right to nominate Moslem religious heads.
- (7) Suspension of Press organs by the Courts sitting *in camera*.
- (8) Immutability of the Constitution for ten years.*

The experience gained in past Parliaments justifies the transfer to the Government, as in England, of initiative in financial matters. Repeatedly the Chamber has, on its own initiative, decided on financial expenditure which revealed lack of foresight or the desire for personal advantage at the expense of the country. The most outstanding illustration was the case of the men called out to protect the Nile banks. No one since earliest times has ever objected to doing such work without payment, for it has been regarded in the light of protection of families and property from destruction through the breaking of the banks. Yet the Chamber, wishing to court popularity, passed a decision ordering everyone called out for such work to be paid henceforward. The total sum, which would have fallen on the Exchequer, would have varied between £E.300,000 in a year of normal, to over £E.1,500,000 in one of abnormal, flood. Fortunately the decision was not ratified, as Parliament was dissolved before the Senate could reach the third reading.† In view of the urgent need for husbanding the financial resources of the country, the Government is clearly justified in keeping financial initiative in its own hands.‡

The changes in regard to the study of the Budget do not remove it from the control of the Chamber. The Budget has to be submitted every year before February 1st. Competent Parliamentary and financial authorities affirm that this has always been done.

* *Daily Telegraph*, October 24th, 1930.
 † All who know anything about Egyptian life will be aware that the money voted would have gone into the pockets of the Omdahs, etc., and would never have reached the fellahen, who would have continued blissfully and willingly to follow their timeworn custom of guarding the banks of the Nile for nothing.
 ‡ The President of the Chamber, Wissa Wassef Bey, on one occasion solemnly warned the Deputies that, while their right of financial initiative was recognised, they risked losing it or having it considerably circumscribed if they did not exercise it with the utmost prudence.

Three and a half months, i.e. from February 1st to May 15th, the earliest date at which the Government can close the session, are ample for a full study of the Budget.* If Parliament is not able to do the work within that time it will be entirely due to the absurd system whereby after an exhaustive report by its Finance Committee the Chamber itself analyses the Budget and debates the most minute items, as for example the expenditure of a few pounds on inkpots or pencils.

In the matter of emergency credits and legislation the Government could under the old Constitution do what it liked during a dissolution period subject to reference to the new Chamber when it assembled. The dissolution period is now very logically assimilated to the vacation. With Parliament in vacation there would probably be an earlier possibility of its being consulted than if it were in a state of dissolution. Moreover, as at the end of a session the Government must be assumed to have the confidence of the Chamber, it can fairly claim to be left to enact during the vacation such credit laws and legislation as it may deem necessary, just as it is free from control during that period in regard to ordinary executive acts. Petitions for an extraordinary session must have a really urgent motive and be backed by an absolute majority of each House. This seems reasonable in view of the vagueness of the clause in the old Constitution, which opened the door to frivolous use of this privilege.

While the Ministry remains responsible to the Chamber of Deputies alone, requests for debates involving a confidence-vote must be backed by thirty members. The debate can only take place eight days after the application has been registered, and the vote only two days after the debate. Moreover, no want of confidence-vote will be valid unless passed by an absolute majority of the whole Chamber, i.e. seventy-six votes. These conditions will tend to save waste of time in the raising of vexatious issues, and are clearly directed at preventing the past snap divisions, and at ensuring that the whole Chamber should have proper opportunity to discuss such a vital question as confidence in a Cabinet or Minister.

The change in the dissolution decree seems justifiable since an excited atmosphere has always existed at the time of dissolution, and it is in the general interest that elections should be held under as calm conditions as possible. The discretion must be left to the authority entrusted with public security, which would not be the case if a date had to be fixed at the dissolution. The fixing of three months as the maximum within which elections must be held is a safeguard against arbitrary use of this clause.

* The 1929-30 Budget took the Parliamentary Finance Committee two months to analyse and the Chamber one month to pass.

The appointment of Moslem religious heads merely reverts to the situation before 1927, when the King nominated the Rector of Al Azhar and the chiefs of the Moslem rites, sects, and religious institutions. In that year the Chamber passed a law whereby this right devolved upon the Prime Minister. This was a mistake. There is an unwritten law that every Cabinet should include at least one Christian Minister. It is consequently possible that the Premier may not in the future always be a Moslem.* As Islam is the State religion the appointment of Moslem dignitaries by a non-Moslem could not be tolerated any more than it is possible for a Christian to hold the portfolio of Wakfs. The restoration to the King of his old prerogative would therefore appear to be very wise, while the reaffirmation of his right to nominate Patriarchs and Grand-Rabbis is all the more justifiable, seeing that it has been entirely due to His Majesty's personal influence that recent controversies over the election of some of the Patriarchs have been settled.

The Liberal objection to the suspension of newspapers being subject to a decision of the Courts is surprising, since this provision existed in the draft laws prepared by the Ministers of Justice in the Mahmud and Nahas Cabinets. The change would appear to be a greater safeguard for the Press than the system of administrative suspension, of which the Mahmud régime made such liberal use during its tenure of office. That the Courts should sit *in camera* is a logical consequence of this, since the Press is free to reproduce all public proceedings, and experience has shown that in such cases wider publicity is given to the seditious or libellous matter complained of. The Press clause is, however, subject to abrogation at any time.

The protection of the Constitution for a period is not unreasonable in view of the unsettled political atmosphere. Even a Constitution immutable for ten years should be preferable to the prospect of having no Parliament for a considerable time, as in 1928, when Mohamed Mahmud Pasha's *coup d'état* provided for suspension for three years, to be followed by other similar periods if necessary.

Election petitions will be dealt with as in England by a Court (the Court of Cassation), instead of by the House to which the member belongs. The old Constitution anticipated some such measure, for it provided that this work could be transferred by a law to another authority. An end will now be put to the abuse, which the majority-party practised, of unseating minority members, whom it did not desire to see in the Chamber, on petitions

* There have already been two Coptic Premiers, viz. Butros Pasha Ghali in 1910 and Youssef Pasha Wahba in 1919, and under the Wafdist régime two Copts were actually in the Cabinet at the same time.

which were obviously trumped up for the occasion and would never have been entertained by any impartial tribunal.

As regards sanction of Bills, instead of the King having one month for their consideration and non-return to Parliament being regarded as acceptance, His Majesty is given two months, and non-return is considered as refusal to sanction. Experience showed that one month was insufficient, while the reversal of the interpretation of non-return is to avoid the King's having to indicate by a public act his disapproval of legislation submitted for his signature. Such a measure cannot be dealt with again in the same session, but it becomes law if the same Chamber passes it with a two-third majority of its whole membership in the next session or, in the event of a dissolution having intervened, if the new Chamber accepts it by an absolute majority of its membership.*

Finally there are provisions relating to the members themselves. The clause regarding coercion exercised by constituents or the nominating authority has been extended to cover outside organisations, which have frequently obstructed members' free expression of opinion. Moreover, no member will be allowed to interfere with the Executive; and Parliamentary immunity will not protect him from the consequences of statements in the House, slandering colleagues, or individuals or their families, or offensive to members of the Royal Family. Senators and Deputies in the past scandalously abused their position. They coerced the Central Executive by threatening to raise questions in the Chamber unless their personal claims, often unjustified, were satisfied; and they so dominated the local administration that the authority of Government in the Provinces was completely set at naught.† Repeatedly, also, members made slanderous attacks in the House on the private life of opponents and their families. On occasion they even insulted the Sovereign and his family under the protection of their Parliamentary immunity. The changes can but conduce to raising the tone of the Debates, while the stipulation that any increase in members' emoluments should only take effect in regard to the legislature following that at which it has been voted, should act as a wholesome check on the tendency of the Chamber to vote itself increases in pay.‡

* The Liberals pressed for reconsideration of the measure in the same session. They would have received satisfaction had they not rejected the reforms *in toto*.

† At one time a special law was passed forbidding members to exploit their Parliamentary influence, but the Wafd Government, which succeeded the régime that introduced this measure, annulled it on the ground that it was a piece of party legislation.

‡ Within forty-eight hours of its assembly the first Parliament decided to increase the allocation of its members from £E.300 to £E.600 and the Liberal organ was prosecuted for criticising this decision, which had been debated as an urgent matter.

The above analysis of the new electoral law and the amendments in the Constitution makes it abundantly clear that there is no justification for the complaint of the Liberals that the sovereignty of the people has been demolished. There is indeed a wealth of evidence to show that the framers of the new Constitutional legislation have been scrupulously careful not in the slightest degree to touch the fundamental principles or diminish the liberties of the people, established in the old Constitution.

The changes made are solely such as experience has revealed to be necessary to ensure that the constitutional régime shall not serve, as it has so far done, to further the ends of one political party seeking to quell the voices representing vital interests. They are in effect directed at remedying abuses that had manifested themselves, at strengthening the system of constitutional government, at assuring a better representation of vital interests, and at affording national, as opposed to purely party, considerations a greater opportunity for dictating the policy of the country than has been possible in the past. The new legislation, far from making the Egyptian Parliament "a useless element in the administration of the country," should conduce to an increase in its utility and an enhancement of its authority and dignity.

Since the promulgation of this legislation the Liberal and Wafd Executive Committees have declared a boycott of any elections held under these laws. They forget, however, that the representative character of a Parliament is determined not by decisions to boycott elections issued by executive committees, but by the manner in which the electorate contributes to its election. Were this not so, then the last Parliament, from which the Liberals likewise abstained, was clearly not representative and the mandate Nahas Pasha obtained to negotiate with the British Government did not represent the "will of the nation." As a matter of fact, it is far from certain that a boycott by the electorate will follow the decision of these two committees, for there are signs that the rank and file of either party are not altogether satisfied with this banging of the door on all their hopes of Parliamentary office with the moral and material advantages it confers. The Sidky Cabinet confidently believes that as many voters will go to the polls at the coming elections as voted at the preceding ones, in which event the new Parliament will be representative of the country and fully qualified to legislate. All the same, with a people like the Egyptian, it is always dangerous to prophesy, for to Egypt particularly applies the famous saying of Aristotle: "Libya always brings something new (unexpected)."

ARTHUR MERTON.

A YOUNG LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL.

EUROPE has seen many "Internationals." Some, "lighting a little hour or two, are gone"; some, which promised to establish so firm a bond of understanding between their various members, broke down at the approach of war; some, belying the very spirit of internationalism, exist to promote "red ruin and the breaking up of laws." The record is rather depressing.

The International of which I wish to write is a newcomer. The precise date of its birth I will not try to determine—nor even its paternity. Dr. Hermod Lannung, the indefatigable leader of the Scandinavian Young Liberals, who (though his boyish face belies it) has been struggling for more than ten years to get such a body established, would say that this newcomer was born shortly after the war. It is, indeed, the fact that, largely owing to his own energies, several international conferences of Young Liberals were held—at Stockholm, Geneva, and other places—but no permanent organisation eventuated. The English League of Young Liberals has been twice represented at the annual conferences of the Danish League, while in 1929 the Dutch Young Liberals sent a "fraternal delegate" to our own conference in the person of their President, Dr. Kappeyne van de Coppello, and at our conference last year his successor, Dr. Hollander, and Dr. Lannung, representing the Scandinavian Young Liberals, were both present.

But if ever the historian is called upon to write the history of the Young Liberal International, he will, I think, find its first solid foundation in the conference which was held in Berlin, under the auspices of the German League of Young Democrats, in November 1929. At this conference there were present representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Finland, Switzerland, and Czecho-Slovakia. I was unfortunately unable to be there myself, but I furnished a paper on "The Outlook for Democracy," which was translated—and the next morning read in my daily newspaper that I had been speaking in Berlin!

At this conference a committee was set up with the object of giving more permanent form to the International Young Liberal movement. It did not, I am afraid, function very effectively, but at least it resulted in arrangements being made for a further conference, which took place in London, the English Young Liberals acting as hosts, early last November. From this conference, which by common consent was an unqualified success, the Young Liberal International has emerged in definite—and I hope lasting—shape.

It was not a large gathering. That was not to be wondered at, seeing that Young Liberals (if they are really *young* Liberals) cannot easily afford either the time or the money for such distant

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jaunts. But it was remarkably representative. Denmark sent a delegation of five, led by Dr. Lannung, who was also authorised to speak for Sweden. Holland also sent a contingent of five, headed by Dr. Hollander. Norway was represented by Mr. Chr. A. R. Christensen, France by M. Alfred Silbert, and Germany by Herr H. A. Kluthe. There were also two delegates from little Luxemburg. Dr. Vincent Nitti, the son of the Italian ex-Premier, had hoped to be present, but circumstances (a euphemism for the long arm of Fascism) prevented his attending, and Signor Crespi deputised for him. The conference was primarily representative of European Young Liberalism, and no endeavour had been made to get into touch with Liberal organisations in the U.S.A., but by a piece of good fortune we were able to secure the attendance of a young American professor, who was spending some months studying in England, and made some most useful contributions to our discussions. Through his good offices it is hoped to open up an American "connection."

The English delegation consisted of ten members, appointed by the Executive of the National League of Young Liberals, it being felt that if more than this number were chosen our foreign visitors might feel overweighted. In addition there were a number of "observers," representing Young Liberal Branches or otherwise interested in the conference. Such was the composition of this unique gathering.

I need not detail the proceedings, which were cursorily mentioned in some of the English newspapers and reported at length in the foreign Press. The conference was held in the Small Committee Room of the National Liberal Club, and occupied two days. In addition there were a number of social functions. Sir Herbert and Lady Samuel entertained the delegates as a preliminary to the more formal meetings, while at a later stage a personally conducted tour of the House of Commons, and a luncheon given by Lord Elmley, provided a greatly appreciated interlude. There were four sessions, the first devoted to a declaratory resolution deploring the growth in so many countries of a narrow and intolerant nationalism and the widespread tendency to substitute dictatorship for democracy, and pledging the movements represented to work unceasingly for the restoration of Liberalism as the guiding force in national and international policy; the second given to an extremely vigorous debate on disarmament; the third (opened by Signor Crespi) dealing with "The World Menace to Democracy"; and the fourth occupied with a series of short papers setting forth the history, position and prospects of the Liberal parties in the various countries represented. The conference concluded with a public meeting at the Essex Hall, held on Armistice Night, at

which Miss Megan Lloyd George, M.P., was the principal speaker.

It is rather with the spirit of this remarkable little gathering that I should like to deal—this, and what may come out of it. And the first thing to record must be the sense of challenge it conveyed. These are not precisely piping times for Liberalism, in Great Britain or anywhere else. Freedom is not in fashion, and with the world in the throes of a great depression men are not in a mood to heed the still, small voice of reason. In Great Britain the Liberal Party in Parliament has declined to a little group. In some of the other countries represented at the conference it has fallen on such evil days that its recovery scarcely seems possible. Yet here, disdaining all discouragements, were these young politicians from England, France, Germany, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg, consorting means to establish a Young Liberal International! "Who would true courage see, let him come hither."

The second thing which must, I think, have impressed anyone who attended the meetings and listened to the discussions was the remarkable identity of spirit. I say "remarkable"—for I, for one, had certainly not anticipated it. Remember the differences of circumstances, of tradition, of geography, of language, between the various delegations. Bear in mind that it was not even possible to adopt the word "Liberal" as an all-inclusive description of their common organisation without giving rise to misunderstanding. Think how diverse are the problems which confront a German Democrat, a French Radical, a Scandinavian Liberal—and how different these problems are again from those which face the Liberal Party in this country. In the circumstances, would it have been surprising if difficulty had been experienced in finding a common denominator?

Yet in the big essentials, a common mind was most notably manifest. As I have suggested, there was some difficulty in hitting on a name that would satisfy everybody, for "Liberal is as Liberal does" is not (unfortunately) a maxim of universal application. Eventually it was decided that the federation should be known as "The International Union of Young Liberal, Radical and Democratic Societies," each constituent organisation being left free to select from this omnibus description the title most suitable for domestic consumption. But, as Herr Kluthe, the German delegate, said, "Our quarrel about Liberalism was a quarrel about words and not about ideas. We discovered that there was no difference in the essential demands."

The heart of Liberalism is to be found, not in any policy or programme, but in the outlook which directs, and lends ideal purpose to its practical endeavours. This outlook is hard to define. It may more easily be felt than formulated. But it is none the

less real and it was very evident at this most comradely gathering. It was a polyglot assembly—though nearly all the speaking was conducted in English. At one point it was amusing to observe one of our own delegates explaining in German to his German neighbour what Dr. Hollander (from the Netherlands) was saying in English. (Incidentally, to facilitate communication, the Young Liberal International might well consider adopting Esperanto.) But despite these differences in language, one felt that the delegates all spoke the same spiritual tongue.

It was surprising, also, how much identity was evident in the sphere of practical policy. On the great issue of disarmament, there were some interesting cross-currents. Dr. Lannung and the rest of the Danish delegation pressed for the adoption of a policy of complete and immediate disarmament, on the lines already approved by the Danish Lower House. But this root-and-branch view did not command the assent of majority, though one of the English delegates spoke out boldly in its support. Holland took the lead in advocating a more gradual approach to the ideal which all the delegations held in common—the ideal of a disarmed Europe—and the French delegate, M. Silbert, characteristically insisted that "security" must precede disarmament. Other delegates retorted that this was putting the cart before the horse, and that disarmament would bring security. But throughout the discussion there was no trace of bitterness, and one could but feel that if only the negotiations between European statesmen could be conducted in the same spirit, the day of genuine disarmament would be much nearer.

As a final commentary on this debate, I cannot do better than quote again from Herr Kluthe, who, in a message which appears in *The Forward View*, writes:

The deep contrast between the French and German points of view in the question of disarmament, was it not in reality a contrast in the question of tactics? My friend Silbert is as truly as myself longing for peace, only he sees another way to maintain it. Of course I fight against his position in the question of disarmament, I find it dangerous and false, but nevertheless I regard Silbert and the Young French Radicals as my friends, for I know that they are animated by the same spirit. This certitude makes our discussions so valuable. They are not like discussions of diplomatists, who like to blind, but they are sincere, as those of friends, and may well lead to a common opinion.

In the sphere of domestic policy, one was struck, not once but many times, by the similarity of the proposals put forward by Liberals in the various countries represented to deal with similar problems. To give one instance only, as M. Silbert enunciated

the social programme of the French Radicals, with its demand for a National Council of Industry and Works Councils for individual firms, one might have been listening to a digest of the Yellow Book. The German experience in these matters, as set out by Herr Kluthe, was also of great practical interest. Talking of the Yellow Book, one must record the immense impression which that remarkable work has made on Liberal opinion abroad. The Dutch and Scandinavian delegates, especially, showed an acquaintance with its contents which would put many an English Liberal to shame.

If the delegations all had something to teach one another, they all also had something to learn. English Young Liberals listened with envious interest to the account which Dr. Lannung gave of the effects of site value taxation, coupled with the development of "occupying ownership," in Denmark. They also pricked up their ears when he stated that his country had introduced into its rating system the principle of differentiation already applied to income tax, for such a proposal figures in their own programme. Dr. Hollander's description of the remarkable enterprise undertaken by the Netherlands Government, the draining of the Zuyder Zee, gave them an effective illustration, which they may be trusted to use, of the advantages of long-term schemes of national development.

Thus did these young politicians, drawn from so many countries, put their minds (in Lord Morley's phrase) into joint stock. It is hard to exaggerate the value of such an exchange of views and experience. Young Liberals in each country have their own problems and their own difficulties, but, as these discussions proved, there are many questions that face all alike, and in threshing these out this new "International" may render a most useful service. Not the least important, by any manner of means, of the problems discussed, was the future of democracy. The general impatience with representative government, finding expression in Italy in the Fascist Dictatorship, in Germany in the growth of the Hitlerites, and in England (in a modified form) in Sir Oswald Mosley's demand for a Junta of five with power to carry through an "emergency policy" subject only to "the general control" of Parliament, is a fact that challenges the very soul of Liberalism.

One of the most significant phrases used in the course of the discussions was that coined by M. Silbert when he spoke of "invisible dictatorships." The relations between capitalism and nationalism, the growth of plutocracy, and the ability of wealth, by buying up or manipulating the Press, to "make" public opinion, are issues of burning interest. Socialism has recognised them, but Socialism has provided no answer. The Socialist State, as Russia has proved, may take the place of the capitalist, and be

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as nationalistic as the most concessionaire-ridden Government of the old régime. Here are problems—difficult problems, to the solution of which there is no short cut, but problems that must be solved if peace and democracy are to survive—which international Young Liberalism is setting itself to tackle. Already it has been decided that they shall form one of the main subjects of discussion at the next conference.

But more important than formulating a policy, more important even than the exchange of views, are the personal contacts that have been established and the "family feeling" created between the various delegations. From the standpoint of internationalism it is not for nothing that young politicians from so many countries should have met together in frank and friendly conclave. Each will have gone back with a new understanding, a readier sympathy with "the other fellow's" point of view—and that, after all, is the road to a warless world.

If I were asked to pick out my most vivid memory of the whole conference, it would be that of Armistice Day morning, when, as the gun announced the Two Minutes' Silence, the delegates stood with bowed heads around a common table—representatives of nations which had been engaged in the war, representatives of nations which had taken no part in the war, all alike silently vowing, "It shall not be again." That was a symbol and a token of what Young Liberalism, united throughout Europe for the maintenance of peace, can accomplish if it be strong enough.

But there's the rub. If there be much virtue in an "if," there is much hazard also. Is International Young Liberalism likely to become an effective force? Superficially, no doubt, the omens are gloomy. If Liberalism nationally is having to fight so hard for its very existence, how can Young Liberalism internationally hope to accomplish anything that counts? Well, prophecy is a fruitless pastime, but of this I am sure, that these young people mean business. Faith and courage, the two essentials for success in any great venture, they have in abundance. And they do not lack leadership.

In any event, the foundations have been laid. A permanent Council has been set up, with a smaller Executive Committee that will meet at regular intervals and in the meantime maintain contact by means of correspondence. The constituent branches of the various national organisations concerned are becoming alive to the international movement, and arrangements are being made for the exchange of literature. Next Whitsuntide the "International" will meet at The Hague, when the delegates will be the guests of

the Dutch League of Young Liberals, and a large attendance is expected.

In a busy, restless, fevered world, where one needs to shout to make oneself heard, and the news, to attract attention, has to be featured in headlines, such an event as the birth and growth of this new "International" may make little stir. But, in the old simile, even a tiny pebble, thrown into a pond, sets ripples in motion which eventually disturb its utmost edge. Every great movement has had small beginnings, and if these young politicians can not only keep before them the vision they saw in London, but pass it on to their fellow-countrymen, no bounds can be set to what they may accomplish. The cynic may sneer at their efforts, the "practical politician" view them with a tolerant smile. But the cynic is frequently wrong, and very often the "practical politician" cannot see beyond his nose. Courage and faith have moved mountains ere this—and so who knows?

ELLIOTT DODDS.

THE KAISER'S FRIEND: PHILIP ZU EULENBURG.

AMIDST the lakes and woods of the *Alt Mark* in the heart of Prussia rise up the turrets of the Castle of Liebenberg. There for fourteen years until Death mercifully released him from his physical and mental sufferings lived a man who had experienced to a degree known to few men the fickleness of Fortune. When, on September 17th, 1921, Philip, Prince zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld closed his eyes for the last time, the world that he had known for over seventy years, and in which he had been a conspicuous social and political figure, lay in ruins around him. The Empire which he had helped to establish on the battlefields of the Franco-Prussian War had become one with the historic past. The monarchs and statesmen and generals among whom he had passed his life were following one another in a swift succession into the silence of the grave, while the few that still remained among the living were dragging out the last days of their lives in obscurity and poverty. To crown everything the Emperor whose friend he had been for more than a quarter of a century, with whom he had experienced the height of earthly pomp and show, and for whom he had sacrificed the honour of an ancient name, was an exile in Holland. If any man ever had reason to appreciate to the full the truth contained in Bernhard von Bülow's bitter words "Politics is traffic in human flesh," it was the man to whom they were addressed—Philip zu Eulenburg.

Philip zu Eulenburg was born in the old Baltic seaport Königsberg, where his father, Count Philip zu Eulenburg, was serving with the Wrangel-Kürassiers, on February 12th, 1847, and on his father's side was descended from an old noble family from Upper Saxony, which traced its ancestry back to a certain Conradus de Hilburg who flourished about the year 1170. Three hundred years later a Botho von Ileburg served in the ranks of the Teutonic Knights at the Battle of Tannenberg, and was rewarded with an estate in West Prussia for his valour. Throughout another three centuries Botho's descendants continued to distinguish themselves in the diplomatic service and the army until in 1786 Ernst Christoph was raised to the dignity of a count. Later the family divided into four branches of which that settled in the Mark was the one to which belonged the subject of this portrait study. At one time the Eulenburgs were numbered amongst the greatest territorial nobles in Germany by virtue of their vast estates extending to over 250 manors and 20 townships in Saxony, besides broad lands in Bohemia. From his mother, Alexandrine von Rothkirch und Panthen, he inherited the blood of an old Silesian family and through

her he came into possession of Liebenberg, and estates in the Lower Rhineland, which had been the property of her great-uncle Carl, Baron von Hertefeld, whose racing-stable was one of the sights of Berlin. It was from his mother, too, that he inherited his love of music and painting as well as the artistic temperament that was to render him a delightful companion and a *causeur* without a rival in the Germany of his day. This mingling of two widely different and even incompatible strains in his blood was the cause of the inward mental conflicts that involved Eulenburg in no little suffering throughout his life and produced in him an almost morbid romanticism, or *Schwärmerei*, that was at one and the same time his weakness and his charm. Genealogy is a study too commonly neglected by the historians who ought to be its most earnest devotees. For without a knowledge of the strains that have mingled to compose a man's blood the historian lacks the key to his innermost being—that being which is the inspirer and controller of all his actions in life. In the fact of the mingling of Prussian military traditions and caste feeling with South German artistic sensibility and tolerance in his veins is to be found the clue to Eulenburg's complex personality and to his early success and subsequent failure in life.

After temperament and family tradition, the determining factors in the formation of character are education and environment. Count Philip zu Eulenburg the Elder was a strict father of the old Prussian military school. "That a Prussian nobleman could become an artist," writes Herr Muschler in a book* that affords a remarkable insight into an unusual personality and into the bizarre world in which the Emperor William II and his courtiers lived, "was an idea which the mind of his (Philip the Younger's) father simply could not grasp. In the first place, in his eyes, the profession of an artist was no profession at all while, in the second place, he believed that it was only possible for a nobleman to earn his living in three ways: either as officer, or lawyer, or agriculturalist. All other ways of livelihood seemed to him as a matter of course to be excluded." As a soldier himself, Count Eulenburg was from the day of his son's birth determined that he also should follow the profession of arms. Neither the young Philip's delicate constitution, nor his marked musical and artistic gifts, availed to induce the self-willed father to alter his decision and permit his son to choose his own career. It was only after it had become manifest that Philip was physically unfit for the military career on which he had embarked at his father's behest, and after he had satisfied the fighting traditions of his family by winning the Iron Cross

* Philip zu Eulenburg: *Sein Leben und seine Zeit*. Von Reinhold Conrad Muschler. (Leipzig: Grunow.)

for gallantry in the Franco-Prussian War, that Count Eulenburg reluctantly assented to his son's adoption of diplomacy as a profession. A "martyrdom" was the only fitting word that Philip zu Eulenburg could find in which to describe, in the unpublished manuscript of his *Psychological Studies*, the five years that he spent as a lieutenant in the *Garde-du-Corps*. The narrow mentality of his brother officers repelled him no less than did the blind insistence upon parades and drills. Although he was as fervently devoted to his native Prussia as was the greatest fire-eater amongst them, the "Prussianism" that was the common characteristic of his comrades was utterly incompatible with his sympathetic and friendly temperament, and he was one of the very few to warn his Imperial friend whither the military Prussian clique were leading Germany.

There is no need to dwell here upon Eulenburg's early years as a diplomat. His great social gifts—he was a brilliant *raconteur*, a pianist with a singularly sensitive touch, and a composer of no mean merit—made him a universal favourite within the charmed circle in which the diplomats of those days moved and had their being. Nor were more serious qualities wanting. A keen power of observation united to an independence of judgment and an incisive literary style combined to give his dispatches a character all their own and to win for him the approval of the Nestor of European statesmen—Bismarck.

With the Bismarcks—father and son—Eulenburg had long been on terms of special intimacy, thanks to Bismarck's friendship with Eulenburg's uncle, Count Friedrich zu Eulenburg, the Prussian Minister for the Interior, who was his right-hand in all matters of domestic politics. In his *Memoirs* Eulenburg has painted a brilliant picture of the Iron Chancellor seated in the midst of his family and friends, smoking his long pipe and reading the newspapers, and every now and then starting a political discussion which was invariably interrupted on its becoming too heated by Princess Bismarck with a minatory shake of her forefinger at the Prince and a peremptory "Ottochen! Ottochen!" that never failed to curb her choleric husband. With the accession of William II to the throne in 1888 wide differences of opinion swiftly manifested themselves between the young monarch and his aged Chancellor which ultimately led to William's "Dropping the Pilot" a little more than a year later. The part played by Eulenburg in the tragedy of the Chancellor's resignation has been the subject of much misunderstanding and some calumny. At the time he was suspected both of having instigated his Imperial friend to get rid of Bismarck and of being responsible for the undignified manner in which Bismarck's removal from office was carried out. Such

suspicious would appear to have been wholly unfounded. Eulenburg found himself called upon by the Emperor to play the thankless role of intermediary between him and the Bismarck family. As a consequence he lost the friendship of Herbert Bismarck, and earned for himself the hatred of the numerous partisans of the old Prince who himself declared in an explosion of anger that "all the Eulenburgs are my enemies." Nevertheless, it was Eulenburg who uttered a grave warning to the Emperor: "One thing is certain. If Your Majesty takes too determined a stand, he (Bismarck) will go. And that would be a national misfortune—a misfortune for Your Majesty." Subsequently he reiterated his warning still more emphatically when the Emperor disapproved the draft of a measure drawn up by the Chancellor for the purpose of crushing the Socialist movement in Germany. "It is my wish," said the Emperor to Eulenburg in seeking his advice, "to show the nation, and especially the working classes, that I am filled with good intentions towards them and desire to help them. It is not my intention to shoot them down. . . . I look upon the ideas of the Prince (Bismarck) as being at the very least extraordinary." Eulenburg replied that it was impossible to overlook the fact of Bismarck's genius and that a breach between him and the Emperor would be highly regrettable. "If the old man will not abandon his ideas—what then?" asked the Emperor. "It then becomes a question of tact and fineness of feeling in the handling of a man and in dealing with a personal issue," Eulenburg answered. "If Your Majesty quarrels with Bismarck, then the result will be precisely the same as it would be were you to fire upon the mob." Nevertheless, as the Emperor later sadly observed to his friend, it was "very difficult to compromise with him (Bismarck)." The clash of temperaments no less than the divergence in political opinion between the Chancellor and his young Emperor was bound in the long run to lead to the result to which it in fact led—the dismissal of the Chancellor.

The greatest tragedy—perhaps indeed the only real element of tragedy in the whole affair—was that it brought about a poisoning of the political and social atmosphere in Germany that lasted for long years after the Chancellor himself had been laid in his grave. No man foresaw the inevitable consequence more clearly than did Eulenburg: no man suffered more in both his career and his personal friendships through its occurrence. One closing scene out of this drama of human wills has been described by Eulenburg with a sureness of touch and a fineness of feeling that makes an ineffaceable impression upon his reader's mind. In August 1898 Eulenburg stood in company with the Emperor before the catafalque on which rested the coffin that contained all that was mortal of Otto von

Bismarck. "Beside me stood Herbert (Eulenburg confided to his diary) to whom I had been the most faithful of friends in the darkest days of his life. . . . Cold and proud, he stood there as the pertinacious champion of the father whose body lay in the closed coffin before him. . . . I remembered a youthful Herbert who had trusted me to the uttermost. . . . I saw him before me on the day when I came to him in the name of the Emperor to request him, notwithstanding his father's resignation, to remain in office. After ten years, and after an intimate friendship that had now found its end, I recalled our final conversation. Politics is a poor game. Whoever intends to make a name for himself in that career must either be a bad lot or have a cold and heartless nature. Not only the highest nature, but even the common man is destroyed by it. The mightiest oaks are eaten up by worms."

It is, indeed, a pity that when the lives of so many lesser men are appearing every day in Germany no one has put pen to paper to write the biography of Herbert Bismarck. If ever a man sacrificed personal happiness to the call of filial duty, Herbert Bismarck was that man; the story of his tragic love affair with the gifted and beautiful Princess Carolath is far more dramatic and moving reading than many a novel. The Iron Chancellor never revealed his hard and brutal nature more clearly than in his ruthless destruction of his eldest son's happiness. Imagine the plight of a man who was the son and heir of the greatest statesman of his day, and himself Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and who found himself called upon to decide between his own happiness and that of the woman he loved (and who unquestionably loved him—she lived alone for thirty-three years in a Venetian palace until her death in 1914) and the life of his father who had bluntly told him that on the day Elizabeth Carolath bore the name of Bismarck he (the Chancellor) would shoot himself!

Of the many portraits of the leading actors on the European stage which Eulenburg had drawn with a facile pen, the full-length portrait of William II excels all the others in brilliancy of execution and penetrating revelation of character. The Emperor stands forth from Eulenburg's canvas as a figure of Comedy and Tragedy. As one reads Eulenburg's records of his many conversations with William II, and also reads the telegrams and letters that passed between them, King Edward's caustic summing up of his nephew's character repeatedly comes to mind: "the most brilliant failure known to history." Of the Emperor's rich endowment of intellectual gifts, there can be no longer any doubt; he was unquestionably one of the ablest rulers of his day in so far as the internal welfare and material prosperity of the country over which he ruled comes into question. Germany owes him a debt of

gratitude that will be recognised and estimated at its true worth in years to come. At the same time, however, it cannot be denied that he and he alone bore the ultimate responsibility for permitting a state of things to exist which was bound to result in the catastrophe of the World War. It was in truth neither intellectual ability nor insight nor quickness in grasping the essential elements in a political situation that William II lacked—what he was deficient in was that indefinable something over and above all other qualities that welds them together into a symmetrical whole—character. His political shrewdness is revealed in the fact that in 1887, with two lives still between him and the Imperial throne, he was pre-occupied with the draft of a proclamation he proposed to address to the German Princes on his accession. On November 25th, 1887, the day on which the then Prince William of Prussia summoned him to the Marble Palace to consult with him about the draft proclamation, Eulenburg noted in his diary: "The ideas contained in his draft are excellent—simple and clear. The style is very unequal: at times good: then again vague. This Prince will furnish us with many problems to solve." In the preceding summer Eulenburg had been the Prince's guest at Bad Reichenhall, and while there had written a letter to his friend, Fritz von Farenheid-Beynuhnen, in which he said of the future Emperor: "I hope for great things from him for the future of Prussia. His clearness of vision, his energy, and the charm of his highly individual personality combine to make him an altogether exceptional man." This charm of manner, which could in a moment be exchanged for a coarseness and vulgarity that offended many who came into personal contact with him, did not suffice to blind the cleverer men about him to the fact that in certain aspects of his character lay a grave danger for the prosperity of Germany under his governance. "He (the Prince) thinks a lot of you," wrote Herbert Bismarck in 1886 to Eulenburg, "and has sung your praises high and low. You must make use of that . . . to influence him. For the firebrand element that is to be found in the majority of his opinions must be steadily eliminated in order that statesmanlike ideas may come more and more to take the place of those of a Potsdam lieutenant."

This "firebrand element" in the Prince's character no less than a certain irresponsible recklessness in the utterance of opinions was to be the cause of grave anxiety to many besides Eulenburg when the Prince had been transformed into the Emperor. What must have been the feelings of a patriotic Bavarian on reading the following words in a telegram sent *en clair* by the Emperor to the Prussian Minister in Munich, Philip zu Eulenburg: "Don't let yourself be led into error by the shrieks of silly Bavarian patriots

who allow themselves to be led by the nose by Berlin free-thinkers into all sorts of follies. I have laughed heartily over the inconceivable stupidity of the good Bavarians." Eulenburg's reply to this amazingly tactless action was a letter in which he pointed out in no uncertain manner to the Emperor that "when Your Majesty telegraphs *en clair* such expressions as 'silly Bavarian patriots' and 'stupid Bavarians,' Your Majesty compromises yourself, Your Majesty's Government, and Your Majesty's Minister." He even went further in adding: "Your Majesty thereby gives an appearance of humbug to all declarations of friendship and goodwill towards our South German brothers: for only that which is said in intimate correspondence is looked upon as sincere. . . . Your Majesty's telegram of yesterday wounded the Bavarians in their most tender place—their vanity. It can be productive of consequences of which we cannot even dream to-day. Or does Your Majesty desire to fight?" This letter of Eulenburg's sufficiently answers the accusation often brought against him of being no more than a courtier who was careful only to say those things to his Imperial master which he thought would please him.

The Emperor's lack of fine feeling is strikingly illustrated by his conduct at a moment when an impending family bereavement was filling Eulenburg's mind with anxiety. For years Eulenburg had been the Emperor's indispensable companion on his summer voyage in the Baltic—a "holiday" from which most of the Emperor's friends returned utterly worn-out from their endeavours to keep their Imperial host amused and in good spirits. (Eulenburg himself once wrote to the Empress from such a voyage: "One can talk for four, five, or even six hours a day. But twelve hours without ceasing is impossible! At the close nobody knows what he or anybody else has said.") Shortly before their customary "holiday" began in the summer of 1899 Eulenburg's mother-in-law became dangerously ill, and he begged the Emperor to dispense with his company. The reply he received is so characteristic that it deserves quotation in full: "Have just heard from Lyncker that you think it probable that you cannot come. I am disgusted beyond measure that after the annoyances and worries of this year, and not least those that are depressing me to-day, I am to be deprived of your stimulating company. I would rather abandon the journey altogether. . . ." Eulenburg replied to this selfish telegram with an assurance that he would not allow any personal considerations to hinder him from voyaging with the Emperor. On June 25th his mother-in-law died, and four days later Eulenburg left to join his Imperial host on board the *Hohenzollern* where the conversation between them presently turned upon the subject of the Emperor's telegram. The Count (he was raised to the dignity of a

Prince in 1900) observed that he was placed in a most painful dilemma by this telegram. Thereupon the Emperor made the naïve admission: "I had a bad conscience when I despatched it and I blamed myself greatly for having done so. It was simply pure egotism! Nevertheless I have become such a creature of habit that the idea that you could not come was unbearable. You are still the chief guest on these voyages!" Many of his advisers—Eulenburg among them—have been blamed for their fulsome flattery of the Emperor: William II at least knew how to repay them in their own coin.

The annual *Nordlandreise* was not the only occasion on which Eulenburg was to be found in the Emperor's company. He was a frequent guest at the Imperial hunts at Rominten and was constantly in attendance on the Emperor when the latter was himself a guest at one or other castle in Germany. Moreover the Emperor was for years a repeated and honoured visitor to Liebenberg. On one occasion at least Eulenburg accompanied his Imperial friend to England. He was there for the Cowes Week in 1893 and his comments on English society, and on the Queen in particular, were far from complimentary. "She (the Queen) appeared to me as nothing more than a little, fat, peevish woman by whom I was not in the least impressed. It seemed to me extraordinary that everybody should tremble before her—literally everybody—and especially her family and numerous relations. The sight aroused nothing but amusement in me." The offer of the English embassy in succession to Hatzfeld was most unwelcome to him, and it was with relief that he found himself appointed ambassador at Vienna in 1894. There he remained for eight years until illness compelled him to retire from public life in 1902, and there he could indulge his love of music to the full. Of the scandal that ultimately made an end not only to his public career, but also to his long friendship with the Emperor, who, be it said, displayed a lamentable lack of moral courage and fine feeling, there is no space in which to write here. Suffice it to say that two men whose judgment was certainly unbiassed, and who were in a position to know the truth, both believed in his victimisation—King Edward and the Emperor Francis Joseph.

Greatly gifted though he was, Eulenburg nevertheless must be deemed to have been a failure in life; his interests were indeed too diversified to have permitted of his achieving signal success in any one sphere of human activity. Only concentration on a single aim—wealth, fame, power—to which all else in life is sacrificed—makes for supreme achievement. Eulenburg was no Bismarck who devoted himself unsparingly through half a century to the attainment of his ideal—the unification and aggrandisement of the Ger-

man peoples. Bismarck shirked no task no matter how disagreeable, nor avoided any responsibility no matter how heavy, which promised to further his object. Eulenburg's greatest weakness was his dislike of responsibility, especially of outward and official responsibility, and he preferred to exercise his gifts and influence behind the scenes. If he had been a stronger man, Eulenburg would have seized upon the great opportunity afforded him by the offer of the London embassy; a post in which he might have profoundly affected Anglo-German relations for the better through his intimacy with the Emperor. He might have been Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and he might even have been Imperial Chancellor. But he feared responsibility and also the loss of his influence, perhaps even his friendship, with the Emperor. "I am not fit to be Secretary of State," Eulenburg wrote in his diary in 1894, "because the continuous intercourse with the Emperor would wear me out. The permanent quarrel between the aide-de-camps and members of the military chancery on the one hand and, on the other, the Foreign Office, whose civil organisation and informed point of view is never able to convince the governing military group which the Emperor has under him as 'comrades,' would grind me to pieces as though I were between two millstones." Would Bismarck, whose influence over William I was never as complete as Eulenburg's ascendancy over William II, have written those words? But the comparison is too far-fetched and even unjust to Eulenburg who never aspired to play a Bismarckian rôle. He was content to be known to his own and succeeding generations as his Emperor's friend.

IAN F. D. MORROW.

THE MEN OF THE TREES.

WHO are *The Men of the Trees*? They are not as some might suppose "Sons of Tarzan," nor are they those pigmy folk who swing themselves from branch to branch in the tall trees of the tropic forests. But they are Sons of the Forest of Equatorial Africa who, realising that their ancient tree heritage was vanishing, banded themselves together in their thousands for forest protection in response to an appeal that was made to them to become creators instead of destroyers.

The life and prosperity of the tribes of Equatorial Africa are inseparably bound up with the splendid forests which are the ancient heritage of their people. Lofty and dense, these forests have for countless centuries afforded shelter, food and fuel to the wandering inhabitants of these vast countries either side of that imaginary line known as the Equator.

It is difficult for those who live in the luxury of Western civilisation to realise the tremendous influence of the primeval forests of Africa upon the lives of those people who, from time immemorial, have dwelt beneath their shade. The very soul of the forest has entered into their folk-songs and legends, and deep within their primal hearts is a feeling of awe and devotion in its vast solitudes and ever-changing tropical beauties.

When I first went into the Highlands of Kenya I came across a tribe, Bantu in origin, who had earned for themselves the name of "Forest Destroyers," because of their shifting methods of agriculture. Their chief occupation was farming, but of an extremely elementary sort. Theirs is a system still common throughout tropical Africa, namely the clearing of a small patch of forest by matchete and fire, followed by a short period of cropping, and then its abandonment in order to continue the process elsewhere.

These African people were childlike, simple and impetuous. Their immediate concern was to make farms. Little did they dream of the value of the timber that they were destroying. They did know, however, that whenever they wanted to find good virgin soil in which to make a fresh farm they would find it in the virgin forests. They had not yet learned the use of fertilisers, natural or artificial, though they had some vague idea as to the value of crop rotation. But whenever the seasons came round for sowing fresh grain and planting their yams and sweet potatoes they would go into the thick forest, cut down and burn the trees, even though they were Mutarakwa or Mutumaiyu—the priceless pencil-cedar and brown olive; and after harvesting two crops would abandon their spoilt land to move deeper and deeper into the forest, leaving

always behind them a trail of destruction. Hence the tribesmen earned for themselves the name of "Forest Destroyers."

This devastation of the countryside may seem like wanton waste, yet the tribesmen did not act in any spirit of mischief. They were merely ignorant of the consequences of their recklessness and lack of foresight. They did not realise that by destroying the forests at this rapid pace they would one day find themselves without even fuel to cook their food or building material for their huts and granaries. Some of the chiefs and elders of the tribes may have felt vaguely uneasy about it, but as for the younger men, they were quite unconcerned, caring little whether their women folk had to go two hours' or two days' journey to fetch fuel so long as they got their meals.

When alone I first went into their country as a Forest Officer in the service of the British Government, I pitched my tent on a hill known as Muguga, which means "A treeless place"—an apt description, for it commanded a view of a countryside once lovely with sub-tropical woodlands, now bleak and bare save for the scattered hamlets and a few distant Katinga or sacred groves. It was on this hill of Muguga that I held my Barazas, or meetings of chiefs and elders, and endeavoured to impress upon them the urgent importance of forest protection and tree planting. Day after day these heads of the tribes journeyed to my camp to hear what I had to say, and at the conclusion of these gatherings they would murmur their *m'wegas*—"Good, good," and night after night as they went away I hoped that they were going to do something to remedy the situation, but it was obvious to me after a while that they did not know how to begin. They had the will to do, but, as they said, they were old men, and the work that I wanted would require an army of Morans.

The Morans, or young warriors, for their part lived happy-go-lucky lives, not worrying as to what became of their forests. If one talked to them of the importance of tree-planting they would reply, "That is *shauri ya Mungu*—God's business." It did not occur to them that if all Mungu's seed trees were removed He could scarcely be asked or expected to replace a great forest by magic. I could not punish them, for they were too many, and how could I punish wrongdoers totally unconscious of their crime? "Sufficient unto the day" was their motto as they taxed the land for their immediate needs. It did not strike these young men that the destruction of the forests had anything to do with the decrease in rainfall, although their fathers told them that in the old days, when their land was covered with the original forests, there was rain in plenty, and that what few crops they grew in those days were better than now. Whenever there was talk about this tree-

planting everybody agreed that it was a very good thing, but the problem was to persuade them to plant trees without payment or compulsion.

I had given long talks in many meetings with the tribesmen, but apparently the seed had not taken root, and no action had resulted, yet I would not lose hope, for I felt there must be a way to do this work and that I must find it. I had read of whole tribes that were dying out directly as the result of forest destruction. To the north of the Gold Coast in the French sphere of influence, tribes were being driven before the oncoming desert and, finding themselves in a small wedge-like patch of the forest with desert ahead, their chiefs had forbidden marriage and their women refused to bear children because they would not raise sons or daughters to starvation.

I went about my ordinary routine work, and after some days the inspiration came. I had been watching the ceremonial dances, and had learnt that in these parts of Africa there was a different dance for every season of the year. There was a special dance for the season when the beans were planted and another when the corn was reaped. When they were going out for a lion hunt these tribesmen stimulated their courage by a special dance. When there was nothing particular to do, again they would dance. Suddenly the idea came to me. Why not a forest dance?—a ceremonial tree-planting dance? Everywhere these young African warriors were pouring a vast amount of life and energy into their warlike skirmishes, forest burnings, and dancing. I was convinced that such an impulsive body of stalwart young fighters could be moulded for good instead of being left to continue in old habits of destructiveness through sheer ignorance of better uses of their energy. I thought I would apply the principles of the Boy Scout Movement, but when on a visit to Nairobi I discussed the matter with brother-officers the idea of putting a "native" upon his honour was condemned as wildly impracticable and quite impossible. I was considered a visionary and, but for the encouragement received from an American official, an Italian padre and a British settler, with the added enthusiasm of the chiefs, I might not have persisted.

As it was the height of the dancing season it came to me that here might be an opportunity for introducing a tree-planting dance and in so doing reach the young blood of the tribe—for all the young men were passionately fond of dancing. First of all, I sent for the Captains of the various N'gomas or dances and gave them an invitation to bring their followers and join in a competitive dance which I was about to arrange. This dance was to be the Dance of the Trees, and I promised a prize of a fatted ox for the best turned-

out Moran and, as their women could not possibly be left out on this auspicious occasion, a necklace of their favourite beads for the most beautiful damsel, who was to be chosen by the popular vote of a committee of Morans.

The Captains of the dances excitedly expressed their pleasure at this new idea and hastened to their various towns and villages to spread the news.

At length the day of this great dance arrived. It was one of those perfectly fine days, glorious sun and crisp air, to which one becomes almost accustomed in the delectable Highlands of Kenya. As I dressed I felt that at least the elements were with me, for the sun was already rising over the distant mountains, and when the early mist cleared the snow-capped peak of Kenya caught the sunlight, while her sister, Kilimanjaro, a hundred miles away, looked like a giant's breakfast table spread with a snowy white cloth hanging over its square top. It was hard to imagine that one was on the equator, for in spite of the sun as I sat down to breakfast I was heartily thankful for the roaring fire which my Arab boy, Ramazini, had kindled beside me.

Early as it was the excitement had begun, for soon runners arrived to say that their tribesmen were approaching in thousands. Three hours later these eager young warriors were massed in a great hollow between two hills about a mile from my camp where they sorted themselves out and put the finishing touches to their elaborate make-up, so that they might be ready for the big march past. This was to be a great day. It recalled to them the happy days when they prepared—perhaps in this same hollow—to sally forth to raid the camps of their hereditary enemies the Masai. War for them had no terrors. In the old days it had been little more than a pastime possessing none of the horrors of western warfare. Some of the older men had been comrades in arms and this indeed was a notable reunion.

As was their custom, they had formed themselves into their respective *irika* or clans. The Akiruru and the Achewa were there, the Adjui headed by the son of old Chief N'duni, the Agachiku and the Ambui, each clan with their separate divisions and blood ties. They came from widely separated villages, for although men joined the clan of their fathers they are not restricted in their habitation to any particular geographical area.

All these were now falling into order, clan by clan. At a given signal the great throng started to advance, rank upon rank, carrying their spears and shields. On they came in a constant stream prepared as if for battle, yet on their spear-tops was the ball of ostrich feathers to signify that they came in peace. With proud dignity they marched past the raised platform which had been

erected for the occasion and then, halted by their captains, they formed orderly ranks to listen to the address awaiting them. Silence was called for as I mounted the dais and in their own tongue I bade them welcome.

"Men and Warriors of the Kikuyu tribe," I went on, "I have asked you here to dance, and it is my wish that you should enjoy yourselves. But there is something I would first like to tell you, something very important that you should know, for it is the business of everybody. You are aware that a reproach hangs over your heads. People call you by the name of 'Forest Destroyers.' Too long have you cut down and burned the old forests to make your little cultivations, and as you have advanced you have left a trail of ruin behind you. You have destroyed the forests that were your heritage, the forests that you should pass on to your sons. If you continue your present ways they will not even last your own lifetime. You must all know that this cannot go on for ever. Already your women have to go two or three days' journey to fetch fuel with which to cook your food. Soon there will be no more trees left."

A great silence had fallen upon the assembled throng. As I paused for a moment one could only hear a gentle breeze moving the leaves of the great solitary tree in the centre of the arena. Instinctively I dropped my voice as I continued:

"Since the coming of the white man many of you have learnt how to build better huts, and for better huts you will want more wood. The white man has brought the *gari-ya-moshi*, the steam-engine and train, and you no longer have to walk when you want to go to Nairobi. But the *gari-ya-moshi* needs fuel, which must be got from the forests. The white man, as you know, is here to help you, and you have already benefited from his instructions. Now the white man wants you also to help yourselves. He wants you to learn to protect the trees. In the past you have been forest destroyers; in the future you must become forest planters.

"Why is it that whenever you want good land you go into the forest to find it? Listen well to my words and I will tell you. It is because trees improve the soil; the leaves of the trees fall on the land and make it better. If you wish to find good soil you must plant trees in your old cultivation, before you forsake them altogether, so that when all the virgin forest is finished, you and your sons will be able to return and find new forests which you have planted, and fresh soil in which to grow your crops.

"Listen well to my words. To-day I am going to call for volunteers from amongst you, for men who will promise before N'gai, the High God, to plant so many trees each year and take care of trees everywhere. The reproach against your tribe must be re-

moved. No longer must men call you 'Forest Destroyers' but rather may they look to you to lead the way and show other tribes how to plant trees and so to perpetuate those great forests whose well-being is bound up with your own.

"As you all know, the spot upon which we stand to-day is known as Muguga. It is well named Muguga, for save a solitary tree here and there the whole countryside, which was once beautiful with woodlands, now lies broken and bare. I call on you then, for volunteers, for men who will join together and become *Watu wa Miti* (Men of the Trees) and who, instead of destroying the forest, will plant trees."

I had finished speaking, but there was no applause—the only verbal comment was a chorus of *Namwega* coming from the old men, chiefs and elders. I leant back upon the table in front of which I had been standing and waited for a moment, to see what the outcome would be.

The captains of N'gomas were in earnest conversation with their clansmen, little groups of friends were discussing something. In a few moments there was a deep hum of conversation. Slowly, deliberately, these war-clad warriors were making up their minds about something. The captains drew together and again separated. A brief pause, and then the senior captains called for order. Conversation died down, and the first volunteers came forward. There was no lack of response, and the foremost were from amongst the Akiruru, or M'wesaga clan, whose association with the forest is hereditary. I had often talked to them of their Katinga, or sacred groves, and one warrior had confided to me that not many moons before he had been summoned to the death-bed of his father, to hear the old man's parting instructions, which had been handed down to him in turn by his father. These instructions had been given under penalty of a curse, involved upon all those who failed in their performance of the duties contained in the warnings of a dying man. For the old man had said: "Guard well the trees which stand on yonder Mirima (hill) for there N'gai communes with the spirits of great men and trees." It was not surprising, therefore, that the Akiruru, the clan bound by traditional duty to preserve the woodland shrine where chiefs were buried, should be amongst the first to respond when volunteers were called for to remove the reproach of the name "Forest Destroyers" from their tribe.

That day five hundred warriors came forward, and out of those I selected fifty for the trial effort. Splendid stalwart, upstanding fellows, all of them. Most of them sons of chiefs or head-men, all of a yeoman stock. These fifty promised before N'gai, the High God, to plant trees and protect trees everywhere. A badge of

membership was there and then tied upon their left wrist to remind them of their vow, a small brass disc, bearing the words *Watu wa Miti* (meaning *The Men of the Trees*). The badge was fastened with a narrow leather band worked in green and white beads.

Later on was added to this simple ritual the well-known rule of the Boy Scouts: "One good deed each day." After the first fifty, no more volunteers were called for; every new member having to be proposed by one of the chiefs, all of whom had already been initiated and given the rank of "Forest Guides," the equivalent to our Scout Masters. At first this rank was only given to chiefs, although it is now open to any member who has introduced a hundred recruits who have proved themselves. It was important to safeguard the organisation, and to enlist only those who had the ability to perform their promises; and nowadays it generally happens that volunteers are all yeomen with some status in the country. Gradually there came into being a simple initiation ceremony, which is intended to express the spirit which characterises that movement.

Let me take you to one of these impressively simple, and yet, to me, inspiring gatherings. Here is a clear space in front of a solitary sacred tree upon whose great trunk has been tied the colours of *The Men of the Trees*—a white flag emblazoned with a green tree. In front of the tree, in a hollow square, stand the original members, under the leadership of the Forest Guides. Hard by the great tree, and close to the colours, stands the Master of Ceremonies, who calls upon all members to prove their membership by holding forth their left hands, bearing the badge of membership. (This same movement is the recognised salute of greeting amongst members.) To make doubly certain that no outsiders are present, the Forest Guides are asked, "Are all present true members?" They make a rapid survey of the ranks, and after a short pause reply, "All present are true members."

The Master of Ceremonies then puts the direct question: "Are the hearts of all men present *safi*?" meaning clean. Each Forest Guide replies for his own men, "Every man's heart is *safi*." Should any member have an unfulfilled obligation he cannot be said to have a *safi* heart, and is not allowed to be present.

The recruits who desire initiation are then introduced and warned of the consequences of lightly making promises which they may be unable to perform. After this solemn warning it has often been found that candidates will waver and fall out. Only those who continue in their desire to become members are allowed to repeat solemnly the threefold promise:

"I promise before N'gai to do at least one good deed each day, to plant ten trees each year, and to take care of trees everywhere."

The badge of membership is then formally tied upon the wrist of each new member and his attention called to the colours of the Forest Scouts, green to remind him of his obligation to plant trees, and white because the heart of every Forest Scout must be clean.

All that now remains is to give the newly initiated Forest Scout a secret sign and password. The secret sign is a particular hand-shake which symbolises the threefold promise, while the password, namely *Twahamwe*—we are one, i.e. united for one thing—which is whispered into the right ear during the shaking of hands, indicates unity of purpose. The whole ceremony has a tremendous effect upon the simple and impetuous heart of the African warrior; and while it is true that, at first, he did not quite grasp the significance of doing at least one good deed each day, he did appear to be genuinely troubled should he fail to fulfil this part of his promise.

The idea of performing one unselfish act every day in the service of others was entirely new to the thoughtless, pleasure-loving warrior, and he did not quickly understand the idea underlying this pledge. Some days after the first big initiation ceremony had taken place, a number of the new initiates came to my camp. I had been out all day in the saddle, had just returned tired, and was enjoying afternoon tea, when Ramazini came to tell me that a number of Morans were wanting to see me. Too weary to attend to further business I dismissed the matter, as I thought, when I told my boy: "*Kesho*" (meaning "To-morrow"). I was somewhat surprised when I went out after tea and found thirty or forty Forest Scouts waiting to see me. "What do you want?" I demanded. "Were you not told to come to-morrow? No more *shauris* (business) to-day." One stalwart spoke up for the rest with winning frankness: "Sir, we have come to ask you to help us to think of a good deed. In two hours the sun will go down and so far we have been unable to think of a good deed to do. Please help us?" I was nonplussed. The sincerity and genuine belief of those whom I had set on the way demanded encouragement. They were intent upon doing something very definite to help the cause for which they had volunteered. Near by were a quantity of seedlings waiting to be planted out into boxes, so I suggested that those who really wanted to do something to help might plant out fifty of these in a box. Gladly did they respond, and day after day, when they could not think of anything better to do, they would turn up to carry out their self-imposed task.

The very simplicity of a good deed, just a simple service rendered to someone else, was too much for the immediate understanding of a warlike race who could more easily have fathomed the "good" of destroying a man-eating lion, or performing some doughty deed

like that of St. George and the Dragon. It did not, however take *The Men of the Trees* very long to learn what was really meant by a good deed. One of them very soon distinguished himself by his bravery during a fire, though he was a raw Shenzi, or bushman, on his first visit to Nairobi. This young lad, proudly wearing the new uniform* of the *Watu wa Miti* was in the fore, rushing up cans of water when and where they were most needed, and by his courage and example to others, prevented what might have been a very serious disaster. The news of his bravery was blazoned throughout the countryside as an example of what was meant by a good deed.

Ever since then many daring deeds have been done in the endeavour to emulate this scout; but what is equally important, *The Men of the Trees* are learning to perform little acts of kindness and to cultivate the elementary principles of chivalry in the true scouting spirit.

The Men of the Trees are organised throughout on a simple plan. The organisation in the tribe is known as *The Forest*; *The Forest* is divided into districts each taking its name from the most useful trees to be found growing in that district; these again are divided into *Branches*; each *Branch* being in command of a local chief who holds the rank of *Forest Guide*. Hence there are the *Forest*, the *Trees*, and the *Branches*.

Although started in Kenya Colony, the organisation is growing rapidly into a tree-planting brotherhood, and the ideals of *The Men of the Trees* are penetrating into some of the most remote places of this great silent continent.

In Great Britain and other countries youth finds relief in international games and the like; but games, apart from tests of individual skill and prowess, are themselves the product of an advanced civilisation, and do not readily provide a common meeting ground for people to whom they are unfamiliar. In the first instance, at least, the appeal must be made to the imagination, and that was the appeal of *The Men of the Trees* movement. Again, the uneducated must be shown a definite object before they can be expected to devote themselves to any constructive purpose; and, as I have previously explained, the duty of *The Men of the Trees* is to guard and protect their native woodlands, and to ensure that, whenever a tree is cut down or destroyed, a new one is planted in its stead. This idea is sufficiently valuable in itself. But beneath it lie the foundations of a much wider ideal, embodying the gradual uplifting of the public mind, leading ultimately to the highest standards of citizenship which are essential to the well-being of the world.

RICHARD ST. BARBE BAKER.

* A green blanket with a white heart.

THE SPIRIT OF ROTARY IN INDUSTRY.

TO many of its members the Rotary Movement provides the amenities of a pleasant club, combining a midday meal once a week at reasonable prices with the good fellowship then provided, and that is all; but to others, the minority, the spirit of a quest is behind the movement, and the acceptance of the Prince of Wales' motto "I Serve" is the ideal finally aimed at.

There is, of course, a sense in which every member of the community is either a parasite or a servant. We are all of us either striving to give more than we get, as our ambition in life, or trying to get more than we give. But in quite a special sense the ideal Rotarian, who is most often a business man, is the servant of Industry, or ought to be. Rightly understood, he is a servant of two widely different interests in Commerce, both of them equally necessary for the success of any enterprise. Capital and Labour are both his masters. He is also in constant conflict with life as it is and life as he thinks it should be. He is a realist in accepting the fact that he must somehow harmonise his point of view with the axioms of commerce as they operate to-day, but an idealist in recognising that there are far off better ways which he must strive to reach before his service is complete.

Let us examine several of the problems of his task. As the servant of Capital, he is the trustee of men and women who have loaned to him their savings for profitable investment. The fact that he may have borrowed the most of his temporary capital by way of overdraft from a banker alters this not at all. The Bank has only loaned to him the savings of small investors who have deposited their money there. As a servant of Capital he has a twofold duty, which he must faithfully discharge if his obligation is to be carried out and his business to continue prosperous. The first is to preserve the capital so invested intact, and without undue jeopardy, and the second is to pay on it a reasonable margin by way of return.

Here the Rotarian who recognises the service spirit meets his first problem. What is a fair return on capital? The answer must always be—a rate of interest commensurate with the risk run. Money has a price value that can be as simply stated as the cost of sugar or coal. At the present time gilt-edged securities, that is, securities which are as secure as anything can be in this uncertain world, make a yield of five per cent. Industrial securities in the same category, that is to say, debentures or preferences, make six to seven per cent. The ordinary inactive capitalist would, therefore, appear, on a reasonable safe security, to be entitled to anything from eight to ten per cent. on his investment,

but no more, always assuming that the capital of the company is an actually subscribed capital and not inflated.

Speaking on this subject to a group of business men in 1918, I ventured to predict that the then wildly extravagant inflation of capital that was going on immediately after the War was both immoral and unsound. Great Britain to-day, like a man with a sick headache, is realising the truth of that contention, for half of our industrial troubles would never have presented themselves if after-War industrialists had kept their heads and refused to write up their assets.

Profits made in a business that is not subject to any special risks should be capitalised as reserves, or should be expended in the future development of the enterprise. On how these reserves should be dealt with when they reach a figure exceeding the point of safety, I shall have something to say later, but at the moment I think the Rotarian who wishes to discharge his service to Capital faithfully may take this as a broad basis for his policy.

As a servant of Labour, the Rotarian's task must be viewed from a different aspect. The claims that Labour can rightly make on Industry are regular and continuous employment; a fair remuneration for the work done; some kind of stake in the enterprise itself; and freedom, in so far as that is possible, from the carking care of future unemployment. To secure all of these things is extraordinarily difficult, and in a final sense may be said to be impossible, for we must all face the uncertainties of the future, and are never able to become entirely free from them. None the less, here is the ideal that a just employer must be constantly working to, and must keep steadily before him. Continuity of employment, of course, is dependent on continuity of good trade, and that again is governed by factors which are quite beyond the control of the individual employer.

We have recently seen how the collapse of speculative share gambling in the United States has had its reaction on British trade, and how the over-production of manufactured goods throughout the world is now creating temporary unemployment for about one and a half million of our fellow citizens. The ideal position under which every man who is willing to work can permanently find steady employment is at present beyond our grasp, but methods can be adopted which will avoid the harsh reactions of temporary slack trade, or the sudden expansion of a growing business.

The simplest method of dealing with this is to avoid, so far as it is possible, a temporary increase of staff until the employer is satisfied that this is likely to be permanent, or the temporary reduction of staff in periods of slackness. Our own method of dealing with this problem is to adopt, first of all, a period of overtime

as an alternative to engaging further staff when business is good, and after this has been continued for a month or two, to engage temporary workers, who are employed with this proviso, and who are not transferred to the permanent staff until there is a reasonable chance of them being offered permanent work. Nothing is more unsettling in business than to have to pay off employees who have regarded their work as permanent, and this step should be adopted only as a final expedient. This method, of course, does nothing to help forward a solution to the problem of national unemployment; it only provides a certain sense of security for the employees who are connected with the individual business.

The question of remuneration for other than executive labour is largely controlled by the Trades Unions or by the Trade Board Acts. A business which is well managed, however, and which is carefully watching that every item of waste is, as far as possible, eliminated, can generally afford to pay a slightly higher scale to the employee than that fixed by the nationally accepted rates. This scale should either be paid in the shape of time allowed for a periodic holiday, or by the establishment of benefits which will be available apart altogether from Health Insurance, in the event of the employee being laid aside through a long period of ill-health. The wise business man gradually builds up a reserve fund for this purpose, so that employees who are needing either special surgical, medical or convalescent treatment, may have what is necessary without cost to themselves. A contributory or non-contributory pensions scheme will also do a great deal to alleviate the problem of unemployment with advancing years. In our own business we have had a Prosperity Sharing Scheme operating for every employee who has given us five years' or more service, for a period of twenty years, under which we have distributed some £40,000, and this scheme has been of very great value in making some provision for the future. Its benefits are not distributed in the shape of cash, but as fully paid-up insurance policies, which mature at the end of a period of twenty years. The policies are non-negotiable, but the company makes loans on the security of them in the case of necessity.

The Rotarian with a sense of duty will see that the conditions of labour in connection with his business are healthy and humane. The health of his employee is his capital, and it is the duty of every employer to satisfy himself that everything that humanly can be done is being done to preserve the health of the employee. For this reason, purely routine work should be varied by a periodical change-over with every employee. It is not difficult to organise this if the ideal is kept steadily before one, and in this way not only is the efficiency of the staff increased, but a welcome break is

given in work that would be otherwise monotonous and uninteresting.

The wise industrialist does not attempt to return to the inactive capitalist more than a limited dividend on the capital employed, and beyond this figure, any margin should be carried forward to reserves for the further development of the enterprise. In well-managed businesses this is the principle commonly adopted, but when the reserves have reached a point which provides a reasonable security for the immediate future, a common method is to deal with the surplus by the issuing of bonus shares to the present shareholders, or by otherwise increasing the capital of the company by the issue of new shares. I have always regarded this method as both a foolish and an immoral proceeding. Capital is not entitled to appropriate the whole of these reserves as its own; at least a proportion of them belong to Labour, who has assisted in the creation of them. In some cases industrialists have endeavoured to meet this difficulty by issuing shares without payment to the employee, and so a purely speculative element is introduced into the business which may easily become dangerous.

Again, an employee may die or retire, in which event the scrip passes on to other shareholders who may have no interest, either active or otherwise, in the future success of the enterprise. In our own case, we have endeavoured to meet this difficulty by setting aside a proportion of our ordinary capital in the shape of a Trust, and issuing against these ordinary shares scrip which has no capital value, but which ranks for dividend with the ordinary shares. These are distributed amongst employees who have shown more than ordinary merit in their work, and have, therefore, been regarded as entitled to special benefits in connection with the business.

This scheme is not an ideal one, but it at least recognises that the reserves of the company, after they have reached a certain figure, become the joint property of Capital and Labour, both of which are entitled to enjoy the benefits of the accumulation. It is sometimes argued by economists that after a fair return has been earned on the capital, and an equitable rate of wages paid to Labour, the further fruits, if any, belong to the consumer, and should be reflected in a reduced price for the commodity manufactured. I have never felt satisfied that this argument was a necessarily sound one. The consumer is under no compulsion to purchase; if he is not satisfied with the product that he buys, he need no longer continue to purchase it. But in the case of both Capital and Labour, they are giving either their savings or their energy to an adventure from which they are entitled to receive not

only the generally recognised return, but such measure of security as the industry can provide.

In speaking of Trade Union Organisations and Employers' Federations, it must not be thought that I do not recognise that in an imperfect world they have both rendered a service to Industry and that they may still be immediately necessary. We must not fail to recognise, however, that in both cases their intention is coercive, and to that extent they are contrary to the whole spirit of Rotary. It may be urged that as at present constituted all society is built on force, and that the Trades Union is as necessary as the policeman. The Rotarian, if he is true to his principles, will say with Walt Whitman, "I desire nothing for myself that all others may not have on equal terms," and be he employer or trades unionist, he will recognise that force, like war, can never find a solution for any problem, but that finally it can only coerce society or the individual into accepting a position that they would not spontaneously agree to. The time may be far distant when great industries will be no longer federated into close alliance like armed camps, but that this will come I am certain, and future generations will look back on our present antiquated machinery for the settling of differences with amazement and incredulity.

During twenty-seven years of business experience I have never faced a business problem that was not capable of settlement by a friendly discussion over the conference table, and I have never had to adopt the expedient of the issuing of an ultimatum without recognising that that was also a partial admission of failure. Most of our problems arise because of our mutual distrust, and when the time comes that both employer and employee alike recognise that the other desires only to apply to the other fellow the principle that he would apply to himself under like circumstances, distrust disappears and friendliness takes its place.

The Rotarian who is concerned about making his contribution to Industry will have to make up his mind on his attitude towards the present problem of so-called Rationalisation. This word, coined during the last five years, is intended to denote, if it means anything, a more rational attitude toward all the problems of Industry, but it is generally interpreted as meaning the merging of businesses into large units, with the object of eliminating unnecessary competition and cutting down working costs. Up to a point this aim is entirely a laudable one, but unless closely watched it brings with it its own perils. It is a fallacy to believe that, beyond a certain point, size necessarily secures efficiency, or that the impersonal administration of a central board can effect economies which are any more easily secured than by decentralised control. The human unit in industry can never be adequately expressed

in the terms of decimal fractions, and beyond a certain point, it costs more, and not less, to administrate successfully the affairs of a huge undertaking.

Frankly, I am inclined to be distrustful of so-called "Supermen" in business. They can, and do, often create a line of policy that makes for progress and prosperity, but when the machine that they are controlling gets beyond their personal grasp, injustices often creep in. Recently, I was talking to a member of an executive of a great concern, and I asked him how the new administration was working. "Well," he replied, "we spend half our time in doing our job, and the other half in seeing that someone else does not run away with our position," and all my experience confirms the fact that Rationalisation, while it may temporarily increase the profits of the venture, frequently destroys the spirit of goodwill by mechanising the whole spirit of the enterprise, which finally is the most essential part of any business.

Without question this issue will become a pressing one during the next five years. Industry is gradually passing out of the control of the industrialist into the hands of the financier, and this is creating an entirely new situation which bodes ill for the worker unless he can combat it. The human element in business is the most important, and any so-called scientific application of industrialisation which attempts to standardise the human factor is bound finally, in my view, not only to fail entirely, but to destroy the spirit of the enterprise, which is the only thing that gets business to function successfully.

The Rotarian, true to his ideals, will recognise that while the final test of the success of his venture must be the returns shown on his balance sheet, personal material prosperity should be kept strictly in its place.

The great peril of business is always that a man pursues worldly gain for its own sake, without the final recognition that he is a steward of all that he holds and for strict accountability when his task is finally laid aside. If this fact is kept steadily before him, many of the pitfalls by which he would otherwise be ensnared he will finally escape.

Viewed from the standpoint of worldly wisdom, and taking no account of the higher ideal that Rotary has set before us, the pursuing of worldly prosperity for its own sake would appear to be a foolish preoccupation, and one which can only be disappointing finally. No comment on life would appear to be truer than that of the writer who speaks of the deceitfulness of riches. Do not misunderstand me here. I do not under-estimate the value of wealth, so long as it remains a servant. It can purchase much that is good, and if held in a spirit of strict accountability, it has

its place in life, but as a master, or an all-absorbing ambition, it is often perilous and always disappointing.

Many of my views may sound like an altogether unpractical idealism. Is it really possible for the Rotarian to set out with an outlook on life such as I have outlined with the slightest hope of eventual success? Is the thing really practical in the tide of the merciless and often cruel competition that he will have to face? I believe it is, because finally I am convinced that we are not living in a moral lunatic asylum, but in a world which is governed by immutable law, and that the principle that what a man sows, that shall he also reap, is as true to-day as ever it was.

It is no reflection on the Rotary ideal that it finds its roots in another higher ideal, of which the world is only beginning to realise some of the implications. Chesterton finely said, when asked whether he did not consider that Christianity had failed, "On the contrary, I think it has yet to be tried." The Rotarian industrialist will not lose his foothold on his immediate path because his eye is fixed also on some distant star while he strives to reach an ideal that he himself will never see operating in this life, but in doing this, he is blazing a path for those who follow after him, which will lead the way to a national life that is sweeter and better, and to a tradition that is finer than anything we at present understand.

To the great army of men throughout the world who meet once weekly round the Rotary table for a convivial lunch, and to listen to a more or less inspiring address, delivered when their digestive organs are too busy to allow them to assimilate much intellectual provender, the function is a pleasant meal; the good-fellowship is agreeable; and the comradeship generated, a pleasant recollection—just that and little more. To a little group of men, however, there is something bigger and finer behind the meeting. The luncheon table recalls to them a Supper Table; the spirit of goodwill engendered becomes somewhat of a sacrament; the call of a finer service is by way of being a challenge, and in quiet moments, when the rush and hurry of the day's work is over, they lay anew their hands to a task, the fruits of which they will never gather.

The brotherhood of man, not in Nations, but of all Nations, is something more than a splendid dream for them; they recognise that human nature, in its two thousand years' journeying since the first Rotarian called them out to sacrifice and service, is but the first few steps on a long journey which countless generations after them will find a little easier because of their example. With that dream before them the function has about it the elements of the Bread and Wine, the symbols for all time of what is best and most enduring in life.

ANGUS WATSON.

HEILER ON EVANGELICAL CATHOLICISM.

THE first volume of Friedrich Heiler's collected Essays bears the title of *Evangelical Catholicism*. The phrase is intended to express a belief that Evangelicalism and Catholicism, so far from being contraries, are supplementary and capable of being combined. Heiler's own religious experience adds significance to this belief, since he began as a Roman Catholic and is now a Lutheran. Moreover, one of the most remarkable qualities of his discussion is that he displays neither asperity towards the Communion which he has left, nor indiscriminate admiration for the Communion which he has joined. He is able to sympathise with Roman Catholicism with genuine appreciation, and to criticise Lutheranism with a frankness which leaves nothing to be desired. It would be hard to find a former Roman Catholic more sympathetic towards the Church which he has forsaken, or a Lutheran equally critical of the Church of which he is a member. This freedom from the ordinary failings of the critic, the controversialist, and the convert, is highly attractive, and lifts Heiler's Essays above the generality of such records. In addition to this aloofness and freedom from narrowness, there is the further distinction of an unmistakable religious spirit.

Having experienced what it is to be a Roman Catholic, and also what it is to be a Protestant, he is conscious that there are excellences and defects in both. Roman Catholicism he regards with mixed feelings. He cannot accept the Papal claim. He thinks it strangely mixed with pagan elements. He is sure that it subordinates the Evangelical element of original Christianity. But he is none the less appreciative of its monasticism, its saints, its religious types, and its extraordinary devotional and uplifting powers.

Heiler is persuaded that those who regard Evangelical Catholicism as an impracticable illusion are mistaken. However contrary they appear, a synthesis is possible. He explains that by Catholicism he does not mean Catholicism of the Roman sort. Roman Catholicism has blended together many elements in a wonderful unity. Evangelicalism is a powerful element in the Roman structure, but it is not the foundation. Roman Catholicism is, according to Heiler, a composite structure in which primitive ritual religion, Jewish law religion, Roman legalism, and Greek mystical religion combine.

Conversions from Protestantism to Catholicism of the Roman sort are not less frequent in the present than they were in the past. Indeed, speaking from his own experience, Heiler says that he is acquainted with many a thoughtful Protestant who has taken counsel with him on making the transition from Evangelicalism to

Catholicity, and in spite of the opposite course which he himself has taken, he says that he has never attempted to frustrate their inclinations. On the other side, he is acquainted with many a Catholic priest and layman who feels affinities with Evangelicalism but cannot make his home in it owing to its lack of Catholicity. Nay, Heiler himself, in spite of his regard for Evangelical Catholicity, and for the personality of Martin Luther, does not feel altogether at home in the Evangelical Churches, because their realisation of the Catholic ideal is so very incomplete.

Following out these reflections, Heiler is led to criticise in Evangelical Christianity what he regards as its principal defects.

(1) The first defect is its conception of Unity. The prayer of Christ for the unity of His Church (St. John xvii, 20) stands in painful contrast to the actual condition of Evangelical Christianity, which presents a boundless chaos of national Churches, free Churches, and sects, all considering themselves to be Evangelical, and yet unable to secure anything closer than relationship of a very superficial kind. Confronted with these unhappy subdivisions stands the imposing and powerful unity of the Roman Church. The same faith, the same cultus, the same religious language, the same constitution everywhere. It has a certain right to see in this unity an indication of divine control. The only answer that Evangelicalism can make to this powerful unity is that it is an external uniformity, not necessarily an inward unity of spirit. It will claim that Evangelical unity must find space for a variety of gifts. But Evangelicalism must remember that if there are diversities of gifts, ministrations and workings, there is the same Spirit, the same Lord and the same God. Multiplicity must not be destructive of unity. The Church is one. And Evangelicalism has to learn, Heiler thinks is learning, this truth from Rome: for which impression he refers to Harnack by way of illustration. Heiler, however, although deeply impressed by the ideal and obligation of unity, does not understand thereby a universal Church united in the Roman way. But all the Christian Churches independent of Rome should be united in a living fellowship under Christ their Head, which he understands to be implied in the Apostolic sentence, "We being many are one Body."

(2) The second idea which Evangelicalism must recover is the idea of Authority. That is the strongest side of Catholicism. Authority is repugnant to independent-minded people. But average mortals desire authority to relieve themselves from the burden of religious and moral difficulties. Accordingly, Heiler endorses the maxim that authority is a product of mediocrity. But many an Evangelical Christian craves for authority in theological controversies, and in the insecurities of biblical criticism. Indeed,

authority of some kind is indispensable. Creative religious geniuses are authorities, although such personages are rare. And the inner religious life is not possible without some authority. And here Heiler distinguishes between Roman authority as institutional, and Evangelical authority as personal. This distinction he regards as fundamental. Evangelical Christianity recognises no official authority, but only the authority of outstanding religious personalities. Evangelicalism is in its deepest essence personal religion. It accepts no hierarchical, institutional authority, but only a prophetic. This is the sense in which Heiler esteems the office of a Bishop. He is apparently a person of exceptional religious faith, and life, and influence. Heiler complains that the office is often reduced to bureaucratic governmental superintendence. How the personal and the official are related, or what makes a man a Bishop he leaves unsolved. But he places the episcopal conception as the second main idea in Evangelical Catholicism. He finds great relief in 2 Cor. i, 24: "Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy." Heiler finds that passage quoted by the Archbishop of Upsala, but he has not found it quoted in Roman pastorals. He thinks this illustrates the difference between Evangelical and Institutional authority. It is to be wished that Heiler had pursued these reflections further, to inquire whether the authority of St. Paul was only personal, and not official or institutional, whether it depended entirely on his individual gifts, and not at all on the Apostolic Commission which he had received from Christ. Heiler complains that Roman Bishops frequently speak not in a pastoral spirit, but in a dominating spirit. At the same time he feels bound to admit that there are Catholic Bishops who write in a tone of humility, and Protestant ministers who are intolerant and dictatorial.

(3) A third principle which must be restored to Evangelical Christianity is the guidance of the individual conscience in hearing Confessions. Heiler finds that this is one of the powerful influences which retain many souls in Catholicism. It confers rest, and peace, and life to many hearts. From the standpoint of religious psychology, William James fully and impressively recognises this fact. Heiler lays stress on the beautiful conception of a spiritual father. The Catholic priest is in the most intimate spiritual relation with men. His work is in the truest sense the cure of souls. It affords possibilities of moral and spiritual influence from which the Evangelical pastor is entirely excluded. Sermon instruction cannot come into measurable distance with Confession. Heiler is fully aware of the defects and the dangers and disasters of the Catholic system. He thinks that many a religious life has been killed by it, and many an innocent mind in-

jured. But that only illustrates the liability of lofty things to misuse. The fact remains that Catholic priests at the Confessional have healed sick souls, bound up wounded hearts, strengthened weak consciences, given rest to minds distressed, and have thereby fulfilled the mission of Him Who came to seek and to save that which was lost. Protestantism has unhappily allowed this blessed institution to cease. But in so doing it has acted in contradiction to Luther's ideals. For he called Confession an excellent, precious and consolatory thing. It was part of his Evangelical method. It is authorised by the Augsburg Confession of 1531, par. 11, which declares that private absolution is to be retained in the Church. Formularies about it still remain in Protestant religious writings. But the practice is in many places virtually extinct. And this, says Heiler, is the weightiest reason why many Evangelical pastors exert less influence over their people than Catholic clergy.

(4) In the fourth place, Protestantism must recover what it has lost in its ideals of worship. The absolving power retains many men in Catholicism. But more constraining still is the Eucharistic mystery, the Sacrament of the Altar. Heiler says that there are countless passages in Protestant literature, in which the contrast between the rich mysteries of the Catholic liturgy and the Evangelical ministry of the Word is drawn with half-bewildered, half-envious acknowledgment of its extraordinary power. Heiler is convinced that no religious-minded person can witness High Mass in a Catholic Cathedral, or Low Mass in a Convent Church, without experiencing a sentiment of devotion. He who takes part in it feels himself in a holy atmosphere of prayer. No doubt the attraction is partly æsthetic. But the feeling transcends the external accessories. It is profoundly religious. It is the mystery of the Presence of Christ and the renewal of His Holy Death upon the Altar. The Protestant service has no *mysterium tremendum*. Nevertheless, Heiler has found the recital of the Lord's Prayer in the Evangelical Church in Bavaria apparently no less impressive. In fact, the Evangelical service is a more corporate act than the Catholic service, since, in the latter, priest and people are parted by the language of the liturgy. In a strange dead language the priest discharges his function. There is no united petition in words. This in Heiler's opinion is a grave defect which the Reformers desired to remedy. And yet—and herein is something tragical—they have not kindled that deep devotional fervour which the Catholic liturgy has inspired. Heiler says he has had considerable experience of both Catholic and Protestant, and has come to the conclusion that, apart from certain restricted sects, there is incomparably more devotion among Catholics than among Protes-

tants. If Protestants can claim a higher religious ideal, it is Catholics who possess the deeper religious reality. This is not, he says, only his own private opinion. It is acknowledged by Protestant theologians. A remarkable illustration of this can be seen in Adolf Harnack's lecture on what we can and what we cannot learn from the Roman Church.

The Evangelical service fails in lack of mystery. The primitive Christian service possessed the same element of mystery as the Catholic service of to-day. It did not consist only in preaching or prayer, it was liturgical offering. For Heiler the ideal would be a synthesis of the Evangelical and of the Catholic devotion.

But then there is the sacramental side of the Eucharist. Communion is the consummation of Catholic piety. Protestant Christianity has much to learn about the mystical union between the soul and Christ. Heiler sees also that faith in the Presence of Christ in the Altar Sacrament reserved in the Tabernacle makes the Catholic Churches naturally houses of prayer.

Finally, Heiler deplores the destructive influence which Rationalism and Ritschlianism have exerted over German piety.

There is much that is strikingly fresh and independent about these criticisms. There is no wonder that so much frankness and discerning judgment have provoked replies. It could not in the nature of things be otherwise. Heiler has had to meet the inevitable challenge how he manages to combine allegiance to Lutheranism with such keen and searching scrutiny of its numerous defects. Other Germans beside Heiler have criticised Luther. Harnack protests as a refined scholar against the Reformer's coarseness and vulgarity. Hermann sharply criticises Luther's theological insufficiencies. But it would be difficult to find another Lutheran anywhere who has criticised Luther's limitations, intellectual and spiritual, with the force, courageous severity, and disconcerting frankness of Friedrich Heiler.

The secret of Heiler's power lies in his appreciation of devotion and the religious life. He is extraordinarily learned and critical, yet free from the destructive spirit and mere intellectualism which are the bane of so many among his fellow countrymen. He realises that any religion, if it is to be an inspiring and driving force, must be constructive and dogmatic, with a real and vital Gospel to proclaim.

Whether his own position as a Lutheran is tenable with his own ideal of Evangelical Catholicity is another matter, which we do not propose to discuss. But the importance of his ideal is unmistakable, and we hope it will circulate widely in other countries as well as in his own.

W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON.

A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRIENDSHIP:

JOHN EVELYN AND MARGARET GODOLPHIN.

THE value which Dr. Johnson set on friendship is well known to readers of his *Life*, and his days, with all their drawbacks, were made happier by it. Had he read of the friendship between John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin, one can easily imagine how he would have dwelt on and recalled it. For many years it was only known by the allusions to Margaret Godolphin in Evelyn's *Diary*. At his death there were found a number of Evelyn's papers collected under the heading, "Things I would write out faire and reform if I had the leisure." Among them was a *Life* of Mrs. Godolphin, which remained in the Evelyn family generally unknown until 1847, when Edward Harcourt, Archbishop of York, Evelyn's great-great-grandson, published it, with an introduction by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford. A second edition was issued in 1888 by the late Mr. E. W. Harcourt, of Nuneham Park, Oxon, which has long been out of print. Intended only as a biography of Margaret Godolphin, it is something more, for it is a vivid revelation of a unique and delightful friendship which deserves to be remembered, one based on a common appreciation of the moral character of the two persons and quite unlike those friendships which were so marked a feature of the social life of France at a later period, which could not have existed without purely intellectual ties. It also gives an insight into the character and emotions of a remarkable man of a curiously simple and open nature, who has become a permanent figure in the annals of English literature.

This friendship was altogether extraordinary and fascinating, even ideal. Evelyn, who was busy from morning to night, was fifty-one when it began, Margaret Blagge, as she then was, only nineteen. Evelyn was a man of ability, experienced in affairs, a prudent man of the world, a student, a man of science, and a lover of the arts. Margaret Blagge was the youngest daughter of Colonel Blagge, of Horningshearth, Suffolk, who had fought for Charles I. She had been educated in Paris, and, an orphan, had been taken while still almost a child into the household of the Duchess of York, on whose death in 1671 she had become a Maid of Honour to the Queen. She was a remarkable girl, but only a girl, though obviously very mature for her age. It is difficult now to assert that she was beautiful, though Evelyn spoke of her exquisite natural beauty and gracefulness: "A Beauty and ayre so charming and lovely." In the portrait which still remains at

Wotton she is depicted with small, regular features and a thoughtful brow. Sensible and witty, she was extremely religious and charitable; religion was, in fact, the governing factor of her life. At the time, 1671, when this friendship began, Margaret and her sister, Henrietta Maria, afterwards Lady Yarrowburgh, lived in the dissolute Court circle of Whitehall, and for a long time Evelyn, well acquainted with the society in which Margaret Blagge moved, did not care to know her, though, as he admits, his wife had found "such extraordinary marks of virtue and discretion in her conversation, that she would often reprove the diffidence I was wont to express." It is true that he had noticed at his house and in church that Margaret Blagge was, as he says, "a very agreeable lady," but he could not believe that she or anyone about the Court was, as he expresses it, "principled with a solid virtue." It was, in fact, a long time before he was willing to be convinced, not only because such acquaintances were not in his line, but also because "I minded my Bookes and my Garden and the Circle was bigg enough for me."

At last, being assured that Margaret Blagge was humble and religious and that "though she had abundance of witt, and talked shrewdly, she was civill and discrete and extraordinary obliging," this serious and busy man, paying one day a visit at the Court, met the Maid of Honour, who "said little and looked very humble which I liked." From this short interview he concluded "that she might not be that pert Lady" he had expected, and at last he even dined with her. Very soon Evelyn's attitude completely changed, for he found "her conversation a treat"; she was young, elegant, vivacious and intelligent, and at the same time of an unusually serious temperament: such a contrast of character and tastes was fascinating. Every time he visited her his interest and regard increased, and he was greatly pleased to find himself so surprisingly mistaken in his opinion of his young friend. The fact that she was at once serious and animated was not, one may be sure, the only reason for the attraction which drew Evelyn and other friends to Margaret Blagge; she possessed an inexpressible charm of character more attractive than all her physical and mental gifts, a charm so purely personal that it is for us now inevitably lost.

The friendship thus begun was permanently decided one October day in 1672. Evelyn was visiting Margaret Blagge, and she seemed more than usually thoughtful. When he asked her the reason she replied "that she had not a friend in the world." This was not coquetry. It was a naïve statement of the truth, for she was by nature solitary in the society around her. It produced an interview which, if it could be actually visualised and the two

friends portrayed, would seem at once extraordinary and touching. It was impossible that she was friendless, said Evelyn, "for," said he, "all that know you must love you, and those that love you are continually your friends." Then allusion was made to Sidney Godolphin, who was at the time courting her, but she continued, almost echoing the words of Bacon,* "I would have a friend: in that name is a great deale more than I can express; a faithful friend, whom I might trust with all that I have"; and Evelyn could be such a friend. At the end of his reply to this answer, he said: "To be called your friend were the most desirable in the world, and I am sure I should endeavour to acquit me of the duty with great cheerfulness and fidelity." "Pray leave your compliments," said Margaret, smiling, "and be my friend then, and look upon me henceforth as your child." Close by the two was a table on which was a paper and ink. The pretty scene was ended by Margaret taking up the pen and writing on the paper: "Be this the Symbol of Inviolable Friendship. Marg: Blagge 16th October 1672," and underneath: "For my brother E——", and "so," concludes Evelyn, "delivered it to me with a smile," and then the conversation continued "'twixt jest and earnest."

From that moment the relations between Evelyn and Margaret Blagge were as near perfect as human relationships can be. Implicit trust and love on the one side, counsel and certainly love on the other. "There are innumerable expressions of this nature (in regard to friendship) to be found in her letters to me, which are charming; and indeed so tender and personal, that though one who knew my demerits as well as I mysele doe, would suspect their sincerity, yet I know to be from her heart which was full of the most generous resentments [sentiments?]." On his part he felt that to her was due "all the services, respect and veneration" he was capable of giving.

It would not be difficult from Evelyn's *Diary* and from his *Life of Margaret Godolphin*, to cull many passages which emphasise this remarkable friendship. She consulted him, for instance, as to leaving the Court, which she did after some difficulty, for in his quaint words, "their Majestys were both unwilling to part with such a jewell." Evelyn accompanied Margaret on her return to Berkeley House,† and he was entranced with her joy at leaving the Court and at her return and arrangement of her books and "equipage." "Nothing," he says, "was prettier than this busy moment." She found, however, that though her apartment was in

* "No receipt openeth the Heart but a true friend: to whom you may impart Griefes, Joyes, Feares, Hopes, Suspitions, Counsel, and whatsoever lyeth upon the Heart to oppress it."—*Essay on Friendship*.
† Berkeley House stood where Devonshire House was afterwards built about 1730.

a part of the mansion, or "palace," as Evelyn well calls it, remote from the busy portion of the house, she could not be sufficiently alone on account of the continual and importunate visits of great persons which could not be avoided, and which led to "tedious ceremony and conversation" and other drawbacks. So she thought of going to reside for a time with her sister, Lady Yarbrough, in Yorkshire, and then of retiring to Hereford to live by herself under the direction of the Dean. These plans Evelyn strongly combated; she was torn by conflicting desires, "she had perpetuall Inclinations to retire from all the world"; on the other hand, she was already as deeply attached to Sidney Godolphin as he was to her. Many serious discussions occurred between the friends on this subject.

I plainly told her, itt was by no means agreeable to her piety, nor to the Equitye of the thing, that any less consideration than the fore sight of inevitable ruine should suspend her resolutions of giveing herselfe to a deserving person, whose approaches had been soe honourable, and whome she confess'd she lov'd above all the world. There is certainly nothing more calamitous than where love (as they call it) drives the bargaine, and passion blinds the Man; butt soe the young things precipitate, and the Giddy are entangled; and when the fancy cooles, repentance succeeds, and it ends in aversion and anxietye. . . . I would tell her itt was not enough to be happy alone, when she might make another soe; or ought she to resolve not to alter her Condition till she was out of reach of accidents; that it became a cruell and ill natur'd Laban to exact a double apprentyshepp for a Rachell; that it was Saul that putt David to adventure for a wife; that the Heroick tymes were now antiquated, and people proceeded by gentler and more compendious methods; and the decencies of her sex, and custome of the nation, and the honour of the condition, and the want of Monasteryes and pyous Recesses obliged her to marry. Marry then in Gods name, said I, since my advice you aske: itt is finally what I think you ought to resolve on; tho' if I studded my owne satisfaction, I should rather promote this aversion, and seeke to fortifye your suspicion; for as I profess it the greatest Contentment of my life that you have vowed me your friendship soe solemnly, and that you will be constant, whilst I incite you to marry I endanger and putt it to the hazard; for perhappes your husband may be jealous, tho' without cause; or he may have particular dislike to me, or may not be noble, free, and ingenious, or may make you unhappy otherwise, which would be the greatest affliction could happen to me; whereas, continuing as you are, misstress of your selfe and your conversation, your virtue and my yeares, and the conscience of my duty, and both our discretions, will preserve our friendship honourable, pious, and usefull.

The summer of 1672 was passed by Margaret Blagge at Twickenham, and then, on her return to London, she thought of taking a
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little house at Greenwich. Evelyn did not think that this was desirable for one so young and already more than ordinarily reserved, and proposed that she should occupy a room in his house. However, the plan did not mature, and Margaret Blagge remained at Berkeley House.

During the subsequent time an incident occurred of which Evelyn tells, which is a revelation of Margaret Godolphin's character, of her artistic gifts, and of her personal popularity. On December 15th, 1674, a comedy was to be acted before the Court at Whitehall, called *Calisto*, written by John Crowne, and at the command of the King Margaret had to take the leading part. When a Maid of Honour she had gained universal applause and admiration for her dramatic powers: "verily," said Evelyn, alluding to them in his *Diary*, "never was anything more charming and more a divertisement than to hear her at any time recite or read a dramatic poem." This particular performance was a great success, and Evelyn, who was present, writes of it, "my dear friend Mrs. Blagge, who having the principall part, performed it to admiration." In the *Life*, Evelyn gives fuller particulars of the performance than are to be found in his *Diary*. One part reveals the extraordinary contrasts of character in his friend.

I must tell you, he writes, that amidst all this pomp and serious impertinence, whilst the rest were acting, and that her part was sometimes to goe off, as the scenes required, into the tiring roome, where severall Ladyes her companions were railing with the Gallants triflingly enough till they were called to re-enter, she, under pretence of conning her next part, was retired into a Corner, reading a booke of devotion, without att all concerning herselfe or mingling with the young Company; as if she had no farther part to act, who was the principall person of the Comedy; nor this with the least discernable affectation, but to divert and take off her thoughts from the present vanity, which from her soule she abhorred. I mention the passage as a singular work of her reall piety, and to shew how she continually applyed her mind on all occasions, and how little transported with those splendid follyes and gay entertainments, which usually take up soe much of the pretious tyme which is given us to worke out our Salvation. I need not enlarge upon the argument of the Poem; which you may be sure, however defective in other particulars, was exactly modest, and suiteable to the Persons, who were all of the first rank and most illustrious of the Court: nor need I recount with what a surprizeing and admirable aire she trode the Stage, and performed her Part, because she could doe nothing of this sort, or anything else she undertooke, indifferently, butt in the highest perfection. Butt whilst the whole Theater were extolling her, she was then in her owne Eyes, not only the humblest, butt the most diffident of herself, and least affecting praise.

At length Margaret's doubts and difficulties as to her future came to an end, and on May 16th, 1675, Evelyn records that on this day "was my dear friend Mrs. Blagge married in the Temple Church to my friend Mr. Sidney Godolphin, Groom of the Bedchamber to his Majesty." He was surprised and hurt that he was not told at the time of the marriage, which was kept secret, and when some months later Margaret Godolphin went with Lady Berkeley, who accompanied Lord Berkeley, the English Ambassador, to Paris, she spoke to him as if she were not married. "This," says he, "was the only time in her life she ever prevaricated with me." The party embarked at Dover, Evelyn journeying with it to the port. "We arrived at Dover," he writes, "where, after supper, calling me into her Chamber, she signed and delivered me her will, before her Maid wherein she had made me her administrator. . . . This done she desired I would pray with her and soe I left her, as full of sorrow as she could hold."

One of the party was Evelyn's son, who had importuned his father to be allowed to travel, and being assured of the great care Mrs. Godolphin would have of him, Evelyn consented. The boy—he was nineteen—was as fascinated by Margaret Godolphin as his father, and when she left Paris he wrote to him, thanking him for a letter which he had received "just before my Pretty, Pious, Pearly Governesse left me; whose departure makes this place cease to be either Athens or anything else but a very melancholy abode to me." It was in the following April that Margaret Godolphin returned to London, bored with the ceremonies and trivialities of Court life in Paris, for to her Bacon's words were very applicable: "a Crowd is not company and Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures." The marriage was then made known, Evelyn, as I have said, taking it somewhat to heart that "she should soe industriously conceale a thing from me to whom she had all along communicated her most intimate thoughts."

This event did not end the friendship, but it became less personal and intimate, Evelyn filling the position of the old friend and adviser, ready to give practical help whenever it was needed. He began to build and "accommodate" the pretty habitation in Scotland Yard which became the home of the Godolphins, and during the time that it was being prepared for them Margaret Godolphin stayed with the Evelyns at Sayes Court. Her own description of her home and home life when it was established is charming.

When I this day considered my happyness, in haveing soe perfect health of body, chearfullness of mind, noe disturbance from without, nor grieffe within, my tyme my owne, my house quiett sweete and pretty, all manner of Conveniencys for serve-

ing God in publick and private, how happy in my Friends, Husband, Relations, Servants, Credit, and none to waite or attend on but my dear and beloved God from whome I receive all this; what a melting joy runs through me att the thoughts of all these mercyes.

This happy married life did not last long, for on September 9th, 1678, a few days after the birth of a son, when only four-and-twenty, Margaret Godolphin died. "O unparell'd loss," wrote her friend, "O griefe indicible! By me never to be forgotten—never to be overcome! Nor pass I the sad anniversary and lugubrious period without the most sencible emotions, sorrow that draws tears from my very heart whilst I am reciteing it."

There is but one thing to be added. In a letter left for her husband full of the thoughtfulness which characterised her, Margaret Godolphin desired to be buried in the church of Breage, some miles from Godolphin House, the ancestral home of the Godolphins. "I would begg," she wrote, "that my body might be where I have had such a mind to goe myself, att Godolphin among your friends." There, after a long journey from London, she was buried. To-day, in this ancient church, buffeted by the gales which sweep over Cornwall, one can see in the south aisle the tomb of Margaret Godolphin—recalling a friendship at once extraordinary and fascinating.

A JOURNEY IN THE SHAN STATES.

THE Protectorate of French Indo-China forms a part of that rather nebulous region which the atlas dismisses under the term Further India, though it has nothing to do with India as usually understood; but bulging out as it does into the China Sea between India and China the name Indo-China is not inappropriate. The land approaches are easier from the China side, but the most obvious route into the peninsula is, of course, from the coast. Nevertheless I chose the route from the west, or Burma side; for though this promised to be the hardest, it promised also to be the most interesting. The overland route from Mandalay to Bangkok offers no special difficulty, and is performed each year by half a dozen hardy tourists who want to do "something different." Even the overland route from Bangkok to Hué, on the coast of Annam, attracts a few stalwarts. But from Mandalay to Hué is an undertaking of another order, and this was the trip I proposed to do. Such a traverse of Indo-China would, I felt sure, give me a sectional view of the country obtainable in no other way.

When you step off the Mandalay mail in the early morning, you find yourself on a wide plain, partly cultivated, partly covered with thorn scrub, for you are in the dry zone of Central Burma, and the heat is intense. Faint in the east, the escarpment of the Shan plateau shimmers in the haze; and over the mountains lies the last town in Burma. A white ribbon of road crosses the burning plain, and loses itself amongst the foot-hills. Prudence suggested caution, for the road was narrow; but my native lorry driver trod manfully on the accelerator, and we curled round corners in a cloud of dust and at a speed which frequently threatened to throw us over the edge. Now the road twists up the hill in short wave lengths, and finally we reach the top of the plateau, 4,500 feet above sea level. In front of us the Shan Hills stretch for 500 miles to the South China Sea, a long succession of heaving crests breaking the even roll of the plateau. Below us the heat lies like a naked flame over the plain of Burma. Taung-gyi, 105 miles, is reached on the first day. It is a cheerful little place, lying in a green turfy bowl amongst the limestone crags. Every afternoon a fleet of lorries crawls out of the bazaar, and starts eastward for the Salween, 180 miles away. We covered sixty miles the next afternoon, and reached the end of the all-weather motor road; but a good dirt road for cart traffic extends for another 120 miles, and is passable for lorries in the dry weather. However, we only did a hundred miles the following day, and on the third morning came the abrupt descent to the Salween which has carved a deep groove in the limestone plateau; and there the lorry stopped.

Hundreds of Chinese mules were being ferried over the river, the crossing of which at this season presents no difficulty. During the rains, however, when the river rises eighty feet and the current is very swift, the crossing takes several hours; it is both difficult and dangerous, as the rafts are swept far down stream. In order to assist trade on this important Empire highway, the Burma Government had recently decided to stretch a cable across the river, and run the raft across by means of a wire and pulley arrangement. Work on the two steel towers, each twenty feet high, had just been begun, and 1,300 feet of steel wire cable was being dumped here.

At the ferry the cart road ends, and on the far bank a good mule road starts for Keng-tung, a hundred miles distant. I had heard that one or two drivers had taken their lorries as far as Keng-tung, and the excitement of such a drive, crossing two passes of over 6,000 feet, rather appealed to me. The hour had come; now to find the man. That evening came the news that a lorry was on its way from Taung-gyi to Keng-tung. It arrived next morning, and the driver turned out to be a new man anxious to risk his neck; for a sufficient inducement he agreed to risk mine too, and we started the same afternoon. At first the road, blasted in the face of the cliff, followed the course of a torrent which rushed through a defile into the Salween. At the fourth mile we began to ascend a flight of low steps, and crammed on all power, only to find that the clutch was slipping badly. Halfway up the engine stopped dead, and without ado the car began to run backwards down the hill. We clapped on the brakes just in time and leaping down chocked the wheels. There we were, stuck fast; and in spite of racing the engine, we could not get the clutch to hold sufficiently to start her on the slope. At this moment we heard above the roar of the torrent the ominous drone of an engine, and round the shoulder of the cliff, bouncing down the steps, appeared the bonnet of a lorry coming from Keng-tung. What an extraordinary coincidence that the only two lorries on a hundred-mile road in six months should meet head on at the narrowest part. Who was to give way, or rather, who could give way? On one side the cliff rose sheer for hundreds of feet, on the other it dropped sheer to the torrent hundreds of feet below; a stone coping divided the road from the edge of the precipice. By an extraordinary piece of good fortune, the ledge jutted out a few feet towards the brink. It was risky work, but we manœuvred the Keng-tung lorry into this recess, and unloading our own started it up the steps past the stationary lorry which stood on the sloping brink of the precipice, actually overhanging the torrent. Once out of

the ravine, we found a place to turn. All this took time, and dusk had now fallen. Long after dark we got back to the Salween ferry.

Next morning we tried again with a lighter load, and taking the steps at a fair speed got safely through the defile and faced the first range of hills. Late in the afternoon we crossed the pass, over 6,000 feet above sea level. Almost immediately afterwards we came within inches of disaster; for, taking a steep curve too fast, we ran to the very brink of the precipice before, finding he could not possibly get round, the driver pulled up. Then the edge of the road crumbled away under the weight of the off front wheel, leaving it suspended over space. Once again we unloaded the lorry, but it was a long time before we could get it back securely on the road, and nearly midnight when we reached the village in the valley. After that we made better progress, doing about thirty miles the following day. At every hairpin bend we had to back once or twice before we could get the lorry round, and a narrow bridge set at a sharp angle held us up for an hour. The two spare drivers squatted each on a wing, and were kept busy removing rocks or branches of trees from the road, helping to turn the wheels, or chocking them on a slope when the engine gave up unexpectedly. Coming round a corner, the minatory scream of the Klaxon horn would stampede a train of mules, or start a company of jungle folk scurrying before us like lost sheep. On the third day we crossed the last pass, and descending by a dangerous road, deeply grooved by torrents and cambered like a racing track, we reached the plain of Keng-tung, 400 miles from Mandalay.

The town of Keng-tung is the capital of the Shan State of that name, the largest and most prosperous of the Federation. There are several fine old brick temples embowered in trees, a number of retail shops, the Sawbwa's palace which looks like a picture palace, and a five-day bazaar, which all neighbouring hill tribes attend in force. I called on the Sawbwa, a merry old man who chewed betel throughout and spat frequently into a gilded spittoon; his son, who also chewed, and spoke mangled English, interpreted. The palace contains two enormous halls, empty except for gilt mirrors on the walls and an electric-light chandelier; the private apartments are small, and the large audience hall is designed to impress visitors. The Sawbwa is a rich man. He owns a lorry and trades with both Burma and Siam. In the bazaar it is easy to get Siamese tickals, but the French piastre is almost unknown. The fact is all trade which goes this way passes naturally southwards to Siam. This is not due to Anglo-French rivalry, but to the fact that the Mekong river, as well as a high range of mountains, divides British and French territory. The grain of the

country runs north and south. The obvious outlet for Keng-tung is due southwards to the sea, without crossing the Mekong at all, and it is not much further to railhead in Siam than it is to the first market town in Laos, which is several hundreds of miles from the railway.

From Keng-tung to the Mekong is ten marches, or about 120 miles over very hilly country. Mules, ponies, and occasionally cattle are used for transport, but one meets no caravans on the road, and not many coolies. In fact, by continuing eastwards from Keng-tung instead of turning south, I got into ever wilder country where a white man was regarded as a curiosity. One large Shan village at which we arrived turned out a guard of honour who presented arms with such a clatter of dropped rifles as I approached that my pony took fright. I had to inspect the guard before the officer was satisfied, and with much pomp I was then escorted into the village. The elders and headmen placed the best house at my disposal; it was really the "office," and it had a wooden-tile roof which made it look exactly like a property house in a musical comedy.

More interesting than the Shans are the Kaws, whose high-roofed huts are huddled together on the sugar-loaf hilltops. Unlike some of the hill tribes of Burma, these people are mild-mannered and friendly. Just outside every village, the huts of which are necessarily closely packed, is a communal swing for the children, though it seems to be used only on holidays. Both men and girls dress neatly in dark-blue garments reduced to their simplest form; the girls wear short skirts, the men baggy Shan trousers. Jackets and skirts are trimmed with shells or beads, and girls wear close-fitting beaded caps, like boudoir caps. Grown men wear the Shan turban, but young bloods affect a tassel of beads hanging over the forehead, and a long scarf thrown negligently over the shoulders. In the valleys we camped in the Shan villages, which are like garden suburbs. The Shans, especially the men, who have little to do, are far sunk in lethargy. Each morning when we broke camp, an incurious crowd collected to see us off. They were mostly men with babies on their backs; the women had long since gone to work in the fields. Every village, however small, has its monastery, which is also the school. Half a dozen urchins, in saffron yellow skull caps and yellow robes of varying degrees of dinginess, haunt the precincts, and morning and evening chant litanies; between lessons they sweep the courtyard, draw water from the well, or cut firewood in the jungle. It is a pleasant, care-free life, not too strenuous; and no very high standard is required so long as the ritual is followed.

On the last day of April we descended to the Mekong, here a

rather unimpressive river; and next morning we were ferried over into French territory. The very inadequate raft was eloquent of the lack of trade between the two colonial empires, and we had to make five trips before our twelve mules with their loads and drivers were across. Meek as the river appears just here in the dry season, it is unnavigable, and the path, which is very bad, soon strikes inland, through primeval forest. Above the swamp and swelter of the undergrowth, magnificent orchids trailed banners of flowers. Two days later we joined the main road to Hwei Sai, the head of boat navigation on the Mekong, and descending to a saucer-shaped plain reached Muongsing. My arrival at the French outpost, unnoticed by *Monsieur le Délégue*, was not lost upon a soldier of the *Garde Indigène*. This Annamite warrior, dressed in khaki breeches and tunic, with dark-blue puttees, a beret on his head and pumps on his otherwise bare feet, accosted me in the village street with all the assurance of an immigration official in New York. I tried him with Chinese, but he shook his head; with French, but he shook his head more vehemently; and catching sight of my gun, he looked preternaturally grave. He was determined to play his part as a sallow Frenchman resisting the strange visitor from across the border; and authority, delegated by the ruling race, gave him a sense of superiority in the presence of an alien white man dominant to any inferiority complex. This indeed is an unforeseen result of empire which in the future is likely to become a serious problem to administrators. I now pointed to the delegation down the street, and walked over to see the officer in command, shadowed by Pierre. The Frenchman received me with acclamation. Pierre was got rid of—in French; and I was installed in the travellers' bungalow.

Muongsing is an important market town. Here three empires meet. The British border is forty miles distant, the Chinese border only three hours' march. Moreover, the Siam frontier is little more than a week's march to the south. In the cold weather Chinese mule caravans with jingling bells and barking chow dogs, converge on Muongsing from all directions. Even now the market is crowded with hill tribes speaking a babel of tongues and selling strange wares. In former times this district was one of the Shan States tributary to Burma. When the British occupied Mandalay, the Shan States were necessarily included in the liabilities, and Muongsing was in fact occupied. But, abashed at the extent of the prize which had fallen into their hands, the British for once faltered. The Mekong looked a convenient frontier, and they resolved to stop short there; everything beyond was cut adrift, and it was hoped that Siam would annex the vacated territory. But Siam acted too slowly. Within a year French bayonets glit-

tered in Muongsing. And by limiting her direct liabilities, Great Britain had added enormously to her anxieties. The *Garde Indigène* occupies the rather pretentious white fort opposite the market place; and there are several Chinese shops, including a restaurant, a barber, and an opium den.

But upper Laos is essentially an agricultural and grazing country. There are two routes which lead into the heart of Laos (i) eastwards over the hills, two days' journey to the Namtha river, whence the Mekong is reached by canoe, or (ii) southwards over the hills, nine days' journey to Hwei Sai, the head of navigation on the Mekong, just above the confluence of the Namtha river. Thence to Luang Prabang by raft; there is no overland route. I chose the former. On first acquaintance the Namtha river looks like a big ditch, but it soon reveals its true character. Six pirogues were loaded with the baggage, and two more carried my servant and myself. The pirogue is a long shallow canoe, with a mat awning, open at each end, bent over a bamboo deck amidships. One cannot sit upright beneath the awning; but one can lie at full length on one's back, protected from sun and rain, and count the spiders which crawl within a few inches of one's face. By good fortune the weather was fine, though intensely hot, and I was able to sit on the edge of my deck, forward of the tilt roof, basking in the sun. Balanced thus as we frolicked over the rough water, I watched the ever-changing panorama unroll before me, and the procession of pirogues disappearing one by one over the lip of the next rapid. Each pirogue carried a crew of four men, two forward and two aft, who steered by means of bow and stern oars working between thole-pins. The most important man was the forward steersman, and our very lives depended on him. Almost immediately after leaving Namtha the sluggish river entered a defile, and woke up with a start. Rocks replaced the mud banks, and huge forest trees overhung the quickening water. The roar of rapids filled the air, as we raced towards the first fall; and the almost naked crew stood alert. With a lash of his oar, the forward helmsman steered us through the stone jaws, and we were gulped down in a smother of foam. The boat danced and staggered as the waves hit it, water pouring over the low gunwale. The forward helmsman yelled over his shoulder, and the man aft flicked us round as a fish flicks its tail. We scraped past rocks, and shot into calm water again, while the crew relaxed. For five days we ran the rapids or floated idly under a burning sun, while other boats crawled up stream under the bank. Here and there we passed a small village crammed into the mouth of a ravine. At night we ran ashore and camped; gorgeous nights they were, filled with the fragrance of the jungle and illuminated by the sparkle of fireflies.

On the sixth day we came out quietly into the wide copper-red Mekong, and tied up off the raft bureau, having run the rapids for 200 miles.

Now we transferred to a raft for the voyage to Luang-Prabang. This raft was a magnificent affair, the deck being laid across two pirogues and supporting a hut inside in which I could stand up and move about. Here my bed and table were set up as in a tent, and I had ample room for my boxes. The crew, six in number, squatted under an awning forward, and the cooking was done aft; besides the six oarsmen, there were four steersmen, two forward and two aft. In this wise we proceeded down the Mekong, at first soberly, for the great river was calm. But before long it bared its teeth, and fangs of rocks which had chewed tree trunks threatened to tear us in pieces. We spun round in the current, lurched through a storm of waves, the crew rowing and shouting, and avoiding the terrific back swirl steered out into smooth water again. After that the river became a seething cauldron for mile after mile, with short intervals of smooth water. Indeed the course of the Mekong from this point is extremely erratic. It is continually jerking its way to the east, following what appears to be the line of most resistance; southwards lies an open plain; and it seems likely that in ancient times the Mekong did flow in this direction.

On the evening of the fourth day the golden pagoda of Luang-Prabang glimmered amongst the trees on the hilltop overlooking the royal city, and at dusk we tied up under the high bank. I spent five days in Luang-Prabang waiting for the postal raft, which leaves every Saturday. It is a fine town, but, in the height of its glory, when it boasted 40,000 inhabitants, it was finer still. There is a King of Luang-Prabang; in former times this was the capital, not only of a district, as now, but of the entire province of Laos, which comprises two-thirds of French Indo-China. In recent years the French have applied themselves seriously to the development of Laos, which is now recognised as an exceedingly rich country. Since the war nearly 2,000 prospecting licences have been issued in Luang-Prabang alone. Roads are being built, in particular a great highway from Luang-Prabang to Vientiane, the modern administrative capital of Laos. These are obviously a first necessity. In Burma, with its big river and a railway from one end of the province to the other, the absence of roads does not much matter. But there is not a mile of railway in the whole of Laos, and the Mekong is the sorrow of Indo-China; great artery though it be, it is unnavigable for vessels drawing only three feet, and therefore almost useless under modern conditions. The motor pirogues which are now being tried are likely to help with the administration but leave trade where it was.

Aeroplanes have been used to cover the great distances in the north, and the Resident *Supérieur* has flown from Vientiane to Muongsing in a day. A start has also been made with the first railway into Laos, which is to link the Mekong with the coast of Annam. It is to be completed in five years. In Oriental countries, whether they are sovereign states like China, or protectorates, railways are always primarily strategic; and this railway is no exception. It will, however, make direct access to the middle Mekong possible; and since the French also have the idea of attracting tourists to Laos, that is an essential preliminary. But it is no good making Laos safe for tourism unless tourists are going to be encouraged to go there. At present everything is done to discourage them from going beyond Saigon. With all this development the face of Laos is being changed. The Laotien will not do coolie work, and Annamite labour has to be imported at great expense. Where the Annamite settles, the Laotien moves away; the world is not big enough for them to settle side by side. Meanwhile, on the other side of the river, the Siamese are extending their railways and roads to the Mekong; and the French look on uneasily.

From Luang-Prabang I travelled by raft to Vientiane, reached in nine days; and thence to Savanakheth by the steam packet. Here the road from Annam reaches the Mekong, and I motored the 250 miles to Hué, where I joined the railway.

F. KINGDON-WARD.

LONDON IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

THROUGHOUT its history London has been a city wedded to its river, and built round its bridge. The bridge was previous to the city. London is where it is because no bridge could span the river at any point nearer to the sea. The earliest bridges were military erections, built to carry invading armies across the Thames, and to bring them nearer to the haven where they would be, the famous fertile plains of East Anglia. But in the Middle Ages, when the invasions had ceased, and when wayfarers were regarded as being under the special protection of the Church, the building of bridges was her peculiar concern. Religious guilds were founded for their building and maintenance, and bishops granted indulgences to those who helped in this work by money or by labour. "Of alle workys in this world that ever were wrought, Holy Church is chefe: another bleisid besyness is brigges to make." So runs an inscription on Culham Bridge: it exactly expresses the mediæval point of view.

When the bridge of William Rufus was burnt in the terrible fire of 1136, nobody saw any incongruity in the fact that it was a priest, Peter of Colechurch, who was chosen to build the new one. He was a mass-priest, and attached to a chantry chapel in order to say daily masses for the repose of the soul of its founder. These chantry chapels were very numerous, and, as the chroniclers complained, were too wont to provide decorative posts for lazy priests. But they were none the less a useful institution in that they set priests free to turn their more secular inclinations to good account. The first bridge which Peter built in 1163 was made of elm wood, but it was not intended to be more than a stop-gap to do temporary service until the new and permanent bridge of stone could be started and, very slowly, finished.

Of the difficulties and details of the building we have no knowledge, but they must have been many, for it was pioneer work to build a stone bridge, and many years were needed to complete it. Stowe, in his *Survey of London* (1603) has left a short account of the work.

Now touching the foundation of the Stone Bridge, it followeth: About the yeare 1176 the Stone Bridge over the river of Thames at London was begunne to be founded by the aforesaid Peter of Cole Church, neare unto the Bridge of Timber, but somewhat more towards the west, for I read that Buttolphe wharfe was in the Conqueror's time at the head of London Bridge. The King assisted this worke: a Cardinale then being Legate here, and Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, gave one thousand markes towards the foundation, the course of the river for the time was turned another way about by a Trench cast for that pur-

pose beginning as is supposed East about Radriffe, and ending in the West about Patricksey, now termed Batersey, this worke, to wit, the Arches, Chaple, and stone bridge over the river of Thames at London, having been 33 yeares in building was in the yeare 1209 finished by the worthy Marchants of London, Serle Mercer, William Almaine, and Benedict Botewite, principall Maisters of that worke, for Peter of Cole Church deceased foure yeares before, and was buried in the Chappell on the Bridge, in the yeare 1205.

The finished bridge was a stately and beautiful thing. The citizens, who had loitered their spare time away for so many years standing on the timber bridge and watching the men working on this new wonder, sinking great stone piles into the bed of the river to support its twenty broad rounded arches, had good reason to be proud of Peter's gift to their city. It was 926 feet long and 40 feet wide. It was supported by nineteen pillars of between 25 feet and 34 feet in diameter, and these in their turn rested on sterlings far wider than themselves, which, reducing by more than half the effective width of the river, made dangerous rapids under the bridge itself. At both ends of the bridge stood a tower and a draw-bridge, and on the top of the tower at the Southwark end were later placed a large number of pikes. They carried the horrid burden of the heads of criminals executed in London and elsewhere.

On the bridge itself stood the famous circular chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the first building to be erected there. Later it was to be flanked by great houses, among them Nonsuch House, one of the sights of London in Tudor times, with the narrow road running through them and over the drawbridges. But that was not yet. The first residences on the bridge were the thatched mud huts of the very poor; and the needs of the wayfarers were supplied by the mercers, salters, and haberdashers, who, finding Cheapside overcrowded, set up their stalls on the bridge itself. But to live there was not yet popular. People who were forced to do it were full of complaints of the nerve-wracking shrieks of those who had been caught in the rapids below, and were drowning. The earliest known drawing of London, the date of it being between 1475 and 1500, had the bridge in the foreground, and shows vividly these dangerous whirling rapids, and the troubled waters in the pool below.

Three years after the bridge was finished, it saw its greatest disaster. On a July evening in 1212, when a strong south wind was blowing, a fire broke out among the houses on the Southwark bank, and all who could raced to the bridge to watch it, for then, as now, a good fire, though a sadly common occurrence, was not a sight to be lightly missed. When the bridge was fully thronged the sparks were carried across the river and ignited the booths and

cottages at the north end. The gatehouse at the south end was already blazing. The people were trapped between the two fires on a bridge overbuilt with thatched wooden huts. With the strong wind the fire ran fast. When boats at last came to the rescue, the people jostled each other in their frenzied efforts to jump into them. Most of the boats were overturned in the panic, and, according to the Chronicle, about ten thousand were burned, or swept into the rapids below. Even when that number has been divided by ten, it was a terrible disaster.

The worst fire was that of 1136, which began at London Bridge, and ravaged the city as far west as the Church of St. Clement Danes. St. Paul's, which was slowly being rebuilt after its destruction in the fire of 1087, was again damaged. Of Saxon London nothing was left but the names of the streets, and although it seems that only six people were killed in it, by far the greater part of the walled city perished in this fire, the most devastating in London's history. It was not until 1187 that the only possible precaution was taken, by the first Mayor of the Commune of London. Stowe describes this:

It followeth in Fitzstephen that the plagues of London in that time were immoderate quaffing among fooles, and often casualties by fire. For the first, to wit of quaffing, it continueth as afore. . . . As for the prevention of casualties by fire the houses in this citty being then builded all of timber and covered with thatch of straw or reed, it was long since thought good policie in our Forefathers to provide, namely in the year of Christ, 1189, the first of Richard the First, Henry Fitzalwine being then Mayor, that all men in this citty should builde their houses of stone up to a certaine height, and to cover them with slate or baked tyle: Since which tyme, thanks be given to God, there hath not happened the like often consuming fires in the citty as afore.

The destruction of these fires made much rebuilding necessary. It was carried through to such good purpose that in the London of Fitzstephen's time, who wrote in 1180, there were 126 parish churches and thirteen monastic buildings. Add to these the other buildings erected during the century, such as the bridge and many of the gates, and it will be realised that the citizen of the twelfth century must have been almost as accustomed to the sight of scaffolding as their successors are to-day. The number of churches seems considerable, but most of them were very small, and only one in five possessed more than one altar. St. Michael's, Queenhithe, was typical of the majority. In 1138 an inventory of the furniture and vestments of that church was taken, which has been preserved through the centuries. The church then possessed a Breviary, a Tropary, a Gradual, an Antiphonary, a Manuary, a

Capitulary, and a Missal for the chanting and reciting of Masses and other Offices. The Mass Vestments were a complete priest's vestment, and an Alb, Amice, Stole, Girdle, Corporal, and four Towels. The actual furniture consisted of an Altar, two Crucifixes, an Altar Cloth, and two bells. The patronage of this and all other city churches belonged to St. Paul's, which at that time was itself being rebuilt.

The Normans were good citizens and good Churchmen, and it was owing to Norman kings and Norman bishops that St. Paul's was rebuilt with such magnificence. As soon as the Conqueror had entered London he issued a Declaration binding himself and his sons to respect its liberties and properties, declaring, "I desire that the church shall be as free as I should wish my soul to be on Judgement Day." When St. Paul's was burnt in 1087 the Norman bishop Maurice immediately set to work to build it up again, and his successor, Richard de Belmeis, bestowed all his revenues for some years upon the work, and, as though that were not enough, he made the churchyard and enlarged the streets and lanes around it at his own cost. Henry I gave as much of the ditch of Barnard's Castle as was needed for a wall round the churchyard, and for a path around the wall, and he freed from duty all boats sailing up the River Fleet, carrying stone for the building.

Just as London's right to the title of the first city of England was no longer questioned, so there had already been discussion as to whether St. Paul's and not Canterbury Cathedral should be the metropolitan cathedral of England. Fitzstephen, in his introduction to his biography of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which he devotes to a description and eulogy of London, says that once it had been so, "and is thought likely to become so again, if ever the natives return back into the island; unless, perhaps, the Archiepiscopal title of St. Thomas the Martyr and his bodily presence in the church of Canterbury shall secure the dignity where it now is." At any rate, whether or no the change seemed possible then, the cathedral of London was regarded as a national possession, and dioceses other than London helped to find the money for the rebuilding. In 1175, for instance, the Bishop of Winchester, whose London house was close to St. Mary Overie, just south of the bridge, ordered the inhabitants of his diocese to give every help to those who had been sent to collect money for building again the church of St. Paul in London.

Two of the churches built in the twelfth century are still standing, the Temple Church, and the Priory Church of the Augustinian Canons, founded in 1123 by Rahere, and dedicated by him in obedience to the dictates of a dream to St. Bartholomew. It stands in Smithfield, and the great hospital of St. Bartholomew is of the

same foundation. The choir of the Priory still stands, and is used as the parish church to-day. In the vision, afterwards written down by Rahere, the Saint spoke thus:

This spirituall House Almighty God shall inhabit, hallow and preserve unspotted for ever and ever and His eyes shall be open and His ears intending on this House night and day, that he who asks may have, he who seeks may find, and he who knocks may enter. For one who being converted and penitent of his sins in this place praying shall be heard in Heaven, or seeking with a perfect heart help from whatever tribulation, without doubt he shall find it.

But Rahere's aspirations were set at naught by Tudor greed and insolence and Georgian neglect, and years of devoted work on the part of successive vicars have been needed to restore that portion of the church which still remains, and to recover the ground of the ambulatory and cloisters. With so much attention to matters of religion, and so many churches and monastic foundations, no wonder Fitzstephen could write:

I do not believe there is any city which has more commendable customs, for going to church and honouring the laws of God, keeping holidays, giving alms, entertaining strangers, ratifying contracts, contracting marriages, giving banquets, amusing their guests, or in performing funerals, and burying the dead.

A fairly comprehensive list of virtues!

For the appearance of London and the social life of its citizens in the twelfth century, Fitzstephen is the great authority. But his ecstasies have to be taken with a grain of salt, because he made little attempt to refrain from exaggerating the splendours of the city which had cradled his hero St. Thomas. Even the climate was mild, and the blustering winds were forgotten. It had "a softening effect on the minds of the inhabitants, not to sink them in voluptuousness, but to make them kind and generous." And Stowe, copying Fitzstephen, says "they had in everie streete and lane of the citie diverse fayre welles, and fresh springs"; all of which was perhaps true. But there is another side to the picture. The streets were narrow, winding, and unpaved. There was little or no attempt at sanitation, and the city was infested by three plagues, fever, thieves, and cheating tradesmen.

Twelfth-century London was certainly a well-watered city. Streams and fountains abounded, and where Bloomsbury and the Borough of St. Pancras now stand was then a scene of "fields, pasturage, and the most delightful level meadows, on which are mills, whose murmur and motion give life to all around. In the immediate neighbourhood is a large forest, with green lawns embosomed in the woods, full of animals, stags, fallow deer, and wild boars." According to Stowe

Aunciently, until the Conqueror's time, and 200 yeres after, the cite of London was watered besides the famous river of Thames, on the South part with the river of the Wels, as it was then called: on the West with a water called Walbrooke running through the midst of the cite into the river Thames, serving the heart thereof. And with a fourth water or Boorne, which ran within the cities through Lanboorne ward, watering that part in the East. In the West suburbs was also another great water, called Oldbourne, which had his fall into the river of Wels: then was there 3 principall Fountains or wels in other suburbs, to wit Holy Well, Clements Well, and Clarkes Well. Neare unto this last named fountaine were divers other wels, to wit Skinners Well, Fags Well, Tode Well, Loders Well, and Radwell. . . . In west Smithfield, there was a pool neare unto the parish Church of Saint Giles without Cripplegate. . . . After this manner was this cite then served with sweete and fresh waters, which being since decayed, other means have been sought to supplie the want.

The London boy who went to school went probably to the Cathedral School of St. Paul's, or to the school attached to the church of St. Martin-le-Grand. There the boys learned Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, and, if they were sufficiently advanced, Dialectic; and they prepared themselves for those Holy Days on which the magistrates paid official visits to the schools. Before these critics the boys had then to display what they had learned. They held disputations,

some in demonstrations, others on rhetoric. Some deal forth euthymemes, others prefer to use the more accurate syllogism. Some exercise themselves in disputation for display as between rivals; others for the sake of truth. Sophists and pretenders signalise themselves by the volume and multiplicity of their words; others deal in paradoxes. . . . The boys of different schools dispute with one another in verse, or contend about the principles of the grammatical art.

Such was the twelfth-century Speech Day, perhaps less dignified, but vastly more amusing than it commonly is to-day.

But there were holidays as well as Holy Days, and especially there was Carnival Day, when, in the morning, the scholars carried their fighting cocks to their masters, and they and the masters spent the whole morning together happily watching the fighting. If they had been poor boys, unable to afford school, they would have tied a cock by one leg to a stake in St. Paul's churchyard, and hurled sticks and stones at it. In the afternoon a massed game of football, with no limit as to the number of players, took place in the fields under the wall. All the boys of each school took part in it, and the game was watched by their fathers and the rich merchants of the city. In the Lenten holidays games were played on the river. A target was fixed on a mast, and was charged by a rowing boat, in the stem of which a boy stood armed with a spear.

It was his aim to shatter the spear on the target as the boat passed, without losing his footing. Those who fell into the water were picked up by two boats moored on either side of the target.

Winter in London can hardly have been that yearly experience of desolation which it was to most of the people of Europe; there were so many games to excite the citizens and warm their blood. Many of these games were barbarous. Boar baiting was a favourite, and it ended nearly always in the animal's death. Bulls and bears were put in a ring and made to fight with dogs. But whenever the Clerkenwell marshes were frozen, they were immediately crowded with men and boys, who, "striding as wide as they may, doe slide swiftly." Others skated. Their skates were made from the shin bones of animals, and they carried long iron-shod poles, and thus moved over the ice "with the swiftness of a bird." The most venturesome skaters used their poles as lances and tilted at each other, and then, as the solemn and reverend translator of Fitzstephen says in his very worst English,

the contest ends by one or both of them falling and receiving some severe bodily injury; for after they are down, the velocity still acting carries them past one another, and wherever the ice comes into contact with their head they become wholly excoriated.

The London of that day also had a restaurant. It stood somewhere on the site of the present Embankment. There, says Fitzstephen,

you will get every day according to season, all kinds of meats and dishes, roast, baked, fried, and boiled, fish, flesh of a coarser sort for the poor, but more delicate for the rich, venison, poultry, and game. If any one of the citizens is surprised by a visit from his friends, tired by their journey, and disinclined to wait until fresh food can be bought and cooked to allay their hunger, someone runs down to the quay, where he finds everything they want. Whatever may be the multitude of soldiers or foreigners who enter the city or leave it, at any hour of the day or night, there is no need that they should fast or set out on an empty stomach; down to the quay they go if they like, and each gets what he wants.

"By day or night," but it was not very safe to be out at night alone, and it was suicidal to carry money about during the hours of darkness in those unlit streets. Henry I did something to bring order and security to such Londoners as had to go abroad after dark, by appointing a body of constables and arming them with flaring torches. But in the first quarter of the century it was common for large bodies of men, young and old together, to make nightly raids on wealthy houses, and to murder any stranger they found in the streets if he did not immediately hand over all he carried. Often such wayfarers were murdered whether they parted with their money or not. Stowe takes from the author of the *Gesta Henrici*

Secundi a vivid story illustrating what could easily happen even after the city had been partially cleansed by Henry I:

It fortuned that, as a crew of young and wealthie citizens assembling together in the night, assaulted a stone house of a certaine rich man, and breaking through the wall, the good man of that house, having prepared himself with other in a corner, when hee perceyved one of the theeves named Andrew Bucquint to leade the way, with a burning brand in one hand, and a pot of coales in the other, which he assaied to kindle with the brand, he flew upon him, and smote off his right hand, and then with a loud voice cried Theeves: at the hearing whereof the theeves tooke their flight, all saving hee that had lost his hande, whom the goodman next morning delivered to Richard de Lucie, the King's Justice. This theefe, upon warrant of his life, appeached his confederates, of whom many were taken, and many were fled. Among the rest that were apprehended, a certaine citizen of great countenance, credit, and wealth, named John Senex, who, forasmuch as he could not acquit himself by the waterdome (Trial by ordeal of Fire and Water) offered to the King five hundred pounds of silver for his life: but forasmuch as he was condemned by the judgement of the water, the King would not take the offer, but commanded him to be hanged upon the gallows, which was done, and then the Citie became more quiet for a long time after.

If the streets were thus haunted at night by bands of robbers, by day the citizens were subjected to other dangers, which, if not fatal, were certainly trying. These were the dangers arising from narrow and unpaved streets, winding between houses and shops, the upper stories of which overhung the streets on both sides. If the citizen was riding or driving in wet weather it was no uncommon thing for him to be stuck fast in the miry clay. And in all weathers he went in peril of the slops and dirty water, emptied by careless housewives into the streets, after a casual cry of warning, dropping ungently on him from the windows above his head. Those who go to Pepys for their knowledge of seventeenth century London are struck by the fact that the river, not the Strand, was the chief highway. So it was in the twelfth century. The water was clean and full of fish, and made the more beautiful by the many and jealously guarded swans swimming on it. So the experienced Londoner, wishing to travel from Westminster to the City, went by water if he could. He hired a wherry as far as the bridge; then, to avoid the rapids, he landed at Old Swan Steps, walked to Botolph's Wharf, and took another wherry if he wished to go further east.

The life of London in that century, as in all others, was centred upon and conditioned by the river, and any history of London must certainly begin and will probably end with the history of the Thames.

ROGER B. LLOYD.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE RECORD FOR 1930.

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THE turning point of an unfortunate year was probably (if paradoxically) the agreement reached on April 10th which led to the signing of the London Naval Treaty. The year opened with a better diplomatic prospect than had been seen since the Locarno treaties were negotiated in 1925. It ended with a worse prospect than had been seen since the war. It is a gloomy year to look back on. The practical criterion in all diplomacy is the tendency to or from disarmament. At the beginning of 1930 the tendency was to disarmament. There had been no clearer tendency to disarmament since the war. A definite preliminary agreement between the United States and Great Britain on naval limitation, contrasting with the 1927 failure, seemed to promise something good in international relations. The conference met and drew up a businesslike treaty, wherefrom there resulted a working machinery for limiting and reducing naval armaments. The three leading naval Powers signed it: but it was clear that the full good of it could not materialise unless the next two naval Powers, France and Italy, also signed it. Not all the appeal and argument of the Powers, however, could induce France to sign it. She signed a part of it, the unimportant part. She resolutely refused to sign the important part that prescribed the limitation of naval armaments. France, in the face of a world-wide desire to reduce armaments, refused to abandon her "right" to increase her armaments to any extent she chose. Italy therefore (and no reasonable person can blame her) decided that she in her turn could not sign it, although she made it clear that she would sign it at any time on equal terms with France. The French refusal to some extent also vitiated the three-Power agreement, for as a direct result of that refusal the three Powers incorporated a "safeguarding" clause designed to leave open the door to increased armaments to meet a contingent increase in the French submarine fleet.

Up to April 10th the diplomatic tide in the affairs of men had been rising. Since April 10th it has gone relentlessly back. France, the terrified "victor" of the Great War, thereby did something that may be irretrievable in the history of our time.

The tragedy of military "victory" could hardly be better illustrated. Certain it is that since that bad day in 1930 the general condition of Europe and the world has gone from good to bad and from bad to worse without pause. There started in Italy an uncontrolled campaign of opinion against France, based on a perhaps natural resentment against the French claim to naval superiority in strength over Italy. The Italian campaign was

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answered by anti-Italian outbursts in France, the worst elements in both countries being given their congenial opportunity. The stock of the Briands and the Grandis slumped, that of the Franklin Bouillons, the Poincarés, began to boom, and the less attractive side of Signor Mussolini had to be paraded for the gratification of Italian emotion. German opinion became increasingly distrustful of France, the old Stresemann stock fell, the new Hitler stock rose. By the time the German election took place in September the Nazis could increase their seats in the Reichstag from 12 to 107. That event in its turn made the Franklin Bouillon stock in France soar still higher, and the Chamber of Deputies resounded with panic accusations against Germany. The seventh session of the League of Nations Disarmament Commission, when it met in Geneva in November, degenerated into a travesty of itself, and became, not an active means to disarmament, but an arena of bad tempered recrimination into which Count Bernstorff and Lord Cecil were unfortunately drawn, although neither German nor British policy was in the least responsible for the underlying causes. When that session of the Preparatory Commission came to an end, diplomatic feeling in Europe was split into two camps. The one camp, led by France, plunged into a propagandist campaign designed to suggest that German policy, compact of bad faith and a desire for revenge, was endangering the prestige of the League of Nations, the stability of the Versailles settlement, the peace of Europe. Lord Cecil, the victim (as will be explained in more detail below) of circumstance not of his own making, had been jockeyed into the rôle of Greek chorus to the alleged Bernstorffian apostasy, a rôle which he filled on certain occasions with some little warmth against Count Bernstorff personally. Owing no doubt to that misfortune, one heard unwelcome echoes of the French campaign in certain responsible London quarters where one was entitled to expect more sense. The point however appears to be that when bad feeling begins to run, it gathers speed of its own momentum. Just as in the case of war, the hate of both sides is fed by the set purpose of each side to be unpleasant to the other, with the result that original unsubstantial grievances are filled with new substance, so diplomatic vendetta creates the basis of its own activity. The philosophic contemplation of the diplomacy of 1930 is not likely to have a cheering effect.

The problems of diplomacy in their origin are the same in kind as those of personal relationships between individuals, with the all important difference that the personal factor is multiplied many times over. Whereas in personal muddles between individuals a little common sense, seasoned with benevolent cynicism, can "sweeten" a stupid mischief maker and transform a bad into a

good atmosphere, in diplomatic muddles, by contrast, there being no tactical unity, the mischief gets out of hand. Hence perhaps in some degree the prevalence of war as the supreme phase of mass muddle between peoples.

THE MUDDLE IN EUROPE.

At the end of 1930, after twelve years of the peace that followed the Great War, the leading politicians of Europe were exercising themselves in unpractical dialectics about armaments. Lord Cecil came home from Geneva to London, Count Bernstorff went home to Berlin, manifesting little of brotherly love towards each other. They had taken their part in the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. The session had been remarkable, not for its evidence of a sincere or convincing tendency towards disarmament, but for the symptoms it displayed of a general unhealthy condition in Europe. To draw conclusions about the ineffectiveness of Geneva in its major object of promoting friendly relations, would be to misunderstand what Geneva is. Geneva is the sum total of the diplomatic feeling of a section of the world, that section being for the most part Europe. The best British, especially the best English thought, is shy of expressing any view which may have the effect of discouraging the general faith in Geneva, such as it may be; for it is an axiom of British thought that the strength of an institution is the strength it is believed or imagined to have in the minds of most people. If most people believe that Geneva can prevent war, then Geneva can prevent war. The moral truth embodied in that axiom is a commonplace of nearly all experience. But when before one's eyes, the very danger begins to take form that one hoped and almost believed Geneva could avert, the only available alternatives are to bury one's head in the sand or to look at what one sees.

The detailed chronicle of the depressing events that took place in Europe in the last four months of 1930, together with some reflection on their connection with what went before, is summarised below. No man who has not lost his sense of what is good and what is bad, can fail to be disturbed by the prevailing temper of European diplomacy. It emerges from the recent history of Europe that the habit of fear and war in Europe is stronger than that of confidence and peace. The precise detail of any disaster is perhaps of less moment than its general effect: The apparently eternal disaster of Europe is all too clear in outline, although too few people in Europe are disposed to take a detached view of it in its context. As Germany after 1871, terrified of

losing the diplomatic supremacy won for her by her murderous supremacy over France took to behaving in so outrageous a manner as to excite a counter tendency which in the end encompassed her fall, so France after 1918, actuated by the like terror, and behaving in the like manner seems to be creating against herself a ring of foes which sooner or later is likely to administer to her the like fate. If only the disturbers-in-chief, whether Germany after 1871 or France after 1918, could be made to stew locally in their own juice, the pity of it would be the less profound and the interest of it the more academic. Unfortunately there exists a British Government temperamentally disposed to butt into a European war, to invest it with the glamour of a holy crusade, to pay the expenses of both sides and not to retire from it until the economic and financial structure of the world has been badly damaged. If, however, it was true before 1914 that the real pacifist was the one who refrained from the general vituperation of Germany and instead indulged in some mild criticism of France, it becomes a tenable argument that Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Henderson have played the true pacifist game in the present circumstances by refraining from the general vituperation of France, the villain of the next European war, and by indulging in some mild criticism of Germany, the prevailing innocent. There is, however, at least the ground for the suspicion that neither the last nor the present British Government has behaved so intelligently of benevolence aforethought, but rather from a dull persistence in the habit and mentality that were the motive of Whitehall in the last European war. Thus is dullness, in certain circumstances, proved to be not wholly bad as an attribute of government.

The extreme phase of the present European unrest dates from the German election of September 14th. If electoral results be a true index of national feeling, it is difficult to escape the impression that the emergence of the Nazis as a political force in Germany was at least partly due, so far as foreign policy was concerned, to a certain disillusion about the fruits of what may be called the Stresemann policy of sweet reason. Other observers of European affairs besides the Nazis had formed the opinion that French diplomacy, instead of appreciating the true value of the Stresemann policy, was rather concerned to exploit it, the more firmly to ensconce its own armed supremacy. A period of twelve years seems liberal enough as a measure of long suffering in which to give a victorious opponent an opportunity of showing his generosity, if any. German opinion had so long a background of experience in which to judge the motives of the Quai d'Orsay; and who shall be surprised, if he be unprejudiced, that the opinion duly formed in Germany was what it was?

It is necessary to maintain the long view backwards if one is to understand the real seriousness of what developed in the west of Europe in the last months of 1930. The two main lines on which it developed were concerned on the one hand with the question of disarmament and on the other with that of reparation.

(1) IN THE MATTER OF DISARMAMENT.

Before the seventh session of the Preparatory Commission met at Geneva on November 6th, the general position, in its main outline, may be summarised in the following way. The original postulate of disarmament, as contained in the eleven years' old Covenant, read, with a clear enough motive, thus: "*Article 8.* The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

"The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

"Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

"After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

"The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

"The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

"*Article 9.* A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally."

No serious person would be likely to maintain that the purpose of so solemn a pledge was to stabilise the condition of disarmament imposed on Germany by the peace treaties, while sanctioning a progressive increase in the armaments of France. Even, however, if so perverse a misapprehension had arisen, it could hardly have survived the wording of the preamble to Part V of the treaty: "In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation

of the armaments of all nations, etc." It would be even less likely to survive the statement made by the Allied and Associated Powers (June 16th, 1919) to the German Delegation, namely: "The Allied and Associated Powers wish to make it clear that their requirements in regard to German armaments were not made solely with the object of rendering it impossible for Germany to resume her policy of military aggression. They are also the first steps towards that general reduction and limitation of armaments which they seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventives of war, and which it will be one of the first duties of the League of Nations to promote." It is true that in the same communication the German Delegation was informed that Germany "must consent unconditionally to disarm in advance of the Allied and Associated Powers," and that the reasons for that precedence was explained with precision thus: "They [the Allied and Associated Powers] must point out, however, that the colossal growth in armaments of the last few decades was forced upon the nations of Europe by Germany. As Germany increased her power, her neighbours had to follow suit unless they were to become impotent to resist German dictation or the German sword. It is therefore right, as it is necessary, that the process of limitation of armaments should begin with the nation which has been responsible for their expansion. It is not until the aggressor has led the way that the attacked can safely afford to follow suit."

As the treaty gave no time limit within which the victors were to follow the enforced German lead in disarmament, and as the Covenant of the League was the preserve of the Members of the League, it was logically possible for Geneva between 1920 and 1925 to proceed without regard to German feeling, even though on all other grounds beside logic the distinction between Germany and the rest in so essentially general a cause as that of disarmament was a conception somewhat lacking in intelligence. Even the formal excuse for such a procedure, however, was removed when in the autumn of 1925 the Locarno Treaties were signed and the way prepared for Germany's entry into membership of the League. She became a member in September 1926. She thereby became one of the equal parties engaged in the carrying out of Articles 8 and 9 of the Covenant. By the time the German election took place in September 1930, four years had passed since Germany entered the League. In the matter of disarmament not one convincing step had been taken, not towards during that very period a definite step had been taken, not towards disarmament, but away from it. In the depressing situation that was crystallised in December 1930 the event of July 1928 proved to be an important (although submerged) factor.

It is necessary to be clear about what happened in 1928. The full details are recorded in *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, October 1928 (pp. 509-18). For the present purpose it is necessary only to recall a few facts, odd as they now appear in the retrospect. It was precisely Lord Cecil who on March 21st, 1927, the opening day of the Preparatory Commission's work, presented a draft convention, which excited the determined opposition of M. Paul Boncour two days later for the reason that it contained a certain formula about the computation of "effectives." The point may be made clear in this way. If the number of soldiers allowable under the scheme of limitation were to be fixed, it became necessary to formulate a method of calculation and to define what constituted a soldier. In the case of France, where every man is trained at one period of his life for war, it would be clearly misleading to calculate the number of her "effectives" as merely the number of her men serving or training at any given moment. Lord Cecil's proposal, therefore, was that "effectives" should be calculated as the men who could be placed in the firing line within a given short time from the outbreak of a war. Such a proposal, if put into practice, would have involved the abolition of universal service in France by making her trained reserves liable to assessment. In face of M. Paul Boncour's opposition the Cecil proposal was withdrawn, although it was understood that the British Government maintained the policy on which it was based. Nor could that government have taken any other view without stultifying itself: for the drawing up of a convention limiting the number of troops available to a given State, but allowing that State to maintain as many additional trained reserves as it chose, would clearly defeat its object and reduce the pretence of disarmament on land to rubbish. In the summer of 1927, however, there took place the abortive three-Power naval conference, the failure of which was made the occasion of such spirited opportunism on the part of the Quai d'Orsay that by the following summer Sir Austen Chamberlain had made a certain historic commitment. France proposed to Great Britain the notorious "compromise" formula about naval armaments, a proposal of so transparent a tactic that it is difficult to understand how Whitehall came to be attracted by it. Great Britain, for her part, committed herself not any longer to oppose the French thesis about the computation of "effectives" on land. Whitehall at the time was at pains to explain that the two transactions had been conducted independently, and in no sense constituted a bargain. As any baby could have told Whitehall, the naval part of the business was quickly dropped, on Whitehall's perceiving the determined quality of the public outcry that arose against so gratuitous an affront to the

intelligence of the United States. Being hoist, however, with its own petard, Whitehall doggedly faced the logic of its own argument that there had been no "bargain," and proceeded to regard itself as irrevocably bound by the commitment given to France about land armament.

The work of the League's Preparatory Commission having been suspended for the period of the five-Power naval exchanges which culminated in the London Treaty of 1930, it was resumed at Geneva on November 6th, 1930. A convention was drafted in its final form for submission to the projected Disarmament Conference, but Lord Cecil's hands were now tied by the British commitment of 1928, and he had perforce to allow the French thesis about land armaments to be incorporated in the draft. When, on November 8th, Count Bernstorff gave it as his view that the draft convention "would not be worth the ink in which it was written" he did no more than express what was already in the minds of many serious people. The official papers of the Commission's work are not available as I write, but the broad fact that the draft convention is understood not to contain a provision for the limitation of trained reserves empties it of practical value. The German proposals for the indirect limitation of such effectives by means of the limitation of the *number* of the annual contingent in conscript countries were defeated, Lord Cecil presenting a curious and ironic spectacle by refraining from voting. The Bernstorff proposals of November 1930 had for their object precisely the object of the Cecil proposals of March 1927. It was not Lord Cecil's fault that he had to throw his weight, even if it were thrown by the negative means of abstention from voting, against the very policy he had himself initiated three years before.

The further detail of the Commission's work, even though its recital may prove a pointless task, must be reserved till the papers are available. Outside Geneva, in the meantime, certain public statements were made on this subject which illustrated the widening gap between Berlin and Paris. The statements made in Berlin had been preceded (October 29th) by strong representations made to the Government by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Reichstag. That committee had been subjected to, and had rejected, a Nazi attempt to pass a resolution of the familiar Nazi type comprehensively condemning the whole Versailles settlement. It proceeded on its own account to pass a long resolution calling attention to the failure of the treaty Powers to fulfil their obligations in the matter of general disarmament, and urging the Government to use the utmost pressure to effect the disarmament of the other treaty States in equal measure with that of Germany.

The French reaction to that event took the form of a debate in

the Chamber on November 6th. The debate had been preceded by a free fight in the lobbies between two sections of the Socialists, who disagreed in their attitude to their leader, M. Léon Blum. M. Blum had been engaged in an eminently statesmanlike campaign designed to convince his countrymen that disarmament was the best, and indeed the only, means to security, wherein he reversed the favourite argument of the post-war French politicians. It was refreshing to hear such gospel from French lips.

The first important speech in the debate itself was made by M. Franklin Bouillon, one of the stormy petrels of the post-war period. He began by professing an ardent desire for peace, but proceeded to paint a picture of a fraudulent, scheming Germany such as (in his view) made peace impossible. He protested that Germany was spending more on armaments than France, that her threat to demand a moratorium against the Young payments was a mere device for obtaining still more cash for squandering on armaments, that the German and Russian armies were closely allied, that the German object was the revision of all existing frontiers; and so on.

On the following day (November 7th) a distressing contribution was made to the debate by the blind deputy, M. Scapini, the chief of the Association of Ex-soldiers who had lost his sight in the war. Reading his speech from Braille notes, he expressed complete agreement with M. Franklin Bouillon, giving it as his view that of the two Germanies now discernible, the one that appeared to be well disposed was a mere "façade set up to conceal the reality behind it." He leant over the tribune in the direction where M. Briand sat and exclaimed: "M. le Ministre, no one questions your sincerity; you have been duped."

During a few days' suspension of the debate M. Tardieu made a public statement which made those who had begun to despair of French political wisdom prick their ears. On November 9th, addressing the Association of Ex-soldiers, he took the occasion to dissociate himself from such Nationalists as M. Franklin Bouillon, who, he said, "in their terror of Germany and their distrust of Italy" were trying to raise military scares in order to justify their own disbelief in European harmony. Would that M. Tardieu were consistent!

M. Briand made his answer to the debate on November 12th. Master orator and tactician as he is, he first of all "brought down the House" by a typical retort to a Nationalist firebrand who, in the Franklin Bouillon manner, had been castigating the Government for weakness in its foreign policy, and made a sudden direct demand of M. Briand that he should be "more firm." M. Briand at once retorted: "I do not find it necessary to lose my temper to be firm."

M. Briand's defence was made in a crowded, silent House and was received with something like enthusiasm. He appealed against "panic," and invited the Chamber to say whether it approved his policy of the last five years, that policy, he explained, being not his personally, but that of the whole Government. He said that he could "understand that there should be disagreement on their policy, and differences of opinion on the best means of serving France. . . . Germany was a nation of 60,000,000 disciplined, intelligent people. A Foreign Minister who did not seek to diminish the danger of such a neighbour by agreement and understanding would fail in his duty. The Versailles Treaty had been made in very difficult conditions. They could not prevent the countries which it affected from using its provisions. In spite of irritating discussions, the League of Nations had enabled nations to maintain touch and to make agreements. That was no small thing. It had kept the peace for ten years. . . . M. Franklin Bouillon had asked for a reversal of policy. That was impossible. He defied anyone to do it. He himself had not been afraid, in the past, to take vigorous measures. If they had lacked coolness, they would have found no Government in Germany able to maintain the Republic. If he was to go back to the old alliances it would mean the end of the League; it would mean tearing up the Covenant. There was no alternative to his policy."

It would be a fair comment to say that the Briand policy, admirable as its doctrine has almost consistently been, has not had the good fortune to become the decisive influence in French diplomacy. M. Briand, however, is incomparably the best influence in France. It was therefore with some relief that one remarked his recapture of some of his old prestige on November 12th.

M. Tardieu wound up the debate for the Government in the early hours of November 14th and at four o'clock that morning succeeded in obtaining a majority vote of 53 (323 against 270). M. Tardieu's speech, differing in tone from his own recent statement just recorded, differed also from M. Briand's speech by its controversial, even disturbing, tone about Germany. He began by repudiating the suggestion that his views differed from those of M. Briand, and then proceeded, no doubt unconsciously, to prove that they did. He referred to what he called "disquieting" signs that had appeared in Germany since the evacuation of the Rhineland, among them a "tendency of the Germans to put their own signature in question, whether it was given at Versailles or freely at Locarno." He then made an important statement on the French attitude to disarmament as postulated in the passages quoted earlier in this paper from the Treaty of Versailles. His actual words were variously reported in the French Press, but the

difference was one of a shade of meaning, not affecting the broad substance of the point he made. He said that in the matter of disarmament the French Government found itself in a conflict both of fact and of doctrine with the German Government. On the point of doctrine he stated that Germany claimed that the treaties made a binding obligation upon the Allies to disarm at the same time as Germany. That, he said, was not true; the agreement was not bilateral, although, he conceded, it did imply a general understanding that Germany's disarmament *might* conduce to the disarmament of the Allies. He put it no higher than that. On the point of fact he disagreed with Germany both by denying that Germany had fully carried out her treaty obligations and by asserting that France, although not obliged to disarm, had in fact disarmed to an important extent.

The intellectual level of M. Tardieu's performance was a little depressing. The normal capacity of the French mind for juridical quibbling, when used for obstructive ends, becomes one of the most desperate irritants known to human argument. M. Tardieu's premises were half-truths, his conclusions were crooked. It is not the case that German policy, before or after the death of Herr Stresemann, has called into question any German signature, whether affixed to the Versailles or Locarno Treaties or to the reparation settlement; on the contrary the German spokesmen have been at pains to protest their respect for those signatures. Nor is it the case that German policy ever demanded concurrent Allied and German disarmament. Such a demand could only have been made in 1919. What German policy now protests against is the widening gap, now twelve years wide, between the one and the other, and the apparent disinclination on the other side (where the initiative belongs) ever to fulfil the obligation.

On the German side the chief public pronouncement on the present phase of the disarmament controversy was made by Dr. Curtius on November 20th. Reference has been made above to the resolution of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Reichstag (October 29th) which preceded it. Dr. Curtius' speech, which was addressed to the Reichsrat, took the form of an open answer to the statements that had been made in Paris six days before. On the subject of disarmament he said that the French Government "apparently intends completely to change course. It is leaving, to judge from the words of its head, the ground which, since 1919, has formed the basis of all disarmament negotiations. How else can I interpret it when from so authoritative a French source it is maintained that there can be no question of a German treaty right to general disarmament, that the obligation of the conquered is a matter for the free choice of the victor?" He then quoted

certain passages from the League Covenant and from the Locarno Treaties and commented: "If the wording of treaties has any meaning, all this can only mean that, after Germany has fulfilled the preliminary condition, the prescribed sequel, general disarmament, must follow." He developed the argument that not only did a French obligation to disarm result both morally and legally from the whole purport of the Versailles Treaty and the League's Preparatory Commission (on which the French spokesmen had in words confirmed it) but also that disarmament would by itself decide the whole future of the League of Nations. He added that never, even in the time of absolute military might, when France and her Allies dictated the Versailles Treaty, had the despotism of the victor demanded that the one-sided disarmament of Germany should be perpetuated. The raising of such demands after twelve years of the peace would have incalculable results. "We demand the early convocation of the General Disarmament Conference itself, at which every country will have to show itself in its true colours, and where the final decision will be taken whether Germany's claim to a disarmament which will yield equal security for all is to be acknowledged or not."

At Geneva indeed Count Bernstorff (December 1st) proposed, as one of the last acts of the Preparatory Commission, that the Disarmament Conference should be definitely convened for November 5th, 1931. The proposal was defeated on the following day by seventeen votes, on the initiative of Lord Cecil, who submitted, no doubt correctly enough, that it was the Council's business to fix the date. Lord Cecil's alternative proposal, carried in the same vote, was that the Council should be asked to decide the question at its January meeting. One wishes, perhaps, that it had not been Lord Cecil who called the tune.

(2) IN THE MATTER OF REPARATION.

If the controversy that developed in the last four months of 1930 about the postponement clauses of the Young Plan is to be understood, it must be remembered that it directly arose from certain circumstances produced by the general world depression in economics and finance, in which French finance played a cardinal part. The mere bandying of abusive allegations about signed obligations and the like leads neither here nor there.

The statements made on this subject by the Paris politicians have been almost wholly valueless, because irrelevant, as a contribution to a serious problem. When, on November 6th, M. Franklin Bouillon light-heartedly and heavy-handedly dismissed the alleged German demand for a "moratorium" as a "mere pretext," he was in effect wasting time, although he may genuinely

have been ignorant of what he was talking about. No one outside of Paris or of those London quarters which habitually echo Paris has ever in any case talked about a "moratorium." The best feature of the French allusion to the subject is that there has been little of it, neither M. Briand, for instance, on November 12th nor M. Tardieu on November 14th making any reference to it. French activity in this field has been conducted *in camera*, and has been productive of some unwholesome misunderstanding in certain British diplomatic quarters where economic and financial factors are treated with a disdain they do not deserve. In such a quarter one heard, for instance, something like the following argument: "By hinting or threatening a resort to the postponement clauses of the Young Plan Germany is damaging her own and Europe's credit and further discouraging American confidence in Europe. The Young postponement machinery is devised for one purpose only, namely, to obviate possible exchange disasters, as a result of particular transfers, but it could not, in any circumstance, have any effect on Germany's internal economics or finance, for the simple reason that by Annex III, Part V, Clause 6, it is stipulated that 'any sum in Reichsmarks the transfer of which is postponed shall be deposited to the account of the Bank for International Settlements at the Reichsbanks for eventual release.' Moreover, the prosperous condition of Germany's export trade, relative to that of other countries, puts a bad complexion on any current talk of postponement."

Such an argument is largely beside the point. Since the September election the German official spokesmen have on more than one occasion emphasised Germany's full determination to carry out the Young Plan integrally, and protested that even the postponement provisions of that plan itself (the use of which could not logically or reasonably be counted against Germany) will not be used except in the extreme emergency of the financial programme that had been submitted to the Reichstag proving ineffective in its object of countering the extraneous and wholly relevant circumstance produced by the changed ratio between the value of gold and of goods. That change, as Lord D'Abernon (an apt authority) pointed out in his speech to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce on November 14th, by increasing the price of gold and decreasing the price of goods, adds materially to the effective liability signed by Germany at The Hague. Herr Schacht has estimated that the necessary increase in German exports to meet the liability thus increased is no less than 40 or 50 per cent. over the present level of German exports. Whether the Schacht figure be a true index of the change or not, no economist or financier disputes the fact of the change itself.

The official statements that have been made on this subject in Berlin have not given the impression of being made lightly without a sense of responsibility. The early statements (Dr. Wirth, Dr. Brüning, and unofficially Herr Schacht) were chronicled in this section of *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* last month (December 1930, pp. 782-5). The key-sentence was contained in Dr. Brüning's statement of October 16th: "The ratio of value between gold and goods has changed to the disadvantage of the countries which have international duties to discharge." Two of the chief causes of the scarcity of gold are the hoarding of gold that took place in New York during the war, and the hoarding of gold that began in Paris at the beginning of 1929 and has continued nearly uninterrupted ever since. The French hoarding still continues and shows no sign of abating. Paris has nearly trebled its stock of gold during the last two or three years, mainly by means of a steady drain from London. There can be no motive behind it except the vague terror which sometimes induces rich, neurasthenic misers to keep their wealth under lock and key in the form of unproductive gold, useless to themselves and to the general economic structure. The talk one hears of the antiquated banking machinery of France as the real cause will not bear one moment's realistic examination. The more gold France hoards the more impossible she makes it for Germany to meet her Young liability: but the terrified politicians, bankers and financiers of Paris have probably stifled their imagination into an utter inability to grasp so obvious a truth, even though they had the report of the League of Nations gold delegation to guide them. The United States and France together hold more than half the entire supply of the world's gold, the relative amounts held being, New York, the equivalent of about £600,000,000, and Paris, £400,000,000, contrasting with London's £150,000,000.

Two further short quotations only need be made to reveal what is in the minds of the German public men on this important subject. Dr. Curtius' speech to the Reichsrat on November 20th began with a statement about it. *The Times* reported the passage thus: "They could not know, he said, whether the measures they were taking to put their house in order would suffice, or whether they would be forced to take those steps in defence of their economy and currency which were foreseen in the Treaties [i.e. The Hague Treaties adopting the Young Plan]. After the fulfilment of its programme of financial reform, the Government would have to consider whether it should not adopt these protective measures. It was quite wrong for foreign opinion in some quarters to see in this a tendency for the German Government to put a German signature in question. They would not destroy the Young

Plan or depart from the treaty limits, but they had given no guarantee that the Plan could be carried out. The Government would obviously take so momentous a decision only after careful consideration of all relevant factors."

The exact nature of the machinery provided in the Young Plan was explained in *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* last month (*loc. cit.*) with the relevant quotations from the text of the Plan.

On November 27th the President of the Reichsbank, who was addressing a conference of the National Federation of Industry, made the two points that the Young Plan was expressly conditioned by co-operation in certain essential matters between creditors and debtor, and that it "seemed unthinkable that the international appreciation of gold should not have a reaction on the amount of reparation payments."

By far the simplest and most illuminating public exposition of the whole big problem, however, was made by Lord D'Abernon in an address he gave at the annual dinner of the Liverpool Incorporated Chamber of Commerce on November 14th. That speech deserves to be printed in big type and the whole body of Members of Parliament in London and deputies in Paris made to read it, and learn it by heart, even if they could not be made to understand it. It is unfortunately too long to quote adequately here. Certain passages, however, must be quoted, the quotations being here taken from *The Times* report. After a detailed analysis of the existing world crisis and its peculiarities Lord D'Abernon proceeded: "It had been treated solely as a trade crisis, when it should be considered rather as a crisis of currency in the first place, and a crisis of indebtedness in the second, the one complicating the other. . . . What had altered in the last five years was the price of gold. The last report of the Gold Delegation of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations showed that the volume of production and trade, and of the monetary transactions to which such trade gave rise, increased yearly at the rate of between 2 per cent. and 3 per cent. Now, to keep prices stable, available currency should increase at a similar rate. As a matter of fact, its increases had been inadequate. There had been an increasing deficiency in the supply of gold, a deficiency veiled for a time by certain intercurrent causes, notably transfers of gold from non-effective to effective reserves. But these causes were likely to disappear. The deficiency would therefore become more marked in the course of a few years, and there was no likelihood either that the production of gold from the mines would increase, or that the non-monetary demand for gold would fall off. . . . The crisis of the Hungry Forties ninety years ago was solved by the gold discoveries in Australia. To-day the necessary gold could be found in

certain bank reserves if intelligent international action were initiated. That was probably the most effective solution if applied in time. Indebtedness was another of the causes of the present crisis. Everyone recognised that the world was heavily in debt, individual to individual, country to country. What they did not recognise was that a fall in the price of commodities, or, in other terms, a rise in the price of gold, increased the burden of debtors unduly. International debts could in the long run be paid only in goods, and if these goods were taken only at an unduly low price, the amount required to satisfy debt payments became an unbearable burden."

After stating in some detail the need and the means for facilitating the discharge of debts by exports, through "a moderate rise in the price of produce, or, in other terms, by a moderate fall in the price of gold," he continued: "Unless measures were taken to achieve this, he could foresee the certainty of non-payments and bankruptcies all over the world. It was vital and urgent that measures should be taken to restore the stability of gold as a standard of value. The Gold Delegation of the League of Nations urges this should be done internationally rather than by any individual country, and, provided no excessive delay were involved, he took the same view. Unless effective measures were taken, the result would be a world-wide catastrophe, both economical and political. This country was not responsible for the mal-distribution or corner in gold. But he was less concerned with the responsibility than with the facts. What was required was a remedy. It was certainly true that the two countries with the largest accumulation of gold were those best able to put things right. Between them, the U.S.A. and France owned more than half the total gold reserve of the world. Since the time of Midas there had not been a more paradoxical position than that in which America found herself; for the central reserve vaults were bulging with gold, while in New York and other shipping points warehouses were overcrowded with wheat, with cotton, with copper; all unsaleable except below the cost of production, possibly because too much gold had been accumulated in the central vaults. If it were found, on examination, that the present standard of gold reserves was ill-adapted to maintain gold as a stable standard of value; if it was further found that gold-hoarding and gold sterilisation in certain countries was one of the main causes of the grave crisis in which the world was involved, it should not be difficult to devise measures which would bring relief. Fearless scientific diagnosis was the first step."

December 10th, 1930.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE THREE WITCHES OF EXMOOR.

AN old man was wandering with a gun in the woods near Wiltwater, the woods that ridge the stream and wander a little way up the haunted hill where the great circle of stones is, Old Men's Hill as some call it in the belief that either the ghosts of the men of the Old Stone Age or (a possible and terrifying alternative) some actual survivors of this huge race still haunt it. The old man lived with his wife in a grey stone cottage, rather grim and very ancient, that is just beyond the woods and just under the Circle. He was wandering about this New Year's Eve for a very natural purpose, to fill the pot with some sort of game, pheasant, partridge, black cock or grey hen, or even grouse (since grouse had discovered at last that they could live south of the Trent). Mrs. Waters had ordered him to go on a hunting expedition. She was short of meat. She had all things else, for who would deny a witch butter, cream, milk, eggs, tea, flour, currants, raisins, and all that go to the making of a New Year's feast, a midnight feast between the New Year and the Old? It was true that her neighbours always refused to attend the feast: Mr. Smith, who lived at the forge close at hand, the forge that kept the way open to the hill top, since the Stone Men do not like the Iron Men and feared the sparks from the forge; Mr. Multon, who held the

farm with the great kitchen where all the folk assembled on New Year's Eve and made merry and told stories, the Teevers (themselves a race that saw ghosts), the Harrages (poachers all), the Miltons, and Mr. Warlock, the herb-gatherer and fiddler. No one attended Mrs. Waters' feast. Yet she held it, and held it in great style. There were some that thought she held it in too great a style. Mr. Waters was hunting for the feast.

It was a cold, cold day, with snow on Old Men's Hill and snow in many hollows in the woods and on the hillside; a frosty silent day, with mist on the horizon right up to the red morning sun. Mr. Waters felt the cold though his top boots covered all of him that the frieze coat did not cover. He had no hat. He was at heart a cheery soul and in normal circumstances loved the birds which were trilling in the underwoods and the innumerable lace-like tiny twigs that were covered with hoar frost and looked like *Valenciennes* on a huge scale. But he was not too fast on his legs, no likely bird had risen, and Mrs. Waters' orders had been brief and to the point: "a couple of pheasant afore noon an' zee that they be fat." He was old and he walked in a curious way, with one bent shoulder out of which his hairy face looked out like a disreputably white crow, as he peeped under the red sunlight from his coat and spied and spied for game. It was a sad case, for either he must deprive a noble bird of his life or he must go without his supper. "I do luv the birds dead or alive; I do luv everything on t' 'owd moor. But it be so cold and I do not zee anything to eat." So he grumbled along with Mrs. Waters' message ringing in his ears, with his gun on the upright shoulder, and it was getting towards noon.

Then he met in that desolate place Mrs. Multon and Harry, her son, and a foreigner, that is to say, not a moor dweller. They were going into Wiltwater to get things for the feast. "Good morning, Mr. Waters," says Mrs. Multon rather nervously, "how be your old 'ooman, I mean Mrs. Waters? I did hear say that she wur poorly, and I never heard your gun as we wur coming down from varm." Mr. Waters ignored the reference to his wife. "I zee no birds, Mrs. Multon," says he. Then the foreigner said, "Why, Mr. Waters, there are plenty of birds. I hear and see them in this very wood. Doves enough to make pies without number." Harry and Mr. Waters and Mrs. Multon looked horror-stricken. At last the old man rubbed his forehead and mumbled, "We do not shute doves hereabouts. I should not like to shute doves." "Why?" said the visitor. "I do not know rightly why," said Harry, glumly, "but I should not like to shute they." The sacred birds flew by in a tempting whirling circle. "Have you got naught for supper, Mr. Waters?" said Harry. "Naught,

naught, not even a mug o' beer." "I thought that Mother Waters brewed the beer." "Naught for me till I bring the birdies home." Then the old man levelled his gun at a pheasant that the Multons had disturbed, missed it and burst into tears. "I'm getting too wold," he said. "It iddn't possible to miss a bird like that if I wurnt very wold." The old man passed on into the woods, but his gun gave no echo again.

"Mrs. Multon," said the visitor, "can't you have the old couple up to supper to-night?" "She be a witch, a wicked old witch," said Mrs. Multon, stubbornly. "She do come to I sometimes to wash the stone floors, and I do watch she make witch-marks and curious writing on the floor, time and time again, and then always after Mrs. Waters has gone a girt fox do steal my ducks, four, five, and even six girt fat ducks. She be a witch." Harry rubbed his head of abundant black hair. "'Tis an idee, mother, and Mr. Brown do so want to zee a live witch. I be zure you want to pleasure vather's friend. Vather does love Mr. Brown, though he be not a moor man." Mrs. Multon thought and thought. "Vather loves witches, Harry, and 'ee love witches, but I am not Exmoor bred and born, I come from Derbyshire Peak. I do hate witches. But if there be witches up at the varm to-night let there be three witches. I am going to ask Mrs. Waters now, though I do be upzides with she, she and her wold foxes." The impulsive woman led the way and knocked at Mrs. Waters' door.

Mr. Waters was a weak old bent man; but Mrs. Waters was as upright as a lath, though not so thin, but very tall. She was perhaps old, but she showed no sign of age. Her hair was black, her brown face had no wrinkles, her teeth were white and hard as a tiger's, and she showed them abundantly when she laughed or cursed. She could have been called comely, but her reputation as a witch had somewhat soured her nature. She was, in fact, a thane of Cawdor's wife, and her Macbeth was as irresolute as Shakespeare's. She bore male children only, but her four sons were oversea, two of them sleeping Warrior's sleep and two in Canada. Mrs. Multon tipped to her door and knocked. It was almost instantly opened and the great figure filled the doorway. "Morning," said she. "Mrs. Waters," said Mrs. Multon, nervously, with a little flush, "us want 'ee to do we a favour; coom up to our New Year party with your wold man. Singing there will be and all." A stern penetrating look was the reply, and it sped through Mrs. Multon's soul. Then she said: "I have sent William Waters out to hunt for my party, four of we: Mother Gammage (poor wold soul) and young Mother Jenny Teever." "Jenny Teever be a maid still, be a right proper maid." "Jenny Teever belongs to Us," said Mrs. Waters with a look that pierced

the souls of Harry and Mrs. Multon and frightened the life out of Mr. Brown. "It is noon," said Mrs. Waters, "and William Waters have not done his work: no meat, no meat for the pot. I must get on with my work, my New Year sweets," and she turned to a great bowl with hands covered with flour. Harry next spoke. "All come, Mrs. Waters. You daren't refuse young Harry." "Daren't," said she with a fearful frown, turning from the bowl, "what be there that I would not dare? But I must get the meat—if it be a liddle new-born babe or half a dozen doves." "That be wicked," said Harry, stoutly, "come." "It may be that I will come, but I will have the meat. Zee what can be done." She stepped out of the cottage, gave one fierce cry of "William Waters," made a circle in the dry snow, and bent over the circle with a low and strange muttering. Almost instantly there was a crack of a gun in the distance, and then after a brief interval another. "Good meat," said she. "Cock pheasants both, but more be wanted." She brooded again over the circle and splashed it with a handful of flour. Again the gun sounded twice. "Black game," said she. "It iddn't possible the charm could fail. Us four will be with you at the stroke of six." And then a strange thing happened. She bent and held Mrs. Multon, and her face was suddenly irradiated with a transforming smile. "You poor soul, why should ye be aveard of a witch's kiss? Mother loved your man." And she kissed her and shut the door, calling out, "We will bring the meat cooked as witches cook it." The whole scene came and went so swiftly that Mrs. Multon had not time to faint, though she had been kissed by an old and comely witch. But as they took the way down to the village she kept on repeating again and again, "Wash it off, wash it off, but whur be the soap that can wash it off?" It was a strange sight as Mrs. Multon rubbed and rubbed the spot. Only Harry noticed Mr. Waters carrying home a heavy string of splendid game, a seraphic smile upon his whiskered face.

It was a lovely winter's evening. The mist had wholly disappeared. The sun setting in brilliance over the moor gave a mystic charm to the long, long distances of green turf and intermingled patches of snow, to successive woods with the lace-like patterns of the trees, to woods that already were bronzed with the dead bracken and were re-awakened to life as the sun smote the dead leaves of oak and bracken alike. Through one great forest the sunlight, golden and splendid, revealed a gathering of noble red deer in shelter, with the huge antlers sending back the shafts of light, a scene as mystic as it was wonderful and so rare as to seem

unreal. A pale three-quarter moon was riding the sky, and as the sunset paled the Mother of the Night increased her spotless purity and filled out the half-light until the bounds of space seemed infinite, field and moor and hill repeated again and again in a silence only broken by the note of some late bird, the far-off barking of a dog, and at last the creaking of a shadowy farm cart. The red lights of the little village, peeping out into a pure world of nature, gave the contrast that the silence could not give. The cart was on its way from the village to the farm. It contained (for Harry thought of everything) three heavily laden witches and an old triumphant man, four folk that Harry had met by accident just outside a little stone cottage that lay beneath the Stone Circle in the everlasting hills. And one of the witches was very fair to see. Her red cloak and her pointed red hat and her dancing eyes were writ in Harry's heart as he led his mottled grey steed along the wild woodland road.

It was a feast indeed as well as a feast of offerings. Mrs. Waters provided roasted game, for she had a smoke-jack hundreds of years old. Mrs. Gammage, small and bent, with a drawn but cherubic face, like an apple of parts that had been lying long on the shelves, peeping out from her shrugged shoulders, contributed a marvellous catchup made from herbs and mushrooms that Ann Pugsley had made before her, and to this she added a huge bunch of dried lavender to throw on the fire, on the great logs and turves that were roaring up the vast chimney open to the stars. She also brought her pipe and five or six new pipes, and a vast store of Cavendish—"not shag" as Mrs. Multon afterwards explained. "They do live well, they do, these wold witches." Jenny Teever laughed as she produced her contribution. She was always laughing. How the double gift would have got to the farm witches only knew, but Harry's cart carried them, and perhaps he was overlooked. There was a birthday cake large indeed, enough for ten hungry men and (Mr. Teever was a gardener and Jenny was, as was meet, a lover of flowers) six potted hyacinths, very fragrant. The visitor sighed and, looking from the flowers to the witch, murmured, "There is a garden in her face." "You zee," she said merrily, "this be Mrs. Waters' birthday, and I always do go to Mrs. Waters, my dear old friend (the neighbours looked at each—it was true, then!), to supper New Year's Eve, but when I did hear that Mother Waters would keep her feast here alongzide of Mother Gammage, I did zay to myself, I did zay"—she was laughing with a clear note like a thrush—"I did zay I wanut tak' the goods to Mrs. Waters' house but (if Mrs. Multon might 'scuse the

liberty) tak 'em here to keep Mother Waters' sabbath as she do call it." Mr. Multon looked at Harry and grinned, Mrs. Multon looked at Harry and rubbed the kiss that would not come off. "You be welcome all," said Mr. Multon, stoutly, "and your gifts are zo welcome, too. Alice, put the game to the fire. A twurn or two on the wold smoke-jack—Lord, the many birds has it turned, let alone other red game—will do 'em fine. Ah! Mrs. Waters must mount 'em. That be as it should be." And the young witch laughed and laughed, and Harry, too, laughed and looked at his father. And then the visitors thronged in: old Mr. John Crow who had known Mrs. Zippin and Ann Pugsley well, old Sam Miles the preacher, Fred Harrage the poacher, the little hunchback James Teever, a far-away cousin of Jenny, and last but certainly the most, Mr. Warlock the conjuror and herb-gatherer. It was, indeed, a great evening, a great feast.

Mr. Warlock looked at the scene and smiled as he took his chair and took off his boots and rested himself after he had washed in the hot bowl that Mrs. Multon brought him (for he had come from far). "Be it right, Mr. Warlock?" she whispered. "Jenny said there wur a sabbath and it be Mrs. Waters' birthday. Be it right that they do come here?" "It be right and proper, my dear." And he called the young witch and kissed her before them all. It was indeed a feast. The whorts and cream that followed last of all, except the chestnuts among the embers, were enjoyed with some of Mother Gammage's country wine, special elderberry she called it, and said that it was a fine witches' brew. At last they ringed the great hearth, the three witches on one long-backed stool, all with their red caps on. Mrs. Waters said that she always wore hers for rheumatics, and Mrs. Gammage said that she always wore it on Mother Waters' birthday, and Jenny tip-tilted hers and said it "wur the thing." It was cold without but warm within, and Jenny, from sheer lightheartedness, sang a song with a rousing chorus which everyone knew, and there was no ice left anywhere except on the cold moor.

And then John Crow, greatly daring in such company, told the story how Ann Pugsley witched him when he was gathering together whorts for the market, and this set the company thinking about witches with three of them in the kitchen. The three looked grave for a moment, and then Jenny said, "I am the youngest of all the witches as ever whur, Mother Waters." "You be, Mother Teever." "Call me Jenny, Mother Waters and Mother Gammage." "You be, Jenny," said Mother Gammage, lifting her apple face with a new happiness that neighbourliness had begot. "If I be the youngest, who be the oldest that you have ever heard of?" Mr. Warlock listened intently, and much

tobacco smoke rose in the kitchen. "Mother Richards," said Mother Waters, lighting her pipe. "I wur made witch by Mother Zippin, but I be not wold, zo wold as Mrs. Zippin wur." The smoke and the turf smoke and the good fare were creating a kindly atmosphere of homeliness that both Mr. Warlock and Fred Harrage, after a silence of content, took advantage of.

Mr. Warlock said, "'Tis a pleasant evening, Mrs. Waters. Now do you tell me whur you come from and why you wur made witch?" "I was an Exmoor girl, true Exmoor, not with the voice of men who come from down country and zay *waurts* for *whorts* and all manner of strange words. My mother wur couzin to Mrs. Zippin, and volk do zay I be like Mrs. Zippin." She stood up, and Mr. Warlock recognised the likeness to that famous witch. "I wur Mary Parsley." "Be you gipsy stock?" "Wolder than that. I be the black stock o' the moor: sometime liddle people and sometime like I," and she stretched her dominating figure to its just height. "Our stock all do in secret, zo to speak, worship in our way, though we go to Church. We be Church volk, but we be zomething else, too. We worship the idee of Power. Wold Mrs. Tutling were one of we more than a hundred year ago, and Mrs. Richards bevore that and many bevore that. We have the Power, we make others ha' the Power. Jenny shall have the Power." The old man looked at her with level eyes, and Mr. Sam Miles the preacher eyed her curiously.

But it was Fred Harrage, the subtlest man on the moor, who spoke. "Have you the Power now, Mrs. Waters? I have seen the Power in flowing streams and blowing winds at night on the moor." "I know you do know. I will bring the Power you do know to this very door, to this wold house that has stood the Power zo long. List ye." It was a still night. "List. It is all zo still. Now ye shall all hear. Do not be aveard. It is a good Power, and Mr. Miles and Mr. Warlock will zee you do come to no harm." The old woman, looking strangely young and with a smile of triumph on her face, looked up. "Do you feel the Power, Fred Harrage?" "I do feel it, Mother Waters, just as if breathe'n' ever zo tender by a little stream whur my old tame Hare with the large eyen dwells." The poacher was sweating with excitement. Mr. Warlock and Sam Miles looked at the curious scene. Suddenly, without any warning, a furious tempest struck the great stone house and rocked it. Turf smoke rushed in blinding eddies into the great kitchen, obscuring everything, a winter storm of great bitterness. "Do not be aveard," said Mrs. Walters; "I have the Power in my hand. Shall I zay the word?" Harry sprang from the kitchen to see all was safe outside, and Jenny (of all souls) half fainted in her seat. As to Mrs. Multon, the less

said the better, and she kept on wiping the kiss from her cheek. Sam Miles said coldly, "A sudden Exmoor storm," while Mr. Warlock did not say anything, but sat calmly smiling. "Zay the word," said Mrs. Gammage. "It be the night when you wur born." The witch said the word, and as suddenly as it arose the tempest died and the smoke cleared away. "That be the Power, my dears," said Mother Waters. "Thur be a Power in nature, but it be harmless to harmless volk. We that be called witches have the Power in hand, but it be good Power and we luv you." But Jenny had gone out of the kitchen to join Harry.

Then Sam Miles, the preacher, up and spoke: "If it be, Mrs. Waters, that ye have the Power—and we do know that there be power in the human soul unmeasurable—have ye ever used it towards one or more stupid volk that you or William, my good wold friend, be upzides with? Answer me that?" "My man will answer to that," said she with a smile as she sat down and smoothed Mrs. Gammage's old wrinkled hand. "Well, William." William Waters looked up with a smile and took a slow draw from his pipe. "Noa," said he, "though volk have been very unkind to we, and many a time us has gone to bed with unbroken vast. But you zee, they be Exmoor volk and yet have not our light. Moreover, varmers be kind, and most kind when us two did lose our lovely lads. Mrs. Waters be powerful 'ooman, but she be just, and William Waters stands beside she in that." The old man rubbed his eyes with a red cotton kerchief.

"It seems to me," said Mr. Warlock, "that Power and Love can be linked same way that sunlight do mingle with a girt stream and . . ." At that very moment they heard Jenny singing a carol (though Christmas was over) and Harry joining in the refrain as they both entered the oak door. The refrain ran:

Power ov' angels overhead,
Power ov' shepherds on the earth,
They wur wed, oh they wur wed,
When the Christ-child came to birth,
In Bethlehem, dear Bethlehem,
The place of sorrow and of mirth,
Oh! Bethlehem, dear Bethlehem.

All the party joined in the chorus, and then Mrs. Multon said, "I have learned to luv some witches and specially thee, my dear," and she wiped her mouth (to take away cruel thoughts) and kissed the witches all three and not least Mrs. Waters. And so home under the pure and starlit moon-struck sky, singing *Oh! Bethlehem, dear Bethlehem* through the home woods and by the stream and over the meadows to the village lights.

J. E. G. DE M.

SIDELIGHTS ON QUEEN VICTORIA.*

These sidelights on Queen Victoria reveal a personality which is little known to the general public. Sir Frederick Ponsonby, on his father's death, came into a certain number of so-called private letters from eminent public men which were impossible to knit into a coherent narrative, but he felt that they might prove of interest if used as supplements to contemporary biographies: this method he invariably followed when a biography of an eminent Victorian was about to be published, but there still remained a considerable number of letters wherein so many people were concerned that it became difficult to decide the biography where they would prove most suitable or acceptable, or whether, if recorded separately, they would be of sufficient interest to the world at large to warrant their publication. The author, having settled in his mind the point, brought out this work, and the public are left to decide as to its merits and general interest. The private lives of individuals often excite a greater concern than their public activities, the world knows the outer, which so constantly hides the real, man or woman. That is partly why the drama will always hold its own; it reveals the inner as well as the outer personality, it is the workshop of the mind, and through the open window or fourth wall of the stage one gets glimpses of the causes which make or mar the life. Thus biography, and especially letters, show forth the character of the individual, and so with Queen Victoria.

The letters published in this book, though few, show her dominant personality, and her determination to be more than a cipher even as a constitutional monarch. The incidents quoted, such as "The Fatal Gun" (1872), and more especially "The Queen's Speech," 1881, bring out this quality. She expected and demanded that all respect should be paid to her in her exalted position, or to whomsoever she appointed to represent her in her official capacity, both on land and sea, and the Queen's Regulations had to be altered or more clearly defined in the rather absurd case of "The Firing of the Gun." In "The Queen's Speech" case, 1881, Her Majesty notified her Ministers that her approval depended on her full knowledge of the matter of the speech, as will be seen from the final letter from Lord Spencer: "Queen Victoria had won her point that the Sovereign must always be consulted in advance as to what should be read in the Speech from the Throne." Her Majesty's complaint was that she was given neither time nor opportunity to inquire into or receive explanations

* *Sidelights on Queen Victoria.* By The Right Honourable Sir Frederick Ponsonby, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. Macmillan. 21s. net.

of the policy of her Ministers. Lord Beaconsfield's letter on this matter is given in full. He shows clarity and courtesy on the prerogative of the Crown.

The swing of the pendulum between Gladstone and Disraeli forms the preponderating interest of this volume, beginning with Gladstone's first premiership in 1868 on to his retirement at the age of eighty-five years in 1894. It seems a pity, if not a mistake, to emphasise the Queen's preference for Disraeli to the disparagement of Gladstone. Both, without doubt, strove to serve their country and their Queen; it was a matter of personality. The one enchanted her with his far-reaching visions and dreams of Empire, the other, treating her more or less as a child in the affairs of State, affronted her, and she lost faith in him, both being the losers. This book will come as a refresher to those who can still recall those strenuous times. More than half this volume is devoted to the various Bills presented to Parliament, such as the Irish University Bill, 1873, the Franchise Bill, January to July 1884, August to October 1884, and onward from October to December 1884. All of this makes interesting reading, and throws much light on the Victorian politics of those years, and throughout the narrative the sidelight on the Queen is electric and demonstrates without doubt the strong personality and determination which underlaid her obstinate seclusion. Sir Frederick Ponsonby may gibe at the period which he is presenting, and call England "Placid and Pyramidal," but by his own showing the country held her own and the nations outside her borders counted her as a great Power cautiously to be reckoned with. May she so continue.

S. DE M.

* * *

THE OPINIONS OF LORD HEWART.*

The Lord Chief Justice of England gives the reader, and especially the reader who is interested in law, the humanities or education, an extraordinary range of thought with which to grapple and a succinct but graceful prose style to hold the thought. Lord Hewart is sometimes deceptively easy, as a lawyer will realise in reading the able essay on "Contributory Negligence," while, on the other hand, the paper on "The Law Merchant" is a delightful summary of a very difficult historical theme. The two essays on "The Criminal Law" and "Insanity" (one of which is the reproduction of Lord Hewart's brilliant speech in the House of Lords on May 15th, 1924, against the second reading of the abortive Criminal

* *Essays and Observations.* By the Right Hon. Lord Hewart of Bury, Lord Chief Justice of England. Cassell and Company Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.

Responsibility (Trials) Bill, are of the greatest importance to-day when an effort is being made (by a Select Committee of the House of Commons and other persons) to transfer the proof of guilt of a certain class of persons from the jury to a small and complacent body of medical men who call themselves alienists. In the first essay, a lecture before the Medical Society of London in 1927, Lord Hewart concludes:

If the law were relaxed in the way which has been suggested, it might well be that, in cases where there has been no such evidence of mental disease antecedent to the alleged crime, mental experts would be found to say that the alleged crime itself afforded evidence that it was committed under an irresistible impulse, and that upon that ground the inference might be based that there was mental disease. If so, the result might be to transfer to a section of the medical profession the question whether a great number of ordinary criminals should be held responsible to the law.

But if lawyers (and it is to be hoped medical men) will read with instruction and delight the various essays and observations upon law and lawyers (including Charles Dickens to whom the Lord Chief Justice pays a tribute that lovers of Dickens will not forget) those persons who are interested in the practice and theory of education will be not less pleased. In the valuable address to the Classical Society on "The Classics" Lord Hewart shows not only his intimate knowledge of one of the most pleasant and inspiring fields of learning, but shows that the thoroughness which is necessary to obtain a working knowledge of Latin and Greek is in itself such a training of the mind that it is possible for the student to bring together in his personality the creative as well as the disciplinary idea. The classics offer, in the opinion of Lord Hewart, "a magnificent instrument of education." In various essays dealing with education in Manchester and at Oxford this thought is elaborated. These essays ought to be read by those headmasters and headmistresses who, mistakenly, practically exclude Latin and Greek from their curriculum. Thoroughness is Lord Hewart's goal in all stages of education.

Polite scholarship is thoroughly dealt with in the essay on "The Classics" and other essays with a definite educational purpose, but the subject is treated in an even broader fashion in the fine essay on "Modern Oratory" and in various other papers such as that on "The Liverpool Athenæum." Lord Hewart quotes the greatest of modern Germans with effect: "Study Molière," said Goethe, "study Shakespeare, but before all study the ancient Greeks—always the Greeks." Humanism has plenty of scope to-day, but it is possible that the present generation does not feast at that table so thoroughly as men and women feasted in

former centuries. Yet the humanities are not the enemies of science as the greatest scientists from Grecian to our own times have shown. Lord Hewart's book recalls us to our true selves and bids one and all partake of the real timeless refreshments of life which are the stamina of the soul.

* * *

THE NATURE OF PROPERTY.*

Dr. Paschal Larkin, in treating the history of property from the point of economic theory up to the end of the eighteenth century, makes a very interesting book. Nominally the theme is property in the eighteenth century with special reference to England and the views of John Locke, but in fact Dr. Larkin traces the conception of property from the Middle Ages. In fact it is hard to separate economic from pure juridical ideas in relation to possession, perhaps a better word than property, and in any event (especially when the views of Locke are considered) it would have been well—indeed in some senses it is necessary—to go back to customary systems of property-holding as they existed in remote times and as they exist to-day in many tribal communities. It is almost impossible to understand the views, for instance, of Filmer, without going into the whole question of the emergence of private property through the exigencies of public organisation such as is exhibited in the various stages of tribal life. But Dr. Larkin had to draw the line somewhere and he in fact draws it as a *terminus a quo* at the speculations of Thomas Aquinas. He tells us that the essential features of Locke's rather meagrely expressed theory were that

private property is a natural right anterior to the State, and to protect which, *inter alia*, the State came into existence. Private property is the outcome of human personality; it is founded on the dominion which man has over his own exertions; it represents the fruits of his labour. Since man has an inherent right to own as well as to possess property, he is in no way obliged to obtain the consent, tacit or explicit, of his fellowman or the State in order to appropriate the products of his industry. Indeed, a man's right to his property is so absolute that the State or "supreme power" cannot take from him "any part of his property without his own consent" or that of his parliamentary representatives.

Dr. Larkin adds: "The absence of any reference to the moral obligations of ownership, and the emphasis laid on individual right rather than on social purpose in his theory, present a striking contrast to the ideas which we are now to consider"—the

* *Property in the Eighteenth Century, with Special Reference to England and Locke.* By the Rev. Paschal Larkin, with a Preface by Professor J. L. Stocks. Longmans. 10s. 6d. net.

mystic social theory of the Middle Ages with its quite logical stress on social inequality. Aquinas, as stoutly as Locke, defends private property and temporal goods as the outcome of human nature, "but in their use they should belong not only to him but also to others, who can be supported from what is superfluous to him." A similar view was held by the lawyers of the eighteenth century in England, the period to which Dr. Larkin attributes his book. But where Aquinas differed from Locke, according to Dr. Larkin, is that "he laid no emphasis on the argument for private property based on the necessity of individual liberty." How could he, seeing that he acquiesced in the mediæval system in which the serf and the slave (who in theory could not own any property) played an economic part?

If we pass on to the Age of the Reformation we are told that Luther's "attitude towards the new commercial and financial forces which were transforming society was one of profound distrust and even hatred. His outlook was that of a peasant; his ideal was a rural civilisation with serfdom as its basis." This is rather an extraordinary statement, but at any rate it supports Dr. Larkin's point that it was not the object of the reformers "to sweep away the traditional social theory of the Church." Even Calvin (who certainly took a different view on loans to Luther) "had no intention of introducing an unethical individualism into economic and social life." The word "unethical" is certainly hard to construe. Locke's individualism is apparently, in Dr. Larkin's mind, "unethical," and yet Calvin's "religious individualism" was at the back of Locke's "defensive theory designed to protect the individual against the encroachments of the Crown in England in the seventeenth century," since Calvin's religious individualism "became the ally of the commercial interests in their economic and political struggles with the Crown in the seventeenth century." Locke's individualism was not at all unethical. He himself declares "in what I have said I am far from denying, that God can, or doth sometimes enlighten men's minds in the apprehending of certain truths, or excite them to good actions by the immediate influence and assistance of the Holy Spirit, without any extraordinary signs accompanying it." There is nothing radically different in the individualism of Calvin and Locke and nothing really to separate them from the individualism of Aquinas save in so far as social feudal structure of the Middle Ages fettered the undoubted individualism of the Great Father and thinker. He, as has been said, differed not at all from the views of Sir William Blackstone. But, of course, it is true that the quest for liberty which began after the Black Death created a political *motif* that gave rise to a political and social as well as

a religious individualism. Yet even Locke "did not believe that the individual could, under all circumstances, work out his own individual salvation." But neither Locke, his predecessors or successors, could deal with the actual problem of property, since they did not know the facts, ascertained in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, of the structure of society. Filmer was feeling towards a patriarchal theory of property and of kingship, Locke, his opponent, was seeing the truth that the structure of society was a defence against pillage, but they neither of them realised that the whole matter of property can be brought within the bounds of historical inquiry which relates the owner to the tribe, or the kingdom. Dr. Larkin criticises Locke for omitting "a moral analysis of the new power of property in commerce, finance and land, the growth of which was characteristic of his time." It may be a true criticism, but after all Locke is trying to establish in brief space a theory of property and not an analysis of it.

The part of the book which deals with the French Revolution in its relation to land is very interesting. But so far as property is concerned the whole method is summed up in Bodin's saying that it is the duty of the State "to preserve to every man his own, according to the law of nature" (a saying to which Aquinas would not have objected), and the First Consul's statement in 1799 that since Property, Equality, and Liberty had been secured, the Revolution was at an end. Indeed, the three achievements spelt a new future for property, since there were the equality and the liberty which were non-existent in the days not only of Aquinas but of Locke himself.

J. E. G. DE M.

ROMAN MUNICIPALITIES.*

Any new contribution to the important subject of Roman municipalities by Mr. Heitland is very welcome, though in fact he calls his re-statement an unwilling one, but necessitated by some misunderstanding of his views. He makes "one more endeavour to escape being held guilty of maintaining doctrines that I hoped I had sufficiently disclaimed." His previous conclusions were "based solely on the surviving evidence of antiquity, literary, epigraphic, legal." Mr. Heitland, however, finds new support in Professor Liebenam's work entitled *Städteverwaltung* on the relation of the Roman Empire and the Municipalities. Dr. Liebenam (writing in 1900) finds the decline beginning in the Antonine period, and "in almost every part of the Empire times of splen-

* *Repetita: An unwilling re-statement of views on the subject of the Roman Municipalities.* By W. E. Heitland. Cambridge: at the University Press.

dour had been followed by sudden and profound decay in the state of the cities."

It seems to me quite clear that the decay of municipal vigour was to him, as it now is to me, a most fatal symptom of the Decline and Fall. I go a step further. I see in the Roman Municipal system a piece of political machinery that had once been well adapted to the needs of an expanding empire but had outlived its usefulness. The static conditions contemplated by Augustus might be interrupted for a while by the ambitions of this or that Emperor, but the permanent tendency was toward security and defence. . . . My thesis, at present heretical, is that the principal means employed by Rome to this end—the municipal system—was ill calculated to serve its purpose. The need now was to animate the vast mass, to invigorate the parts and combine them in a whole self-conscious and co-operative, in short, to produce an organic union. . . . The Imperial Union was mechanical, not organic, and its power of recovery from disasters and strains was limited by this condition.

Mr. Heitland insists that there was a central corpus of normal municipal regulations, a corpus or code (if it existed) that would make something of a standard in local municipalities, something that the Roman local government board could enforce. He thinks that "the municipal system tended to establish local oligarchies composed of the wealthiest burgesses," but he quotes Gibbon in support of the view that

the long peace, and the uniform government of the Romans, "introduced a slow and secret poison into the vitals of the Empire." This conclusion he drives home, adding "it was scarcely possible that the eyes of contemporaries should discover in the public felicity the latent causes of decay and corruption." If these latent causes were not the symptoms of internal unsoundness, are we to find them simply in the influence of external meddling? I answer, NO. And I believe that I am in agreement with the real view of Gibbon.

Mr. Heitland argues effectively that as a rule "a set of local magnates were practically the rulers of each city and able to keep official power in the hands of their own circle. This state of things was an extension to the whole Empire of the system of local self-government that had become normal in the Italian municipalities under the Republic." These magnates had to keep the common burgesses and "the mob" contented by costly and uneconomic means, such as the dole and amphitheatres, and Mr. Heitland draws from this "a gloomy view of municipal conditions," since there was "a lack of buoyant support" from the prosperous cities as well as definite loss from the "decay of failing cities." It is a case well argued, and certainly Mr. Heitland has "never been guilty of the folly of treating the municipal system as being in itself the prime cause of the Decline and Fall. My contention

is that, being isolative, it produced and kept in being a general condition under which a living co-operation of the parts and the central power was impossible."

But surely there are two points which Mr. Heitland should have in mind: the survival of the great provincial cities in Southern France and in Spain under the Visigothic rule and the existence of Constantinople or Byzantium for a thousand years after the fall of Rome, ensuring by a policy of security and defence the whole of Europe from the inroads of the barbarian East. The static conditions survived until the very cities that seemed imperially useless to Mr. Heitland by their want or incapacity for imperial action had become again vast centres of trade under conditions of government not very dissimilar from that of (say) the second century, cities governed "by local oligarchies composed of the wealthiest burgesses." The new Rome had made possible the continuity of municipal life and the vast expansion of trade that were visible not only in Venice, but in the great cities of the Mediterranean. Perhaps Gibbon's phrase, "the Decline and Fall of Rome," is a misleading one. That old Rome fell is true. Mr. Heitland conceives that it was due to the failure to produce an organic union of the parts of the Empire. "Had such a result been attainable, no power then on earth could have shaken the colossus." But what happened was that "the Roman machine became more mechanical . . . the ruin of the Empire came from within." Mr. Heitland is speaking of the Western Empire. But it is impossible now to take the view (*pace* Gibbon) that the two parts of the Empire were two different things. The new Rome represented the old Empire's policy of security and defence, and the new Europe, teeming with economic problems and with its old cities intact, grew up under the guidance of the great law-makers and code-makers of the sixth century, but above all under the protection of the old Empire with its seat on the Bosphorus warding off all intruders from the East. The true Rome never fell until in the fifteenth century of our era it had outlived its economic and imperial usefulness. Gibbon himself did not see the significance of this new Rome. Professor Bury saw it well enough, and he says:

although we know little of the details of the process by which the Western provinces of the Empire became German Kingdoms, one fact stands out. The change of masters was not the result of anything that could be called a cataclysm. . . . The diminished Roman Empire, now centring entirely in Constantinople, lasted for a thousand years, surrounded by enemies and frequently engaged in a struggle for life or death, but for the greater part of that long period the most powerful State in Europe.

If the want of organic unity due to the isolation of the municipalities led to the decline and fall of Rome, how was it that the Empire when centred on the Bosphorus did not succumb to a similar cause? It would be impertinent to style Mr. Heitland's view as heretical, the term which he himself uses, and doubtless it is true that the lack of organic unity in the Western Empire led to great economic griefs and possibly to eventual decay, but it is tempting to think that there were new forces in the Western World that made organic unity impossible, even in the time of Augustus himself. The world has slow crises that come to a climax, and the fall of Rome coincided with this climacteric. In the absence of economic information it is difficult to come to any other conclusion.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The tales of scholarship and romanticism which surround the memories of the Ladies of Llangollen have given them to history as veritable blue-stockings who fled the world for the solitude of learning. In fact, Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Sarah Ponsonby were omnivorous readers and believers in intellectual occupations, but they were not great scholars; also they were lovers of society, and society was sufficiently devoted to them to visit the Llangollen cottage whenever opportunity afforded. The truth was that these two ladies found in the companionship of each other and the liberty of choosing their friends, a sufficiency which had no counterpart in husbands or a convent; and they had the necessary determination to carry out their desires. It was the latter fact that gave their names to history; the world has always been full of brilliant women, but it is those who struck out fresh paths who captured the imaginations of their own and later generations. Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Sarah Ponsonby decided to start life again in a fresh country, Wales, and be no longer harried with the perplexities of Irish family life and society; and numberless girls of the twentieth century have done the same thing. There is, however, a very great difference between this case of the eighteenth century and those cases of to-day, and the Butler and Ponsonby relations of long ago must have been greatly tried. The two ladies of Llangollen were almost penniless members of important noble families, and as such had neither the knowledge nor the intention of supporting themselves. They had one thought only, to get away from uncongenial surroundings; the means of livelihood they left to take care of itself, or rather to their relatives and friends, and therein lies the essential difference between them and their prototypes of to-day. The latter of all ranks wish to be independent in their money and their happiness; but the ladies of Llangollen chose their happiness and expected their livelihood to be provided for them. Their letters and diaries do not give much impression of straitened means; occasionally lack of money or unpaid bills depressed them; but on the whole they entertained and lived in much the same fashion.

(on a smaller scale), as their more prosperous friends. Mrs. G. H. Bell's book *The Hamwood Papers of the Ladies of Llangollen** gives an interesting insight into the events that led up to their flight and of the free life they led in their Welsh cottage. Yet somehow the life itself seemed little changed, it was rather a question of atmosphere; gossip, happiness, a constant stream of visitors, the nature they so loved, had always encircled the lives of the two, but in Wales they had no leading strings. The one criticism of this collection of papers is due to no fault of the editor, but rather to the ladies themselves; their relations and friends were so numerous that it is no easy matter to keep a clear mind as to the genealogies of them all. The book is full of delightful incidents and sketches of all types of people, and above all it shows the famous Ladies of Llangollen to be very human, happy-hearted people.

* * *

A *Basketful of Memories*† by Thomas Okey will go straight to the heart of the many friends of the distinguished scholar who began life as a basket-maker in Whitechapel and rose to a Cambridge Professorship. The author is as modest as he is learned, and there is a singular mellowness in his narrative and reflections. No one now living but himself could tell us of East London in the distant fifties, and there is no better witness than himself of the immense improvement in the standard of life among the workers of our great cities. Why the love of learning and the capacity to learn should be found in one boy more than another is a mystery that we shall never explain; but Thomas Okey's craving for intellectual life overcame all the obstacles of poverty and environment. The main interest of this unpretentious record is the revelation of a gentle and lovable personality; but we learn incidentally of various phases of thought in the latter half of the Victorian era and the opening decades of the twentieth century, and many well-known figures such as Arnold Toynbee and Canon Barnett, Bernard Shaw and Alphonse Legros, pass across the stage. Professor Okey's brief references to his writings should have the effect of securing new readers for his well-known books on Modern Italy, Venice and other historic cities, and his skilful translation of Dante.

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Readers of Mr. E. L. Woodward's remarkable *Three Studies in European Conservatism* will turn to his new volume of essays entitled *The Twelve Winded Sky*‡ with eager interest; for he has won his place among the most thoughtful writers of our day. The book describes "the procession of images which flow through my mind when I think about the world and the stream of time." Mr. Woodward is not one of those who find an answer to his questionings in some compact system of religion or philosophy. He takes for granted "the confusion of the age into which I was born, the immensity of the gulf dividing my childhood from the middle years of my life. . . . For my own generation there can be no synthesis." The shedding of dogma has not been followed by the coming of

* *The Hamwood Papers of the Ladies of Llangollen and Caroline Hamilton*. Edited by Mrs. G. H. Bell (John Travers). Macmillan. 21s. net.

† Dent. 6s.

‡ Constable. 10s.

scepticism or cynicism, for he is filled with the love of nature and beauty, of friends and of books. He may be described as an idealistic stoic, bravely and honourably performing his duty in war and peace, and helping his Oxford students to understand the tangled story of mankind. Mr. Woodward possesses a mind of unusual distinction, wide knowledge of history and literature, and a style which renders this little volume a sheer delight to read.

* * *

The responsibility for the constitutional progress of India rests largely on the people of this country, and it is incumbent on every elector to grasp the main factors in the Indian situation. The first volume of the Simon Report which was published in the early summer of last year is universally regarded as an accurate and unbiassed survey of the present position. The second volume, which contained the Commissioners' recommendations, received hostile criticism in India, but in England has obtained very wide support. Moreover, it provides the only constructive solution which, as yet, has been seriously advanced. Realising the two-fold importance of the Report, Mr. R. W. Brock has published an abridgment entitled *The Simon Report on India**. By reading this little book of some hundred and forty pages, the reader will obtain most of the gist of the Report without having to digest the seven hundred or more pages of the two Blue Books. In his Preface, Mr. Brock writes: "In its practical consequences the Round Table Conference convened to consider the Indian constitutional problem is likely to overshadow the Imperial Conference itself and the Report of the Simon Commission will undoubtedly exert a considerable, perhaps decisive, influence on its deliberations. No issue of equal importance and complexity has confronted the British Parliament in this generation." In a Foreword, Viscount Burnham, himself a member of the Statutory Commission, briefly describes its work. The Round Table Conference now assembled refused to regard the Report as a basis of discussion. But Parliament, which is the ultimate arbiter, will no doubt take to heart more closely its conservative but bold conclusions.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

In "The Jew and His Neighbour"† Mr. James Parkes presents a thoughtful study of the causes of anti-semitism. After a careful sketch of the historical background he proceeds to analyse in successive chapters the religious, economic, political, and racial elements of the problem. The book grew out of the work of the International Student Service in connection with the Jewish question in the European Universities, where the percentage of Jewish students is several times greater than the proportion of Jews to the general population. This practical approach adds greatly to the interest of the book, which is full of sympathetic understanding. Mr. Parkes has no doubt whatever that the Jews are more sinned against than sinning, and that "the average Jew under auspicious circumstances is very much

* J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd. 2s. 6d. net.

† Student Christian Movement Press. 5s.

like the rest of us." We can only advance by co-operation between Jews and non-Jews; and the latter are urged to realise that it is the influence of history, not a double dose of original sin, which has made the Jew what he is. If the spirit of this wise little book spread over the world anti-semitism would soon disappear.

* * *

A "Manual of Modern Cookery" is a seasonable phrase, and Miss Jessie Lindsay, a Scottish expert in domestic science now practising at the University of London, and Mr. V. H. Mottram, the Professor of Physiology in the same University, have just issued a new and revised edition of their inspiring volume bearing that title. They have worked under the inspiration of Conrad: "... the purpose of a cookery book is one and unmistakable. Its objects can conceivably be no other than to increase the happiness of mankind." The learned authors say that "happiness promotes digestion," yet we must not forget the fact that "some food even the best of cooking makes more indigestible." But that fact is taken into account in this good book, and still the list of dishes is most ample: soup, fish, entrées, game, butcher's meat, appear in infinite varieties of delicacy, while the sweets include many that are not only inexpensive and seasonable but delicious. Nor must we forget that the cooking of potatoes in their skins preserves the protective mineral salts. "God gives the Meat and the Devil the Cook" should be a forgotten proverb if the precepts of this book are followed.

* * *

"George Eliot: a Study,"† by Mr. J. Lewis May, in an interesting account of one of the greatest of English novelists. The book is more a study of the development of her literary genius than a biography; although her home life, of course, enters into it. George Eliot's books, like those of Jane Austen and Mrs. Gaskell, are not widely read to-day, but they will always rank among the great works of English literature. The chief criticism of this study is as to its style; the author has not equalised his sentences sufficiently, some are too short and others far too long for comfortable reading. The subject-matter, however, has been well planned, and is obviously written by a lover of George Eliot's work and genius.

* * *

Anthony Trollope's work is as fresh to-day as it was fifty years ago; fashions change but people do not, and it is because his characters are so alive that his tales are still read. "The Eustace Diamonds"‡ was published in 1876, and has now appeared in a new edition in "The World's Classics" Series. The plot centres round an heirloom of great value, but the real interest of the tale lies in the studies of the people and how the incidences of the plot react upon them. Trollope is said to have thought that perhaps Lady Eustace was a second Becky Sharpe, but in fact, as he realised, the former is an entity in herself, and could never have been otherwise.

* University of London Press Ltd. 4s. 6d. net.

† Cassell. 15s. net.

‡ Oxford University Press. 2s. net.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE NATIONAL CRISIS.

IT is difficult to remember a time when a deeper depression of spirit overhung our people than that which weighs upon us at the opening of 1931.

To begin with, we are passing through an economic crisis of real gravity. This crisis is in part due to a world-wide trade collapse: half of our grim army of unemployed has been added during the last fifteen months, since the world-trouble began with the Wall Street crash. From the slump of last year we have suffered relatively less than other countries—less than America, less than Germany, less than Australia; and these, it should be noted, are Protectionist countries. When the slump touches bottom, we may hope for a recovery from this part of our distress—if we are ready to take advantage of the revival when it begins.

But behind this temporary crisis, due to world-causes, lies the more perturbing fact that for ten years we have never had less than a million unemployed. It is this "refractory million" (as Mr. Lloyd George has styled it) that is the crux of our problem. The cause of it is even more perturbing than the fact. It is due to a serious decline of our export trade. In no single year since the war have we succeeded in selling to the rest of the world more than about four-fifths of what we sold before the war; and meanwhile our population has been increasing. As this country can never by any possibility be self-sufficient, but depends for its very existence upon a colossal export trade, the situation is obviously a serious one. For a long time we comforted ourselves with the reflection that the total volume of world-trade had seriously shrunk since, and because of, the war, and that we, as the greatest exporting nation, naturally suffered most. But this is no longer true. The volume of world-trade is now greater than it was before the war, and is steadily expanding. We have not only failed to maintain our old proportion of the total; we have failed even to regain the pre-war volume of our export trade. This is a matter of life and death to a country in our position. It ought to be, and it must be, the chief preoccupation not only of business men, but of statesmen.

The root of the matter, and the main cause of our failure to regain our lost trade, is that our costs of production are relatively too high. Our supreme task, therefore, must be to reduce our costs of production, if possible without reducing the standard of life of our people. The proviso is vitally important. To maintain a steadily improving standard of life for the people must be the master-aim of economic statesmanship and the purpose of all our industrial activity. The one good result, in an economic sense, of the

war and post-war periods is that the general standard of life has been materially raised, and we ought to preserve this advance if we possibly can. To attempt to reduce our costs of production merely by a direct attack upon wages—especially in the unsheltered trades, in which they are already too low, but in which distress is greatest—would not only be a confession of defeat; it would produce friction and bitterness which would destroy the possibility of any united national effort; and at the same time it would impair the purchasing power of the home market.

There are two ways in which the costs of production can be reduced without reducing the average standard of living. One is, to reduce overhead charges, and in particular the crushing burden of taxes and rates; and to insist upon rigid economy in all working expenses, national and industrial. The other is, to ensure, by efficient organisation and the utmost use of labour-saving devices and the methods of mass-production, that the amount of wealth produced by the workers per head is materially increased. The second of these methods, while indispensable, has the drawback that it must immediately lead to a decrease of the number of workers employed. Ultimately, of course, by the enlargement of markets which greater cheapness brings, it will ensure the re-absorption of displaced labour; and if we shirk the necessity of reorganisation we shall not only fail to regain our old position, we shall continue to lose ground. But because of the immediate unemployment which "rationalisation" must cause, it is essential—especially in existing conditions—that provision should be made for finding employment for those who are displaced.

These are the elements of a situation of real national gravity. It cannot be successfully tackled by government action alone, or by industrial action alone. What is needed is a concerted national effort, under vigorous, intelligent, and courageous leadership. At this crisis, the test which is being put to all political parties is the question whether they are facing up to this situation, and whether the proposals which they put before the nation hold out any prospect of supplying the enlightened leadership and the concerted action which are required. Two outstanding facts govern the situation. The first is the fact that the cause of our distresses is, not that too many foreign goods are coming into this country, but that too few British goods are going out. The second is the fact that, at a time when the cry should be "all hands to the pumps," and when the first necessity is to reduce unproductive expenditure, we cannot afford to maintain more than two million workers in idleness, gradually losing their strength and skill which might be used to re-equip and re-condition the nation.

Faced by these problems, the nation has lost heart, because it is not getting the leadership it needs. It has lost belief in its Govern-

ment; not only has all confidence in the present Government disappeared, but there is a growing and most ominous impatience with the whole parliamentary system. This is not surprising when we realise to what impotence Parliament has been reduced by the dictatorship of the Cabinet and by the rigidity of parties. It has no effective control over either legislation, taxation, or administration, all of which are under the control of the Cabinet, in virtue of the convention which decrees that the Cabinet may claim a dissolution if it is overridden by Parliament upon any material point. Indeed, it is generally assumed that any government which submits to the judgment of Parliament upon any point is culpably and dangerously weak: according to the prevailing opinion, "stable government" only exists when the Cabinet is able to dictate its will to Parliament. The rigidity of party discipline, which requires that every member shall subordinate his individual judgment and vote with his party on all occasions, has accentuated the unreality of parliamentary discussion: party rigidity has been carried so far that any party whose members are found voting in different lobbies is held thereby to have demonstrated its futility. It is no wonder that the nation is losing faith in Parliament.

We have in office to-day, in the midst of the economic crisis, a government which represents only 36 per cent. of those who voted at the last election; it might not command the support of 25 per cent. if another election were precipitated to-morrow. At the beginning of its career, it professed readiness to treat Parliament as a Council of State, a free deliberative body. But it has never acted in the spirit of this declaration; rather it has claimed all the power and privilege which, by an accepted (but most dangerous) tradition, belong to a majority government. No government of modern times has ever lost prestige so rapidly, or so grievously disappointed its own followers. It has displayed complete impotence and lack of imagination in dealing with the economic crisis. No doubt its failure is partly due to the fact that it has had to face the world-depression, for which some of its opponents unjustly and dishonestly try to blame it. But the world-depression is no excuse for slackness; it ought rather to have called forth a redoubled energy. The causes of failure are deeper. They are due in the first place to the timorousness and inexperience of a group of third-rate ministers, which makes them shy and helpless in the presence of their experts and officials; and the official mind, whatever its virtues, is seldom marked by courage, initiative, and inventiveness in difficulties. In the second place, the weakness of the Government is due to the vague and sloppy idealism which, with most of its members and supporters, has done duty for hard thinking on practical problems. Mr. MacDonald is still proclaiming (for example, at Llandudno last October) that Socialism is the

only cure for unemployment; yet he has long been at issue with the Independent Labour Party over the practicability of Socialism in Our Time! In truth, the Socialist mirage disables those whose eyes are dazzled by it from dealing with the world as it is, and working out in a practical way the solutions of to-day's problems.

Over against this impotent Government stands the Conservative Party. It is still guided by the same leaders who utterly failed to make use of five years of unqualified power, with sweeping majorities in both Houses of Parliament, and did nothing to tackle the root problem of the "refractory million," which was staring them in the face. Their only contribution was the ill-conceived derating scheme, which added enormously to the burden of taxation, and poured the proceeds largely into the coffers of prosperous concerns which stood in no need of relief. These are the men who made the disastrous debt-settlement with America, and crippled industry by a precipitate and premature return to the gold standard. They are the men who were mainly responsible for the increase of our annual national outlay, in half a dozen years, by practically £100,000,000. To-day they have committed themselves to the advocacy of a single panacea—Protection—for all our ills; in other words, they are preaching that the one sure way of regaining prosperity is to increase artificially the price of everything we want to buy. They have not even the courage (or the honesty) to tell us frankly on what scale and on what range of articles they propose to impose duties; they hide behind vague phrases about an "emergency tariff" and a "free hand." As we have seen, the primal necessity of to-day is a reduction of the costs of production, if possible without a reduction of the standard of living. The one thing certain about Protection is that it must inevitably increase the costs of production and reduce the standard of living.

It is bad enough to be ruled by the King Log of Labour; manifestly the King Stork of Conservatism would be worse still. But after ten continuous years of bad trade, and after the bitter disillusion which the present Government has brought, multitudes of people are in a mood of desperation. While this temper is widespread, an election conducted under the gambling system to which we obstinately adhere, might well give a majority to the Protectionists on a minority vote in the country. It must not be forgotten that the Conservatives obtained a sweeping majority in 1922, though they were supported by only 38 per cent. of those voting; and that our existing Second Chamber provides no sort of safeguard against such misrepresentation of the nation.

Between these two major parties, the party of drift and doles on the one hand and the party of panic and protection on the other, stands the Liberal Party which has only 58 members, though it ought (in proportion to votes) to have 140. It occupies a very diffi-

cult and a very responsible position. It holds the balance, but only in a negative sense: it can turn a Government out, but it cannot secure that the things it holds to be necessary are done. Its position is like that of a boy in the middle of a see-saw: by throwing his weight on the right foot or the left, he can bring one side down and the other up, but he cannot bring one side down without bringing the other up.

There are some who urge (like Sir John Simon) that since the Liberals are deeply dissatisfied with the Labour Government, they ought to throw them out, and damn the consequences. The task of statesmanship is to weigh the consequences of its acts, not to damn them. And the sound way of forming a judgment upon these consequences is to consider what are the supreme aims of Liberalism in this crisis, and how they would be subserved by the downfall of the present Government, and the probable establishment of a Conservative government. It may perhaps be said that we ought not to exclude the possibility of the return of a Liberal government. That would indeed be the best solution of our problems. But we must face facts; and it is useless to pretend that there is much chance of the return of the Liberal Party as the strongest of the three at the next election. It will doubtless increase its strength. But it has too much leeway to make up to justify any expectation that it will take the first place in the next election. If it goes on staunchly, its opportunity will come in the following election.

Nevertheless it is worth while to set forth the aims of Liberalism in broad outline. I do not propose, of course, to redefine the whole programme of Liberalism, which has been laid before the nation more completely than that of any other party. But there are, I think, six main elements in the policy which a dominant Liberal Party would adopt in dealing with the present national crisis; and these may be briefly summarised.

1. The first would be to take vigorous international action, through the League of Nations and otherwise, to bridle that exaggerated spirit of Nationalism which is imperilling civilisation, and which finds expression both in armaments and in tariffs. It is only by international action that we can hope to reduce the crushing burden of armaments; and here lies the main hope of a large reduction of expenditure. It is only by international action that we can hope to reduce the tariff mania which has raged since the war, and which is retarding world recovery. Already the conference at Geneva in 1927 has practically stopped the raising of fresh tariffs in Europe, though not outside of Europe; and the result of this stability is that our exports to Europe increased substantially during the last three years, while our exports to the British Dominions declined. It is only by international action that we can deal with the monetary problems which are among the chief causes

of bad trade, and which arise from the shortage and bad distribution of gold; for, since the gold basis has been generally accepted, monetary standards have become international, and no longer merely national. It is only by international action that we can take further steps towards the solution of the problem of international debts and reparations, which has so greatly contributed to put difficulties in the way of trade.

Neither the Conservative Party nor the Labour Party has shown sufficient energy or foresight in the international sphere. But no Liberal will deny that the Labour Government has in this respect been far better than its predecessor. The Conservative Party is, in fact, the stronghold of Nationalism in this country, both in regard to armaments and League policy, and in regard to tariffs and economic policy. In this sphere, therefore, a change from Labour to Conservative would be decidedly a change for the worse.

2. The second essential condition of any trade revival is the maintenance of Free Trade. Not that we believe Free Trade, or any other fiscal device, can be by itself enough to bring about revival: that sort of nonsense we leave to Protectionists. But Free Trade is a *condition* of revival. If the costs of production are to be kept low, the manufacturer must be free to obtain all his requirements wherever, in all the world, they can be got cheapest and best; and if the standard of life is to be maintained, our people must be free to obtain all that they need at the lowest world price. It is only thus that we have been enabled to maintain an export trade which, even in 1929, was practically twice as great, in proportion to population, as that of our most successful protectionist rivals. Free Trade is the best weapon against tariffs; because it enables our manufacturers to get what they need at the lowest price, while their rivals are handicapped by the artificial enhancement of their costs. Once we encourage our manufacturers (as the Protectionists do) to admit that they are beaten by foreign competition, even in their own markets at their own doors, the game is up; if we cannot meet competition at home, we certainly cannot meet it abroad, and this country, which lives by export trade, is done. If we shut out foreign goods because they are cheaper than we can make, we only drive them into our overseas markets, which we must retain if we are to exist.

On this fundamental question, beyond doubt, the Conservative Party is the enemy. There are dangerous protectionist elements in the Labour Party—notably Sir Oswald Mosley and his adherents. But, on the whole, the Labour Party and its responsible leaders are loyal to Free Trade. In this regard, therefore, the replacement of a Labour government by a Conservative government would not merely be a change for the worse, it would be (from the Liberal point of view) a national disaster.

3. The third element in a Liberal policy is insistence upon rigid economy, private and public. In this respect there is little to choose between the other two parties. Both are spendthrifts: the Labour Party wants to spend lavishly on social services and doles to the poor; the Conservative Party on armaments and doles to manufacturers, farmers and landlords. Both regard high taxation as a good thing in itself: the Labour Party wants high direct taxation as a means of equalising incomes; the Conservative Party wants high indirect taxation on imports as a means of lowering wages. Of the two, the Labour policy is less mischievous. Direct taxation, after all, is not paid until the income is earned; indirect taxation adds to the costs of production. We know how much we pay in direct taxation; under a system of protective duties the consumer may pay five times as much as the exchequer receives, and the balance goes into private pockets. Moreover, the Labour Party has begun to be alarmed by the effects of high taxation; whereas the Conservative Party has persuaded itself that taxes cease to be burdensome, and become positively beneficial, when they are imposed upon goods. It is a choice of evils; but if we *must* choose between them, let us choose the less.

There is no chance of real economy under the present political system. The control of the Treasury and of Parliament over the Departments is completely ineffective. No single estimate has been reduced by Parliament during the present century; and this is not surprising when we realise how the twenty days devoted to the discussion of the Estimates are used. If we are to get economy, it can only be by special measures, such as the establishment of the Geddes Committee in 1921; or by a complete recast of parliamentary procedure.

4. Free Trade and Economy, though essential for revival, are not enough to get us out of our difficulties. We need a concerted national effort of reorganisation; we need plans for bringing unemployed labour and unemployed capital together, so that they may be used for the re-equipment of the nation. This is what the Liberal Party has been preaching for some years. There are many things which need to be done in order to bring national efficiency up to concert-pitch; many things for which neither labour nor capital will be available when the slack period is over.

(a) Many of our industries need re-equipment; in many cases they cannot undertake what they know to be necessary because they have been drained of their capital by ten years of bad trade, and cannot get the advances they need. We ought to see to it that necessary progress is not impeded by lack of capital (which can be made available under a State guarantee with reasonable precautions), and that sound concerns are given every practicable kind of assistance.

(b) Now is the time for a systematic attempt to revive British agriculture. Only 7 per cent. of our people live on the land; in such densely populated and highly industrialised countries as Belgium and Holland the proportions are, respectively, 19 and 23 per cent.; and if we could raise our percentage to only half that of Holland, a very large and a permanent contribution to the solution of the problem of unemployment would be made. The true way of prosperity for British agriculture is to recognise (as Denmark and Holland have done) that it is impossible for us to compete with the cereals of the New World, except by imitating its mass-production methods, which involve a large decrease of the number of men employed per hundred acres; like Denmark and Holland, we should use cheap imported foodstuffs—the cheaper the better—as the raw material of animal husbandry, dairy farming and poultry farming. By means of cheap road transport and organised marketing we should help the agricultural producer to obtain a fairer share than he now does (he gets less than two-fifths) of what the consumer pays, without increasing the cost of living. And we should help agriculture by making a supply of capital available on reasonable terms, since the land has been drained of capital. All this involves a large capital outlay, and the employment of a great deal of labour, in the equipment of family farms, the re-conditioning of land, the building of rural cottages, the improvement of rural roads, and so forth.

(c) The ancillary public services, upon which both industry and agriculture depend for their efficiency, and for which the State is mainly responsible—transport, communications, and power-supply—should be pressed forward with the utmost speed, not merely in order to provide employment (though it will do this on a great scale), but in order that we may be ready to take advantage of the revival of world-trade when it begins; for in these respects we have fallen behind some of our rivals.

(d) The needs of housing and slum-clearance should be vigorously tackled: every man employed on such work costs less than he would in normal times, by the amount of the dole he would otherwise draw. But the work should be done in accordance with sound schemes of region-planning.

All these undertakings involve a large outlay of capital. But the capital is available; the banks to-day are worried by the amount of uninvested deposits, and the difficulty of finding outlets for them. Moreover, all these are works which need to be done, and must be put in hand sooner or later; and rightly carried out, they are (directly or indirectly) remunerative investments for national capital, and will permanently enrich the nation by increasing its efficiency. It is often said that while Liberals talk economy in one sentence, they advocate lavish expenditure in the

next. There is no real incompatibility between these two aspects of the same policy. Just as a shrewd business man in hard times will cut down his working expenses wherever possible, and at the same time sink capital in new equipment, so the State should closely scrutinise its expenditure from taxes and rates, while at the same time encouraging and stimulating the bold investment of capital in the development of the nation's resources. The Conservative Party—wedded to the notion that the only recipe for prosperity is to shut out imports and therefore to shut in exports—has declared its opposition to any policy of this kind. The Labour Party, though slow and shiftless, is at least not hostile, and can perhaps be driven into action.

5. Meanwhile the unemployed must be maintained. But the system under which they are maintained ought to be thoroughly revised, because, under the lax administration of successive Conservative and Labour Governments, the Insurance system—devised by Liberalism—has fallen into disorganisation, and become subject to many abuses. It should be restored to a strict insurance basis, and the accumulated deficit should be frankly taken over by the State. Those who are taken off the Insurance scheme should not merely be thrown on to the Poor Law, because this imposes unfair and intolerable burdens upon the distressed areas. A new national system should be created for the relief of the uninsured: the grants made to them should have regard to family needs, and should be conditional upon the acceptance of any work for which the recipient is fit. On this issue the Conservatives seem to be more ready for effective action than the Labour Party; though they desire to throw the burden upon the new Public Assistance authorities. But the Labour Party has at any rate been driven to refer the whole question to a Royal Commission, which has been instructed to act quickly.

6. Finally, it is indispensable that the machinery of government should be made more efficient, if the right kind of direction is to be given to a national effort. This involves three things: a reform of the electoral system, so that the dictatorship of a minority may be avoided; a reform of parliamentary procedure; and a reorganisation of the Cabinet.

Electoral reform (which is the foundation of the rest) is now under discussion. In the view of nearly all Liberals, the only satisfactory reform is Proportional Representation. To this both of the larger parties seem to be opposed—the Conservatives, perhaps, less resolutely than the Labour Party. But the Conservative Party is extremely unwilling to sacrifice the chance of obtaining a parliamentary majority on a minority vote in the country, and of thus being in a position to carry measures to which the majority of the country is opposed. The Labour Party—perhaps

because it has realised its own declining prestige—has at least brought itself to the point of introducing the half-hearted reform known as the Alternative Vote. This system has many drawbacks; but it is a shade better than the existing system. It encourages the elector to express his honest opinion with his first-preference vote; because he can use his second-preference vote for the purpose for which his vote is now often used—that of helping to keep out the candidate he most dislikes. While it is, of course, unthinkable that the Liberal Party should pledge itself to support the Labour Government, in all its impotence, until the Alternative Vote has become law (a process which might take two and a half years if the Parliament Act had to be brought into play), and while no bargain on this (or any other) point has been made, or is in the least likely to be made, it is obvious that the introduction of this modest instalment of electoral justice must ease the relations between the two parties.

I have set forth in outline the policy for dealing with our economic troubles which the Liberal Party would carry out if it were placed in office. It is the plain duty of the party to lose no opportunity of putting this policy clearly before the country, and of making clear its differences from the policies advocated or pursued by both of the other parties. But this does not mean that the party ought to strive to bring about a general election at the earliest possible moment. Time is needed for the education and organisation of the electorate; and a moment at which a large number of voters have lost all sense of proportion, and are ready to be stampeded into the most dangerous courses, is not the moment for demanding a decision which may have irrevocable and possibly ruinous results. On all grounds—imperial as well as domestic—it is undesirable that an election should be precipitated prematurely. If possible, it should be postponed until we have reached the bottom of the slump, and trade has begun to mend. Whether this is possible or not depends upon the Government: it cannot live much longer, but must collapse of its own weakness. Meanwhile it is clear that, on all the half-dozen points of Liberal policy which I have defined, there is more possibility of making progress under a Labour government than under a Conservative government. Weak and shiftless as the present Government is, it is at any rate no more shiftless than its predecessor; and it is less positively dangerous than a new Baldwin government, inspired by a vague and undigested Protectionism, would infallibly be. While Liberalism is recovering its strength, it is less ruinous to tolerate King Log than to expose ourselves to the menace of King Stork.

RAMSAY MUIR.

TOWARDS DISARMAMENT.

DISARMAMENT, as those who use the word oftenest are never tired of explaining, means not the abolition of national armaments but their reduction and limitation by international agreement. Be it so. If, then, it is asserted, as it well may be, that the critical point in the progress of the disarmament problem towards solution has now been reached, that is another way of saying that the moment has come at last when it will be discovered whether the nations have any genuine intention of limiting their armies and navies by international agreement or not. To speak of progress in the solution of the disarmament problem at all may seem like gratuitous optimism. Disarmament has marked time for so long that it has become difficult to conceive of its doing anything else. But it quite definitely has done something else. The proceedings of the Preparatory Commission at Geneva may not have been calculated to provoke exhilaration. Principles may seem to have been sacrificed to compromise. The resultant draft convention may offer every kind of lodgment to the barbs and arrows of the cynic. But at least a draft disarmament convention does exist, and no draft disarmament convention with any weight of international authority behind it has ever existed before. That at least, on the most restrained estimate of the value of the event, is something gained.

What is more, the convention, with all its defects, fulfils the one fundamental condition. It furnishes a perfectly sound and practical basis for an international disarmament agreement, provided the nations have the will to disarm. And if they have not, the most ideally perfect instrument that ever emanated from human draftsmanship will not reduce armies by a man or navies by a ship. The question whether there is in the world any will to disarm is what the world is to demonstrate in the coming twelve months. For the moment we must assume that there is. Otherwise the whole thankless disarmament effort may as well be abandoned at once. If, then, that will does exist, how will the work of the Preparatory Commission help it to gain expression? That can be discovered only by a brief study of the draft convention the Commission has framed.

For draft convention there of course had to be. We are realising a little slowly that the work of consolidating peace is as technical a business as the work of making war, and calls for the same practical qualities in the men concerned with it. Disarmament could, no doubt, be unilateral. Any nation can reduce its armaments at any moment to any point it pleases, whether as a mere matter of conscience, regardless of consequences, or in the confi-

dence that such a demonstration of pacific temper will give it better security than a panoply of guns and tanks. There is a good deal to be said for the latter thesis, but the fact remains that no nation, with the possible exception of Denmark (possible exception only, because the plans of the Danish Government have not yet been carried into execution, nor indeed obtained the final approval of Parliament) has adopted that policy or shown any sign of adopting it. There is one universal stipulation—"You reduce first, or at any rate simultaneously." And since everyone says that at once it is clear that the "simultaneously" demand has it.

But that will not do by itself. The disarmament process must not merely be simultaneous. It must be on an equitable scale all round. "I am not going to reduce my fleet by 20 per cent. if you only reduce yours by 10—if the talk is to range in the unsatisfactory region of percentages. And there is another necessary condition. The disarmament must be plain and above-board. I can, at a pinch, stretch a point and agree to your maintaining a rather larger army than I like. What is quite intolerable is that while you are professing to reduce your army you should in reality be strengthening it, and if anything were wanted to make the suspicion that would arouse more intense, it would be the discovery that the increase of strength was taking place not in violation of the disarmament agreement but by virtue of some unsuspected loopholes in it. If the agreement is, in American parlance, to take the form of a yardstick it must be a stick that measures thirty-six inches always, not thirty-five when it is a case of my navy and thirty-seven when it is yours." That is what has made the task of the Preparatory Commission so difficult and lengthened out its labours year by year. It has had to draft not a plausible convention but a watertight convention. Dealing with nations that had different needs, with armies and navies organised on different bases, it had so to add rule to rule and formula to formula as to achieve the essential purpose of making what was a limitation in appearance a limitation in reality as well, and at the same time avoid the danger of evolving a convention so elaborate and so complicated that general staffs would find it simple to persuade their Governments to throw the whole thing over altogether.

Those difficult conditions the Preparatory Commission has fulfilled with as much success as could reasonably be looked for, and as much as is necessary to provide a starting-point for the next stage of the journey. A brief glance at the convention will justify that claim. The Commission had one task before it and one only. It was concerned not with limiting armies and navies, in the sense of getting agreed figures fixed for the forces of each State, but with devising methods by which armies and navies could be effectively limited—so effectively that when the method was applied to the forces of State A there would be no sus-

picion in the minds of B and C and the rest that A was accepting a mere paper obligation and in reality maintaining what forces it chose.

The test by which the Commission must be judged is whether it has in fact succeeded in showing how an army, a navy and an air force can be restricted to broadly the same strength in 1932 as in 1931, in 1933 as in 1932, and so on for as long as the Disarmament Treaty remains in force. In a matter so complicated as present-day armaments no one criterion will suffice. The case of Germany proves that conclusively. The theory of direct limitation—limitation by actual enumeration of guns, men, rifles, etc.—found its supreme consecration in the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, and as a result Germany has been steadily raising her naval and military expenditure and her naval and military efficiency to levels never dreamed of by the framers of the disarmament articles of the Treaty, and that without transgressing the Treaty provisions in any particular.

Partly for that reason the "direct" method of limitation does not figure in the draft convention and limitation by cost does. The efficacy of this latter method—budgetary limitation, as it is termed technically—will depend largely on the capacity of the experts concerned to devise a form of return which will ensure that all a country's naval, military, and air expenditure is properly disclosed and no loophole left for surreptitious additions to it under other heads of the national budget. There should be no serious difficulty about that, as the studies of Mr. Per Jacobsson among others show, particularly since there is no question of comparing the expenditure of different countries (any such comparison would be inevitably misleading where the essential factors are apt to differ so widely), but only of comparing the expenditures of the same country in successive years. It is not even necessary for that purpose that the League should adopt a statutory form of return, for so long as each country made its return in the same form year by year it would matter little what the model of the form was. But the adoption of a standard form is useful evidence that the method of return is in fact not being varied, and where suspicion of evasion is so pervasive any effective precaution is worth taking.

As to the actual provisions of the draft convention, armies are to be limited by a restriction on the total personnel and on the professional element, and therefore, by arithmetical consequence, on the conscript element too, and also by a restriction on the budgetary expenditure on material. Navies are to be limited by a restriction on personnel and on the number and tonnage of ships, on the basis, broadly, of the categories and classifications embodied in the Washington and London Naval Treaties, though the smaller navies are to be allowed considerable liberty in the transference of tonnage from one class to another provided the transfers are confined

to surface-vessels and do not involve an increase of the submarine fleet. Here, too, the budgetary limitation on material (mainly, of course, ships and guns) operates. In the case of the air arm, illogically enough, budgetary limitation has been excluded, though it is needed more here than anywhere in view of the difficulty of finding any other criterion that will limit military air forces without unreasonably penalising civil aviation. The air limitation provisions (affecting personnel, total number and total horse-power of machines) are frankly inadequate, but it is hard to see how they can be anything else so long as the adaptability of civil machines to military purposes remains as simple a matter as it is to-day.

The only other article of the draft convention of special note is that providing for the creation at Geneva of a Permanent Disarmament Commission, analogous to the Permanent Mandates Commission, charged with general supervision over the execution of the Disarmament Treaty, and in particular with the investigation of complaints regarding alleged violations of it. The creation of such a body of independent experts, advertising by its mere existence the fact that national armaments have become a matter of legitimate international concern, should have a psychological effect by no means negligible. The technical and the psychological, indeed, are inseparably blended in any steps taken towards disarmament. The psychological aspect is obvious enough. However much a country may protest that its armaments are designed for defence exclusively, their very existence testifies to a lack of confidence in the pledges other countries have given to refrain from aggression. Out of that situation hostilities and suspicions are bred while you watch. When armaments are being not merely maintained at a high level but increased the psychological consequences are tenfold worse. Illustrations of that platitude are superfluous. If any were needed the relations of France and Italy to-day would provide as unhappy an example as the relations of this country and Germany at the height of the naval competition of twenty years ago.

That, of course, is the real argument for disarmament—not so much that it would reduce the fighting power of the nations as that it would demonstrate the nations' good faith. A world in which every State with a unanimous impulse signs the Kellogg Pact renouncing war, and with the same unanimity maintains its ships and its tanks and its aeroplanes to protect it against attack by some other State that has renounced war no less solemnly than itself, is too tragically legitimate a sport for cynics. Till armaments are at least limited by universal agreement, to say nothing of any steps towards reduction, every profession of belief in the Pact of Paris or the Covenant of the League or the Locarno Treaty is vitiated by a lurking note of insincerity. You cannot reconcile a protestation of general confidence in your neighbours with demonstrations of a general distrust of them.

But the technical must have its place beside the psychological. Limitation of armaments can only do its work of establishing confidence if it is patently and beyond possibility of subterfuge a genuine limitation. It has been the business of the Preparatory Commission to guarantee that, and the claim that it has done so can, subject to various reservations, be sustained. Many of the decisions taken, it is true, were approved by a narrow majority, constituting often a minority of the members present, though obviously not of the members voting. But that is less important than it seems, for the draft convention is now submitted to the judgment of the world, which will form its own estimate of the merits and demerits of the instrument without much concern about the statistics of the vote on each clause. A considerable distance, furthermore, separates the convention as it is from the convention as it might have been. In particular there is intelligible regret in our non-conscription country that the citadel of conscription on the continent has not fallen before the assault of Great Britain, supported for obvious reasons by Germany—which would return to conscription to-morrow if treaty restrictions were removed. But these regrets do not shake the conviction that if the nations of the world are prepared to limit their armaments by international agreement the draft convention framed by the Preparatory Commission provides them with an adequate instrument for carrying out the operation.

So the vital question presents itself—are the nations in fact prepared for limitation? The answer to that will be given in plain figures when the World Disarmament Conference meets, for it is then that the Preparatory Commission's skeleton must be clothed with flesh and blood and each nation declare to what number of men, what number of ships and aeroplanes, and to what budgetary expenditure, it is willing to limit itself. For limitation, of course, if so elementary a commonplace may be permitted, must be self-limitation. No one in the world except the Government of Great Britain can determine the size of the British navy and no one but the Government of France set a limit to the French army. That some kind of limitation can be attained is evident. Any nation would be willing to limit its forces to a figure that made sufficient allowance for the contingencies of the future. But a Disarmament Conference that resulted in the limitation of armies and navies at levels substantially higher than those prevailing to-day would point not to peace but to war. Limitation at present levels would be better than nothing, though it would not be in any sense disarmament and it would precipitate an immediate crisis in Germany's relations with the League. That alone is sufficient reason why an agreement involving substantial reductions of the forces of most or all signatory States must be the test of the Conference's success or failure. No such result can be achieved

without long and delicate negotiations in advance, for armaments, once they rise above a certain basic level, are relative, not absolute. The size of France's navy depends on the size of Italy's and vice versa, however much each country may protest that it is building for its own particular needs without reference to anyone else. Actually, of course, its needs are measured all the time by reference to someone else, and it is the course of someone else's policy that makes a reduction seem feasible or otherwise.

For behind naval or military policy stands national policy generally. Armies and navies exist only to give effect to the decisions of politicians. And to say that at the present juncture goes far towards destroying any confident hope for the success of the Disarmament Conference. Not for years has the outlook seemed less propitious for those conversations and understandings which alone can pave the way to a reduction of armies and navies. But the effort must be made, for cause and effect interact. Mutual confidence is needed to make disarmament possible. On the other hand disarmament, if any measure of it can be achieved, will immediately increase mutual confidence. Economic stress provides one compelling argument for a reduction of military expenditure, and a growing consciousness of the antagonism into which Europe is drifting may drive home to the minds of the peoples of that continent at any rate the need of the one step that beyond any other would damp antagonisms down and set stability and peace on new foundations.

The actual problems of the conference will begin presenting themselves from this time on. Some are manifest already. The attitude of Russia is one great interrogation. But whatever line Russia may take ultimately there is no justification for allowing mistrust of her intentions to serve as shelter for refusals to disarm in other quarters. Russia will have to declare herself like other States when the Conference meets, and whether her various Geneva proposals for wholesale or large-scale disarmament be considered sincere or not they make it a little difficult for her to reject solutions that go some way, if not all the way, in the direction of what she has herself advocated.

For the rest the outstanding problem, as viewed from this island at any rate, consists in the armies of France and her associates. It is they that dominate Europe. It is they that lend colour to the charge that the *status quo* in Europe rests simply on force of arms. Their existence on the present scale is a patent disparagement of Pact, Covenant, and Locarno Treaties. So runs the charge, and it is all true enough. Nothing is easier than to draw the indictment in black and white. But to do that does not carry us far. It may even carry us in the wrong direction. Facts are facts, and national convictions—national obstinacies, or national obsessions, for those who like those terms better—are facts as hard as any.

To ignore them is to head straight for disaster. The demand of France and her friends for security and yet more security may be palpably unjustified. If so the course of wisdom is to convince them patiently of that. Failing that it might—and on the other hand might not—be worth while to make some concession to their fears. If disarmament is worth having it may be worth paying something for. And a restatement of security guarantees (for the existing guarantees go so far that nothing but a more explicit restatement of them is left to ask for) may be faced with considerably more equanimity if it means guaranteeing peace in a relatively disarmed world than if it is liable to involve action on a scale set by the level of world armaments to-day.

Meanwhile it is well for the citizen of the British Empire, while rightly concerned at the size of continental armies, to recognise that the British navy, even as limited by the Washington and London Treaties, is not habitually regarded by the average European as demonstrating disarmament in its extremest form. The limitations accepted at the London Conference are undoubtedly so far as they go a guarantee of this country's good faith in the matter of reduction, but our influence on France in the matter of her army will clearly be more potent if whatever British Government may be in office at the moment can say, as Mr. Henderson did in fact say at Geneva in September, that the last word on British naval reduction has not yet been spoken. One obvious line of advance is in regard to the size of the capital ship. That has to be decided at the Disarmament Conference, and there is no reason in the world why it should remain at the 35,000 tons fixed at Washington nine years ago. To accept—or rather to take the initiative in proposing—a substantial reduction on that figure would have a moral effect of great value, and the contention that such a step, taken by all naval Powers uniformly, would seriously diminish our national security will find few respectful hearers.

But such details need be no more than suggested at this stage, though the phase of serious discussions and decisions is now beginning. The essential fact is that the path to a World Disarmament Conference has at last—and for the first time—been cleared of technical obstacles, that the conference will certainly be held, at a date that can hardly be more than twelve months distant, that its success or failure hangs at present in the balance, and that the issue depends on the resolution and courage with which politicians of all countries face the situation in the period that intervenes before the conference meets. It would be easy to become rhetorical in talking about risks for peace, but it is the plainest and most prosaic of commonplaces that no greater risk confronts the world than that presented by a Disarmament Conference that meets and fails.

H. WILSON HARRIS.

THE INDIAN PROVINCIAL SYSTEM AND THE REFORMS.

THE sympathetic gesture of the Indian Princes in support of a scheme for a United States of India has brought into prominence the attitude of the Simon Commission towards the question of federation. At the outset it may be remarked that the Commission, while they regard federation as the ultimate ideal for the Indian Constitution, are more concerned to build from the foundations upwards: in other words a sense of political responsibility should, they think, be developed in the provinces before the form of the Central Government is definitely moulded. The provinces will be the school in which the Indian politician will learn self-expression. Let Indians equip themselves with reasonable experience of working responsible forms of government in the provincial sphere before assuming the burden of complete responsible government at the Centre. The quality of the Centre will reflect the quality of the constituent provinces. It is necessary to take a long view of the problem of Indian self-government. A premature endeavour to introduce responsibility at the Centre might, in the end, the Commission think, involve a breakdown.

These are weighty words, and it may be asked whether the Indian politician, even of the most impatient type, can afford to ignore them. To design the federal structure instead of the provincial scheme at the outset suggests a policy of building at the top instead of from the foundations. Despite this the Conference has for the greater part of its sessions concentrated on the Federal scheme, a scheme which is not entirely democratic, to the detriment of the major problem of establishing in the provinces responsible government on lines which should promote natural growth. Few will deny that the success of the type of federation most in favour will depend almost entirely on whether the foundations of responsibility are securely laid in the provinces.

Here an important point presents itself: the suitability or otherwise of the existing organisation of the provinces. The Commission apparently think that healthy development is likely to be impeded in many cases as the result of the large and heterogeneous agglomerations which constitute several of the more important units of administration. Many of these have grown up in a haphazard way as territories were absorbed into the British Empire by conquest, cession, or escheat. So long as the Government of India was entirely centralised, both as regards finance and general administration, the fact that provincial boundaries were more or less artificial was of little moment. Local governments were in effect the agents of the Central Government. The whole theory of

responsible government in India is opposed to the continuance of this system and if responsible government is to be a reality the States or provincial areas which are to be the self-governing units should be formed on some definite principle. Adjustment should be made before the new process has gone too far. Once the mould has set, any maldistribution would be more difficult to correct. The Commission accordingly suggest that a Boundaries Commission should be set up with a neutral Chairman, to investigate the main cases in which provincial readjustment seems called for. The Commission express the hope that the result of the inquiry will be to reduce the size of governors' provinces.

The Commission offer a few comments on the principles to be observed in any rearrangements that may be made. There is the question of linguistic areas. The use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality. Still there are other factors, race, religion, economic interests, geographical contiguity, a due balance between country and town, coastline, and interior. The largest measure of general agreement is perhaps the most important consideration. The Simon Commission are supported by a considerable body of Indian opinion in their view on the subject of revision of provincial boundaries, and the question will in all probability receive consideration by the Imperial Government. The growth of political consciousness will depend largely on whether local conditions are favourable; it is likely to be retarded where there are few if any real affinities between the peoples compressed into a given administration.

It may be of interest briefly to consider some of the main facts bearing on the problem. Take for example the case of Madras. Madras is a huge unwieldy province, 140,000 square miles in area, made up of several distinct linguistic, geographical, and ethnographical regions with no common history or tradition. Let us examine the constituent parts. Malabar is separated from the main province by the barrier of the Ghats: it differs from Madras in language (Malayalam), population, tradition, and economic conditions. A large proportion of the population is Muslim, the descendants of Arab traders. Historically it has been in association with Travancore rather than with the various kingdoms which have from time to time held sway in Southern Madras. The district of South Kanara, north of Malabar, belongs ethnographically to the Kanara bloc in the Southern Deccan, the core of which is to be found in Mysore. The rest of Madras, i.e. most of the country south of the Kistnah, omitting the Northern Circars, was held together for a century and a half by the Vijayanagar rulers, till 1565, when the empire fell before a combined attack of the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan. The country was subsequently split up

into a series of quasi-feudal principalities, some owning allegiance to the Deccan kingdoms and later to Hyder Ali and Tipu : others were more or less independent. The British built up Madras by absorbing a great part of the dominions of Tipu : they appropriated the Carnatic from the Nawab of Arcot : the Northern Circars they obtained from the Nizam of Hyderabad : in the southern portions of the peninsula they slowly absorbed the half-independent Polygars or feudal barons. Malabar and South Kanara were part of the spoils of Mysore. In the south are seventeen millions of Tamils speaking a distinct language of their own : a large proportion of them would prefer to have a separate Tamil province. The Andhras or Telegus to the north (the Carnatic) numbering sixteen millions are still more strongly influenced by separatist tendencies. They have recently obtained permission to found a separate university. In both cases the territory occupied by the people concerned is a compact block. Economic difficulties are negligible. Each province would have an adequate seaboard and ports. There is in fact no obstacle to the formation of separate provinces out of Tamil and Telegu country. In the case of the Kanara people the problem is more difficult. The bulk are in the Mysore State. There is, however, a more or less compact block to the north extending as far as the western seaboard and including the "ceded districts" of Madras and Dharwar, Belgaum and North Kanara in Bombay. South Kanara also belongs to this area. A province could be formed out of it into which Coorg would probably agree to be absorbed. It is not likely that this Kanara area would agree to be incorporated in Mysore though a good deal could be said for such an arrangement.

Still further north, on the east coast of Madras, is the country of the Oriyas. The bulk of these people is however beyond the Madras boundary. The Oriya question will be referred to later. Enough has been said to demonstrate that the only homogeneity that Madras can claim is the cohesive force of British administration. Once that goes it is certain that the component parts would cease to coalesce. There can be no question at all that the presidency of Madras as now constituted is a most unsuitable unit for self-government. Satisfactory results in political responsibility can only be achieved by constituting a series of separate provinces. The case of the Oriyas is discussed in detail by the Simon Commission. These people, who number nearly ten millions, are split up between several provinces and areas in each of which they are in a minority. There are nearly five millions in the province of Behar and Orissa : nearly three millions in the Orissa feudatory States : a million and a half are to be found in Madras territory. The construction of a separate province comprising all the Oriyas would

be a distinct advantage and would not present any insuperable difficulties.

Bombay is a patchwork of peoples with some resemblance to Madras. In the south there is the Kanarese bloc ; north of this above the Ghauts between the mountains, Hyderabad, and the Central Provinces, is the heart of Maharashtra, the country of the Marathas, the most virile and warlike people of the south. The north of the Bombay presidency includes the old Mughal province of Gujarat, a country with no real affinities with Bombay. The language is Gujarati. Gujarat has acquired a separate economic individuality : its economic orientation is rather towards Kathiawar than Bombay. A large part of it is included in the Baroda State. We received British Gujarat from Baroda for the maintenance of a military force for the protection of the State. There is no common history or tradition between Bombay and Gujarat. Sind again is attached to Bombay as the result of a historical accident. This Muslim province has no natural associations whatever with Bombay. Its orientation should be towards the Punjab. The Sindhis however are not much attracted by the prospect of absorption in the Punjab even though the province may be regarded as a Muslim province. In point of fact the Muslims are insisting that Sind, with its large Muslim majority, should be given the status of a governor's province so as to add weight to Muslim representation in the Federal Government. It seems anomalous that a heterogeneous collection of territories as Bombay is should be treated as a separate unit for an experiment in self-government.

It would not be easy to devise an arrangement for reducing the size of Bengal. The province of Behar and Orissa, described by the Simon Commission as the most artificial of all the provinces, might be diminished and made of a more manageable size by the exclusion of Orissa.

No reference is needed to Assam or other minor provinces. The United Provinces though great in area and with an enormous population are more or less homogeneous : it might be possible to separate Agra from Oudh on the ground of the unwieldiness of the province from an administrative point of view. The case of the Punjab is different. In the west there is a large Muhamedan majority : in the centre and east Hindus predominate. It might make self-government more real and practical if Hindus and Sikhs on the one side, and the Muslims on the other, were left to work out their own political salvation separately. It will be a long time before Sikh and Muslim work together in complete harmony in the political field. The suggestion is not likely to appeal to the Muslims, who regard the Punjab as a Muslim province, and insist on its being treated as such for the purposes of the All-India

Federation. The Muslim majority is as fifty-one to forty-nine and on the strength of this the Muslims claim a permanent majority in the government. This may seem to involve a deviation from the pure gospel of democracy : the claim is inspired by fear of a Hindu oligarchy.

Various objections have been put forward to the rehabilitation of the Indian provinces on rational lines. You will, it is urged, create new minorities with all the grievances, incompatibilities and ill-feeling common to this well-worn problem. There is not, however, much substance in the criticism. Take Madras, for example. There will always be a negligible minority of Muslims in any given area of Madras except Malabar. The splitting up of the presidency into five separate provinces would not affect the Muslim question. It is possible that there would be a majority of Muslims in Malabar with a corresponding Hindu minority. This is a drawback but not a sufficient reason for keeping Malabar in subjection to the Tamil politician. In the other four provinces, viz. Andhra, Tamil country, Kanara, and Oriya country, the minority problem would not arise. A small group of Tamils in Andhra country, for example, would not greatly suffer from political isolation. They would not have full opportunities for political self-expression. That is all. Religious and economic problems would not arise. The same would apply to Kanarese people in Tamil country and vice versa. The partition of Bombay would involve no minority problems except in Sind where there would be a small Hindu minority. That, however, is inevitable. The division of the Punjab into an eastern and western province would create a Muslim minority in the east : that would be a much less complicated problem than the problem of the Sikh-Hindu minority in the Punjab as it stands. There would be no minority problem in Orissa. On the whole, then, as already observed, the objection to the scheme of redistribution based on the assumed exacerbation of the minority problem has little, if any, foundation.

The next criticism regards finance. A great province like Madras, it is argued, has control of large Government resources, and is consequently able to give the poorer tracts a better administration than they would be able to provide if left to themselves. Similarly young men from such tracts have equal chances with their compeers from the richer districts in the educational field and in Government service. If the province of Madras were re-arranged on a linguistic basis these advantages would in many cases disappear. The Kanara province, in particular, would live a life of semi-starvation economically. Most of the country included in it is in the dry zone which suffers from periodic famines : the comparative richness of the coastal districts, North and South

Kanara and Belgaum, would hardly restore the balance. The other provinces though well equipped with natural resources would not be large enough to provide the surplus necessary for natural development. The same remarks apply to the provinces in Bombay : to the Punjab : to Orissa. Hampered by the lack of financial resources the Councils would lose interest in the administration and this might lead to disaster.

Objections to the scheme on the score of finance may easily be over-emphasised. There is, it is true, some point in the Kanara example, but except in a cycle of dry years the economic conditions of that region should permit of the recovery of revenue adequate for the purpose of decent administration. Tamil country should have an ample revenue with its large tracts of irrigated land : the Andhra country has large revenues likely to be considerably increased in the future if a great scheme for irrigating a million or more acres from the Tungabhadra comes into operation. Malabar is blessed with ample natural resources. Maharashtra suffers from drought ; the resources of its capital city, Bombay, should redress the balance when it is unfavourable. Gujarat could pay its own way as easily as Baroda does, though the latter carries the weight of a princely court, a burden which would not fall on the new province. Sind is poor and will remain so until the Sukkur barrage is an accomplished fact. The argument that the province should remain in financial subjection to Bombay until the barrage is complete is beside the mark. The Imperial Government could well assume the financial responsibility. Orissa might not at the outset be able to maintain a very advanced standard of administration : in any case there is no reason why it should be financed by richer neighbours who are under no particular obligation to assist it.

It may be noted that provincial revenues have vastly increased since the standard of normal expenditure was fixed in 1912. For example, Punjab revenues show a rise of 154 per cent., Madras of 118 per cent., other provinces from 88 per cent. to 105 per cent. The cost of administration has largely increased in the interval, but even allowing for this there is no doubt that the resources of the provinces have increased and are increasing. Some Indian States with resources inferior to those most of these new provinces would have, succeed in working up to progressive standards. Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior may be quoted as examples among the larger States. The best way of ensuring financial stability would be to reduce the ordinary costs of the administration. With provincial autonomy the Indianisation of the services will progress rapidly : in ten years or so the administrative services will be almost entirely Indian. Large economies could be

effected by reducing the scale of pay to something approaching the scales in force in Indian States. There is no reason why the Indian official should be paid at rates necessary to attract men of a satisfactory type from England. The scale of the higher grade of Civil Servant in England falls far below the income of the successful professional or business man. Why should the Indian official be treated on different lines? Similar reasons for differentiation exist in India; the greater security of income: an assured pension: the more attractive and less arduous work. The Civil Services in the provinces should be provincialised and paid on a much lower scale than the present Indian Civil Service rates. A similar principle should be applied to the other services. The results would be to reduce the scale of expenditure to an extent sufficient to permit of the provision of ample resources for natural development. It would appear then that the financial objections need not stand in the way of a redistribution of the provinces. An enormous amount of work would be involved in splitting up the administrative machine, but the difficulties involved are by no means insuperable.

This practically ends the indictment against the scheme of revision of provincial boundaries. There are many obvious advantages to oppose to the defects and difficulties. The administrative units it is proposed to set up would all be living political organisms, and as such more likely to develop a healthy existence as self-governing bodies than a heterogeneous collection of several units with differing characteristics held together by the centripetal force of the British Empire. Organic growth is everything if there is ever to be real democracy in India. It is possible too that communal difficulties would be less vivid and insistent than in the great agglomerations of territories which constitute the existing provinces.

With less unwieldy provinces the constituencies would be of a more manageable size and it would be possible to bring the member more in touch with his constituents. If self-government is to be a reality, the Commission observe, political units must be of a suitable size. To achieve this it is obviously necessary to reconstruct the provincial system. A feeling of homogeneity of race and tradition would help to stimulate the idea of self-government: one can hardly imagine for example the peasant voter of Malabar being inspired with patriotism for the vague political entity known as Madras. His member might very well be an eloquent Tamil lawyer from beyond the Ghauts: it would never occur to him that he could exercise any control over the member's actions in the Legislative Council hundreds of miles away. Give the Malabar peasant his own council; let him be represented as he most probably would be by a local landowner, and he will soon learn

that by the exercise of discrimination in the use of his vote he is promoting his own interests. The political self-consciousness of a province like Malabar—and Malabar is typical—would be further developed by a locally recruited Civil Service; the province would decide its own political problems instead of having to wait on the pleasure of a large and remote body of legislators few of whom have any special knowledge of the needs of the various localities they represent. The maintenance of law and order would be an easier problem for the Home Member in a province of reasonable size with a homogeneous population than in a vast territory like Madras built up by agglomerations of units having no natural cohesion.

It is claimed then for the scheme outlined in the preceding paragraphs that it would present a group of politically self-conscious units for a federated India instead of the unwieldy masses existing at the moment, few if any of which are likely to progress towards a reasonable standard of democracy in half a century if compelled to go on working in unnatural partnership. Democracy will not flourish in an uncongenial environment: a healthy growth will be possible only if the unit is a political organism in the proper sense of the term. The basis of the political structure demanded by the Indian *intelligentsia* presupposes a combination of provinces where the administration is responsible to an intelligent electorate: no such electorates exist at present: there is no hope of their development in the unwieldy compressions of peoples and races which constitute most of the existing provinces.

There are, however, other matters arising out of the scheme which require consideration. It may well be asked what ultimate guarantees for the maintenance of law and order would be available to the Governors of provinces if the security services, the Indian Civil Service and the Imperial Police, are replaced by services recruited entirely from the local population. The political leaders in the provinces, it may be thought, would, if the services were entirely provincial, exact complete subservience from their subordinates. There would be none of that healthy moral influence on the political exuberance of ministers which a strong, efficient, and able civil service imposes in England. The governor might in such circumstances find the whole civil service arrayed against him. In the event of a breakdown of the administration he would find it impossible to carry on. The result might be complete chaos involving military intervention by the Central Government. There can be no doubt that governors must have agents in the provinces apart from the local civil services. It is suggested that the Indian Civil Service should continue to be recruited as an Imperial Service and that it should supply officers to the provinces to be used

in the capacity of lent officers or advisers, in accordance with a practice which for a hundred years has been followed from time to time in Indian States, and which works so well in Egypt. Picked men from the Indian Civil Service, from the Police, from the Public Works Department, from the Department of Education and other spheres, have done splendid work in the States, work which has been immensely appreciated both by rulers and their people. In fact, some of the best work that has been done by British officers in India has been in the States. If British standards, British influence, and in the last resort, British responsibility are to be maintained in India there must be an Imperial *corps d'élite* from which the Central Government could lend officers to the provinces to be employed in particular departments under the Minister or as advisers to the Government. Only men of outstanding ability and character could hold their own in the exacting conditions in which they would have to work: equipped with these qualities their assistance would be invaluable to the Indian administrator in the difficult period of probation which lies before him. He will unquestionably need such assistance: as time goes on he will appreciate it. There could be no better means of bringing Englishmen and Indians together in the noble work of building up, on foundations that will endure, the structure of a self-governing India, that will be proud to stand forth as an equal partner in the British Empire: an India that will not forget that Britain has helped her to achieve her goal of independence as a self-governing nation able to hold her head high among the nations of the world.

W. P. BARTON.

THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS.

AN Electoral Reform Bill has been introduced into the House of Commons, following the rather unexpected but meagre reference to the subject in the King's Speech. I, as a Liberal, am not complaining of the Prime Minister's brief words, to the effect that it was designed to deal with "the escapades of parties too wealthy to observe the law with strict accuracy." Public attention seems to have been concentrated upon two aspects: the alleged "bargain" between the Liberals and the Government which has accounted for the appearance of the Bill, and the old controversy between Proportional Representation and the Alternative Vote. I pass by with some surprise the apparent unwillingness of some Liberals to accept the Alternative Vote even as a step on the way, agreeing with the more reasonable attitude of *The Nation* on this question. For I wish to deal in this article with that promise in the Bill, at which the Prime Minister's words glanced and which the *New Statesman* aptly calls "the better ordering, and in particular the cheapening, of elections," and characterises as "eminently desirable." And here again, and even more, I am surprised at the indifference of many Liberals. Whatever may be said of the various proposals for a more rational expression of the voter's desire in the polling booth, I maintain that it is quite possible that the real interests of democracy are more concerned with the reform of election machinery. The necessity for reform in the law governing the conduct of elections may not be so well appreciated; it seems only to concern the few; but it is necessary to show that it affects the many.

The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act of 1883 was designed to restrain the excesses of a bygone age. The Representation of the People Act of 1918 effected great changes in limiting the amount of legal expenditure and relieving the candidates of Returning Officers' charges. In fixing all elections on the same day, cutting off the largest section of out-voters, and in the redistribution of the electorate, this Act reduced the necessity of expenditure to an extent greater than has been generally realised or acted upon. But its attempt to prevent the incursion of outside organisations and their indirect expenditure on elections has been to a large extent a failure. Can anyone estimate the amount spent by Lord Beaverbrook and his papers on the recent by-election in South Paddington, and does anyone suppose it was returned in the expenses of his candidate under section 34 of the Act of 1918? Why has this field of agreed anomaly been so long left untouched? As far back as during the Attorney-Generalship of Sir John Lawson Walton (just after 1906), some of us younger members of the Bar and of the

Eighty Club were invited to make suggestions in view especially of the growing abuse of conveyance of electors to the poll, which the motor-car was then first aggravating, but which has since been allowed to develop until a well-to-do or well-connected candidate can have conveyances numbered by the hundred, not only getting electors to the poll but creating a "show of things" in his favour—a winning factor by no means to be disregarded. This aspect of the subject has quite recently been illustrated in a debate on a private members' motion in the House of Commons.

The anticipation of the election by Headquarters Organisations, with mass publicity, loud-speakers, and other modern contrivances of propaganda, has made a serious addition to the possible overhead expenditure, while who can tell the amount of propaganda carried on by organisations not supposed to be political at all? If democracy depends upon the free expression of the electors' will its effective action is much more bound up with the reform of election law than is generally supposed. Experience of personal Parliamentary and other candidatures and of occupation in the conduct of elections for many years convinces me of this. Any one must approach the present large and largely indifferent electorates with some despair who hopes to reach them with a message which is political. Only with some cynicism can many be addressed as Parliamentary electors at all. Hence the advantage to one who can employ modern advertising and other persuasive and non-political methods. Can a candidate for Parliament be proud if some other candidate or party has been prevented from contesting the seat solely for want of funds, or of any advantage over other candidates due merely to a larger expenditure of cash? Many desirable persons refrain from offering themselves, rightly or wrongly disliking the hurly-burly of an election; but still more because they cannot afford the expense, or because they suspect the methods and would be almost ashamed of the results. Under such a system a person may be an excellent candidate but make a poor member.

If we would restore respect or add dignity to our representative institutions we must have some regard to the abuse of the system under which these institutions are recruited. The whole law must be so reformed that the conduct of elections may become a straightforward business proposition. While there will always be fear of corruption and illegality in the sense aimed at by the Act of 1883, these are not the greatest dangers of to-day. We need not so much to say what must not be done as what shall be done, and to make the election not so much a question just for the candidate, the election agent, and a few zealous persons, as one for the electorate and the public at large. Surely an election should be looked at not from the point of view of two or three people who are struggling

to be elected but from that of persons who desire to see elected the best possible persons. Such a result would be a clearer "mirror of the nation" than any one achieving mere mathematical accuracy.

Candidates, if they regard themselves conscientiously, assume a responsibility and perform a great public service, because, whether elected or not, they offer a choice to the electors and bring home to them the various views, the discussion of which alone can result in general political education and in the selection of the best. Much gain comes from their personal contact. Democracy depends upon argument, and not upon newspaper but upon platform or face-to-face discussion. The aim should be to prevent anything from interfering with that discussion, and then as far as possible to leave the selection to the free action of those entitled to vote. The Act of 1918 did simplify procedure, and if further reforms were now undertaken the conduct of elections could be made much more intelligible to the public and be shorn both of expense and technicality. A great deal of money is wasted on elections owing to traditional ideas of expenditure, the meticulous observance of certain rules the need for which has largely passed away, and the neglect of the ordinary methods of modern business which would get the candidate in touch with the electors and his views conveyed clearly to them. I will risk the hostility of vested interests by suggesting that an election agent, as previously understood, ought not to be necessary at all. The party agent, of course, there must be, with a much wider field of usefulness and recognition than he has now. As the permanent representative of a party he should be not only the means by which that party is held together, instructed, and informed, but he should be recognised as one of the leaders of public opinion and usefulness in the division, apart from politics. The appointment of a person supposed to be qualified to discharge functions too technical or involved for the candidate and others to comprehend should not be necessary.

If a public meeting were really a meeting at which the electors attended with a desire for information, with the mayor or other local leader presiding impartially; if the Election Addresses of all candidates and one joint Poll Card were sent out officially; if every effort were made to insist that the election, whatever its issue, was of the highest concern to all; if the infirm or necessarily absent elector could have his vote recorded by proxy issued by, or be conveyed in a carriage under the direction of, the Returning Officer; if there were an independent small "Watch Committee" whose duty it was to report anything in the nature of illegality in any quarter—all of which are surely easily-adjusted arrangements—the expense of the election would be considerably reduced, its

conduct simplified, its purpose far better achieved, and its educational effect greatly enhanced. Only one class of "undue influence" can be punished by statute; the real evil must be prevented by increasing the interest of the ordinary elector. And the ordinary elector is not concerned with expense which does not come immediately out of his pocket. Neither the candidate's expenditure on an election nor the prohibitive cost of an election petition is his concern. He does not seem to be aggrieved that his vote is stultified by the conveyance to the poll of the prejudiced, the indifferent, or the ignorant. He is prepared to suppose that there must be a good deal about the law and practice which is unintelligible to him, and he does not see that he is injuriously affected if the exercise of his privilege is made more difficult. Again, there is something "un-English" in not taking one's defeat, and most candidates therefore let bygones be bygones and endeavour to forget afterwards any unfairness or irregularity which to call in question would mean great expense and the renewal of ill-feeling.

Canvassing is a subject which many people would like to abolish altogether. They rightly object to disclose how they are going to vote, or they—not so rightly—wish to be left alone. Yet were there no visitation by the candidate, or someone on his behalf, there would be no contact at all between the vast majority of electors and those who are carrying on the election. The candidate and his friends, if there were no canvassing, would get very little real knowledge of the actual conditions under which the electors were living. Advocates of "Proportional Representation" often under-rate the opportunities of personal touch even in the present swollen electorates. Abolition, even if desirable, would be very difficult; but there is a greater abuse than ever of "canvassing." The wealthy party, or any party which can enlist the support of the "interests," trade union or moneyed, has at its call a large number of people, ignorant it may be of political issues—for certain purposes the more ignorant the better—who are at liberty to go round and, without the challenge available to statements made in public, insinuate all sorts of claims made on their own behalf or charges against their opponents. This is indeed a strong argument for the abolition of canvassing, and it ought to prevail so that the systematic house-to-house visitation should be limited to the candidate and his named and accredited representatives, other intervention being as far as possible prohibited. In this connection the services of a "Watch Committee" would be particularly valuable. The classic words in condemnation of canvassing are those of Macaulay at Leeds in 1832—"absurd, pernicious, and altogether at variance with the true principles of representative government"

—and so on, with the true Macaulay emphasis. But Macaulay was equally certain that the House of Lords would follow Old Sarum.

There is a more justifiable objection to the activities of party agents at the polling stations in "checking off" the electors as they have voted. This, reasonably regarded as inquisitorial, is suspected as a means of somehow telling how the elector has voted. The practice should certainly be abolished. If some concession to "organisation" is needed, a list of numbers already voted could be posted officially from time to time by the presiding officer. The functions of personation agent, if now capable of discharge at all, should fall within that of the proposed "Watch Committee."

The provisions of the Act of 1913 limiting the activities of outside organisations should be rigidly enforced and strengthened. It is sometimes said that the growth of the electorate has made anything in the nature of bribery impossible. But it has only altered the nature of bribery. Bribery changes its character in every age and with different classes. There is bribery by public subscription as well as by individual treating, and bribery by the promise of lavish public expenditure. The only way to approach purity of election is to emphasise the fact that the election is a matter between candidate and electors, and to cut away everything which hinders the freedom of choice, whether by addition to the expense, by the employment of unnecessary agents, by the introduction of unfair methods, or by unnecessary restrictions on the actual recording of the vote. Since 1883 two generations of people have had the benefit of elementary education. We ought to be able to carry on our Parliamentary and other elections in a manner which shows that we have profited by it to some little extent.

There would not be so much complaint of apathy and indifference if the tone of the election were raised. Considerations as to whether and how this or that section of the electorate could be "touched" would not come in if the methods were more reasonable. Lord Grey reports a conversation with Mr. Walter Hines Page: "If a democracy did not respond to a great appeal, his view was not that the appeal was above their heads, but that the appeal had not been lofty enough." To stifle, to distort, to render difficult in any way the delivery of the message, is the serious injury to democracy. Every encouragement and facility should be given to every party and possible candidate to make their views known to the electors. If this publicity is not secured, the truth may prevail, but not during the period of the election:

The truth is great and shall prevail—
When none cares whether it prevail or not!

The conduct of an election should surely aim at giving, with the help of the law and of public opinion, the largest opportunity for the spread of truth and the expression of its various forms so that the elector can freely record his opinion.

I summarise certain recommendations which call for the intervention of Parliament, some of which are included in the present Bill. Many of the needed reforms we could if we would accomplish for ourselves. I press for the consideration of others as the Bill passes through its various stages in the House of Commons. In a matter so vitally and exclusively affecting the value and constitution of that House, why should it be assumed that any member or party should be hostile; and why, still more, should it be supposed that the House of Lords would reject what the House of Commons had approved for its own better health and the people's representation?

SOME RECOMMENDATIONS.

Reduce the maximum expenditure by each candidate on Parliamentary elections in counties and boroughs. To enable this to be done, and to secure greater freedom of election:

Issue the Election Addresses of the candidates together at the public charge.

Issue officially one Joint Poll Card.

Prohibit conveyance of electors to the poll except by permit from the Returning Officer.

Enlarge the scope of "absent voters" entitled to the issue of proxies.

Strengthen the law against the intervention of outside organisations.

Restrict canvassing and prohibit personal inquisition as to the actual recording of votes.

Endeavour to define the period of an election during which legitimate expenses run.

Confer a right on each candidate of reasonable use for public meetings at a reasonable charge of any place ordinarily let for public use.

Reduce the number of persons who can be employed for payment.

Establish a "Watch Committee" in each constituency to report on any corrupt or illegal or questionable proceeding. Consider the cost and procedure of election petitions before a Court of three Judges, not necessarily of the High Court.

Provide a summary means of conviction for specific breaches of the law, whether or not invalidating the election.

F. W. RAFFETY.

PRINCE BÜLOW AND THE KAISER.*

THE second volume of Prince Bülow's Memoirs is even more arresting than the first, for it covers a more eventful period and narrates the dramatic story of his fall. The impressions derived from the first instalment of this monumental apologia are confirmed by the sequel. He writes as well as he talked, and there is scarcely a dull page in the book. He looks back with admiration on his years of office, on his services to throne and Fatherland, on his skilful diplomacy, on his eloquent speeches in the Reichstag. The whole work breathes the full-blooded conviction that under his guidance Germany enjoyed power and prosperity, and that the subsequent shipwreck was due to the dropping of the pilot and the neglect of his warnings. The Kaiser, he declares over and over again, required a councillor of exceptional wisdom and courage to restrain him from his dangerous follies, and when the fourth Chancellor was gone there was none to take his place. Tirpitz, we are told, was a man of ability, but had no political head. Bethmann appears as a timid and rather despicable mediocrity, ever unable to make up his mind. Schön, Jagow, Monts, Schieman, and one or two other actors on the crowded stage are rarely mentioned without expressions of anger or contempt. The Prince even stoops to reveal unsavoury secrets of the private life of two well-known public men, one of whom is still alive. Few readers will close this volume without a diminished respect for the character of its brilliant author.

In the field of foreign affairs the volume disappoints our expectations. The years which it covers, 1903-9, embrace the whole story of the first Morocco crisis, the naval rivalry with Great Britain, and the anxious months of the Bosnian crisis. Students of the *Grosse Politik* will find very little in the Prince's narrative which they did not know already, and he makes no serious attempt to rebut the charges of his many critics. He continues to assert that his Moroccan policy was the only possible reply to the threatened repudiation of treaty rights, and claims that the Conference of Algeciras gave him the substance of what he asked. But the guarantees that he secured merely retarded the process by which Morocco passed under the influence of France, and the main result of the Conference was the cementing of the *Entente*. He depicts himself as urging Tirpitz and their common master during his last year of office not to antagonise England by forcing the pace of the *Flottenpolitik*, and blames them for resisting his advice. But he does not appear to realise that the estrangement had

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already taken place before his belated attempts to put on the brakes, and that the forces which he had helped to set in motion were almost certain to pass beyond his control. He looks with special satisfaction on his handling of the Bosnian crisis, and claims with truth that he combined unflinching support of Germany's only reliable ally with the maintenance of European peace. But he presents only one side of the balance-sheet, and omits to mention that the humiliation of Russian national sentiment in March 1909 rankled on till 1914 and made it difficult, if not impossible, for her to give way a second time when the Serbian *protégé* appealed for help. The impression which the chapters on foreign policy in this volume are designed to leave is that the diplomatic position when the Prince surrendered the helm was relatively satisfactory, and that it was the fault of his bungling successors that the lights went out. The third volume will doubtless develop this theme; but most readers of the first and second instalments of his apologia will probably agree that the Prince has done little to mitigate the unfavourable verdict on his diplomacy as a whole passed by some of the most competent of German historians.

However disappointed we may be at the author's sketchy treatment of foreign affairs, we are amply compensated by the scintillating record of his partnership with the Kaiser and of the various stages and causes of the breach. No such damning indictment of William II has ever been made, and it is safe to say that no future writer will equal its crushing force. For of all the chief servants of the last of the Hohenzollerns none enjoyed the same opportunities of intimate and continuous observation. In length of service he was surpassed by Tirpitz; but the Kaiser never made the doughty Admiral his personal friend. In the course of his reign the Emperor had two "favourites"—the expression is Bülow's—Prince Eulenburg and Prince Fürstenberg, though the latter never won the place in his master's heart that the fascinating Philo had possessed. Neither of them, however, was long in his company at any one time, and neither knew much at first hand of his graver political activities. For many years Bülow was the trusted adviser of the wayward ruler, who enjoyed the society of the most brilliant conversationalist in Germany, and heaped upon him public and private marks of Imperial favour. Even if we make all allowances for the fact that the fallen Chancellor is paying off old scores, the picture emerges of a man who was tragically unfit to rule a mighty empire and who cannot be classed as altogether normal in the ordinary meaning of the word.

That Bülow's indictment of his old master never extends to the system which they inherited is a measure of his political limitations;

for the English reader, reared in the bracing tradition of self-government, is aware in every chapter that the real culprit was rather the constitution than the man. The Prince repeatedly declares himself a royalist, and there is no reason to doubt his assertion that he always strove to maintain the prerogatives and prestige of the Crown. But on his own showing the result was a lamentable failure. The experience of England and other free countries shows that power cannot be permanently divided between Monarch and Parliament. One or the other must win in the ceaseless struggle involved in a division of power. The Constitution of the German Empire, as drawn up by Bismarck, worked fairly well so long as he was at the helm, for everyone knew that he alone was in command. With weaker Chancellors and an Emperor determined to assert himself, the constitutional machine was turned upside down, and the unified control which is equally vital to an autocratic and a democratic government came to an end. Bülow's political philosophy repudiated what we call constitutional monarchy, but demanded that the ruler should always possess and give ear to wise Ministers. That these conditions were not fulfilled is clear from a narrative which roundly condemns the mistakes of his predecessors and successors. In his well-known work, *Regierung und Volkswille*, published shortly before the war, Professor Delbrück glorified the German Constitution as the ideal compromise between autocracy and democracy. We now know that it could only succeed by a combination of factors which hardly ever synchronise. Bülow is continually fretting at the Kaiser's interventions and mistakes; the Kaiser reserved certain subjects such as the size of the navy for his exclusive decision; and the Opposition parties in the Reichstag were clamouring for further instalments of democracy. Thus in the most perfectly organised of European States, as Lord Haldane remarked, there was anarchy at the top. Impatient critics of the Weimar Constitution may be recommended to study the picture of divided counsels and competing authorities painted by the most brilliant figure on the German stage between the fall of Bismarck and the outbreak of the war.

Though the Kaiser did not always relish the control which the Chancellor endeavoured to maintain over his actions and speeches, he was well aware of the Prince's extraordinary gifts, and there was no obvious competitor for the highest post in the Empire. With the important exception of naval policy he had no overmastering confidence in his own judgment in the larger problems of diplomacy. His feeling of dependence on Bülow is strikingly illustrated in the well-known correspondence, first published in the *Grosse Politik* and reproduced in these pages, which followed the signature of the Pact of Björko in 1905. Bülow had advised

his master to content himself with obtaining the Tsar's acceptance in principle of a defensive alliance, leaving the details to be subsequently worked out by Lamsdorff and himself. "A slight cloud passed over the intelligent and mobile countenance of His Majesty, which told me that it was his desire on this occasion, trusting to the magic of his personality, to manage the whole affair himself. When I asked if I was to accompany him, he replied in the most friendly way that my society was always a delight, but that this time he felt that he would achieve more if he confronted the Russian autocrat alone." The signing of the Treaty was described in the most roseate Imperial telegram which Bülow ever received, but when the text arrived he discovered to his horror that it was confined to Europe, thereby depriving it of its chief value for Germany in the event of a war with England. Still worse was the Kaiser's intention to draw Denmark into the alliance, in order that she might in case of need close the Baltic to an English fleet. Finally the Treaty was countersigned by Tschirschky, an official of the Foreign Office in attendance on the Kaiser, and by Admiral Birileff, who did not even read it. The Chancellor dispatched a long and devastating criticism to his master, and added that he could not accept responsibility for what had occurred. The Kaiser replied in an emotional letter, in which defence of his handiwork melts into passionate appeal. "... I thought I had worked for you and achieved something out of the common, and then you send me a few cool lines and your resignation!!! You will not expect me, dear Bülow, to describe my feelings. To be treated thus by my best and most intimate friend, without any adequate reason, has given me such a terrible shock that I am absolutely broken and fear I am in for a nervous breakdown. . . . I have not deserved it. No, my friend, you remain in office and will continue to co-operate with me *ad maiorem Germaniæ gloriam*." A postscript added: "I appeal to your friendship for me, and do not let me hear any more of your going. Telegraph to me All right! Then I shall know that you will stay. For the morning after the arrival of your request to resign would not find the Kaiser alive! Think of my poor wife and children."

Bülow's feelings on receipt of this letter are described in one of the most fascinating pages of the book. He read it, he declares, with deep emotion. There had been many differences of opinion; "but I loved him with all my heart, and not only for all the goodness he had shown me. I loved the highly-gifted man with his noble qualities, who could be so kind and lovable, so simple and natural, so magnanimous. I am not ashamed to say that I was still quite under his spell. Though scarcely ten years older, I was more mature. . . . My feelings for him were like those of a father for

his son who sometimes annoys him and more often causes him anguish, but whose brilliant talents, gifts of mind and heart, and many shining qualities continually delight and attract him. Even in later years, when I had no more illusions as to his superficiality and vanity, his untrustworthiness and especially his lack of truthfulness, even when he fled abroad leaving ruin behind him, I could never resolve to hate him."

The appeal was brought to the Chancellor by Moltke, who described in vivid language the lamentable condition of his master, and begged him to write at once and as warmly as possible. If not, "a complete collapse" was to be feared. Bülow's reply, which was written "with my heart as well as my head," evoked the joyful telegraphic response: "Hearty thanks; I am born again." The agitating problem proved easier of solution than could be anticipated, for Lamsdorff, conscious of the obligations of the French alliance, liked the agreement as little as Bülow; and the treaty, of which the world heard nothing at the time, remained a scrap of paper.

The Chancellor triumphed in 1905; but would the relations between master and servant stand a second and similar strain? The answer was given in 1908, when the complications arising from the *Daily Telegraph* interview brought the historic partnership to an end. The story of the separation, which fills many chapters, forms the most dramatic portion of the Memoirs, and indeed it is difficult for the reader who has reached this point to lay the book down till the drama has hastened to its inevitable close. The story of the Parliamentary crisis is already familiar from the debates in the Reichstag and the chapter in the *Grosse Politik*, and the Prince repeats the defence which he made at the time. When the fateful document reached him at Norderney in the late summer, he was overwhelmed with work, telling Müller, the representative of the Foreign Office who helped him in his daily task, to deal with the matter, and giving instructions for the contents of the document to be carefully examined in the Wilhelmstrasse. That the interview appeared in an unexpected form was, we are assured, mainly the fault of Müller, who died long ago, and Klehmet, the departmental official who was punished by the loss of his post. The Chancellor's story was subjected to a detailed analysis in a little book entitled *Kaiser und Kanzler*, published two years ago, the anonymous author of which argued that he had in fact read the interview but lacked the courage to confess it. The publication of the Memoirs is unlikely to terminate the controversy. For it seems difficult to believe that, after the agitating experiences of eleven years, he should not have put aside his other papers for an hour and satisfied himself, without waiting for anybody's

opinion, that the interview contained no blazing indiscretions. That he omitted to do so was surely a very grave mistake, necessitating, one would have thought, a frank apology.

The novelty of the Chancellor's testimony is to be found in his record of his relations with his master in the months following the crisis. We knew already that the Kaiser was temporarily crushed to earth by the weight of the world's displeasure, and that for a moment he coquetted with the thought of resignation. When Bülow went to Potsdam on November 17 for the first interview after the crisis the Empress greeted him with the words, "Be very gentle with the Kaiser, he is quite broken." William II looked pale and depressed, and evidently anticipated a sharp lecture. "Help me, save me," were his first words. "What is going to happen? Shall we pull through?" Bülow replied that he had no doubt about it if His Majesty would be more careful in future, and reminded him of some of his past slips. The penitent Monarch nodded agreement, and remarked that he would most certainly be more cautious. At the end of a long conversation he asked whether a proclamation of a Cabinet Order was wanted, and added in a friendly tone: "I am ready for anything." The Chancellor produced a mild communiqué for the official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, which ended with the statement that His Majesty assured the Prince of his continued confidence. The Kaiser appeared surprised that he had got off so easily, and said with emphasis that he agreed with every word. When the painful conversation was over he kissed his visitor on both cheeks, which he had never done except in conferring the Order of the Black Eagle in 1901. As the Chancellor left the room the Kaiser called out: "I thank you, I thank you from my heart." On returning home Bülow observed to his wife: "Once again I have pulled the Emperor and the Crown through. How long we remain in this house is another question."

When the Chancellor had finished his brief but pregnant speech in the Reichstag on the *Daily Telegraph* incident, Bassermann, the National Liberal leader, remarked: "It was a political and oratorical masterpiece. But what will the Kaiser say to it?" Bülow replied that he hoped His Majesty would place the welfare of the Empire above petty personal considerations. "So he would if he were like his father or his grandfather," rejoined Bassermann; "but he is too vain." His reading of the Imperial character was correct. In the spring of 1908 the Kaiser had remarked to the Minister of War, who passed on the ominous words: "Bülow is getting too big for me." When the November storm blew over William regained his self-confidence, and the Chancellor's enemies at Court began to whisper that he had let his master down. Here

are the famous words which led to his undoing. "Gentlemen, I have formed in these days the firm conviction that the publication of His Majesty's conversations in England, which has not produced the result he desired, but has caused great excitement and poignant regret in our country, will lead me to counsel the Emperor to maintain in future the reserve in private conversations which is equally indispensable to the unified policy and the authority of the Crown. Were it otherwise, neither I nor any of my successors could assume responsibility." In writing his Memoirs many years later the fallen Minister declares that he still believed the words to have been absolutely necessary.

During the following months the Kaiser's demeanour to his chief political adviser varied between friendliness and reserve, and once or twice it seemed as if the old cordiality was about to be resumed. No sharp word was ever spoken between the two men, and the Kaiser never hinted to his Minister that he wished for a change. But the process by which, in the words of Bülow, "he first turned from me and then against me, behind the mask of friendship and goodwill," went steadily forward, as he learned to his disgust both from his friends and his foes. Courts cannot keep secrets, and in the spring of 1909 he was no longer in doubt that his fickle master was sick of him and was looking round for a successor. The expressions which he permitted himself in regard to Bülow suggest that he was not really normal. The main Parliamentary business of 1908-9 was the reform of taxation, partially necessitated by the growth of the fleet, of which the most controversial item was a tax on inheritance. The proposal was bitterly opposed by the Conservatives. The *bloc* which had been formed at the triumphant elections of 1907 was broken, and when the proposal was rejected by a majority of eight the Chancellor promptly resigned. The world was informed that his retirement was the result of the hostile vote; but every one behind the scenes was aware that the defeat of the inheritance tax was the occasion, not the cause, of the catastrophe. Much as he loved power Bülow had no wish to remain when his master was eager to get rid of him; and both men, with the memory of 1890 in their minds, were glad of a pretext which avoided the necessity of a spectacular breach.

The last chapter describes the parting of the two remarkable personalities who between them had shaped German policy for twelve years. Bülow had accepted the Foreign Office on board the *Hohenzollern* in the harbour of Kiel in June 1897, and he surrendered the Chancellorship in the same place in June 1909. He found the monarch, as might be expected, nervy, embarrassed, and impatient, but not a word was said on either side of the real cause

of the separation. Some idea of this final conversation may be gathered from extracts from his report :

W. I have chosen Bethmann. I am sure you will agree. He is true as gold.

B. He is the best man for domestic politics, but he knows absolutely nothing of foreign affairs.

W. (laughing and gay). Leave foreign affairs to me. I have learned something in your school. It will be all right.

B. I have two requests for Your Majesty, very serious and very urgent.

W. (glancing impatiently at his wrist watch). Dear Bernard, I have really no time.

B. I am sorry. I will be brief. Try to reach a naval agreement with England.

W. (very annoyed). Have I not told you often enough that I allow no one to dictate to me about ship-building? Every such proposal is a humiliation for me and my navy.

B. How should our honour suffer if we willingly reach an agreement with England which diminishes the danger of war?

W. (decisively). I do not believe in such a danger. And what is your second request?

B. Do not repeat the Bosnian action.

W. (suspiciously). But that was a triumph for you.

B. The situation of last winter will not recur.

W. So you think I must be careful in the Balkans?

B. Yes, there even more than elsewhere. That is the danger-point.

W. (looking at his watch again). I won't forget. You can be quite happy. But I must not keep Monaco waiting. I'll take you in my boat.

B. Very kind of Your Majesty. One word more. Just because, to my great regret, you reject an agreement with England on the *tempo* of our naval construction, you must be extra careful with the Russians.

In reading the Prince's reports of his conversations with the Kaiser we must remember that we only possess his version, written down, as he assures us, within a few hours of the event. But when such contemporary records and diary entries are utilised for the purposes of an apologia in later years, their authors do not always find it necessary or desirable to reproduce the exact text of the original. Is there any reason to suspect Bülow of occasionally yielding to the temptation of touching up his materials? That is a question which cannot at present be answered. Only when his papers become accessible to independent historians will it be possible, by comparing the original notes with the published ver-

sion, to judge whether there is any ground for the suspicions which exist in certain quarters.

Our dominant feeling as we close this fascinating work is that Bülow has had his revenge. The Kaiser or his spokesmen may or may not be able to produce evidence to show that he had better reasons for parting with his friend and adviser than vanity and pride. But whatever secrets may be lying in the archives of Doorn, it is improbable that the comprehensive indictment in these volumes will be effectively rebutted or forgotten. The maledictions of Tacitus cling to Tiberius through the centuries, and the scars inflicted by Bülow's sharp pen will never fully heal. The last of the Hohenzollerns may, however, find some partial satisfaction in the knowledge that, in girding at his master, Bülow has exposed some of his own failings to the public eye, and that his complacent survey of his years in office is not likely to pass unchallenged either at home or abroad.

G. P. GOOCH.

THE PERSIAN CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD ART.

THE long duel between Persia and the West has had a lively counterpart in modern controversy. Against the older view, that in Hellenistic work lies the genesis of early Christian and Islamic architecture and decoration, and the more modern theory which adds to Hellenistic influence that of Syria and Mesopotamia, Persia has advanced to the attack under the brilliant leadership of Dr. Strykowski. In *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung* (1916), *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (1918) and *Der Ursprung der Christlichen Kirchenkunst* (1919), and elsewhere, he has urged the thesis that during the second century before Christ, between the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains, a late Scythian tribe, of the same stock as the Parthians, fused with a Mongol group; that a centre of creative activity was established there whose influence travelled and bore fruit early in the Christian era, on the one hand in Southern Persia, Arabia and Egypt, on the other in Northern Persia, Armenia and Northern Mesopotamia, whence it gathered new forces to sweep across Asia Minor, to produce a decisive effect on art in the West; and that this activity lay at the root of the development of vault and dome during the Middle Ages, and inspired the decorative art both of early mediæval Europe and of Islam. To quote *Der Ursprung der Christlichen Kirchenkunst*: "What Hellas was to the art of antiquity, that Iran was to the art of the new Christian world and to that of Islam."

In the Persian exhibition the challenge has taken a wider scope. We are asked to judge not only origins, which are primarily the concern of archæology, but achievement; by considering first how far Persian art in its widest sense—the art of the Iranian plateau—is original, not only in the invention of forms, but in creating a distinctive æsthetic quality, and, secondly, how far this distinctive quality has influenced art elsewhere. But before approaching a conclusion, it is well to remember that the invention of a motive or theme may often be of less significance than the use to which it is put. The sources of Shakespeare are of historical interest; but Plutarch and North did not write the plays. So establishment of the fact that the dome of the Christian era came into existence in Northern Persia, does not mean that St. Sophia and St. Peter's are monuments to the Persian genius.

The material for study extends over a long period. The famous painted ware discovered at Susa and the enigmatic bronzes from Luristan call for no discussion, as knowledge concerning their date and their makers is so uncertain that only geography justifies

their being called Persian. On the foundation of the Achæmenid dynasty, however, in 559 B.C., race combines with geography to sanction the description. Thenceforward, also, the material increases in quantity and variety, and takes on a more definable character. Time and human destructiveness, however, have affected what survives from different periods. From pre-Christian times, metal work, seals and coins, fragments of architecture and sculpture, and a few pieces of pottery stand almost alone. To these, dating from the Sassanian period, are added a few examples of textiles, and from shortly after the Arab conquest the paintings at Samarra; until by the fifteenth century every form of art and craft has its representation.

For the present purpose a brief comparative survey of all the arts at successive periods is more instructive than tracing the history of each in succession. Broadly, it may be said that the Achæmenid artist invented little, but was capable of treating what he borrowed or inherited with refinement and intelligence. This capacity did not extend to architecture on the structural side; for the mixture of Assyrian, Egyptian and Greek motives in the palaces at Persepolis and Susa depends for effect on size rather than on balance, harmony and proportion. The famous squatting bulls which form the topmost member of the composite capitals of an Achæmenid column, complete a construction more bizarre than impressive. But the reliefs which decorate these buildings reveal a new character when compared with their Assyrian forerunners. They are more stylised, more deliberately decorative; as though æsthetic purpose had infringed upon the function of recording the magnificence of the Great King. So it is with the metal work, as exemplified in the treasure of the Oxus. The motives are chiefly those of the arts which preceded that of Persia in Mesopotamia and Iran—hunting incidents, and animals, real and fantastic. In their treatment two tendencies are visible. One, probably the earlier, and particularly expressive of the native Persian genius, appears in the winged ibex on the silver drinking cup in the British Museum, and consists in greater stylisation and elegance as compared with Assyrian work and the Luristan bronzes; the other, superimposed upon the first, and probably with its roots in Greek influence, appears in the greater naturalism of such a masterpiece as the ibex belonging to Mr. Oscar Raphael. Greek, too, appears to be the underlying basis of Achæmenid seals and gems, though the motives and their stylisation are Persian. The motives themselves are typical of a race of hunters and herds-men; their stylisation reflects the innate tendency of a nomadic people towards a decorative abstract art. They become part of the permanent stock of Persian art, and constantly reappear, still fur-

ther stylised and combined with other motives derived from a more elaborate civilisation, notably in later textiles and pottery. The human figure was freely used by Persian artists, but never played the same part as in European and Far Eastern art. Christianity and Buddhism not only tolerated but demanded a representational art with an anthropomorphised deity as its main theme. Mazdaism, if not hostile to representation, did not call for its use; and the appearance of the human figure in Achæmenid art is probably due to the cult of a divine monarchy, inherited from Babylonia and Assyria, whose formulæ in treatment were followed in a way quite distinct from the naturalistic treatment of animal life. The Manichæan religion, whose founder was by tradition a great painter, might have bred a predominantly figure art; but the Islamic conquest of Persia in A.D. 641 tipped the balance definitely towards the abstract and decorative.

It is, however, to the Sassanian period (A.D. 226-641) that those who claim for Persia a profoundly original and great art chiefly turn. But, as Dr. Dalton wisely remarks,* "In our haste to emphasise the nationalism of Sassanian Persia, we tend perhaps to under-estimate the continuity of Greek influence discernible in its art." The conquests of Alexander had planted Greek colonies throughout Mesopotamia and Persia, and the Empire of the Seleucids perpetuated and maintained their cultural influence. Moreover, Shapur I, the victor of Edessa, carried off, and settled in Persia proper, considerable numbers of Greeks. It is in the Sassanian period that the matter of the dome comes up. The question is, Where was the problem first solved of placing a dome over a square building, the essential step towards grouping a number of domed buildings together? The Sassanian palaces at Firuzabad and Sarvistan are both vaulted and domed, also the later palace at Ctesiphon, the domes being placed on squinches. But even if their priority in time over any domes in Asia Minor and the West be accepted (and it may be noted that Strykowski himself bases his case not on the Persian dome, but on its early emergence in Armenia), the question is not settled. The dome over a square plan is found in Greek work as early as the fifth century B.C.; and the vault in the form it takes at Firuzabad appears to have originated in Mesopotamia, if not in Egypt. So the Persian dome may well be a development from earlier Hellenistic influence. But in the wrangle over origins, the possibility of spontaneous generation is often neglected. The temptation to trace all events to a primal cause is inherent in mankind; but it forgets that like problems may provoke independent and like solutions. The Persians have made noble use of an outer and inner

* *East Christian Art*, p. 3.

dome; but there is no evidence that Wren, in using the same device, was inspired from Persia.

Sassanian art for us is practically limited to sculpture, metal work, and a few examples of textiles. The sculpture mainly consists of rock carvings, of which a famous example is in the grotto at Taq-i-Bostan, representing Chosroes II hunting. In this the outstanding characteristics are the mingled vigour and refinement with which the animal forms are treated, comparable with that displayed in Achæmenid art; and the treatment of the design on a decorative and non-naturalistic basis, primarily as a covering of the rock face. The metal work chiefly consists of silver dishes and ewers and a few gold pieces. In these, Hellenistic influence has controlled the form, especially of the ewers; and in the decoration, generally in repoussé, Hellenistic motives appear, and figures Hellenistic in character. But in the plates, on which are frequently represented Sassanian monarchs hunting, a considerable art appears. Here the themes are indigenous, and the drawing expresses form and action with vigour. Most notable, however, is the skill with which the design fills the circle, covering the ground without any feeling of distortion or cramping.

This power of decorative design found full expression in textiles. Surviving examples are limited to a few pieces of silk; but something can be deduced from designs on the robes of figures in Sassanian rock reliefs. These reveal a remarkable power of stylising indigenous motives, such as kings hunting, lions pulling down deer, and winged monsters, to suit the needs of the weaver. The figures are, as a rule, skilfully grouped in roundels, a usual design being two beasts confronted or addorsed, with a floral motive between them. Once more, dispute as to origins crops up. It is argued that the Sassanians borrowed their method of twill weaving from Alexandria; and that hunting scenes on coins, which are roundels, appear in late Roman times. But whatever the priority in these respects, the Sassanian motives are indigenous; and the weight of evidence favours Sassanian example having been widely imitated in Byzantium and influencing design there both in textiles and metal work. Moreover, in China, Sassanian designs were imitated and elaborated; while in Persia itself, Sassanian influence long remained dominant, and work of the early Mahommedan and Seljukian periods travelled to Europe, there leaving an ineffaceable mark on textile design. It is even likely that European heraldry is in part based upon the Sassanian monsters and their arrangement in roundels: though the probability of independent influence on Europe from Byzantium must not be neglected. Greece early became a great silk weaving centre, whence there was much importation into Europe during the early

Middle Ages, with Rome acting as a distributing centre; while certain designs and motives, such as the double-headed eagle, appear to be definitely Byzantine in origin.

The persistence of Sassanian motives on textiles, metal work and pottery, is one of the indications that the Arab conquest did not markedly change the character of Persian art, though it considerably affected the sphere of its application. The Mahommedan ban on representation had a double effect. By the encouragement it gave to the use of abstract pattern it stimulated an already strong inclination to neglect the third dimension, and to concentrate on two-dimensional decoration. But the ban was only completely effective in so far as art was connected with religion. In other fields the Persian tradition was too strong to be denied, and representation was freely employed, though with a constant bias towards decorative stylisation. Thus in its more important developments Persian art became mainly secular, and found its centre in the patronage of wealthy men and great princes.

Under the Mahommedan dynasties these forces worked themselves out virtually to destroy the art of sculpture. The decoration of the mosque was strictly limited to abstract patterning, and the fashion spread to the secular building. Thus the sculptor lost the opportunity which Christianity and Buddhism so freely gave. Some examples of stucco decoration in relief incorporating human figures survive from early Islamic and Seljukian times, which suggest possibilities never to be realised.

Similar emasculatory tendencies appear in the textiles of those periods. Sassanian motives are used, but their treatment becomes more conscious and deliberately elegant. The metal work, likewise, loses its robustness; shapes become more elaborate, and ewers in the forms of beasts, the prototype of the European aquamanile, appear; while about the twelfth century the practice of inlaying with precious metals is imported from Mesopotamia, with the result that increasing attention is paid to ingenuity of decoration and the form is neglected. In contrast the period is distinguished by great developments in the art of the potter. Here the instinct of the sculptor, baffled in other directions, could find expression. In the early Moslem ware form and decoration alike owed much to Chinese example, made available by trading intercourse. To argue the contrary is to forget that under the Han and T'ang dynasties China had produced masterpieces which no other country could rival. Similarly motives appear which are unmistakably Hellenistic in origin. But from the beginning the Persian potter gave most of his work distinctive character. Partly this came from the employment of traditional Persian motives. The human figures and animals boldly scratched in through a

white slip, or swiftly drawn in monochrome and colour, are unmistakably in the Sassanian tradition, and marked by the same vivid understanding of animal life. Even more remarkable are the designs based on Cufic script; reminders that under Islam writing is among the greatest of the arts, yielding the Persian craftsmen a material peculiarly suited to his instinct for decoration. The designs both in script and in strap work painted in brown and red on a white ground, which decorate early ware from Turkestan, are noble examples. But the distinctive character of Persian pottery depends on other elements than these. Certainly it does not proceed from purely technical efficiency. Neither in quality of body and glaze, nor in purity and variety of colour, can the Persian match the Chinaman. In the early work, particularly, it is often a matter for wonder how with such comparatively coarse material such remarkable results are attained. The explanation seems to lie in a refinement both in form and decoration difficult to analyse, but unmistakably present; in a special subtlety in the swell of a bowl, or in the swing and disposition of the lines of a pattern. It is a quality analogous to that which distinguishes Achæmenid work from Assyrian. Despite his sensibility, however, the Persian potter had his limitations. He never attained the feeling of the Chinese for dignified and monumental form, which gives some of their earlier work the character of great sculpture; and rarely did he attain their skill in adjustment of a design to a curved surface. In a fine Chinese bowl, as in a Greek vase, the design suffers by transfer to a plane surface; the Persian seems to work more happily on a plate or a tile, where the third dimension makes no call upon him. The tile in fact may rank among the chief monuments of his art, used as a covering for domes and walls, and for the enrichment of a *mihrab*; and on tiles throughout the Western world he has stamped his influence. One of the main centres of its production was Rhages, where also the ware decorated in enamel colours on an opaque white ground appears to have been produced. The gay little figure scenes which cover these, very like miniature paintings, are in sharp contrast with the large style of both earlier and contemporary work, and foreshadow the decline into the monotonous exquisiteness of a later age.

With the Mongol invasion of 1220 came a savage check to artistic activity in Persia, though once the Mongol dynasty was firmly established, revival came at surprising speed. With the invasion came a new wave of Chinese influence which manifested itself both in pottery and textiles. In pottery, of which Sultanabad became a leading centre, the Chinese motives of the dragon and lotus flower appear among the decorative motives used. Where the brush is still used the easy rhythm characteristic of Persia

marks the decoration; but, more and more, modelling in relief is used for ornament, with a consequent loss in spontaneity and freedom. At the same time, perhaps, also under Chinese influence, forms become more massive, and without attaining the monumental character of Chinese work lose their subtlety. Yet admiration cannot be withheld from the wares decorated with bold animal or cufic designs in black, reinforced with engraving or slip in relief, under a turquoise blue glaze. In textiles, also, the traditional design in roundels or in repeated ornament is displaced by flowing arabesques of distinctly Chinese flavour. Yet in other directions the period of Mongol and Tartar domination has a character of its own. The Timurids were great builders: and under them the Persian mosque took on its characteristic form, with the great arched recess in the middle of each side of the arcaded court, the bulbous outer shell over the inner dome, the cylindrical or tapering minaret, the lavish decoration with tiles, and the pointed low arch. A claim for inventiveness has been made in connection with this last; but with the Persian the arch was used as an architectural form and not, as in Europe, as a structural principle governing the whole character of a building.

Under the Mongols and Timurids, also, painting becomes something more than a legendary art. The wall paintings which may once have decorated the walls of Sassanian palaces have disappeared; and the easel picture was unknown in Persia until at earliest the seventeenth century. So Persian painting for us is chiefly the illustration to manuscripts, with all the limitations that implies. For satisfactory decoration of a page harmony between script and illustration is indispensable. In paintings on a large scale expression of a third dimension may be highly desirable; in manuscript illumination it may become a defect. Thus in countries such as Persia and China, where the script has forms and rhythms that lend themselves not only to decoration but to harmonising with pictorial forms, it is natural to find that painting itself takes on a calligraphic quality, to further this harmony. As Mr. Roger Fry has happily remarked, "Nothing . . . is more typical of the subtlety and ingenuity of the Persian genius than this peculiar interweaving of pictorial and literary element through the special possibilities of the Arabic script." So it is from this standpoint, and not from that of the modern Western artist, that Persian painting must mainly be judged. Also it is to be remembered that the Persian painter was limited in his subject-matter to purely secular themes; that there was no public figure art; that his art was considered inferior to that of the great writer who could make copies of the Koran; and that the tastes he had to satisfy were mainly those of a Court circle.

A few manuscripts survive from the years immediately preceding the Mongol invasion, in most of which the illustrations are based on Hellenistic tradition, and bear considerable resemblance to Romanesque work in the West. It may even be doubted whether they are of Persian workmanship, since under the Caliphs Christian artists are known to have worked in Bagdad. Others, however, are closely related to Chinese work of the type found in Turkestan; and during the Mongol period Chinese influence became dominant. Chinese motives, such as dragons and conventional clouds, appear and indeed remained part of the permanent stock of Persian painters; but more important was the stimulus from China towards expressive line, and to monumental forms and design. In the fourteenth century, however, a Persian love of elaborate decorative detail, complicated pattern and vivid colour began to assert itself, and by the end of the Timurid period held complete sway. Exquisitely delicate linear rhythms answer and re-echo the pattern of adjacent script; while subtle and unexpected colour harmonies set off by gold vibrate from every page. In Persian poetry, and especially in the *Shah-namah* of Firdausi, the painter found a mingling of the epic and romantic singularly fitted for his art. But drama, violent action, strong emotion were banished. Only in Bihzad does some approach to Western ideals find expression. Preserving the decorative aspects of line and colour, he recaptures the spirit of his predecessors, so that line creates form and movement, bound together into broadly conceived design. There is something a little pathetic in the copy by him or one of his followers of a portrait by Gentile Bellini of a Persian princeling—the conscious homage of the East to the West.

Though Bihzad had followers his influence was on technique rather than on spirit. He could inspire virtuosity in the use of the brush but not expressiveness; and under the national dynasty of the Safavids decorative disposition and calligraphic line prevailed. Figures become merely units in the construction of pattern; and the exquisite technique of a long series of delicate drawings rarely does more than work within bounds set by conventional gesture. Meanwhile, in the fifteenth century, to the traditional themes drawn from animal life and the hunting field had been added a rich source of new motives, already latent. Hunter and herdsman had turned agriculturist and town-dweller; and the Persian had set himself to cultivate his garden. Therein the painter found a wealth of ornament which he used with a delicacy and sensitiveness beyond praise, and therein he found inspiration both for design and colour; though landscape, like humanity, meant little to the Persian artist, to whom nature was primarily a source of material for decorative arrangement. With all his limitations,

however, he inspired at least one considerable school, that which grew up round the Court of the Moguls in India. There the Persian tradition was so fully maintained that separation of pupil from master is sometimes impossible.

External forces and innate characteristics which set limits for the painter, lent strength to the textile maker. Beauty of pattern is the foundation of his art; and in the manufacture of silks and velvets, but above all of carpets, he proved his imagination and taste. That carpets had been made in Persia since Sassanian times is tolerably certain; and though the earliest examples known only date from the sixteenth century, they are evidence of a matured art. In these and their successors of the seventeenth century, variety and fit use of material join design and colour to produce an art which is profoundly national. The garden carpet in all its varieties; the hunting carpet; the medallion carpet, with its many developments; the more formal vase carpet; and the polonais carpet of silk pile with gold and silver thread; all gather up into different groupings well-established native traditions both in motives and their arrangement. Here and there alien elements, such as dragons and cloudbands, may appear; but they have been completely absorbed into Persian design, which has covered the world from China to Peru.

It has become the custom to speak slightly of Safavid art, and to regard it as trivial compared with that of the Sassanian period. Certainly it lacks the bold sweep and energy of its predecessor, and is often wearisome in its elaboration; but it possesses in a high degree the delicacy and subtlety which is a mark of the Persian spirit. It is comparable in many respects to the art of eighteenth-century France. It centred round a Court in which luxury and extravagance had reached an incredible pitch, where the disquieting genius of a Michelangelo would have awakened only horror and distaste, and the chief craving was for an art which would minister to an almost exhausted sensibility and titillate a refined sensuality. It may not be the best kind of art; but within limits thus set, it is difficult to imagine one more entertaining and charming.

W. G. CONSTABLE.

REMINISCENCES OF CROWN PRINCE RUDOLPH.

THOUGH it is delightful for a historian to depict the energy, elevation, and high aspiration of an individual, it is equally afflicting for him to describe his decline, collapse, or failure. And this is the more tragic if the man's downfall involves the fate of his country. There is a whole literature on this unhappy Prince Rudolph, some of it suspicious or spurious. So I shall not relate anything except what I learned from authentic contemporary sources.

Rudolph was carefully educated. Hyacint Rónay was one of his teachers, a very enlightened priest, whose ideas on teaching had attracted attention even in England. On returning from exile in 1867, he was appointed to teach Hungarian history to the Crown Prince by Francis Joseph (as King of Hungary) on the recommendation of the then Prime Minister of Hungary, Count Julius Andrassy. It is characteristic of this happy time that the Prince's tutor (Count Latany) by the King's order intimated to Rónay that he should follow his convictions in teaching the Crown Prince, "We want only the truth." The conversations were generally in Magyar.

Rudolph's first examination was in Buda, his examiners being Bishop Michael Horváth, the great historian, and Francis Toldy, Professor of Hungarian Literature. The royal pair were present and listened to Rudolph's answers with great pleasure. He was a lively, clever boy, full of animal spirits and indefatigable in questioning his teachers. May I add a personal reminiscence? When appointed to the professorship of national history in the University of Budapest in 1895, I asked for an audience of the King to express my thanks. Francis Joseph was very kind, and said: "I know you have worked hard, and shall always try to further your studies, as only truth avails in the end." So I had the highest authority for telling the truth.

Rudolph's progress was noted. Some Berlin professors, rigorous and learned men, when present at a Congress at Vienna, told me that his talents and attractive manners gave them great hopes. He soon became a writer. He was interested in natural history, and Dr. Alfred Brehm, the renowned zoologist, accompanied him on his travels and rambles. He was attracted by natural science, but his preference was not viewed with pleasure in high quarters, as it was thought that it might shake his religious faith. Rudolph's book, *Fifteen Days on the Danube*, is a good piece of work, and procured him the Degree of Doctor *Honoris Causa* from Budapest University, where I was already entered as a student. The

diploma was carried to him at Prague by two prominent members, the Dean, August Fregnes, and Theodor Margó, the zoologist. After the diploma had been delivered at an official reception, Rudolph arranged a meeting with the two professors at which they could talk freely. They asked him why he resided in Prague instead of Budapest, where his presence would further the cause of science and excite general enthusiasm. The Prince answered that he wished to reside in Budapest, but that his birth and position forced him to associate mainly with aristocrats. Now the Czech noblemen are good agriculturists, they found and direct great industrial establishments and work hard. But, with some honourable exceptions, Hungarian magnates play cards too often, and care too much about horse-racing and ballet dancers. For these reasons he preferred the Czech capital to the Hungarian.

When on a special mission to Vienna in 1882 Bismarck wrote to his wife about the Emperor: "The young courtiers say that Francis Joseph restricts himself very much in regard to pleasures and amusements except hunting." This strictness of régime did not suit Rudolph, and, unfortunately, his marriage to Stephanie (daughter of Leopold, King of the Belgians) did not improve matters. Only a daughter was born of the marriage, and the lineal succession thus ended. His constitution, never very strong, was undermined both by dissipation and by his studies. Thus he burned the candle at both ends.

In 1881 Rudolph came to Budapest where he was received with great enthusiasm. His education and the liberalism of his mind caused the people of the Hungarian Kingdom, especially the cultured and enlightened set, to fix their hopes on him. Only a few in the secret knew how sad the situation was. His popularity continued to increase. Who would not but expect everything fine and good from such an accomplished and highly cultivated prince? When he opened the electrical exhibition at Vienna in 1883 a storm of exultation broke out when he uttered his phrase: "May an ocean of light rush out over this city!" Homage and sympathy were still more ardently manifested at Budapest in 1885, when he opened the first Hungarian national exhibition in the Park.

He spoke by command of the King, his Magyar was good and correctly pronounced.

The Hungarian nation has maintained itself through all changes of good or evil fortune, and has erected a powerful society on the soil occupied by its ancestors. On this day all the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen are united in celebrating a feast of peace, thus splendidly demonstrating to other countries—both within and without—how Hungary has developed, in a comparatively short time, under the wise, enlightened, and self-sacrificing rule of your Majesty, and through the patriotic

fervour of the nation. The great and even surprising progress of Hungary in the work of culture is here and now exhibited in broad strokes. The intellect of the peoples of the Holy Crown has made its natural treasures productive.

Who would not be charmed by such a speech? The King's answer was in the same strain: "The purpose of this exhibition is not only to show to the world the happy progress of the countries beneath the Hungarian Crown, but to make public the fact that these noble countries take their legitimate place among civilised States."

The Crown Prince remained true to himself, and preached enlightenment, science, and progress. Nevertheless people were shocked when Count Paul Szechenyi, Hungarian Minister of Commerce, kissed his hand. It was a traditional custom, and members of the Lower House had kissed the hand of King Ferdinand V. It was, in fact, a distinct favour and not a humiliation. A sharp conflict arose on this point at the coronation of Maria Theresa. The magnates wanted to confine this privilege to themselves, but members of the Lower House wished to share it, and prevailed. It is true that the hand then kissed was that of a beautiful woman.

Even before the exhibition Rudolph had started an important literary enterprise. *The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Picture and in Word* was a project intended not only to diffuse knowledge but to unite more closely the different subjects of the Hapsburg Monarchy. The political aim was not realised, but this fact does not lessen the merit of the Prince's effort. The work appeared both in German and in Magyar, with numerous good illustrations, under the patronage of Rudolph. The Hungarian novelist, Maurus Jokai, edited the Hungarian part with the collaboration of a select band of fellow-workers, among them the present writer. In this way I was presented to the Prince.

In those days I had a difficulty with the Hungarian Academy and its Historical Commission which resulted in a delay in the publication of the third volume of my book, *The Emperor Joseph II and His Times*. When I complained to Jokai about this, he promised me that he would bring the matter before the Crown Prince, and would request him to accept the dedication of the book, and thus speedily ensure publication. Jokai wrote to Rudolph and showed me the text of the Prince's lengthy reply. He would accept with pleasure the dedication of any of my works—except only this one. For the Emperor Joseph represented the point of collision between Clericals and Liberals, just as he did that between Austria and Hungary. In Rudolph's position it was impossible for him to take either side.

The death of the King's son, whom we had with justification imagined to be our future legitimate and beloved ruler, fell on us Hungarians like a thunderbolt. Three months after the Mayerling tragedy, on May 6th, 1889, Jokai delivered a funeral oration on him at our Hungarian Academy. It was a brilliant speech and deeply touched everybody. At the end all came to Jokai to express their admiration, I among the last. But the prince of our romancers noticed me and asked me to visit him the next morning. I was there to time. "Uncle Maurus," I began (for in this way Hungarians address distinguished old gentlemen), "how could you declare yesterday that the Crown Prince died as a martyr to the peace of the world, when everybody thinks it was otherwise?" Jokai: "I did not say it without good cause; it may even be true." "If you wish, I'll believe you, but tell me at least why he died?" Jokai: "I do not know any more than you. But you are a historian and so I will tell you my last conversation with the Prince. M. Weilen and I were with Rudolph on December 20th, 1888, and we discussed the programme of the great work to the very end. The Crown Prince then declared that he was going to Mayerling to rest, and that he would there finish the part of the work which he had undertaken to do. I [Jokai] gave him the material which you [Marczali] had prepared for him. Weilen then left and I turned to Rudolph: 'Will your Highness be so kind as to allow me to put a question?' Rudolph: 'With pleasure.' Jokai: 'Why has your Highness cut your fine beard which we Magyars so much admired?' Rudolph (in bad humour): 'You know, my dear Jokai, that His Majesty has made me Inspector-General of Infantry. As I had always to be present at manœuvres, dust got into my beard, and I had it cut.' Jokai: 'Many thanks, Your Highness, but we Magyars say that, when a man has his beard cut, that means he is enslaved by a woman.' Rudolph (scornfully): 'Do they think so in Hungary? Then I shall grow my beard again.' But when he died his chin was still smooth."

Later on I asked Jokai to arrange for my materials—which I had sent to Mayerling—to be returned. More than six months later a parcel arrived. I untied it and threw it at once to the ground, as it was very strongly perfumed.

Since dynasties existed there has been constant antagonism between persons, as well as between principles. Peter the Great had his son executed. Frederick the Great, who ran away from his father, was saved from death almost by chance, was kept for some time under lock and key, and had to witness the execution of his intimate friend. Who does not know in our own Hungarian history

the sad fate which befell Basil the nephew of St. Stephen*; the endless intrigues of Duke Almos against his brother King Coloman; the struggle of Duke Béla against his father King Andréas II, and the later wars of Duke Stephen against his father King Béla IV? In the Hapsburg family differences of principle separated the Emperor Rudolph II from his brother Matthias, and Maria Theresa from her beloved son Joseph. There was no such gulf between Rudolph and Francis Joseph, but neither was there real harmony. The King adhered to old tradition, the Prince progressed towards modern views of life. But there was no open collision between them, and the traditional authority could not be disturbed. Personal and domestic complications had without doubt a great share in Rudolph's catastrophe: the anguish consequent on the project of divorce on the one hand, on the ties of illicit love on the other, are in themselves enough to explain the tragic event.

We must protest in the name of common sense and science against the view that so sad a result was produced by eccentricity or by some hereditary taint. In Rudolph's lofty mind, in his lyric temperament, even in his love of beauty, there is no sign of decadence or of degeneration. Francis Joseph himself lived for over eighty-six years, after enduring many troubles and misfortunes. It would be a crime to pry too deeply into the faults of his mother the queen, so richly endowed with rare mental and moral gifts, with so much about her showing greatness of mind and kindness of heart. The mother's loss of her only and much-loved son makes the tragedy at once bewildering and crushing.

"The Crown Prince died as a martyr to the peace of the world." I thought this judgment of Jokai's almost meaningless at the time. But he added, "it may even be true." We know more since he uttered these words, and cannot disregard the political aspect of the drama. Rudolph was not only gifted. He was well versed in all the secrets of the complex structure of the Monarchy, and he was also ambitious. He thought himself able to preserve his future heritage, and to enhance its importance among the Powers. But he thought that external dangers should first be removed, in order that there should be no hindrance to cultural and material progress within. The enemy was Russia, who was trying at this time (1886) to humiliate Bulgaria and to make her a vassal of the Tsar by methods both of force and of fraud. Hungarian public opinion was revolted by the violence of General Kaulbars' proceedings. The public mind reacted to this sentiment. "What will happen if Russia, by exerting her full influence over Bulgaria, cuts us off from the East?" Count Andrassy, our great

* A.D. 997-1038; Coloman (1095-1114) eventually blinded his rebellious brother; Andréas II (1205-35) was succeeded by his son Béla IV (1235-71).

and well-trying statesman, thought this to be Russia's aim. Jokai, a pacifist, did not. "They mean to include us among the Balkan peoples," he said. Bismarck was already bound to Russia by his celebrated Reinsurance Treaty. If we (Austria-Hungary) made a war of aggression, Germany, according to the sense of the treaties, could not be our ally.* The German Chancellor acknowledged that Bulgaria lay in Russia's sphere of influence, but, on the other hand, emphasised that Serbia lay in that of Austria-Hungary. In Milan's time this dependence was secured.†

All this meant the failure of the ambitious projects of the Crown Prince, but he did not accept defeat in the game. Francis Joseph and his Foreign Minister, Count Kalnoky, really wanted peace. Rudolph applied to the Magyars. He now sought support from these Hungarian magnates whom he had previously not wished even to know. He now went bear-hunting in Transylvania or sat at gipsy entertainments in company with Magyar nobles. These were political acts, and his arguments were convincing. Now we had Allies to be relied on. At this time even Italy was not hostile, and England could be trusted because of Constantinople. "The great problem has now to be decided: can the Monarchy be maintained, or can Hungary develop? Justice is on our side and we must help those unjustly oppressed." One magnate, a confidant of Rudolph, told me what follows about the affair. The Crown Prince demanded war, almost savagely: "Montenegro and Serbia are the thorns in our cushion, we must annihilate them. If we cannot settle with them now, the Balkans are lost to us, and we are cut off from the sea." It was all in vain. Francis Joseph remained firm. His experiences in the occupation of Bosnia had taught him enough.

The ground trembled beneath Rudolph's feet. He could no longer find any task worthy of him. Archduke John Salvator, the great reformer, went to South America, adopting the pseudonym of John Orth. At Court they soon learned the Crown Prince's loneliness, since he was a Liberal. His mother alone stood by him. He sought distractions and to drown his care in wine and dissipation. From this time forward he did nothing willingly. Worms ate the roots of the heaven-aspiring oak, and a thunderbolt struck it to the ground. With him died the greatest hope of Hungary.

* Vide Articles I and II of the Austro-German Alliance Treaty, October 7th, 1879. Pribram: *Secret Treaties*, Harvard Press (1920), I. 18-35. The "Reinsurance Treaty" of 1887 is given, pp. 274-81.

† Milan, Prince of Serbia 1868-82, King 1882-9. A secret Convention with Austria-Hungary, signed in 1881, made the former dependent on the latter. Text in Pribram, I. 50-55.

HENRY MARCZALI.

BIRDS AT BORDIGHERA.

"BUT, surely," exclaims the Average British Visitor, "there are none. . . . Well, except a few gulls along the Front and, er, sparrows. . . . Birds?—The natives shoot and eat 'em all. . . . 'Tis as much as *Il duce* can do to stop netting larks and thrushes out of season; and the *podestà* gives a village relaxation to kill on its *festa*. The netters squirt calves' blood upon the poor little corpses and swear they shot 'em. . . . 'Mr. Smith' daren't stop gunning, you know."

Which disposes of the question so far as the A.B.V. is concerned. Yet we know—a few of us at least—that the narrow sea-front between San Remo and Vintimille, its tideless beach, its few just-awash coast rocks, terraced market gardens, palm and olive groves—fast disappearing—and deeply scored hinterland climbing to pines and snow, have a vivid and interesting bird-life of their own, exceeding in variety and interest the same area in almost any English county.

Who said "sparrows"? They are not our species. That bird in the road lacks the grey crown, his head is capped with rich chestnut, the livery of the Italian sparrow, a species almost confined to Italy proper, though penetrating through the Ampezzo Tal (Tirol) to the Inn valley, where, as at Bordighera, he hybridises with the European form. See, the chestnut crown of the second bird just alighting is divided by a thin grey streak, and that of the third which has joined them only differs from an English, or French, bird's by the tawny tint of the patch. In the municipal gardens at Monte Carlo, among any scurry of small mendicants down for crumbs, may appear a third species with jet black bill, *white eyelid*, all-chestnut crown, black throat and boldly striped flanks—the Spanish sparrow. Besides these three and their innumerable hybrids, you can hardly miss the shyer tree sparrow with chocolate cap and darkly spotted white face pecking in any hen-run.

The robin waiting upon the fork of the hotel gardener is obviously an English pensioner come south for the climate, who has brought his manners with him. His continental brother has a paler waistcoat, is excessively shy—for he is considered a dainty—and keeps to the wooded glens of the hinterland. An occasional blackbird you may see among the hotels, but hardly a song or missel thrush within five miles of the coast. The writer has heard one mavis singing during an experience of six winters. Blackcaps and chiffchaffs are usually vocal from Christmas* to April, and fairly bold. The black redstart either winters here or returns from Africa very early. This bird has recently discovered

England, and after a *northward* Channel passage to Dover in autumn migrates to Bournemouth, Dorset, Torquay and Falmouth for the winter. It has recently started breeding in Kent.

We have five tits, including the crested; tree creeper and hedge sparrow, whose big cousin, the alpine accentor, comes almost to sea-level in savage weather. Another small bird fairly abundant here is the Mediterranean warbler (*sylvia melanocephala*)—a smaller, less musical and grimmer version of the blackcap with snowy throat, dark slate back and stumpy little wings. Other all-year-round residents among the hillside thorns are the dartford, spectacled and subalpine warblers. The willow warbler arrives from Central Africa in March, as do Bonelli's (with a pale stripe above the eye) and the aquatic, which on first acquaintance will strike you as a heavily marked sedge warbler. Whitethroats come about the same time; so do the wryneck and hoopoes. These last arrive singly or in small flushes, making their landfalls at Chapel Point and working unobtrusively inland along an old line of back gardens and hotels for the hills, staying to rest in a roadside tree for a minute, then flapping forward with their heavy jay-like flight, pausing momentarily in mid-air to erect and depress the beautiful crest upon which each prides himself.

Golden orioles have been seen by us, but are depressingly shy. Of the two best song birds here—after the nightingale, of course—the rock thrush is a migrant, carries a pale blue head, Indian-red body and tail with a snow-white patch across the loins. He is not only beautiful to watch, but a first-class musician whose delight is to warble as ecstatically and continuously as a skylark but more sweetly, while floating back and forth along the face of a precipice. It is worth being on that cliff to hear him. He nests in old campaniles. His first cousin, the blue rock thrush, stays the winter here; a slim, dark-blue little blackbird without the "orange-tawny bill" which Shakespeare so admired in the "ousel cock." His rich, irregularly timed warble, surprisingly loud for so small and shy a singer, is reserved for a rare public who must seek out his unadvertised concertos. This fellow nests inaccessibly in a deep cave cleft, or in an empty cupboard in a deserted and roofless cottage. Strongly objecting to human neighbourhood by day, he sneaks into tool-houses and back sheds to roost, and always singly. The starling knows better: a winter visitor here, he keeps his military formation well into March and then disappears northward. His communal roosts are among the upper boughs of some tall eucalyptus in a hotel garden. One of our band of observers has enjoyed seeing that rare "occasional," the rose-coloured pastor, at close quarters.

The Chapel Point, already mentioned, is the butt-end of a hard

stratum of limestone which runs down to the sea without a beach, and is probably continued as an under-water reef for a considerable distance. If, as seems indicated, this was in geologic days a more salient feature of the coastline—it still projects beyond its immediate surroundings—it will account for a liking which so many birds entertain for it as a landmark. Of the five ancient stream-beds within five miles none debouches very near it, but strong flyers who make their landfalls in good heart and do not alight at once, such as Norfolk plover, night heron and swallow, touch here, cast east and west to get their bearings, and continue their journeys inland. So do golden plover and various ducks which "flight" in at nightfall in thick rain, such as mallard, pochard, pintail, gadwall and shoveler. We are not quite sure about curlew and pewit, but have seen both making for this point. Ring ousels, sandpiper and snipe land on it; spotted crake very near it; one distressfully ended an interesting and innocent life against a telegraph-wire a couple of hundred yards inland: after so long a sea-passage; the pity of it! For this point the darling little blue-throated robin makes in March on his return journey northward.

Whither were all these waterfowl pointing? Lac Leman? Or the small lakes of the Jura, St. Croix, say? Or would it be the Lago di Varese—Maggiore—St. Gothard route? There is a bit of coast between Vado and Savona with a low *col* in the coast-range of the Apennines just in sight behind it which has a strong attraction for many migrants; rooks, for example, and herons of three species, who find it gives easy entrance to the plain of Lombardy. We see parties of biggish birds making their ways eastward seemingly for this landing.

Teal we see now and again. A drake garganey showed on March 29th, 1930. There are also other sorts of duck of which the seasonal movements are more in evidence than the routes. The scoter, the "black duck" of English winter gunners, a sub-arctic nester, abounds here at times, also an occasional pair of velvet scoter, as shown when one sits up and flaps wings which disclose the white speculum distinctive of this bird when in conjunction with a knobby yellow bill.

In February we see a few razorbills, singly or in pairs; also gannets, an unheard-of species here apparently, though a pair (one adult and one in juvenile patchy plumage) came closely inshore on two occasions (March 4th and 7th). These and the razorbills, also newcomers, may conceivably be forerunners of an invasion of northern birds—noticed also in Great Britain of late—which some think presages a reglaciatory movement that, if it persists, must effect strange changes in the politics and geography of

northern Europe. While watching a pair of razorbills on February 11th, the writer saw a smaller and less buoyant bird pop up from under-water. Obviously a grebe, its brown throat, stumpy crest and livid cheek-patch, together with white in the wing, when—for a wonder!—it flew, proved it a red-necked grebe in winter plumage. Fairly common in winter on the Black Sea, it is literally an unknown bird on this piece of coast, and unrepresented in the collection of Signor Adolfo Giribaldi, banker and naturalist, whose well-mounted series of Rivieran birds, mostly shot by himself, is well worth visiting.

One of the annual wonders of the bird-life of Bordighera is the eastern movement of the Manx shearwaters in spring. For weeks on end they pass by dozens, by scores, by hundreds. One clear, calm evening a year or two ago five great flocks were at rest upon a waveless, glassy sea. Careful computation showed about three thousand present. This bird is mouse-brown above and white below; a marvellous flier with the effortless ease of all the petrels, he glides over the surface of the roughest seas following the curves of the waves. Occasionally a few great shearwater appear, a much larger and paler-backed species.

Of gulls, we have any number of the brown-headed gull (*larus ridibundus*), the bird which has colonised London parks and bridges. The so-called common gull is very uncommon here. The Mediterranean black-headed gull is abundant in some years and almost absent during others; its jet-black cap extends down to the throat in front and to the nape behind, distinguishing it from *ridibundus* whose sooty half-mask, half-cap seems always ready to slip off. While these notes were in MS., a little gull (*larus minutus*) came close inshore in adult plumage, a rarity here, as at home. This bird is as small as a Sandwich tern, and tern-like in flight. It has a very black head and, unlike any other European gull, dark undersides to its wings. Kittiwakes are seldom seen, and our common big gull is the yellow-legged herring gull (*larus cacchinans*), a bird which takes the place of our pink-footed herring gull from Lisbon to the Crimea. Greater and lesser black-backs are occasionally noted.

Before leaving the beach we must not forget to record the luck of one of our small band of observers who flushed from the shingle a long-tailed short-winged bird resembling a diminutive pheasant—a great spotted cuckoo—the only living creature the Lord God made capable of humbugging His magpie! This bird lays its eggs in the pie's nest—eggs so like the rest that the mother pie, having lost count, hatches them out and takes the consequences.

On the golf links along the Nervia you will see skylarks, wood-larks and a few heavy-winged, coarse-billed calandra larks. Reed

buntings haunt the river-bed and the rock bunting (*emberiza cia*) the hillsides which overlook it, a bird with a monotonous ditty and the appearance of a yellow hammer which has been bleached to a mouldy grey where it should have been lemon-coloured. Cirl buntings seem fairly common among the junipers on the limestone.

Of seed-eating birds we have innumerable goldfinches, very many chaffinches and greenfinches, a few bullfinches, and the tiny green serin which, starting from Algeria, has colonised most of central Europe within the last two centuries, but is slow in attempting England. The citril, with cloudy blue head and yellow and green body and wings, nests among the upper ranges and enjoys the cold winds. Most hard winters bring us siskins in flocks, out of which one, perhaps, will be an old male resplendent in lemon and black. Another winter visitor is the mountain finch, or brambling, which nests on the Dovrefjeld, but will peck beside our roads and our beach and stream-beds in hard weather.

Of swallow-kind we retain a sprinkle of crag martins the winter through, a bird constantly mistaken for a sand martin by those who should know better. The creature seems unable to decide whether to go as a migrant or stay as a resident. A few make shift to hang on through our mild winters by hawking flies beneath warm cliffs with southern exposures. Most seem to act as do their Algerian brethren—join their co-mates and brothers in exile beyond the Sahara. By mid-March the swallows begin to come, increasing in numbers for three weeks: house martins and sand martins arrive a few days later. Swifts show during the first week of April cutting the blue with black sickle wings, and with them, a little later usually, come small parties of the alpine, or white-bellied swift, two-and-twenty inches across the wings, fawn-brown above, white below, glorious birds which swoop down from cloudy solitudes to justify their landfall, and after a couple of races along our hill-face and back, are over the hills and far away in no time! What matter a hundred, or even a thousand, miles more or less to their unwearable wings?

Beside the uncrowned "King of the Birds," jenny wren, whose cheery trill is heard in windy March, we have both the European crested wrens. The fire crest is believed to breed among the pines of the coast range and frequently feeds and flits among the horse-chestnuts which border the Strada Romana. Gold crests, probably British and Scandinavian, winter here in numbers. One distinguishes the species not by size or song, but by their countenances. The eye of the fire crest is fixed in a white face surrounded and bisected by black lines; the gold crest's is a tiny jet bead on a green cheek. Two wagtails winter with us, the white and the grey (both inappropriately named); three others, the blue-headed,

the ashy-headed and the handsome black-headed, return from farther south with the spring and pass on. We have at least four, probably five, pipits. Along the rocky sides of our river valleys, and among the upland crags, we have thrice seen the vivid crimson wings of the wall creeper and watched its butterfly-like flight. The dipper here is scarcely distinguishable from our British "water ousel," being neither so dark as the Irish and Scandinavian forms nor so light as the pale-backed Swiss bird.

Where the terraces end and the valleys run up to pines and screes, one gets glimpses of strange fowl. There the Greek partridge replaces the commoner "red-leg." Black crows and hoodies and the rarer raven are seen and heard. Up there, too, one meets with the green and greater spotted woodpeckers, and is fairly sure of seeing flocks of the alpine chough. Buzzards are not at all uncommon. One may see the golden eagle; our observers have enjoyed leisurely opportunity of watching the swinging curves of the wide-winged lords of the upper air and noted the tawny hackles of head and neck. One winter (1928-9) an English colonel resident at Bordighera, while motoring home from Nice, surprised a golden eagle demolishing a cat beside the road! Stopping his car, he ran in with the carriage-rug. The bird slipped from beneath it and flew down the road with a strip of cat's skin in its beak. The cat escaped with its ninth life uphill into the olives! Next day that, or another, eagle was threatening the same observer's pigeons above Bordighera.

Sparrow hawk and kestrel are not uncommon. The much larger and bolder goshawk is still with us, or rather above us, among the uncut timber of the more inaccessible peaks. To two of our observers was given this last month (March 1930) to witness a rare and beautiful display. They had reached screes where fox and badger haunt and all footpaths run out among the *maquis* at the bases of yellow crags. Above them were the peaks and a dazzle of sunlit snow; below were the indentures of the coastline, its townships, river-mouths and myriad involuted, sculptured terraces. A pair of brown-backed raptors came swinging up from the tree-tops beneath; smaller than eagles, more active and rounder-winged than buzzards, too long in the tail for peregrines—a bird well-known to those watchers—goshawks!—the largest European bird of their genus, and the fiercest. It can master a young roe, kill a hare, and in the Tirol devours capercaillie, the largest European game-bird. This pair were not hunting, nor fighting, but at play; the love-making of robbers! Past the level of the watchers they swept, up and up in intersecting spirals, now edging out, now darting in, shearing off again, doubling and turning upon one another in a flash, just avoiding contacts, if, indeed,

the wing-tips did not clash at times. Twisting over and under they went, agile as swallows, climbing the heights of the air in an ecstasy of mutual accomplishment, each testing the other's power and address to the uttermost. Higher, still higher they gyred and gimbled until, when two thousand feet overhead, mere tiny, veering black specks against a white cloud, a slow, lumbering buzzard much nearer to earth crossing the field of vision in the Zeiss, seemed in comparison immense as a condor! To few, to how few, and never, methinks, to gunners, is given such a sight! Possibly one naturalist among ten thousand ornithologists gets such a chance, and he but once in a lifetime.

Have we no disappointments? Yes, many and bitter: the chagrin of just *not* seeing the bird whose unknown, semi-covine croak one was stalking among thick pines; a fair-sized bird by the depth and timbre of its cry; somewhat jay-like, but no jay. Query . . . a nutcracker? We shall never know. Nutcrackers seem unknown here, though that proves nothing, and provides an incentive. Upon another not wholly unhappy day did one of us see a biggish covey of something largish and pale ruddy-buff speeding pigeon-like, close-packed upon extremely swift, down-curving pinions across the field of vision, coming in from the sea. There might have been over fifty head of them. But, *what?* Were this nearer to the Camargue one had hazarded a guess. But Bordighera is on no line of migration for sand grouse. *Were* they sand grouse? We shall never know! Nor of what species were the skein of wild geese which were just in act of alighting on the sea, when a great head, eye, and mouth shot up from the hollow of the wave below. A blackfish, say, nine feet in length, had risen, missed his bird, and dropped back as his dinner banked, rose and passed on uneaten, and—unidentified!

One autumn, one of us climbing alone on a day when all the winds were still, heard—*because he was alone*, mind you—from a distance beyond distance the clarion call of crane! Fainter than the murmur in a small shell it was, but he halted, got his Zeiss to work, and picked out not less than two miles away, across a tumble of rock and forested lower hills, against a white cloud above a peak a triangle of travelling crosses, tiny and blackly etched in that pure atmosphere; cranes on their way south from Lapland, Finland, or the Fokstuen Marshes on the Upper Dovrefjeld. Sheer luck! His luck. He was perhaps the one man within twenty miles who had seen crane or knew the call. He saw these, his eyes drawn to them by that sonorous trumpet-note, and watched their phalanx dwindle slowly southward. O fortunate man!

Again, on March 26th, 1930, did he who types this line sit silent, motionless, and alone, watchful in a narrow little *vallone*

o'ergrown with olive and bay-laurel, eucalyptus, and *bruyère*, an old garden; a spot where birds "attend this gentleman, hop in his walks and gambol in his eyes." He watched the hawk-moths poise and feed, the gecko out to take the sun; the flight of a swallow and a passing hoopoe. Then from the trees a-near him broke out a contest of songs flung back and forth by two passionate male migrants, just-arrived warblers singing their hardest against one another for—*wives*! 'Twas a fairy version of dear Robert L. Stevenson's memorable turney of those rival pipers Robin Oig MacGregor *versus* Alan Breck! These tiny chits discharged strophes of rollicking blackcap music at each other, though neither was a blackcap. Then, in sheer mockery, from a silvery shimmering olive, one dropped into bird-Billingsgate—the "*chink-chank*," saw-sharpener's note of the great tit! But it wasn't the great tit, for he had finished his plainsong and gone up the garden five minutes earlier. What were those warblers? How I longed to know! Icterine? Melodious? Grand mimics both. Not marsh warbler, I think. We were too far from water, nettles, reeds, and osiers. Leave it at that. (One must!) One will never know. Both were as shy and as invisible as disembodied spirits; too well camouflaged by Mother Nature, and too much alike in external features to be "named without a gun."

Yet, kill we watchers *will not*! Some of us have unquiet consciences for sins of haste and youthful ignorance when we made little ghosts we—wiser—fain would lay. Rather than draw bead on sweet living creatures now I will risk meeting St. Emerson in the Beyond and having to confess stark ignorance of much that I wish I knew! He will absolve, methinks. Meanwhile mine be it to teach the Young Idea *not* to shoot.

Doubt not that watchers have harrowing experiences. Did not one of us many years ago exhibit at a meeting of a certain learned society a sketch in a field notebook of a black-throated diver (*Colymbus arcticus*) sitting-up on end, penguin-fashion? Whereupon up jumped the greatest living authority on avian anatomy and declared that no man who had dissected a bird of that genus would ever imagine that it could assume that attitude. The posture was forbidden by its structure . . . absolutely impossible. This was when the Kodak was still young. But the whirligig of Time brings about his revenges, and many years later that discredited watcher beheld on a slide-night of that learned society an enlarged snapshot thrown upon the sheet—of the black-throated doing the impossible thing! The dogmatist, who was present, lay low.

Not once, nor twice only, are we privileged to see, and to hear, wild creatures of such rarity that nothing less than the production of an authenticated corpse would be accepted as a record of their

occurrence. In Bordighera, for instance, there was a moment—which ran to fifteen—of tense expectation, which befel one of us during that spell of heavy snow in the winter of 1928-9 that killed so many palms and cut all bougainvilleas back to stumps. What that cold must have been in the upper glens none knows, for none inhabit there. It was a moonless midnight, windless and exquisitely sharp: the watcher, a hardy young person, who sleeps with windows open and louvers doubled back, lay a-listening. Someone, or something, was hallooing out in the dark: "*Hoo! Hoo! Hoo! Kick!*" it went. "An owl of sorts," said the watcher, "But *which* sort? None that I know. . . . That's a big call from a very big bird, by its depth and volume. . . . No wood owl shouts like that." In a wink that watcher was hanging half across the window-ledge in as shrewd a night frost as we have had here in seven years. "*Hoo! Hoo! Hoo! Kick!*" more near and more deeply that cry pealed forth from a bird floating low upon silent wings, owl-like, along the south front of villas and hotels on the Strada Romana (*mousing for cats?*) and passed upon its hungry, desolate way unseen and unidentified, leaving that exasperated watcher to shiver back to bed like "a frustrate ghost" to his grave at cockcrow, muttering "W-w-hat owl can that have been?" Daylight and works of reference lent a clue. That terminal click did the business as far as it could be done: "*the hoot of the eagle owl often ends with a harsh monosyllable.*" And that is as near as we shall ever get. Oh, yes, the bird is known as a denizen of cleft and cave in the Alpes Maritimes.

Is this claimed as a record? Certainly not. Merely shall it illustrate the caprice of a watcher's fortune. Despite Robert Browning, "The world is (not) made for each of us," and study of bird-life shows that the world of birds is ordered with little consideration for the curiosities of men. We come to the feast uninvited, and must be thankful for such scraps as may be lying loose; for sometimes a crumb, a filament is evidential.

Observe! One August a schoolboy scrambling upon a scree in Haute Savoie (France) above the last of the trees, picked up by chance, and by a greater chance preserved—a feather. One only, and with neither use nor beauty, a lanky, dull whitish affair, weak in the stem and slightly brown at the tip; say nine inches in length. This when exhibited at the next dinner of the British Ornithologists' Club puzzled the wisest heads in the room, and next day kept the staff of the Bird Room at the Natural History Museum happy for an hour or more. Drawer after drawer of pelicans, storks, eagles, cranes, and vultures was turned out vainly. Later a simultaneous brain-wave told the experts who had retained that feather, and the owner who had left it with them, to

look at the skin of the Swiss *Lammergeier*! Their identificatory letters crossed in that night's post. It was that, just that!—an under-tail-covert of one of the largest and one of the rarest birds of prey, of which possibly less than half a dozen pairs remain. There are smaller forms in Sardinia, Spain, Syria, North Africa, etc., but the "Grand Gypæete" of the Alps, already exterminated in Switzerland, verges on extinction in its last sanctuary, the Royal Preserves in the Val de Cicoine, Italy. The above, an instance from beyond the geographical limits set by the author, shows what the work of our observers proves—that the improbable is always waiting to reveal itself to the seeker, as we on the Riviera know well.

Certainly there are still a few birds unshot at Bordighera. The list of species falls just short of three hundred, residents, migrants, casuals, and rare visitors. But I am not compiling a catalogue.

ASHTON HILLIERS.

THE TURKO-GREEK *RAPPROCHEMENT*.

THE recent visit to Angora of M. Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister, has resulted in a *rapprochement* between two nations which have been hereditary enemies for many centuries. The purpose of this article, which is written by a resident in Turkey, is to discuss the present and future relations of the two States. From 1920-2 the Turks and the Greeks were engaged in a death struggle in Asia Minor; at first victory lay with the Greeks, but eventually the Turks, under the leadership of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, gained the upper hand and drove the Greek Army out of the country. Racial feeling between Turks and Greeks had become so bitter during this war that it was quite impossible for Greeks to continue living in Anatolia and Turks in old Greece. At the Lausanne Conference in 1923 it was decided that a wholesale exchange of populations must take place, and the two delegations, together with the late Dr. Nansen, worked out the details.*

On June 10th, 1930, an Agreement was signed in Angora between Dr. Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Turkish Foreign Minister, and M. Polychroniades, the Greek Minister to Turkey, and the way lay open for M. Venizelos's visit to Angora, a visit which had been planned for over a year, but which could not take place until the Agreement was signed. Before the Greek Premier came to Turkey negotiations had been entered into between the Greek and Turkish Governments concerning the conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Non-Aggression and Neutrality. Turkey had already made similar Treaties with all her neighbours, as well as with other European States. There were no reasons preventing Greece and Turkey from entering into such a Pact, and on November 30th, in Angora, M. Venizelos and Dr. Tewfik Rushdi Bey signed the Treaty. On the same day they signed a Naval Protocol whereby the two Governments solemnly bound themselves not to build, or have built, any new naval units without informing each other six months beforehand. A Treaty of Commerce and Establishment was also signed.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of M. Venizelos's visit to Angora. Firstly, the Greek Premier deserves great praise for ever having come to Turkey at all; it is no secret that only a few years ago the aged Cretan, along with other Greeks, had dreamt of a Greater Greece which would extend eastwards and would embrace a certain part of Turkey. The disastrous Greek campaign in Anatolia and the resultant Treaty of

* For a description of these negotiations the reader may be reminded of an article by Mr. A. A. Pallis in our issue of November 1930.—ED., C.R.

Lausanne completely shattered these dreams, and it might have been expected that M. Venizelos would have taken up a reserved, and even hostile, attitude towards Turkey. His policy has, however, been directed towards the establishment of good relations. He realised the futility of enmity between two neighbours and set about to repair the errors of the past. In this he was ably seconded by Ismet Pasha, with whom he had been closely associated during the Lausanne Conference. Both men strove for the same ideal, namely a lasting friendship between two countries which have a community of interests and few points of conflict. M. Venizelos's name will go down in history as that of a great and far-sighted statesman.

Some practical results of M. Venizelos's visit may now be cited. The Greek and Turkish authorities, both central and local, have adopted a more broad-minded attitude towards their respective Minorities. Greek schools and other institutions in Constantinople are now functioning satisfactorily, although Government supervision is still inclined to be unduly severe. The action of the Turkish Government in not placing any obstacles in the way of M. Venizelos's visit to the Œcumenical Patriarch was a wise move. M. Venizelos paid an official call on His Holiness Photius the Second at the Phanar, and it is worthy of note that this is the first time that a Greek Prime Minister has been received by the Head of the Greek Orthodox Church. This visit has had the effect of preventing the more nationalistic elements among the Greek Clergy from exploiting the theory that the Greek Government was not in sympathy with the Œcumenical Patriarchate. Conversely, the visit strengthened the position of Greek prelates, chief among whom is the Patriarch himself, who have been trying to improve Greco-Turkish relations.

Another important step is the decision of the Greek Government to expel from Greece some of the 150 Turkish undesirables who were banished from Turkey in 1923. Several members of the 150 have made their homes in Western Thrace and have carried on from there an active campaign of propaganda and intrigue among the Turkish Minorities. Yet another beneficial measure is the decision of the Turkish Government to allow Greek Minorities resident in Constantinople the right to travel in the interior. Hitherto, these Minorities have been unable to leave Constantinople but now they can go where they like, although if they wish to remain in one place for more than three months the permission of the local authorities must be obtained. The effect of M. Venizelos's visit has even made itself felt in sporting and theatrical circles. A Greek football team visited Constantinople at the same time as the Prime Minister visited Angora and played several matches with

Turkish clubs. The games, which were keenly contested and played in a thoroughly sporting spirit, drew huge crowds and have undoubtedly helped to bring about a better feeling between young Greeks and Turks. This month two Greek theatrical troupes have visited Constantinople and have played to crowded houses in Pera. A short time previously the Turkish Dar-Ul-Bedai went to Athens and was given an enthusiastic reception by the Greeks.

There are, of course, certain grievances which have still to be remedied and there is a strong feeling among Greek Minorities in Turkey about the case of Papa Eftim. This militant priest, who poses as a great friend of Turkey, has made himself notorious on several occasions, having defied the authority of the Œcumenical Patriarch, seized a Greek Church, and generally proved a thorn in the side of the Greco-Turkish friendship. It is thought that the Turkish Government would be wise if it placed some restraint on the activities of this mischief-maker.

There is no reason why Greek Minorities in Constantinople and Turkish Minorities in Western Thrace should not be a help, instead of a hindrance, to the development of friendly relations between the two countries. There are in Constantinople between 90,000 and 100,000 Greeks. Many of them are well-to-do business men and shopkeepers; others are master workmen and skilled artisans. Despite their reduced numbers the Greeks still play an important part in the economic life of Constantinople and the Turkish authorities realise that they are useful citizens. In Western Thrace there are about 100,000 Turks, most of whom are farmers and peasants. On the whole they get on well with the Greeks, although there have been one or two "incidents" in the neighbourhood of Gumuljina where the local authorities behaved rather harshly towards the Turks.

It is necessary now to make a slight digression. The Turko-Greek *rapprochement* would not have occurred so soon if Italy had not acted as an intermediary. Five years ago Italian-Turkish relations were bad. The Turks suspected Italy of coveting Southern Anatolia, and Mussolini's famous speech at Tripoli in the spring of 1926 was not calculated to allay these suspicions. From 1927 onwards Italy has, however, pursued a policy of reconciliation towards Turkey. At first Italian overtures were viewed with mistrust and it took some time for Mussolini to convince the Turks of his sincerity. The first important event in the Italian-Turkish *rapprochement* was the meeting in Milan in April 1928 between Mussolini and Dr. Tewfik Rushdi Bey. At this meeting a frank discussion took place regarding the various questions which were outstanding between the two countries, and it was agreed that the conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Non-Aggression, and Neu-

trality would be to the advantage of all concerned. This Treaty was signed within two months and has proved to be the stepping-stone to other events. The Italians have, indeed, succeeded in obtaining what may be described as a "privileged position" in Turkey. Their diplomacy, their trade, and their financial establishments have all worked as one. Signor Orsini Barone, the late Italian ambassador to Turkey (actually ambassador in Berlin), was largely responsible for this state of affairs.

Meanwhile, Italy had not been idle in so far as Greece is concerned. Italian-Greek relations, consequent on the Corfu affair, were very strained five years ago. It required a great deal of tact and perseverance on Mussolini's part before this lamentable incident was forgotten by the Greeks. Lengthy negotiations eventually led up to the conclusion of an Italian-Greek Treaty of Friendship, Non-Aggression, and Neutrality, leaving Italy in a position where she could mediate between Angora and Athens. During the interminable negotiations which preceded the Greco-Turkish agreement of June 1930, Italian influence and advice were constantly at the disposal of the two parties. The Italian Embassy in Angora was left fully acquainted with the progress of the negotiations, and when the agreement was signed, the Turkish and Greek Plenipotentiaries paid striking tributes to Mussolini.

Now that Italy, Turkey, and Greece are all linked up by Treaties of Friendship, Non-Aggression, and Neutrality it is to be expected that the *status quo* and the "security" of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean will receive attention. In his public utterances the Turkish Foreign Minister has invariably stressed the fact that Turkey is vitally interested in the maintenance of peace in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. Italian and Greek statesmen, though less outspoken, have signified the same thing, and it would appear that the three nations intend to constitute a kind of defensive bloc in the eastern Mediterranean. In passing it may be remarked that no other Power or group of Powers shows signs of wishing to disturb the *status quo* in this part of the world. Such considerations do not, however, seem to weigh with the Governments of Rome, Angora, and Athens. The Turks and the Greeks have entered into an arrangement whereby they engage themselves not to increase their respective navies without giving each other six months' notice. Admirable though this arrangement may appear on paper, it is, nevertheless, fraught with certain dangers. If, for example, Turkey decides that she needs a new cruiser she will notify Greece of her intention, and it is extremely probable that Greece will then also have built a similar vessel. In this connection it must be remembered that both Turkey and Greece extend considerable patronage to Italian shipyards, and Italy is at present building for

Turkey a number of war vessels. Thus it becomes apparent that a naval agreement between Turkey and Greece, which was undoubtedly concluded under the ægis of Italy, may not turn out to be an unmixed blessing.

In the broader sphere of Near Eastern relations, the development of Italian-Turkish-Greek friendship may be of great importance. This is especially true in the case of Bulgaria, with whom Turkey has maintained very cordial relations during the past ten years. Greece and Bulgaria have not yet settled all the questions which arose between them as a result of the Great War. Prominent among these questions is that of the treatment of Bulgarian Minorities in Greece, and the possibility of Bulgaria obtaining an outlet to the Ægean Sea. Turkey would like to see Greeks and Bulgarians come to an amiable settlement on these and other questions. Dr. Tewfik Rushdi Bey, who was again received by Mussolini in Rome at the end of November, visited Sofia before returning to Turkey and had conversations with leading Bulgarian statesmen. It is thought that the Turkish Foreign Minister tried to persuade the Bulgarians of the necessity of coming to an agreement with the Greeks, and it is even said that he offered to act as a go-between. In this he was doubtless encouraged by Mussolini, who is anxious to increase Italian influence in the Balkans and who would consequently like to promote a better feeling between Bulgars and Greeks. To a student of Near Eastern history it is a rather extraordinary thing that Turkey, which was at one time a bone of contention between Greeks and Bulgars, should now be acting as an arbiter.

Another interesting point about the Greco-Turkish rapprochement is that it is welcomed by both Great Britain and Soviet Russia. The diplomatic representatives of Britain and Russia in Angora and Athens respectively congratulated the Turkish and Greek Governments on having concluded an agreement, and there is no cause to doubt the sincerity of these congratulations. As Britain and Russia rarely, if ever, see eye to eye on any Near Eastern question, their approval of what the Turks and Greeks have done ranks as a notable event. Other countries share in the general rejoicing, although the attitude of France is a little obscure. The French certainly desire peace in the Near East as much as, if not more than, any other Great European Power, but it may be that the Quai d'Orsay is just a trifle suspicious of Italian *cum* Turkish *cum* Greek understanding. After all, Italy is partially responsible for the Angora-Athens *Entente Cordiale*, and France has reason to mistrust Italian manoeuvres in the Near East. Fortunately, there is little risk of Greece being a party to any secret agreement, to be concluded at a later date, between herself,

the Turks, and the Italians. The Greek Government is unlikely to compromise itself without previous consultation with London and Paris. The Turkish Government, which is notoriously cautious in its international relations, is also unlikely to become a party to any arrangement which would be unfavourably received in certain Western European capitals. At the same time it must be recorded that Franco-Turkish relations are not altogether cordial—largely because of the vexed question of the Ottoman Public Debt.

To revert to the future relations between Turkey and Greece, these are bright, as the two nations are mutually interested in each other's development. Turkey exports to Greece cereals, livestock, and other produce. Greece sends manufactured articles to Turkey. Greek shipping lines carry on an active trade in Turkish waters, although they are no longer allowed to engage in the coastal trade. In Turkey there are no signs of any opposition to the *rapprochement* with Greece. It will naturally be a long time before relations can become really close between Angora and Athens and there is bound to be some squabbling over minor matters. But, in conclusion, it can be said that Turkish-Greek friendship is on the fair way to becoming an accomplished fact, and M. Venizelos and Ismet Pasha have materially contributed to the cause of peace in the Near East.

J. WALTER COLLINS.

THE LATIN-AMERICAN PROBLEM IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

MANY are the interpretations which have been placed upon the Briand proposals for closer European Union. Some have found in them a reply to the American tariff. Others would have us look upon them as a demonstration against the Five Year Plan. More acute observers are inclined to suspect that in so far as hostility to non-Europeans explains the popularity in diplomatic circles of the Pan-European idea, that hostility must be attributed less to any fear of awakened Asia or to resentment at the continued aloofness of the Soviet Union and the United States than to disgust with the conduct as members of the League of some of the smaller Latin-American republics.

For the Latin-Americans have an unenviable reputation at Geneva. There has been much discussion at recent Assemblies of the need for expediting the ratification of League conventions and all are conscious that they are the offenders whom such discussions are intended to impress. The extent of their default may be measured in figures compiled in official documents. Such figures, if not entirely fair evidence unless accompanied by detailed explanations, do give a broad indication of the nature of the situation. Of the fifty-four members of the League, sixteen, or nearly one-third, are Latin-American States. Ten of these States have not yet ratified the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice approved by the Assembly at its first session as long ago as 1920, but as members of the League they are entitled to take part in the election of judges, and two of them cast votes in both Council and Assembly at the election held last September. Of the twenty-nine League Members now bound by the Optional Clause only three, Haiti, Panama and Uruguay, are Latin-Americans. The proportion of Latin-American States so bound is just over one-fifth, as contrasted with a proportion of a little more than two-thirds of the other members of the League. Equally loth have the Latin-Americans been to ratify amendments to the Covenant. Ten Latin-American States have not yet ratified any of the eight amendments at present outstanding.

Still more startling are the figures for the forty-two conventions which represent the League's achievement in the technical sphere. The ratifications of these received before September 1st last numbered 616. Only eighteen of them came from Latin-American States. Eight of these States had not ratified a single convention. Five had only ratified one apiece, Salvador had ratified two, while Chile with five ratifications and Venezuela with six would earn distinction marks in a continental competition!

The position in regard to International Labour Organisation conventions is similar. There are now thirty-one of these conventions and the total of ratifications on October 1st was 408. Only twenty-four of these are ratifications by Latin-American States. Cuba has ratified sixteen of these conventions, Chile eight. No other Latin-American State has ratified even one. Some excuse for this may be found in the federal character of a few of the States concerned, for such States are expressly permitted by the constitution of the Labour Organisation to treat as recommendations the conventions adopted by the Conference, while only a tyro would judge the work of the I.L.O. by so crude a test as that of mere numbers of ratifications. But such figures inevitably suggest suspicion, and one's worst suspicions are confirmed by a glance at M. Albert Thomas's annual reports. In the case of one convention after another we come across a list of "States which have not officially communicated" any information of their intentions in regard to it, and the great majority of persistent defaulters are once again the Latin-Americans.

The position would be grave enough if that were the end of the story, but the most important fact of all remains to be told. These countries, by acting together as an organised group, have acquired an influence in the Assembly out of all proportion to their real importance. They are not the only such organised group. The Scandinavian group, the British group, the German and French groups, are all familiar examples of a very widespread tendency. But few of them are as coherent as the Latin-American group and none disposes of anything like the same voting strength. The most backward element in the Assembly is, therefore, in a position to dominate elections and to determine any other decisions for which unanimity is not required. The results have been little short of disastrous. Acquiescence in the claim of the Latin-Americans to choose each year by rota from among themselves one of the newly-elected members of the Council has led to the presence of three such powerless States as Venezuela, Peru and Guatemala in the body entrusted with enforcing the peace of the world. The situation has been aggravated by the absence from the Assembly of representatives from the larger Latin-American States. If delegates from Brazil, which has withdrawn from the League, the Argentine, which, under the Irygoyen régime, withdrew from it in all but name, and Mexico, which has not yet become a member, had been regularly present in the Assembly, they would no doubt have been able, in conjunction with Chile and Uruguay, both of which are discontented with the present position, to maintain a higher tone. At least there would have been ample justification for the reservation for Latin-America of three places on the

Council, and the present rota system could never have come into being. For we cannot imagine either Brazil or the Argentine consenting to sit by rota with Guatemala and Salvador.

The general irritation has been increased by several recent incidents. The rift between the Latin-American standpoint and that of most other States is believed to have been the chief cause of the complete failure of the First Conference on the Treatment of Foreigners and of the Responsibility Committee of the Hague Codification Conference. A few months later Latin-American opposition, this time organised by Italian whips, led to the rejection by the International Labour Conference of the Draft Convention for Limiting the Hours of Work in Coal Mines. Close upon these failures came Cuba's veto upon the entry into force before ratification of the amended Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. No other State had opposed this exceptional course which unusual circumstances completely justified. Cuba withheld its assent, and it was loudly whispered in the Assembly *couloirs* that the only motive of the Cuban Government was a desire to protect the vested interests of a particular member of the Court. Then came the Court elections and Judge Bustamante, the individual in question, was triumphantly re-elected to his position by the caucus and their allies.

Two months previously, twelve Latin-American delegates, only three of whom represented States which had then ratified the Court Statute, addressed a letter to the Secretary-General asserting a right to the reservation of three places upon the Court for Latin-American judges. The letter has been widely described as thoroughly improper. Be that as it may, it is significant that the principle upon which they based their claim, the provision in Article 9 of the Court Statute that the judges of the Court "should represent the main forms of civilisation and the principal legal systems of the world" was set aside as having served its turn when they came to cast their votes in the Assembly. Chilean and Brazilian candidates of great personal distinction failed to secure election and three judges were chosen from the Caribbean States. For the Portuguese variant of Latin-American law no place has been found upon the new court and the three Latin-American judges who will take office on January 1st are therefore less representative of the principal legal systems of the world than were their two predecessors. But Judge Bustamante will doubtless revel in the company of Dr. Guerrero, of Salvador, and Señor Urrutia, of Colombia, both of whom signed the letter claiming three Latin-American places on the Court, the Statute of which their governments had not then ratified although they had signed it in 1920.

Equally farcical was the Council election of a few days before. Twice in the last two years the Chinese Government has requested a vote of re-eligibility to the Council before the expiry of three years since the close of her last term of office. According to the rules adopted by the Assembly in 1926 such a vote requires a majority of at least two-thirds. China's claim to the privilege is a strong one, incomparably stronger than that of Poland, considerably stronger than that of Spain, the two States which at present enjoy it. On each occasion, with the aid of the united support of the Great Powers, she has secured an absolute majority, but each time the jealous egalitarianism of the Latin-American States has prevented her obtaining the required majority of two-thirds. The delegate of Guatemala sits at the Council table while China is obliged to wait for better times. Though all these incidents have contributed to the prevalent irritation we must beware of grouping them together indiscriminately as proper grounds of complaint. We have no right to complain merely because the policy of a particular State or group of States happens to differ from our own, but we are entitled to resent caucus-rule which threatens to undermine the prestige of the Council and to bring into discredit the Permanent Court of International Justice. The situation is delicate and requires careful handling. Nothing will be gained by our adopting a self-righteous pose, but it is necessary for us to consider how far it is within our power to take measures which will restore to health the international body politic.

The absence from the Assembly of some of the larger Latin-American States has already been mentioned as one of the most important factors in the situation. With those States close contacts must be forged, and we should make it one of the principal objects of our international policy to encourage them to co-operate more actively and consistently in the work of the League. The time is ripe for far-reaching developments. The recent decision of the President and Congress of Costa Rica to apply for re-admission to the League has been the prelude to events of much greater significance. The simultaneous disappearance of reactionary dictatorships in both Brazil and the Argentine, the probability of the new Argentine Government, which has already resumed co-operation in the work of the I.L.O., taking an active part in League politics, and the fact that Señor de Mello-Franco, for some years the representative of Brazil on the Council, has been appointed Foreign Minister in the new Brazilian Cabinet, and may be expected to work for the re-entry of his country into the League, give reasonable ground for an optimistic outlook upon the quite near future. Mexico, the third Great Power of the Latin-American world, now appears to be on the verge of applying for League mem-

bership. Mexican delegates were present at The Hague Codification Conference and signed the four instruments which that Conference adopted, while the great progress recently made there in labour legislation has brought Mexico into close contact with the I.L.O., and the Mexican observer in Geneva, who keeps in touch with both the League and the Labour Office, even made a speech at this year's International Labour Conference. There is some ground for thinking that Mexico would cease to hesitate were it not that she still resents not having been asked to accede to the Covenant in 1919. The time has surely come when we might remove that difficulty by arranging for her to receive a formal invitation now. The presence in the Assembly of delegates from these larger States would do much to ease the situation, if only by justifying the claim to three places on the Council and bringing to an end the rule of the Caribbean caucus. But caution bids us not to be content with coaxing these States into representation at the Assembly. A keener interest in the League's work throughout Latin-America is required to set things right, while those who object to the vulgarisation of League politics will feel that there are at stake certain general principles which should now be placed beyond question once and for all.

The first concerns the choice of elected members of the Council. We should work for general acceptance of the principle that no State shall be considered eligible for election to the Council unless it has shown reasonable activity in the ratification of conventions. It is clear that such a rule could only be applied very elastically. The recent history of China is but one illustration of circumstances in which a State may be backward for legitimate reasons which are publicly known. In such a case, especially where the State concerned is one of great political or economic importance, there should be no disqualification. This alone suggests caution, while to put such a test of eligibility into a legal formula would be well-nigh impossible. For these reasons it would be unwise to make any attempt to have such a principle embodied in the rules of election, even apart from the tactical consideration that the Latin-Americans would certainly oppose such a project and probably defeat it by the strength of their organisation. But it is not necessary for the principle to become a formal rule. The prejudice against immediate re-election to non-permanent seats on the Council, except in very special cases, might well have crystallised into a binding convention without its inclusion in the rules of election adopted by the Assembly in 1926, and had it crystallised in that way the rule might have worked less unjustly than it has done under the makeshift arrangements then adopted. Some such crystallisation of a prejudice is all that is required in the present

case. It will be sufficient if delegates acquire the habit of consulting the excellent charts of ratifications with which the Secretariat now provides them before electing to the Council in two successive years Original Members of the League which have not yet ratified a single League convention. The British Government might give a lead in this direction by announcing its intention of acting upon such a principle. Widespread approval of such an announcement may be anticipated with some confidence. If made in agreement with other influential members of the League it would help to undermine the evil tradition that the Latin-Americans may each year choose by rota one of their own number and, no matter how misgoverned or insignificant the chosen State may be, expect election by the Assembly to follow as a matter of course.

The second step will be to prevent elections to the Court from falling under the control of an Assembly caucus concerned with little but the personal advancement of its own members. Mere determination by the Great Powers not to sanction log-rolling would be an effective remedy. The system of simultaneous election by both Council and Assembly, the outstanding novelty of the Court Statute, places in the hands of the Council, where the Latin-Americans only hold three of fourteen seats, a power of veto which would be adequate to prevent abuse if only it were used with a sufficiently fearless disregard for consequences. But no such courage was shown when the whole bench was re-elected this year and further safeguards are therefore necessary. One method of forcing intrigue a stage further back and so making it less effective would be to establish the practice of not electing as judge any candidate present as a delegate in either Council or Assembly at the time of the election. Such a rule would admittedly have considerable disadvantages. M. Van Eysinga and Baron Rolin-Jacquemyns both did yeoman service at this year's Assembly just before their election as judges. But even the theoretical possibility of a caucus-leader in the Assembly "managing" his own election to the Court is sufficiently revolting to make imperative such a tradition. Recent experience has proved the difficulty of adding to the incompatibility clauses of the Statute, but an Assembly *vœu* adopted by a majority or even an announcement of their intention of acting upon such a principle made well in advance by a limited number of States might be an effective means of achieving the desired result.

The tour of South America upon which Sir Eric Drummond is at present engaged should do much to stir up a wider interest in the League's work and so prove a significant step towards the satisfaction of the first condition. It would be even more valuable if an important League Conference could be held in some Latin-American

city. There has been much talk in Labour Office circles of creating closer contacts with Oriental countries by holding a Labour Conference in the Far East, while the Conference for the Limitation of Opium Manufacture, to be held next May, has recently been invited to Bangkok by the Siamese Government, which hopes in this way to quicken the interest of Siamese public opinion in the work of the League. Similar experiments in Latin-America might bear valuable fruit. The Labour Organisation would be well advised to hold a conference there to discuss the comparative failure of its work in that part of the world and the methods by which more encouraging results can be achieved in the future. While it should not be difficult, if a suitable hint were given, to secure from the Chilean or Uruguayan Government an invitation to hold a League Conference at Santiago or Montevideo. Santiago, being an entirely new centre, might be preferable to Montevideo, where the League organised a conference of Child Welfare experts in June 1927, and whither it has now, at the request of the Uruguayan Government, sent the Chairman of its Health Committee to preside over the South American Serological Congress.

What is now suggested is not another technical gathering of this kind, but a first-class conference, preferably of a political character. A unique chance may offer itself in the quite near future. If the possibilities sketched above of closer co-operation with the Argentine, Mexico and Costa Rica, and possibly even Brazil and Ecuador, should materialise, it would be well to convene in some South American city an extraordinary session of the Assembly for the express purpose of welcoming back the Argentine delegates, admitting Mexico and Ecuador to the League and readmitting Brazil and Costa Rica. The European Foreign Ministers could scarcely be present at such a gathering, but none the less it might have great value. Should it be impossible to arrange a Special Assembly, either because the requests for admission or readmission of these various States are not sufficiently simultaneous, or for any other reason, then there should be substituted some other conference with an important agenda or an unusual dramatic interest. If the experiment was a success then it could be repeated in one form or another at appropriate intervals.

Periodical conferences arranged in this way must be supplemented by machinery for maintaining more regular contact. In the capital of each State permanently represented on the Council the League has an office primarily, though not exclusively, attached to the Information Section of the Secretariat. If a similar office could be set up in the capital of every member State much might be done to stimulate in remote countries a greater interest in the work carried on at Geneva. The value of an official information centre supplying full and accurate news to the Press, and

equipped for answering inquiries from people interested in any aspect of the League's many-sided activity, can hardly be exaggerated. The experience of the Labour Office which has forestalled the League in developing a system of National Correspondents but is only now beginning to get a foothold in the Latin-American capitals, has proved how valuable such contacts may be. They would be a great improvement upon the existing system under which the only special provision for Latin-American needs is the existence within the Secretariat of a special Latin-American Bureau. That bureau would, of course, be retained, and the wireless station at Nyon now being built for League use by agreement with the Radio-Suisse Company, could be utilised for maintaining daily contact between it and the new Correspondents' Offices. The expense involved would be considerable, but far from prohibitive and certainly fully justified. Great Britain might take the initiative by proposing in the Assembly a motion proclaiming the desirability of establishing such offices in every capital and pledging the Assembly to vote the required credits in every case in which a member wishes to have such an office and the Secretary-General can find a suitable person to place in charge.

The adoption of these proposals would create much closer contact than has hitherto existed, but neither separately nor in conjunction can they lead to so complete a change as that which the circumstances require. There will always be difficulties while the composition of the Assembly remains so unbalanced. In that body there is a marked contrast between the diplomatic Latin-American element and the European element which consists so largely of responsible ministers and to an increasing extent of Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers and their immediate subordinates and advisers. In Europe we have learnt to consider this periodical meeting in conference of those responsible for the direction of policy as one of the most substantial advantages which we owe to the League. Beyond the frontiers of Europe older diplomatic methods are still in vogue and Foreign Ministers of neighbouring States may never meet throughout their terms of office. If, as is so often asserted by both protagonists and opponents of European Federation, the League is much too European in character, it is in part for this reason, just on account of this lack of balance in the Assembly. For the leading statesmen of Latin-America to be present at Geneva as regularly as those of Europe is no doubt impossible until air communications have become much more reliable than they at present are, while the possibilities of a regional conference meeting at frequent intervals in one or other of the Latin-American capitals do not at present concern us. Even so, a considerable improvement is possible at once.

No matter what the position in the cases of China and Japan, which are even more difficult of access, it should normally be possible for a Latin-American State to spare some member of its government to represent it at the Assembly, and even should exceptional circumstances occasionally make that impossible, it should never be impossible to send someone out from home instead of relying upon the services of a Parisian diplomat who may well be completely out of touch with feeling in his own country. Since he does not return there regularly he will not cut a great figure in the public eye, and whatever work he may do at Geneva will rouse little popular enthusiasm, while his influence upon State policy will as often as not be nil. He may sign conventions, but his government will not ratify them. He may indulge in glowing metaphors when at the tribune of the Assembly, but save in rare cases his practical contribution to the cause of peace will be mediocre and insignificant.

This question is obviously one which the States concerned must decide for themselves, but if we are at all anxious for an improvement we shall naturally examine the difficulties which confront them and inquire how far we can do anything to remove those difficulties. Even slight reflection will convince us that we can do much. In many cases the difficulty is at least partly financial. Unless, as is so often the case, it is content to be represented by a diplomatic agent stationed permanently in Europe, a distant country must disburse a much larger sum for delegation expenses than a State within easy reach of Geneva. Hence the suggestion, mooted vaguely over twelve months ago, that a scheme should be devised for sharing more equitably the travelling expenses of Assembly delegates. That suggestion was not followed by official action and no concrete proposal has been canvassed, but one may take it that the principle of any such scheme would be the inclusion of the expenses of the leading delegates of each country in the cost of the Assembly to the budget of the League. An increase in that budget would be involved and the necessary payments might be made to the various States by deducting the approved expenses of their delegates from the contributions due from them in the following year. Some restrictions would be necessary to prevent abuse, notably a proviso that the expenses allowable in respect of any delegate shall not exceed the direct fare from his own country to the city in which the Assembly is meeting. For if Switzerland should wish to be represented at Geneva by her Consul-General at Yokohama there is clearly no reason why the expense of such eccentricity should be borne by the League. Granted this elementary safeguard the principle of such a scheme is unassailable. European countries enjoy so great an advantage by their proximity to the seat of the League that there is nothing unreasonable in

asking their consent to a more equitable apportionment of delegates' expenses. Politics may not be an occupation which attracts altruists, but far-sighted European statesmen—if such there be—will welcome such a proposal as an investment against the day when Geneva is no longer an embryonic world-capital and the seat of the League has been transferred to Shanghai or Singapore! While even men with a much narrower range of vision may at least be capable of weighing against the financial liability involved, the advantage of even a slight advance towards the more adequate representation in the Assembly of these distant States, some of which are destined to dominate the future, and all of which must be firmly attached to the League if it is ever to develop into an effective organ of world government.

It would be foolish to exaggerate the possibilities of merely institutional development and we must beware of setting too high a value on these or any other concrete proposals for the perfection of the existing machinery. To imagine that a mere tinkering with channels of communication will suffice to create the firm attachment to League ideals which is indispensable would be the most dangerous of delusions. Victory will only be assured when the work of the League has become so essential a part of the national life of these distant countries that its breakdown would rob that life of all its vitality and significance. Only by a vast programme of public service—of social betterment and economic integration—of direct interest to the people of Latin-America, can we hope to win their loyalty and allegiance. Judged from this standpoint, the reorganisation of the Bolivian Health Service at present engaging the attention of the League Health Section may prove one of the most important milestones upon the path to effective co-operation. If improvements in the machinery of contact are desirable that is because they are an essential condition of the League's undertaking a more ambitious programme of constructive work in overseas countries. Only so can the services which the Technical Organisations hold at the disposal of members of the League, who may use them as of right without feeling themselves under an obligation to any foreign State, become as widely appreciated as is necessary if we are to achieve that integration of national with international government which the needs of mankind so urgently require.

From all scorn and self-righteousness we must be careful to remain free. We are confronted with a problem, not with an opportunity for indulging a superiority complex. There have been Latin-American statesmen who have performed very notable service to the League. It was Señor Raoul Fernandes, the Brazilian delegate to the First Assembly, who devised the Optional Clause. May he have many a worthy successor!

C. WILFRED JENKS.

CARLYLE: FIFTY YEARS AFTER.

ON February 5th, 1881, Froude went to Carlyle's house, to find him lying dead. It may be fitting, fifty years later, to attempt some re-estimate of Carlyle's message and its result. The effort is not unnecessary. For though Carlyle's right to a niche in the temple of fame is undisputed, perhaps there is no literary man of equal eminence who is so much admired without being understood. Some actually misunderstand him. Some understand him partially, taking as primary certain qualities which he would himself have considered, and which ought to be considered, secondary. Some admire while practically giving up the attempt to understand him at all. And one has sadly to confess that his actual influence is little indeed—at least, that any influence he does exert is far from being the influence he would have cared to wield. If one cannot alter this last fact, there may be at least some consolation in seeking to explain it. Perhaps, also, some hope may be cherished that a re-statement of Carlyle's essential message may fall upon a few not unheeding ears, and may bring something of his true influence to bear upon a few not unresponsive hearts.

I.

Carlyle was a man of one idea, that idea being the absolute sovereignty of Right—of Right, not in the limited sense of a mere code of established morality, not in the sense that there were certain standard things which people ought to do, but in the sense that there was an Eternal Righteousness which was at every moment striving to work itself out through individual, social, and national life, and that the one thing for which man was here was simply to be an instrument in its hands.

But no sooner has that statement been made than one hears ringing in one's ears echoes of a quite different judgment, and a judgment still frequently proclaimed. "Might is Right"—that was Carlyle's doctrine according to some. How is it, if Carlyle's master idea is really the one suggested above, that certain critics find this precisely opposite idea dominant in his work? To be sure, the criticism which so reads him is superficial indeed; and it is not difficult to see why a superficial criticism thus interprets him. Necessarily, Carlyle's preaching of the supremacy of Right begins—the world being as he found it—with a *negative* doctrine, with a protest against the shams and hypocrisies and petty expediences prevalent on all sides. These things ought not to be. Then, looking down the line of history, Carlyle found various strong men making this same protest in action and took them as it were for

his text. That some of them—not by any means all—would not serve as a text for his further *positive* doctrine of the supremacy of Right went unobserved for the moment. (Something more will presently be said as to the reason for this blind spot on Carlyle's field of vision.) Of these Frederick is perhaps the outstanding instance. But if their positive aims would not exemplify the positive side of his teaching, they at any rate served as an introduction or, as has been said, for a text. They were at least men flinging themselves in challenge against the world. It is by fastening upon these that the "Might is Right" school of critics justify themselves. Yet Carlyle always preached the full sermon, even though the text failed legitimately to yield it. One admits that this is the incongruity of which one is sometimes conscious as one reads Carlyle's historical or biographical work; he is proclaiming principles which his historical or biographical matter does not really illustrate. But after all, it is only of a few cases that this holds good. And superficial criticism, concentrating on these, drops easily into the glib assertion that he holds Might to be Right. The opinion can only be maintained by ignoring almost every other sentence on every page, in some instances by ignoring many whole successive pages, of what Carlyle set down.

But this said, the previous statement may be re-affirmed. Carlyle preached the absolute sovereignty of Right, in the sense indicated just now. It was the dominance of conscience for which he pleaded, nay, he pleaded that men should be *made of conscience*, if the phrase may pass. It was on character as distinct from conduct that Carlyle concentrated; and character meant to him the realisation, on man's part, that here and now eternal Right had some inspiration for each individual man—an inspiration which might or might not lead to the doing of something already prescribed in the world's established codes, but an inspiration to which, however that might be, man must at once yield on pain of faithlessness and sin. And unless that conception of eternal Right as the immediate and authoritative maker of life was being more and more accepted and acted upon, individuals and nations, however progressive they might appear, were going fast down the hill. Progress was nothing to Carlyle if it were not progress toward an acceptance of that conception as the one impulse regnant over all. The mere improvement of external conduct counted for little: it might only mean that the man was becoming a whited sepulchre. Mere increase of philanthropy counted for little: that might only mean that in becoming somewhat more unselfish yourself you were ministering to your brother-man's selfishness, thrusting him down the slope of materialism with your philanthropic push, and that you were consequently taking away from eternal Right with one hand what

you seemed to offer it with the other. What Carlyle wanted was that men should unitedly transcend all little moral improvements, all little re-arrangements of the social order, all legislative readjustments whereby in getting on to the steed of "progress" on one side they so often tumbled over on the other, of course, all the expediences and evasions by which manifest obligations were put aside or left half-regarded; and, after transcending all these, should unitedly listen for the voice of that everlasting Righteousness which sounded for all who would hear from the universe's heart.

It was not that Carlyle thought lightly either of lapses from the ordinary standards of morality or of the oppressions and inequalities of the social system. One can find many noble passages in his works wherein he denounces transgression, and many others equally noble wherein he calls on the oppressor to let the oppressed go free. But to begin with this, and to end with this, was not to get anywhere near the heart of the matter. What Carlyle pictured as the ideal thing was not mankind painfully planning and carpentering itself into a particular moral shape, and not one section of mankind revising and reforming its attitude to the other half, but every individual unit of mankind revising its inward attitude (its *inward* attitude) to that Right which was ever living and working behind the veil.

So far as the form of Carlyle's literary work is concerned, he was of course a historian first and foremost. Essayist he was too; but the majority of his essays are of the historical kind; and even as to his literary essays, his essays in literary criticism, one is not far wrong in saying that it is the history and character of the author dealt with, rather than the purely literary qualities of his work, with which Carlyle is chiefly concerned. It is as a historian that he stands out. But—and this is the point to be remembered—Carlyle was interested in history just because it showed how men had served or had failed to serve that eternal Right which claimed them. It was not the great movements of history, in their relations to one another, in the world-tendencies out of which they sprang, that captivated Carlyle's mind: it was the individual characters of history, each of them illustrating the service of righteousness or disobedience to that service, that he cared for most. Indeed, he was really a biographer rather than a historian in the strict sense; and this may be maintained with full recognition of the fact that the French Revolution, one of the great movements of the world, found in Carlyle one of its most brilliant recorders. For even in recounting the history of the French Revolution Carlyle's aim was to take one outstanding character after another—be it the French king whose folly brought him to the block; or those heroes who, rising up from the people's ranks, pleaded and fought for the

cause of the oppressed; or those wild fanatics who, serving a good cause by evil ways, at length brought the whole thing to an end in a tumult of fire and blood—and show how each character stood in relation to Right. Carlyle's history is always a succession of vignettes, of individual portraits, done with consummate skill—the features, the mind, the very soul, of each subject looking straight out at you from the canvas as Carlyle set him down.

Carlyle has been called a philosophical historian. This he most emphatically is not. He is, of course, far more than a mere cold annalist, although the number of facts he contrives to crowd into a page is marvellous. He is far more than a mere recorder of battles, though he could do the flag-waving and big gun business as well as anybody when he wanted to, and could make his readers feel the excitement of the charging battalions as few could do it. But he is not a philosophic historian. He does not study the underground movements of the world-spirit and explain how this and that historical event was that spirit's manifestation coming to the surface. He does not link one age to its forerunners, make a connected series out of the seemingly disjointed occurrences of the centuries, put his finger on the procession of causes and effects on the great scale. These are the things which a philosophic historian, properly so called, must do; and Carlyle leaves these things untouched. What he does, over and above the mere recording of fact, is to relate each fact, and each man, to the eternal Right of things. Of course he has many other qualities—he is picturesque and vivid, has humour and many things besides. But in the last resort Carlyle wrote history in the way and for the purpose we have set down.

A fuller exposition would have to take account of certain subsidiary points, among them, how Carlyle's passion for Right was entirely divorced from anything like religious faith in the ordinary sense; and how it held him back from any party-political allegiance. But these matters, though they must be reckoned with before a completely balanced estimate of Carlyle's position can be reached, are not of the essence of the thing. We can the more readily leave them aside here inasmuch as any dealing with them, while it would, so to say, add more than one annexe to the building, would not disturb the central structure in the least. It would still remain true, after all such points had been surveyed, that Carlyle's one message was the absolute dominance of Right.

II.

What then is the flaw in the jewel? Why has this prophet-voice so little influence to-day?

The popular conception of Carlyle takes him as a man of uncertain temper, a man who had a kind of patent Billingsgate of his own which he could on occasion pour out like a lava-stream. The popular conception is not wholly wrong. But we must look a little deeper if we want to understand Carlyle's chief point of failure. The one thing which explains Carlyle's failure as a prophet is the fact that, with all his consuming moral ardour, he was possessed by impatience, and more, by the impatience of despair. Impatience—yes, that is a quality belonging to all the great moral preachers and prophets of the race, but not impatience of Carlyle's kind. Impatience that the realisation of everlasting ideals marches on with such tardy steps; impatience that the wheels of God's chariot move so slowly—that is an essential element in all moral passion; but that kind of impatience is consistent with a large patience toward men, with a gentle treatment of their weakness, with charity toward their faults. It does not infect the prophet's voice with such bitterness that his hearers merely note the bitterness of the voice and miss the essential message, and then, either frowning or smiling, turn away. Indeed, such impatience as that is a very real addition to a prophet's magnetic power.

But Carlyle's impatience was the impatience of despair. The fact is, Carlyle was a pessimist. He preached Right, but he had no real hope that Right would ever win. For him, God and Right were well on the way to defeat, and all he could see was that the world was rushing headlong down a steep slope with black hell at the bottom of it. And he saw everything and everybody through the jaundiced spectacles of his pessimism and his despair. The evidence is to be found on nearly every page of Carlyle's writings, specially of his later ones—for naturally the mood grew upon him; in those *Latter-Day Pamphlets* wherein he dealt with current affairs; and in many a letter enshrined in the pages of Froude. Indeed, it is unspeakably sad to see how for this man, who might have exercised upon the world a ministry of inspiration and hope, who might have called it with clarion voice up to the heights and perhaps have magnetised it till it took at least one or two upward steps—how for this man no ministry was possible except a ministry of doom. He could mourn over a world which had not known the things which belonged to its peace: he could not think that the blind eyes could ever be made to see. He was a voice crying in the wilderness; and this wilderness would never break forth into singing or blossom as the rose. Through and through him Carlyle was possessed by impatience, not the noble impatience which is only hope straining its eyes toward its own fulfilment, but by the impatience of despair.

Now it is not difficult to see how this worked out. Of course,

every one who was not with Carlyle was against him : every one who did not join him in his crusade was wasting his time ; and, useful as his work might be in itself, it was no use expecting a good word from Carlyle. You might indeed expect a word which was anything but good. In fact, through his pessimism Carlyle the prophet frequently became Carlyle the satirist, sometimes even Carlyle the scold. On his very style the effect of his mood showed itself ; and sentence after sentence jerks itself out as if born out of a feeling that all is vanity and vexation of spirit. So, too, when one asks, as one is driven to ask, what led Carlyle to choose for one of his heroes such an unscrupulous tyrant as Frederick the Great (to go back for a moment to an earlier point), and to glorify him through a whole series of volumes, it is in Carlyle's pessimism, or at least in a twist of mind which that pessimism induced, that the explanation is to be found. To Carlyle, the good was always in the position of being worsted ; and the curious twist of mind alluded to is here—Carlyle reversed the thing as well, and seemed to take it for granted that whatever was in the position of being worsted or of fighting against odds was good. Unreasonable, very likely ; but there it is. He saw Frederick facing a continent in arms, standing there like a hunted animal at bay with half Europe clutching at his throat ; and because this was how he pictured the relation between goodness and the world, he judged at Frederick's position as illustrating that relation—with the result that the unscrupulous Frederick was straightway almost canonised and stood forth with a halo round his head. So because it was man's primary duty to face facts, Carlyle came to set an altogether exaggerated value upon mere doggedness ; and when he saw a man with his back to the wall, it was enough to rouse his sympathies to fever-pitch. It is the same thing throughout. Take a passion for goodness, mix it with pessimism, and you have Carlyle, with all the inconsistencies and inconsequences and strange humours that are linked with his name.

One need not excuse these things. But the pity of it is that by these things Carlyle's influence has been so largely discounted for the world. It is on them that the critics fix so often with something like scorn. And through their scorn, together with the scorn they raise in others, the prophet is forgotten, and his larger voice—his one supreme message—dies away. Yet one may plead, perhaps, that fifty years after his death his voice should be listened for once again. One may plead, perhaps, for a revived acknowledgment that on the main point Carlyle was right. How far the plea will be heard is doubtful, certainly. For the world seems, if anything, less ready than in Carlyle's own time to confess the dominance of Right. Yet all the more for that let the plea be made. We cannot

afford to belittle Carlyle. There are always plenty to do that—to “scan him from head to feet, Were it but for a wart or a mole.” Well, let honesty note the wart and the mole, as it must. Yet after noting them, let them be forgotten. Once more, we cannot afford to belittle Carlyle. We need him too much. Better, instead of gloating over the blemishes, take the measure of the whole man and try to stretch ourselves to his height. Better, instead of picking out the few false notes, seek to catch and reproduce the true and mighty chords. For on the main point Carlyle was right.

HENRY W. CLARK.

THE REBUILDING OF ENGLAND.

THE rebuilding of England is in progress, for factories are being reconstructed to accommodate modernised processes; higher offices erected in our cities; while since 1919 over 1,500,000 homes have been built. How future rebuilding can be accomplished as efficiently as possible was one of the main questions discussed in all its bearings at the International Building Congress held last summer in London, which was attended by builders and public works contractors from all over the world. Although much of the material placed before the Congress in a series of reports was of technical interest, the main questions raised were of considerable importance to the whole community.

One of the most significant impressions left upon those who were present was the modest way in which British builders accept the responsibility of rebuilding their country, while showing that they recognise and are studying the main problems that have to be solved. It is clear from the reports that all is not yet well with the industry, and that there are many directions in which there should be improvement.

It is sometimes forgotten that the building industry is one of the foremost primary industries of this country, giving employment, unfortunately seasonal and far too casual, to over 800,000 insured workers. Last year 10,000 employers contributed to the National Federation, but probably another 50,000 are not federated, and some will in time be weeded out, owing to their incapacity to survive, for, unfortunately, there are too many inefficient "bosses" in the building world.

The man-power varies according to the season and the weather. It is lowest in January and highest in June. This seasonal variation causes much suffering to the operatives and their families, and is one of the many problems yet to be faced. Furthermore, the trained man-power is decreasing. It would appear, however, from the deliberations of the Congress that there is good hope that, with better organisation, costs can be reduced, and the present pool of unemployed largely absorbed.

For the amount of future work waiting is almost limitless. If our industrial magnates, our municipal authorities, and our property owners can raise the necessary capital, and at the same time building costs be reduced so as to stimulate the demand, there is bound to be considerable activity in building for years to come. The potential demand for buildings and public works is immense.

A vision of the prospects open to the industry is thus described in the remarkable report presented to the Congress by a Committee on the subject of "Rationalisation":

There must be new factories and works for reorganised and rationalised industries; new dwellings for all classes; reconstruction required after slum clearance; public and commercial buildings; construction of roads, tunnels, bridges, and other works in connection with the relief of traffic congestion; improved inland transport facilities; and the development of smaller ports for coastwise traffic.

The most farsighted British builders are therefore directing their attention to the policy of President Hoover in the United States. The Americans made a mistake nine years ago, after the depression of 1921, in seeking a cure by a general reduction of wages. This policy has since been changed to a reduction of costs by other methods, especially by increasing productivity and by raising the standards of efficiency, while maintaining the level of purchasing power.

A great deal of valuable information on this question may be found in the report of the delegation on industrial conditions that visited Canada and the U.S.A. in 1927. Sir William Mackenzie, now Lord Amulree, was the Chairman of the delegation. It has always been a mystery why the late Conservative President of the Board of Trade allowed such a useful document to be pigeon-holed in Whitehall. It still lies there collecting the dust, and those interested should obtain this document, Command Paper 2833, from the Stationery Office. Lord Amulree and his Committee devoted careful attention in their report to the question of building, and pointed out how in the United States in 1927 "in old establishments, saddled with old buildings, where capital expenditure is restricted, much remains to be done in the way of equipment and lay-out of plant."

Lord Amulree's report should have made it clear to the late Government that building is a key industry. However, they disregarded the writing on the wall. To-day it is left to a committee, set up largely on the initiative of Mr. Alfred Bossom, and called the Building Industry Council of Review, to undertake, with the enthusiastic and whole-hearted co-operation of the leaders of all branches, an investigation from within of the industry's present position and its future. Lord Amulree is President; Lord Riddell, Sir Tudor Walters and Sir Banister Fletcher are Vice-Presidents, and on the Committee are such outstanding men as Mr. G. M. Burt and Sir Walker Smith of the National Federation of Building Trade Employers, Mr. Richard Coppock, the extremely capable secretary of the Operatives, Mr. Howard Robertson, the Principal of the Architectural Association, Mr. Sydney Tatchell, F.R.I.B.A., Mr. A. G. Cross, Mr. J. D. Stitt, Mr. Walter Meakin, and others.

The present Government are aware of the work of this Council,

and are more alive than their predecessors in expressing their appreciation of the national service performed by the building industry. It is to be hoped that Mr. Hartshorn, Mr. Snowden, and Mr. Arthur Greenwood will study closely the example of what was done in America in 1929 after the financial crisis on Wall Street. President Hoover then called together the leaders of industry, commerce, and finance, and asked them to devise plans so as to co-ordinate public and private building, expand constructional operations, and at the same time maintain employment and wages at the existing level.

At the Building Congress in London last year it was pointed out that, while American practice or American methods may not be applicable to British circumstances, and although economic circumstances are widely different in some respects, the general outlook of President Hoover and of the American contractors might well be adopted by the Government of this country. It was suggested that by stimulating the demand for building, partly based on programmes arranged by industrial leaders and partly on money provided on low interest rates, the revival of British industry might be encouraged, and a substantial proportion of the building trade operatives at present unemployed absorbed again. Many building employers in this country are, however, very strongly against housing subsidies, which they consider have served to disorganise the industry. At the Congress it was stated that the American method of maintaining employment and wages in the industry "was in sharp contrast with the artificial methods hitherto adopted in Great Britain, especially with the policy of subsidising one branch (that of house building) and so throwing the resources of the industry out of gear."

Nevertheless, the Congress recognised that the increase of house building, largely with the encouragement of subsidies provided by the tax-payers, has been one of the most remarkable developments of the last ten years. There have been built since 1919 some 900,000 houses in England and Wales, with the financial assistance of eighteen different forms of subsidy, exclusive of those built by private enterprise alone. There is some doubt as to the exact amount that will be spent on these houses when housing loans have been cleared, but there has already been paid under the various Housing Acts in Great Britain nearly £100,000,000. According to the Journal of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, the average cost of each of the 174,000 houses built under the 1919 Act was £1,080, and their total cost about £190,000,000. When the loans are eventually paid off towards the end of the present century, it is estimated that the subsidies payable under all the Acts, including those of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Wheatley, will amount to

nearly £600,000,000. This figure, of course, leaves out of account the possible liabilities that will be incurred under Mr. Greenwood's Bill.

This is not the place to discuss the political implications of housing subsidies, but the considered views expressed by the builders at the Congress are worthy of study. They urged that the artificial stimulus of the subsidy has upset the balance of the trade. Before the war some 41 per cent. of building activity in large towns was on dwelling houses; 18 per cent. on factories and workshops; and over 16 per cent. on public buildings. Since the war, 65 per cent. of the activity has been on housing, 7½ per cent. on factories, and only 7 per cent. on public buildings. The effect of subsidies upon costs was thus summarised during the Congress, and is of interest in view of the dogmatism of politicians on this intricate point. "A high subsidy tends to increase the rate of production but to raise prices; a lowered subsidy reduces cost but slackens the pace of building; a mobile subsidy increases cost and also delays production."

Another development since the war has been the growth of Building Societies. Their advances in 1919 amounted to £15,000,000, and in 1928 to £58,000,000. During the same period their assets have nearly quadrupled. This increase in the number of persons purchasing houses has given much work to the smaller type of local builder.

The larger contractors have had to introduce many changes owing to the development of steel frames and reinforced concrete buildings. The lofty skeletons of steel, along which intrepid men perform acrobatic feats that far outvie those of the music-hall, have become commonplaces of our cities. It is doubtful, however, whether the revision of by-laws, so necessary for the sake of the safety of the public, has kept pace with changes in structural methods. It is said that we are building far too strongly, and are thus expending unnecessarily a great deal of money which might be avoided, if only regulations were more up-to-date. A strong Committee is at last to set to work on the revision of the London Building Act, which was consolidated in 1930.

An internal change in the industry, not generally realised by the public, is the growth of the sub-contractor. There are specialists in flooring, steel erection, shopfitting, electrical work, heating, ventilation, and lifts. This has had its effect upon costs, possibly in the direction of increases, and has also complicated the task of those who are fighting for the better organisation of the operatives. There has also been in the past ten years a measure of mass production. An example of this is the manufacture of doors and windows, which are often imported from abroad. We have still far too many

varieties of materials making for extra costs. There is a real need for more use to be made of the standard specifications for building materials prepared by the British Engineering Standards Association.

On the human side of the industry, there is increasing goodwill and a much more friendly understanding between employers and operatives. This is largely due to the work of the National Joint Council, which has secured a measure of uniformity and discipline, and has largely eliminated local disputes. Much is due to the personality of the leaders on each side. Such a man as Mr. George Burt of Messrs. Mowlem, the President of the Institute of Builders, with his fair and broad outlook, is an asset of incalculable value to the industry. On the other side, Mr. Barron, the President of the Building Trades Operatives is a man in a million, absolutely sincere and straightforward. With two such men we may hope that employers and operatives will together find just solutions of some of the difficult problems of wages and conditions looming ahead. The possible withdrawal of the Operative Societies from the Joint Council in March 1931 will lead to a grave situation, and demand real statesmanship on both sides.

Modern science, too, is revolutionising the industry, and thanks to the efforts of Dr. R. E. Stradling, the Director of the Government's Building Research Station near Watford, and his enthusiastic staff, a Science of Building is being evolved. In order to keep pace with the new requirements, a higher standard of education is required. The Board of Education, in conjunction with the Institute of Builders, recently inaugurated "National Certificates and Diplomas in Building." It is hoped shortly to found a Chair of Building at the University of Cambridge. A University Degree Course in Building has recently been instituted at the University College of South Wales at Cardiff. This is the first course in the kingdom, and shows the rapid progress which is being made towards placing traditional practices upon a scientific basis; and the increased responsibility of the builder in connection with new forms of construction in steel and reinforced concrete. The enhanced status of the industry is now officially recognised by a University.

The traditional industries, of which building is typical, are founded mainly on processes developed centuries ago by trial and error. Although building is trying to adapt itself to the new conditions of a post-war world, there are difficulties which have not satisfactorily been overcome. Building is not yet responsive to all modern demands. The reason is that building has really a more complex problem to face than the newer industries, in so far as it has to contend with the forces of nature. In a sense, then, it is an

anomaly that physics and chemistry, which are concerned with just these forces and have led to the growth of the modern industries, have not been applied earlier to building. As Dr. Stradling has pointed out, when there is no scientific knowledge behind the processes that are being tried by an industry, there springs up an age of "patent medicines." Already in building there are many novelties of the quack variety.

Reliable information regarding alternative materials and methods of construction is being accumulated at the Building Research Station. Standard specifications of materials must be regarded as constituting the basis of progress, providing safeguards for the user and guides to the producer.

Conditions in the United States differ in many respects from those in this country. But although the size of building operations is much greater, it seems clear that there are many methods used in the States that could be adapted here. The following are some of the points on which there was a large measure of agreement at the Congress:

1. A bonus should be given for completing a job before contract time.
2. A minimum rate of wages with a proper system of bonus on output would give the operatives better real wages, while costs would be appreciably reduced.
3. All schemes should be fully considered before the commencement of any work, and a progress schedule prepared. This will mean clients making up their minds, and architects providing cut and dried plans.

British building employers are not shirking the complex questions involved in rationalising their industry. They are studying the experience of other countries so that the rebuilding of England may proceed with the greatest benefit to all concerned, lower costs to the consumer, and a fair division of remuneration to the producer, whether he be a bricklayer or the building organiser.

B. S. TOWNROE.

LIBRARIES AND EDUCATION.

FIVE and a half million pounds is the estimated cost of raising the school age by one year, and the recommendations of the Hadow Report have consigned to the melting-pot much of current educational practice. There is evidently a feeling abroad that the seventy-five million pounds at present expended on scholastic effort is not producing quite the result hoped for, and the proposed added year, together with a revision of method, is to be the remedy. Whilst recognising the benefits accruing from popular education since its inception in 1870, it is not so certain that the revised policy alone will do all that is expected and required. In the first place, it is too commonly assumed that education is just a matter of schools and teachers, that the beginnings and endings lie there, and that the only need is for more schools, more teachers, and a longer school age. This cannot be accepted, because pre- and post-school days are more deeply concerned with education than is usually realised. If the school fosters the capacity and desire for knowledge it has done its work, and perhaps the chief test is the continued progress of those released from its discipline and atmosphere.

The great need of the moment is to stem the educational leakage which occurs at school-leaving age. Not more than 20 per cent. of children leaving primary schools transfer to continuation schools, the rest for the most part being in danger of rapidly shedding or forgetting what they have acquired. This is surely a serious state of affairs, and indicates a wasteful policy in not providing more adequately for the adolescent who is unwilling to continue on scholastic lines. Much, no doubt, could be done to consolidate the work of the school by a greater use of agencies already existing but needing expansion. Among such may be counted a fuller service of books and libraries, without an intelligent use of which no great educational harvest is possible. Yet the expenditure on popular libraries in this country amounts to but one and a quarter million pounds, or one shilling per head of population: a very disproportionate amount in comparison with the money spent on schools and pedagogy.

Tracing the growth of popular libraries and popular education in this country, it is surprising that, until recent years, there has been little or no co-operation, yet plentiful supplies of books are absolutely necessary both within and without the school. The Reports on "The Teaching of English in England," published in 1921, and "Books in Public Elementary Schools," emphasise this, whilst the "Report on Public Libraries," published in 1927, reveals a most uneven provision of public libraries the country

over. Although urban libraries date from 1849, and during the greater part of their history have been restricted and crippled financially, those covering the rural districts, and under county control, are of much more recent formation. In these rural areas, however, the county schemes are doing much to relieve a book poverty which has continued over-long, but great development is still needed, especially in the more populous centres where conditions are more urban than rural, and where a rural book-supply would be quite inadequate. Thanks to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust (which has done, and is still doing, so much for libraries everywhere), and the Library Association, there is now emerging some growth of concerted effort to develop and unify the whole library service. The coming years are likely to see a great advance in this direction—an advance that will be much valued by the isolated student and others far removed from the wealthier literary centres.

Other evidence of book poverty is afforded by the comparatively bookless homes of working and even middle-class people. Some little time ago a schoolmaster, more to test the home resources than for any other purpose, requested his scholars each to bring from home a book. He was amazed by the response; some—a few—had to admit the entire absence of a book of any description in their homes, whilst others brought chiefly reward books and Sunday school prizes. Here, again, is something needing attention. People must be encouraged to regard book possession as of some account, and that the continuous feeding of the mind is no less important than the nourishment of the body: the home library must be an institution prized and used.

Notwithstanding the present uneven library service and book poverty of the schools, note should be taken that some use is already made of certain classic volumes in school work. These are usually analysed, dissected, and made the subject of questionnaires for examination purposes, to such an extent as to produce nothing but loathing towards the selected volumes in later years. This, very evidently, is the wrong approach to literature. On the other hand, the cultivation of the library habit and the approach to good books by attraction, with perhaps occasional informal discussion, is more likely to make reading a living force than if it is pursued entirely as a task. What is needed, then, is a great extension of libraries of well-chosen books in every type of school, housed in rooms set aside for the purpose and suitably equipped; that is, very much on the lines of the junior libraries or young people's rooms to be found in the more enterprising public libraries. To these rooms scholars must have access to handle books, browse and read with as little restriction as pos-

sible, and also to borrow for home use. In such an atmosphere literary taste and the capacity for research will be more lastingly fostered and prove an immense and permanent influence. This provision would do much to rescue the young, and eventually those of older years, from the baneful effects of the less worthy Press and other ephemeral productions, and so free from exploitation the mind of the common people.

But these beginnings of reading need considerable amplification to ensure continuity. Every child before ending school life should be introduced to its town's library. Organised lessons on the library, and in the library, explaining its resources, arrangements, the use of catalogues and other literary aids, together with methods of research, should be given; all this to be followed by simple tests in finding books and subjects in shelves and catalogues. Such work is common in some towns, but it needs to be adopted wherever schools and libraries exist. One difficulty, however, is the entire lack of public libraries in some school areas, not a few of which possess expensive and extensive schools of undoubted merit, but which have not yet realised the necessity of a public library to carry forward their good work.

It is no exaggeration to state that for the vast proportion of elementary school leavers the public library is the chief avenue of intellectual advance: it is the place to turn to in the solution of many problems and also the source of that general culture which the schools are endeavouring to promote. As Lord Eustace Percy, in his recently-published *Education at the Cross Roads*, indicates, the capacity to use effectively books and libraries is a tremendous aid to continued education; it not only reinforces the work of the school, but it also places those who are far removed from schools and teachers in the position of helping themselves to what is, or should be, common knowledge.

Elaborating somewhat the theme before us, it may be of practical value to describe what has been accomplished in Halifax, an industrial town of nearly 100,000 people, with an educational record widely recognised. The measure of success may be gauged when it is stated that the whole of the libraries now have 30 per cent. of the population enrolled as readers, and an annual circulation of over 600,000 issues. Exactly how this large circulation has been built up requires some little explanation. Twenty years ago the beginnings of a systematised scheme of children's libraries in the schools were laid, and the 15,000 odd volumes contained therein now circulate 120,000 times yearly. These libraries are stocked with exactly the type of works calculated to interest and instruct young readers, and so the beginnings of a love for, and knowledge of, books are laid. But this is only the beginning of the cultivation of the art of

reading; other activities carry it further. The library lesson is given in the adult libraries, and is designed to introduce to, and make better known, the 100,000 volumes available for those whose schooldays are about to end. This lesson is no mere aimless wandering over the shelves, but something really effective and educational.

A typical lesson may be not without interest. First of all, the children who are to visit the library are given in school, by the teacher, an interesting chat on libraries in general, their functions and possibilities. In this connection, the beginnings and development of the printed book may be brought under review, and something be said about the great national collections such as the British Museum, the University libraries, etc. From this is an easy transition to the great town libraries, their establishment, organisation, and upkeep. All this is by way of preface to the library-lesson proper. Imagine a dozen to twenty children assembled in the library. The first thing is to tell them of the general disposition of the books on the shelves, how the two main divisions—books of fiction and books in other classes of literature—are arranged. The former, it is pointed out, are shelved alphabetically by author, whilst the latter are classified by subject—all books about, say, botany being together, all about Africa, and in fact any other topic, being shelved in proximity, and bearing a distinctive class number. It is pointed out that fingerposts in the shape of shelf labels and column headings direct the reader to the particular books required. The next consideration is an inspection of the catalogue, with explanation that one series is devoted to authors, arranged alphabetically, and another to subjects, following the classification of the books on the shelves. Yet another important aid to an intelligent use of the library is the alphabetical key to the classification, a volume that gives the required number of any subject. For example, the class number of botany is 580, of animals 590, and architecture 720. It is of vital importance that young readers should understand how to use the catalogues, otherwise time may be wasted in the search for specific books or subjects.

From this point the pupils may be tested in finding books. One may be asked to find a volume on, say, flying, another a book on gardening, a third, a book on engineering, and so on. This is a test for finding books by subject, and it involves a reference to the Key to Classification, and possibly the subject catalogues. As a test in another direction a child may be asked to fetch a few books by a given author, either from the shelves devoted to fiction or from those in the classified series. If the latter, the task is not so easy, because reference must be first made to the author and non-fiction catalogues, as the books required may be widely separated on different shelves. These several tests have an educational value apart

from actual initiation into the use of the library. The next stage of the lesson may be usefully some instruction in the use of books of reference, and it is really wonderful the amount of information which may be extracted from an intelligent use of such well-known volumes as the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *Whitaker*, *The Dictionary of National Biography*, *Haydn's Dictionary of Dates*, and similar works. Other works not so well-known, as, for example, *The Book of the Dead*, *Facsimiles of Autographs in the British Museum*, *Masterpieces of Industrial Art*, rightly handled, also yield good material and enlarge the child's knowledge and imagination.

Following the library lesson, a logical sequence is the research work of young people working "on their own." A small number of older boys or girls are periodically detailed to "dig" information from books, and in this way profitable work is done. Sometimes they are allowed to choose their own topics—a wise proceeding—as this results in diversity of essays and stimulates additional interest.

The linking of effort—school and library—has been of the greatest value and is reflected to some extent in the greater and better use of the public libraries in later years. As a matter of fact, it should be a collateral activity everywhere. In America the use of libraries is more widely understood, and the expenditure on them four times greater than in this country. This means not only more buildings, more books, larger staffs, and other facilities for wider service, but greater intellectual power in the common affairs of life.

EDWARD GREEN.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

DIPLOMACY AND GOLD.

AT the turn of the year it looked as if an attempt was being made by the combined forces of diplomacy, finance and economic science to avert the threatened disaster of a breakdown in the international function of gold. It is a rare thing in the history of public affairs to be given so clear an illustration of the interdependence of the various main spheres of human activity as we have been given in the prevailing adversity that afflicts the world. The late Lord Curzon's innocence of oil in the Mosul diplomacy seems to symbolise the diplomatic atmosphere of an age that is past. In present conditions diplomacy, economics and finance have become spectacularly interwoven, with the result that the technicalities of the gold standard and certain aspects of pure economics, especially of Russian economics, have become a matter of equal concern with the purely political element in high diplomacy.

Serious as is the continued, and in some ways worsened, political element in the existing problem, it is not more serious than the financial. The present activities of the leading central banks directly affect the working of the Young Plan, and are a contributory factor to the state of tension that makes of Franco-German relations one of the chief obstacles to quiet development throughout the world. It is demonstrably the case that the changed ratio between the value of gold and of goods, due to the hoarding, scarcity and consequent dearness of gold, with its corollary of cheapness of goods, is one of the facts that may force Germany to invoke the postponement clauses of the Young Plan. (See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, January 1931, pp. 112-16.)

There began in Paris on January 2nd a series of informal exchanges between representatives of the French and British Treasuries of which the main object, although not publicly divulged, was commonly understood to be a solution of the gold problem. A few weeks earlier the chiefs of the two banking institutions, Mr. Montagu Norman and M. Moret, had met for a similar purpose, but had not succeeded in discovering common enough ground to justify the hope that wider international action could be taken. The French banking authorities had not yet brought themselves fully to recognise the general nature of the existing danger. Now, however, incipient unemployment (France till now having been totally immune from unemployment), the revelation of certain banking difficulties and other manifestations of distress in France gave a dramatic illustration of the potential futility of large masses of gold as a safeguard against French susceptibility to the general distress. It began to appear possible,

therefore, that a more sympathetic ear would be given to talk of the common good. It was therefore arranged that Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, Deputy Controller of Finance in the British Treasury, and Mr. S. D. Waley, an Assistant Secretary of the British Treasury, should be in Paris on January 2nd and should meet certain officials of the French Treasury. The Treasuries themselves were not the competent authorities to take action in the matter, but it was clearly the tactic that an attempt should be made to prepare the ground for a renewal of the Norman-Moret talks, it being the further aspiration to extend the field of inquiry to embrace, first the banking authorities of the United States and then of the nine or so remaining States of the world on whose co-operation depends the smooth working of the gold standard and of the exchange machinery. The central difficulty, as in all important diplomatic enterprise, is to organise whole-hearted international co-operation, based on an equal recognition of the general need. Yet on elementary grounds of common sense and common convenience there should be little difficulty. It is one of the depressing things in big affairs that common sense stands little chance against the cross currents of muddle and mixed motives. Just as in the League of Nations there exists a diplomatic machinery wherein the constituent nations could seek a common security, but prefer instead to seek their own exclusive security and thus defeat a simple object; so in the Bank for International Settlements there exists a machinery for obviating a common financial danger, but the constituent central banks have not the courage to use it.

In certain of its aspects the problem is technical and complicated. Its essence is simple. The threatened famine and the present scarcity in gold, bringing in its train an increased value of gold and therefore a decreased value of goods, substantially alters the basis on which the Young Plan was calculated. Reparation being payable only in the indirect form of goods, it is an established fact that Germany's present effective liability under the Young Plan is considerably greater than the liability prescribed in that Plan. But the gold scarcity is the result not of a shortage in supply, but of the defective circulation of existing gold, due to the excessive accumulation and retention of gold in certain central banks. The amount of freely circulating gold is inadequate to the need of international trade and exchange.

Prominent British diplomatists, economists, and financiers (for instance, Lord D'Abernon, Sir Charles Addis, Sir Henry Strakosch, Professor O. M. W. Sprague) have in late months publicly emphasised the danger of a universal catastrophe unless determined international action is taken without delay. Sir

Charles Addis, in addition to being a Director of the Bank of England, is the British representative in the Bank for International Settlements, which was set up by the Young Plan. The B.I.S. has at its disposal a workable machinery for controlling the international use of gold, but such is the perversity and lack of unity of purpose among the leading financial and industrial nations that the Basle machinery is being allowed to rust.

Article 3 of the Statutes of the Bank reads thus: "The objects of the Bank are: to promote the co-operation of central banks and to provide additional facilities for international financial operations; and to act as trustee or agent in regard to international financial settlements entrusted to it under agreements with the parties concerned." The function of a super-central-bank is thus suggested as a purpose of the first importance. If proof were needed that such a suggestion was intentional, it was given by Sir Charles Addis in the form of an address delivered to the Institute of Bankers in London last spring. "Obviously," he said, "we must economise in the use of gold. And here the Bank for International Settlements can come to the help of the Central Banks. It can hold balances, as reserves for their note issue or deposit liabilities, which may be regarded as the equivalent of gold, since it is only in gold currencies that the Bank will deal. It is for that reason that the Bank is not required to hold any gold reserve of its own. It has no currency of its own to protect, and its deposits will in fact be covered not by forty or fifty, but by a hundred per cent. or more of liquid assets. The Bank has no power of note issue, and can only redistribute existing credit. It cannot by itself create credit, but it can do so through Central Banks. It may be objected that this may lead to inflation, but, after the powerful dose of deflation from which we are still suffering, there is no need for anyone to be alarmed into a panic if a moderate dose of temporary inflation should be applied by the Board, by way of what the doctors used to call an alternative. We need have no fear that there is any danger of inflation being carried too far in the hands of the Governors of the Central Banks on the Board of the Bank for International Settlements.

"As regards the future, if you care to give wings to your fancy and let it roam, you may like to look forward to a financial Utopia, when the cumbrous and costly physical transfer of gold will no longer be necessary. A debit and credit entry in the books of the Bank will be all that is required. Nor need your imagination stop there. It is at least theoretically possible that a time may come when the elements of freight and insurance having been eliminated the gold points of export and import, between which the rates of exchange oscillate round parity, will tend to draw

more closely together until they finally merge in an international unit, not of money but of account; when the dealers in foreign exchange will cry out, like the artificers in the temple at Ephesus, that their craft is in danger of coming to naught, because the Bank for International Settlements is prepared to make transfers of the new international unit to or from any part of the world at par, just as the Federal Reserve Bank transfers the American dollar at par to any part of the United States."

There has been no dearth of sound technical advice on which to base international action. The Gold Delegation of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, which met for its third session on January 12th, 1931, had already in the late autumn of 1930 issued an interim report, embodying the results of its first two sessions (August 1929 and June 1930) in which certain valuable material was collected and certain practical remedies suggested.

The Gold Delegation's appointed work is that of "examining into and reporting upon the causes of fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold and their effect on the economic life of the nations." The interim report is one of the most valuable dossiers of expert research ever compiled at Geneva. It runs to three substantial volumes, one containing the report proper, the second a series of selected documents submitted to the delegation, the third a full conspectus of existing legislation on gold in all the chief countries of the world.

Among the selected documents are memoranda by Sir Henry Strakosch, Chairman and Managing Director of the Union Corporation, London, and Mr. O. M. W. Sprague, of the Bank of England, formerly Converse Professor of Banking and Finance at the Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. Sir Henry's conclusion is that "if we are to be saved the complex reactions, the economic jolts and setbacks, and the social and political friction which frequent and violent changes in the distribution of national wealth and income through fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold produce—if, in a word, economic progress is not to be seriously impeded, concerted action by the gold standard countries is imperative. If it is impossible to control the supply of monetary gold—and it is manifest that it cannot be controlled—then it is clear that the problem can only be attacked from the side of monetary policy." And again: "The conquest of the forces of nature by the human race is increasing at a rate undreamt of only a little while ago. We are justly proud of it, and also of our achievements in the direction of co-operation for the purpose of 'rationalising' physical production. Yet we are denied the full enjoyment of the fruits of this conquest because

we have apparently failed to 'rationalise' the monetary use of gold by co-operative action, though that alone can secure for us undisturbed economic progress—the very foundation of social and political peace." Professor Sprague's conclusion is that "In the event of a shrinkage of gold production and clear evidence of a deficiency of the supply owing to inadequate reserves under existing legal requirements, the appropriate remedy would be a very gradual reduction in the reserves of the central banks of issue throughout the world. . . . We need not be slaves to the supply of gold, and the reason is the very simple one that the character and strength of the credit and currency of a country is in no fundamental way determined, much less measured, by the amount of gold which is held."

The Delegation's suggestions for remedial measures aim at the prevention of catastrophe within the next ten years. The main suggestion is that the reserves of the central banks should be reduced: ". . . the extent to which the concentration of gold in the reserves of central banks or other currency authorities will effectively economise its use," runs one passage of the report, "must depend, among other things, upon the legislation regulating these reserves . . . the minimum reserves which are required by law to-day are to a large extent the outcome of past tradition, of convention, and habit . . . the minimum gold cover demanded is, in normal times, never employed . . . a considerable economy could quite certainly be accomplished were the current accepted minima reduced. We believe that this could be done without in any way weakening the general credit structure."

Contributory remedies, such as the increased use of cheques instead of currency notes, were also suggested. In most countries, including France, the use of cheques is not a common habit. The delegation records its conviction that if serious international action were taken without delay the difficulty would be found to be not insuperable.

The upshot of the Paris conversations had not been made known when this paper was written. One thing, however, did emerge, namely that the one or two eminent French journalists who are notoriously and apparently incurably bent on preventing the removal of any cause of friction between France and Great Britain, took the occasion to indulge a little of their humour. One of them, before the conversations had had time to develop, incontinently announced that they were bound to fail, and that no international action on the subject of gold would ever be taken. The other wrote one of his routine attacks on Great Britain, comprehensively conceived and vigorously expressed, without, however, attempting any practical damage. The human taste for change

being almost as habitual as the taste for quarrelling, it seems odd that the journalists aforesaid do not tire of their own views about Great Britain, or do not in a mood of adventure try to write constructively about a problem that involves a grave danger to mankind.

THE DISARMAMENT CONVENTION.

It is a poor thing that has been produced by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. It is probably better than nothing, for even a lame and unbusinesslike draft convention forces the Governments to talk disarmament, even though they do not practise it. The draft being finished, moreover, the conference will have to meet to discuss it, and there is always the chance that for very shame the Governments represented at the conference will be driven into sincerity.

The printed text of the convention was issued half-way through December. It takes up twenty-seven foolscap pages of print, is divided into six parts, containing together sixty articles. At the same time there was issued the Commission's printed report, a document of thirty-seven similar pages, in which are incorporated the general or particular reservations made by several delegations.

Article I of the Convention contains a general preamble in these words: "The High Contracting Parties agree to limit, and so far as possible to reduce, their respective armaments as provided in the present Convention." Part I deals with personnel. It embodies certain elaborate formulæ for the limitation of what are called (Article 2) "the average daily effectives in the land, sea, and air armed forces and formations organised on a military basis." That phrasing has been one of the cardinal problems of the last four years' work, and constitutes, with the subsequent definitions of what it means, the main criterion whereby the practical value of the draft will be judged. The real point lies in what the chapter does not contain rather than what it does contain. It does not provide that in computing "effectives" any account should be taken of trained reserves, but only of troops actually training with the colours. Lord Cecil has defended so big a defect by the argument that it has been proved impossible to induce conscriptionist countries to agree to any convention which took account of trained reserves, and that half a loaf is better than none. That is not an argument that will be universally convincing, for a nation's trained reserves are often the main source of its armed strength. It was precisely Lord Cecil who, in March 1927, first proposed the inclusion of trained reserves in the computation of effectives. He was opposed by France in the person of M. Paul

Boncour. In 1928 the British Government committed itself to accept the French thesis. The arguments against the present draft, in this particular respect, as used by Count Bernstorff at the session of November and December 1930, were precisely the arguments used by Lord Cecil in 1927.

The German Delegation tabled a full reservation against the draft. It is recorded in paragraph 79 of the Commission's report in these words: "The German delegation has made the following general reservation on the whole of Part I and the annexed table: 'The stipulations do not provide—either directly or by a reduction in the number of the annual contingent, or by a strict determination of the period of active service—for a reduction or limitation of trained reserves, who, after having completed their service with the colours, continue to be registered and liable by law for military service, notwithstanding the fact that these reserves, though they do not exist in professional armies in the strict sense of the term, constitute the main body of the personnel in countries possessing conscript armies. Moreover, the stipulations do not provide for any method whereby the effectives of conscript armies serving with the colours and in reserve, and professional effectives, whose military value is naturally not capable of comparison, could be reduced to comparable units of calculation.'"

It is argued by the apologists of the convention that the limitation of the number of men serving with the colours at any given time would indirectly limit the scope for the building up of trained reserves. It is obvious, however, that a conscript country, by reducing the period of service, could arrange for a more numerous relay of trained men which would leave the number of men serving at any moment unaffected, but would not diminish the total number of trained men. France, who has led the opposition to the limitation of reserves, is content with the draft as it stands.

Part II, which deals with the limitation of material, should be read in conjunction with Part III, dealing with budgetary expenditure. The important article is Article 29 of Part III, which stipulates that "the total annual expenditure of each of the High Contracting Parties on his land, sea and air forces and formations organised on a military basis, shall be limited to the figure laid down for such Party, and in accordance with the conditions prescribed in the Annex." It is clear, as Lord Cecil has argued, that the only effective way of limiting material is to limit expenditure on material. Material that is not made cannot exist, whereas it would be impossible ever to control the accumulation, for instance, of rifle and machine-gun parts hidden in various parts of a country. Part IV provides for an annual exchange of information about the carrying out of the convention. Each party undertakes

to forward to the League full information each year about its armaments; and the League is instructed to publish the information each year. Part V contains (Article 39) a common undertaking by the parties, subject to reciprocity, "to abstain from the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, or similar gases, and of all analogous liquids, substances, or processes. They undertake unreservedly to abstain from the use of all bacteriological methods of warfare." Part VI (Miscellaneous Provisions) includes the provision of a Permanent Disarmament Commission to be stationed at Geneva "with the duty of following the execution of the present Convention" (Article 40): a provision which has been characterised by Lord Cecil as the most encouraging thing that happened at Geneva.

It will probably occur to realistic people that the draft, lacking as it is in present value, may be useful at some future time, if and when the nations genuinely decide to reduce their armaments. With certain necessary emendations it may become an instrument for such reduction. Part I, for instance, would have to be emended to apply to all trained reserves. If and when so happy a time arrives, certain of the provisions now contained in the Convention will be transformed into something practical. The limitation of budgetary expenditure on armaments will then become an excellent device, as also the provision of a permanent commission to supervise the execution of the Convention. Less clear, however, is the purpose, or the sense, of a commitment against the use of poisonous gases, liquids and germs in war. The humanisation of war is a curiously muddled conception. Even if such a thing were possible, no logical person would think it desirable. The true object surely is the abolition of war. War is more likely to be abolished if its essential nature is emphasised, not palliated. What would one think if Geneva were to draft a solemn convention ordaining that the slaves of Liberia, although they might be whipped to death, must not be kicked to death? One would deduce that Geneva's object was not the abolition, but the continuance of slavery, and that in any case Geneva was simply silly. It is at least doubtful if it is worse for a soldier to be poisoned than to be torn limb from limb or buried alive; but even if it be granted that poison gases are worse than any other weapon of war, it becomes a matter of speculative common sense whether it really would serve the interests of peace to create the impression that war can be anything but intolerable? The wrapping up of war in cotton wool would more logically be the business of mad legislators who wanted to perpetuate war. There would probably be more sense in abolishing the Red Cross than in abolishing poison gas, if one wanted to discourage people from going to war.

SPAIN IN THE MELTING POT.

Increasing unrest in Spain has brought to the surface the issue between Monarchy and Republic. It would be easy, however, for those who forget the traditions that corrupted parliamentary practice in Spain before September 1923, to overestimate the importance of the popular indignation now directed against governmental abuse. In the pre-Directorate days the only solid institutions in Spain were the Throne, the Church and the Army. When, on September 13th, 1923, Don Miguel Primo de Rivera, Marqués de Estella, who was then the Military Governor of Barcelona, informed the King that the Army had overthrown the Government and thus proposed to rescue the people from misrule, the upshot was a foregone conclusion. The said Government played its last card by submitting for the King's signature a series of decrees including an authorisation for the arrest of General Primo; but the King, having to decide between the Army and parliamentary government, of course threw in his lot with the Army. He invited General Primo to take charge of the country. Nor could it logically be surprising that the discontent subsequently generated by the Primo dictatorship in some degree recoiled upon the King, although it remained broadly characteristic of the Spanish temperament that throughout the period of the Directorate the Monarchy as an institution retained its popularity among the masses of the people.

Hence it was in January 1930 that the King found little difficulty in flitting lightly from his discredited Primo to his new creature General Berenguer. General Primo, disturbed by symptoms of discontent against his rule, had begun to canvass the feeling of the Army, for he knew that in 1930, as in 1923, the Army was the chief dispenser of political power. The King, however, having decided in his own mind that Primo's day was done, summoned the Dictator and curtly informed him that he, the King, being the supreme head of the Army and the Navy, was the quarter from which he should seek the information he desired. General Primo, recognising in the King's rebuke a sufficient indication of his fate, at once handed in his resignation. The King appointed in his place one General Don Damaso Berenguer Fusté, Count of Xauen and Head of the King's Household. The chief qualification of General Berenguer for the post was his loyalty to the King and his resentment against General Primo for a period of six months' imprisonment suffered in 1924. No doubt the King, who had always displayed a certain astute opportunism, foresaw the possibility that his own position might not weather the prevailing discontent unscathed, and therefore looked well ahead in entrusting the

Government to one who was deeply attached to himself. The danger to the Monarchy itself was soon illustrated. On February 27th, 1930, Señor Sanchez Guerra, the former Conservative Prime Minister, addressing a big meeting in a Madrid theatre, made the first important contribution to a controversy that has continued ever since, by an unreserved attack upon the King. "King Alfonso," he said, "has lost the confidence of the nation. I am not a Republican, but the Spanish people has a right to change its form of government if it wishes, and must do so in a legal manner. The King was responsible for the establishment of the late Dictatorship and must be held responsible for its misdeeds. He has dishonoured his constitutional agreement with the people."

The report of that speech ran through Spain with a rapidity and an effect such as drove the King and General Berenguer into something like panic. They imposed a stricter Press censorship and wholly suspended the right of speech and public meeting for political purposes. Count Romanones, the Liberal leader, had promptly made the public comment that in spite of Señor Sanchez Guerra's disclaimer of Republican sympathy, the speech proved the existence of strong Republican sentiment. Count Romanones himself maintained his loyalty to the Throne. In those early days of 1930 the Republican agitation was confined, so far as it was publicly manifested, to the parties of the Left. The Chairman of the Socialist Party and of the General Union of Workers, Señor Julian Besteirro, openly urged his followers to prepare for the establishment of a Republic. The so-called Republican Party had before the beginning of 1930 been as obscure a cult in Spain as was that of the Nazis in Germany before September 1930. So small and so apparently contemptible was it that it was the only pre-Dictatorship Party which General Primo had not thought it worth while to suppress. It now became a focus of national discontent. Its leader, Señor Alexander Lerroux, became famous overnight. The analogy between the growth of Republicanism in Spain and of Nazism in Germany was strongly marked. In both cases recruits were attracted from all quarters, parties and classes, likely and unlikely. In Germany the Nazis were joined by many of the younger men in the Foreign Office. In Spain Señor Miguel Maura, son of a former Conservative Prime Minister, was typical of many new recruits to the Republican Party.

The effect of the incipient Republican agitation upon King Alfonso and General Berenguer was immediate. As might have been expected they concentrated on the dual object of softening discontent and of ensuring the support of the Army. A measure of discontent had been provoked in the Army itself by certain acts of General Primo, including the dismissal of officers for arbitrary

reasons. Many dismissed officers were now promptly reinstated. The greatest resentment had been caused by a Primo ordinance to the effect that promotion in the Army, for all officers below the rank of Colonel, should be decided, not by seniority, but by "selection." The selection was King Alfonso's and General Primo's, and was inspired by the sole purpose of safeguarding the Army's loyalty to the King and to his puppet Dictator. The ordinance had led to certain unpleasantness in the Artillery Corps, which unpleasantness had been the decisive factor in the downfall of General Primo. The King and his new Dictator now suspended the ordinance issued by the King and his former Dictator. Such were the first measures taken to bolster up the Army's loyalty.

The problem of countering Republican agitation was more difficult and produced something more drastic. After the first meeting of the Berenguer Cabinet it was announced that the Government's cardinal purpose was the revival of the 1876 constitution, which revival presupposed an election. It was further announced that every measure enacted by the Primo Directorate would be examined by the Minister concerned, and would be cancelled or amended to bring it into constitutional propriety before submission to the Cortes that would be elected. Even the Republican movement, stated General Berenguer, would be permitted as a public right; no repressive measures would be taken against it except in the event of its leading to a disturbance of public order; and the censorship would henceforth be conducted in a broad and tolerant spirit. He did, however, place a clear limit to the promised tolerance by ordaining that there must be no criticism of the Government. No sooner were those announcements made than the entire Press engaged in an orgy of liberty such as it had not experienced for seven years, ranging at will over the whole field of political controversy, but dutifully drawing the line at criticism of the Government which had thus given it new life.

The death of General Primo de Rivera, which took place in Paris on March 16th, 1930, had the effect of quietening passion in Spain, for it seemed to symbolise the passing of an epoch. The Government had the courage, after some hesitation, to ordain a State funeral, but King Alfonso deemed it prudent not to attend it in person, choosing rather to be represented by Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria. The King's general policy at that period was to keep himself in the farthest background and not to be drawn by the now commonplace attacks upon himself. During April and May anti-Royalist speeches and demonstrations increased to such a degree that the Government began to attempt repressive measures. It was the industrial centres that were the most disaffected: Madrid,

Barcelona, Bilbao, Saragossa, Valencia. The Socialist leader, Señor Prieto, attacked the Monarchy in a speech he made at Bilbao with such warmth that a second meeting arranged for Madrid was promptly banned. The Reformist leader, Señor Melquiades Alvarez, who was President of the Chamber of Deputies when the Primo coup was carried out in 1923, uncompromisingly accused the King of responsibility for the whole Directorate, demanded the immediate assembly of Parliament, urged that the King be kept in his palace until a new constitution had been drafted and that the King should then be invited either to sign it or to abdicate. On the last day of April the Cabinet issued a statement to the Press to the effect that while "freedom of speech" would be allowed, no further latitude would be given to definite attacks or slanders punishable by law; but the slanders and the attacks continued unabated. The students in Madrid, San Carlos and Seville caused considerable disturbance. Seville University was closed by the Chancellor on May 6th for that reason. When the Republican tide seemed to be swelling with dramatic force, Count Romanones, the Liberal leader, caused a diversion by announcing his loyalty to the King. Although he had been consistently known as a Monarchist, he had not made a public confession of his views since the fall of Primo. The immediate result of his pronouncement was the organisation of Royalist demonstrations throughout the country, the further result being an intensified campaign on the part of both camps, Royalist and Republican. The temper of the campaign was illustrated by Señor Pradera, the leader of the extreme Catholics, who at a mass meeting of Royalists, appealed to the Conservative youth to arm themselves with bludgeons and go forth violently to defend their King, country, home and religion from the Republican danger.

The promised election was now a routine asset of the Government. A Royal Decree on March 10 had given what may not unfairly be called local colour to it by ordaining that the electoral lists be revised for the purpose. During the summer, however, it came to be generally recognised that there could be no hope of an immediate election. At that time General Berenguer's position was genuinely difficult. An immediate election would have had to be held on the old register, which proceeding would have exposed him to the charge of having doctored the election on traditional lines. Alternatively, a wholly new register would take several months to prepare. General Berenguer chose the new register and a postponement of the election. Whether his motive was the desire for a fair election or merely for a postponed election must remain a matter of speculation. In the meantime general unrest increased, especially among the students and the industrial population. The Central University in Madrid had to be closed on May 5th as a

result of certain serious disorder. The disorder was the students' chosen method of expressing their approval of one Professor Unamuno who had been conducting a lively propaganda against the King. On one occasion the riot had to be quelled by the combined forces of the military and the police. Student demonstrations on the like scale broke out also in Seville, Valencia, Santiago and Murcia. Catalan grievances perhaps naturally took the occasion to fan themselves into greater activity, and the combination of Republicans, Reformists, Catalans, with the possible addition of the Socialists, began to emerge as a potential bogey such as might challenge the trinity of King, Army and Church.

Views differ about the nature of the qualities revealed by the King in so unpleasant a circumstance. He kept aloof in his seclusion until, near the end of June, he left Madrid for a visit to London. His admirers quoted that action as a proof of courage, their argument being that, having no fear for the stability either of General Berenguer or of the Monarchy, he calmly and unconcernedly went abroad on his travels. Others argued that he went abroad for a more human and more humdrum reason. On his way through Paris he saw a former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Don Santiago Alba, now a Liberal leader living abroad, and discussed with him such pertinent topics as the prospect of the Spanish Monarchy and the conditions on which Don Santiago Alba would himself consent to return to Spain. The substance of the interview is known in some detail from a subsequent statement made to the Press by Señor Alba. In it he reported what he had said to the King: item, that an election must be held at once; that the resultant parliament as its first business must revise the 1876 constitution; that if the Monarchy survived the election it must be radically reformed to conform with the British and Belgian patterns. The King's side to the argument was not revealed. The rest of the summer, with the exception of scattered signs of Labour unrest, passed without serious disturbance. Count Romanones, on July 16th, again urged the Liberal Party to remain true to the Throne. While he did not deeply impress his own party, he caused a certain satisfaction among the Conservatives and Monarchists. The Cabinet by means of a Press communication reaffirmed its intention of holding an election with as little delay as possible, and added that the new Cortes would meet before the end of the year. The King was sounded privately by the disaffected party leaders, but is understood to have avoided giving any commitment that he would be prepared to modify his traditional exercise of direct and indirect supremacy over parliamentary authority. He himself continued to avoid, as far as possible, any appearance in public, and seemed to have no policy except that of waiting on events.

Yet it became clear in the early autumn that he was losing ground. His friends became reluctant to commit themselves openly as his friends; the Barcelona students pulled down and destroyed a portrait of the King with impunity; the military chiefs became so doubtful of the Army's loyalty that they ordered the removal of the bolts from the infantry's rifles in Madrid and Valencia; and on September 20th the King, during the course of a visit he paid to a certain power station, wearily stated that he did not care whether Spain were Monarchist or Republican. On another occasion the King addressed a warning to an infantry regiment that they must be ready to fight. The various sections of the Republicans concurrently began to form a close alliance and to hold joint demonstrations. On September 28th the old Bull Ring in Madrid was the scene of a grand Republican rally, 20,000 strong, representative of every part of Spain, at which the main resolution was that the King should abdicate without causing trouble.

The Berenguer Cabinet now began to reveal unmistakable symptoms of indecision and cross purpose. At the beginning of September, for instance, it announced, with the object no doubt of currying favour, that the Press censorship would soon be abolished with the exception that the Army (a comprehensive term which included the Government itself as a military directorate) should not on severest penalty be subject to any criticism. Confusion at once greeted the Government's announcement and its attendant action. The editor of the Buenos Ayres *La Nación* was imprisoned for publishing a report of a Monarchist meeting which did not proceed according to plan. A San Sebastian newspaper was penalised for accusing the King of implication in the 1923 coup, and three other newspapers, including *El Liberal* of Bilbao, were suppressed for publishing realistic articles on the condition of Spain. The Government's irresolution and weakening nerve were reflected in many ways, some big, some small. In October, General Berenguer announced that the election for the Chamber of Deputies would be held on December 21st and for the Senate on December 28th, and then cancelled the arrangement on the remarkable ground that it had overlooked the fact that in Spain December 28th is All Fools' Day. Labour unrest assumed an ugly dimension before the winter started. Perhaps the most alarming sign of the times took the form of an interview given to the Buenos Ayres *Prensa* in which General Berenguer elaborately denied the existence of any revolutionary movement in Spain. Political *démentis* in big matters have a way of defeating their object. General Berenguer's *démenti* was more clumsily tell-tale than most; for after denying the revolutionary movement he proceeded to announce that the Government "admit, in hypothesis, that a revolutionary movement may actually break

out," adding bravely that "they (the said Government) are quite prepared to overcome it instantly. The repression would necessarily be severe and the lesson a hard one, because order would have to be restored with great energy and rapidity."

October was characterised by extending labour troubles, a falling peseta and student disturbances. Barcelona University was closed on October 14th. The election continued to recede, being now announced for January or February. On November 13th the King signed a decree ordaining that the election to the Chamber of Deputies be held on March 1st and to the Senate on March 15th. Thenceforward the position was one of prolonged suspense, the danger being that the malcontents would be unable to restrain action in the period of waiting for the elections. Three minor outbreaks did take place. On November 16th a more or less general strike afflicted Madrid for twenty-four hours, extending to forty-eight hours in the non-essential services. It was the nearest approach to a general stoppage known to Madrid. Similar outbreaks occurred in Barcelona, Valencia and Catalonia. The occasion of the strike in Madrid was a police dispersal of the funeral procession of certain builders who had been killed in the collapse of a house, the funeral disturbances involving the shooting dead by the police of two workmen and the injury of many more. General Berenguer, whose military was better than his political ability, took drastic measures which effectively crushed the disturbances. Next, a more serious outbreak occurred at Jaca in Huesca on the French border (December 11th), its seriousness being due to the fact that it was a military revolt, led by Lieutenant-General Mangada. General Berenguer's action on that occasion was still more rapid and still more drastic than before. It was not easy to gauge what exactly happened, for the censorship was promptly reimposed, but there appeared to be ground for believing that drastic as were the measures taken by General Berenguer they might not have been so spectacularly effective had not the revolt itself gone off, as it were, at half cock. The outbreak miscarried. Its impatient authors acted too soon, before the general scheme could be put into operation, and thus gave the Huesca loyalists their chance of driving a wedge between the various sections and thus of preventing a concentration in Barcelona, the projected headquarters of the revolt. Two of the leaders were at once court-martialled and shot. Four days later a dramatic attack by air was made on Madrid from the aerodrome at Cuatro Vientos, under the leadership of the well-known airman, Major Franco. Revolutionary Republican pamphlets were dropped over the city from the air, one of them dropping into the garden of the King's palace. In its turn the new revolt was promptly suppressed by the loyalty of the Artillery Corps to the Government. Major Franco

took to precipitate flight in another direction and turned what had at first looked like a serious danger into a source of harmless merriment to General Berenguer and his friends. Martial law was at once proclaimed throughout Spain.

The danger of more trouble will no doubt persist until the March election has been held. Nobody believes that the election will be "free," or will produce a realistic verdict on the only serious issue before the country. Many of the Republican leaders are in prison. Political meetings are banned. The only real hope is that the election will afford some sort of outlet for suppressed emotions.

January 15th, 1931.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE COMING OF THE WORLD WAR.*

Three years ago Professor Sidney Fay published his masterly volumes on the Origins of the World War, and now Professor Bernadotte Schmitt, of the University of Chicago, presents us with a work of equal dimensions on the outbreak of the conflict. The two most imposing American contributions to a study of war origins resemble one another in the fact that both represent the toil of many years and are based on an encyclopædic knowledge of the sources in many languages. Though the chronological scope of the later work is much more limited, the two scholars cover a good deal of common ground, and it is instructive to note where and why they differ. Professor Schmitt has the advantage of having been able to use the great collection of Austrian documents published a little more than a year ago; and he possesses a personal knowledge of the principal actors in the drama which no other expert in any country can rival, and which is turned to account in several passages.

The narrative, which fills a thousand pages, opens with two long chapters entitled "The European System" and "The Near East." Experts will turn with eagerness to discover the author's views on such disputed issues as the implications of the Conrad-Moltke agreement of 1909 and the topics discussed between the Kaiser and Franz Ferdinand at Konopischt on the eve of the catastrophe.

* *The Coming of the War, 1914.* By Bernadotte E. Schmitt. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. London, 1930. Two Vols. 30s.

The third chapter, entitled "Sarajevo," is almost the longest and perhaps the most important in the book, for it analyses the mass of material, old and new, on the crime which unleashed the war. In the vital controversy between Tovanovich, who declared that Pasich and some of his colleagues knew of the plot, and Pasich, who issued a belated denial nearly two years later, Professor Schmitt leans to the side of the former, though he cautiously adds that it would be rash to affirm that either politician told the whole truth and nothing but the truth. His provisional conclusion is that the Serbian Government received information that a plot was being prepared, but did not learn the details; and he is not convinced that it either did its best to keep the conspirators from crossing the frontier or that it warned the Austrian Government of the plot. He believes, however, that Hartwig, the influential Russian Minister at Belgrade, was not initiated into the plans of Dimitrievich, the chief organiser of the conspiracy; but the question is not yet finally cleared up. In regard to the extraordinary behaviour of the Austrian authorities before and after the murder, we are told that, though the theory of complicity has been generally abandoned, obscurity still reigns on several points.

Next in importance to the chapter on Sarajevo is that entitled "Hohenzollern's Bond," in which the Professor reviews the conduct of the German Government when the Austrian Government appealed for support. It is here that Professor Schmitt differs most widely from Professor Fay. The so-called Potsdam Crown Council was a legend; but he is convinced that the action of Germany on July 5th was the deciding factor in the whole drama. This contention is the pivot of the whole book. He rejects the argument that she had no choice but to say ditto to her ally, and collects evidence to show that Francis Joseph and his advisers were by no means sure of German support, which had been refused on more than one previous occasion. He lays great stress on the conversations of Count Hoyos, who brought Berchtold's Memorandum and the autograph letter of Francis Joseph to Berlin, and who revealed more of Berchtold's plans than was to be found in the two written communications. He argues that the Kaiser and the Wilhelmstrasse were fully aware not only of Austria's determination to attack and partition Serbia, but of the danger to peace involved in such a step. "William II and Bethmann-Hollweg," he writes, "were the *first* responsible statesmen to take decisions which might have the most dire consequences. They may be acquitted of deliberate intent to precipitate a European war, but they did elect to put the system of alliances to the severest test and to spring a crisis of the first magnitude on Europe. It was they who took the gambler's plunge."

Fortified by the prompt assent of Berlin, Berchtold threw aside his constitutional vacillation; and Tisza, whose rapid conversion is discussed and explained, was won over to the policy of war. Margutti's assertion that Francis Joseph was opposed to war is rejected by Professor Schmitt, who accepts the testimony of Conrad that the Emperor was ready for anything if assured of German support.

At the close of the chapter entitled "The Decisions of Austria-Hungary," he delivers his verdict on Austrian policy. "The rulers of the Dual Monarchy appear to have believed in all sincerity that the integrity of the State was threatened by the propaganda emanating from Belgrade, and they feared its effects the more because they saw behind it, if not as the driving force, at least as the stalwart support, the mighty power of Russia. They rightly regarded the Serbo-Russian ambitions as fatal to the very existence of the Monarchy, and they would have been less than human had they not determined to prevent, if possible, the realisation of those ambitions. To meet the serious provocation contained in the murder of the heir to the throne, prompt and effective measures were necessary and justifiable; the failure to establish the complicity of the Serbian Government in the Sarajevo crime did not seem a valid reason against proceeding either promptly or vigorously. To seize the opportunity for dealing with Serbia was, no reasonable person will deny, not only intelligible, it was natural. On the other hand, the Austro-Hungarian statesmen never seem to have understood that the hostility of Serbia and the unrest in the Southern Slav provinces were in large part the natural consequences of their own foreign and domestic policy for a generation past; at least they never admitted such responsibility. Perhaps they could not be expected to admit it. Nevertheless, this consideration is fundamental. If Serbia had provoked Austria-Hungary, the latter had in various ways and at various times done grave injury to the neighbouring kingdom, and the ultimate aim was the destruction of Serbian independence. Furthermore, the régime which Francis Joseph and Conrad, Count Berchtold and Count Tisza wished to preserve had become an unworkable anachronism." The action of Austria, in fact, was perfectly natural, but exceedingly unwise. Like their German ally, they took "a gambler's chance."

In the second volume we watch the ripening of the harvest of dragon's teeth. Professor Schmitt believes that "probably no diplomacy, however skilful, could have devised a compromise between the firm resolution of Austria-Hungary to make war on Serbia and the determination of Russia not to permit the crushing of that small State." But the diplomacy of Europe in 1914 was very

far from skilful, and was not always straightforward. "The slipperiness of M. Sazonoff appears to have been on a level with that of his *confrères* in Berlin and Vienna." Bethmann, who is usually portrayed as an honest blunderer, is criticised with a sharpness which is the chief surprise of the book. Grey is placed at the top of the list and Jagow, the German Foreign Minister, at the bottom.

There is only space to note a few of the author's judgments. He doubts whether Bethmann's eleventh-hour attempt to rein in the runaway Austrian steed was quite as strenuous as is sometimes believed; and in any case, he had tied his hands on July 5-6th. The idea once prevalent that Austria was inclined to compromise at the end is emphatically rejected. The decisions of Austria and Russia for general mobilisation were taken in ignorance of each other. Germany decided on July 30th to proclaim "imminent danger of war" on July 31st, and the news of Russia's general mobilisation came just in time to provide an excellent pretext. The importance of Russia's action is thus greatly diminished. Russia treated France discourteously in rejecting her request to avoid an irrevocable step and in only informing her of the *fait accompli*; but her claim that her voice should be heard and her interests considered in the Austro-Serb quarrel is accepted as reasonable. Germany's response to Russia's general mobilisation was inevitable from the military point of view. That Sir Edward Grey did not indicate our probable action much earlier is regretted; but he was not a dictator, and he could not speak for a divided Cabinet and people. Professor Schmitt has not said the last word on any of the controversial details of these tragic weeks, nor delivered the final verdict on the complex problem of national and personal responsibilities for the catastrophe. That is beyond the power of any scholar of to-day or to-morrow. His general attitude will be sharply challenged in Germany, and not in Germany alone; but he has written a book of great learning and power which no serious student of war origins can afford to ignore.

* * *

THE MYSTERIOUS UNIVERSE.*

Sir James Jeans, the Secretary to the Royal Society, in this remarkable book on the mysteries of the universe and their relationship to the human consciousness, expands for a wide circle of readers his notable Rede Lecture delivered at Cambridge last November. It is an astonishing feat to have managed to expose the

* *The Mysterious Universe*. By Sir James Jeans. Cambridge: at the University Press. 3s. 6d..

salient and recent achievements of astronomers and physicists in such a manner that it can be read and understood by persons who are not in any sense mathematical specialists. It is not a summary of these achievements, but rather presents the point of view of a man who is fully familiar with the experiments and the thought of both physicists and mathematicians from the time of Newton to the present moment. Sir James Jeans claims to be an onlooker and one who has no philosophical bias or a bias in favour of any contending physical theory. His book aims at providing material for a just judgment in matters that affect the whole content of personality. He says:

There is widespread conviction that the new teachings of astronomy and physical science are destined to produce an immense change on our outlook on the universe as a whole, and our views as to the significance of human life. The question at issue is ultimately one for philosophic discussion, but before the philosophers have a right to speak, science ought first to be asked to tell all that she can as to ascertained facts and provisional hypotheses. Then, and then only, may discussion legitimately pass into the realms of philosophy.

The vastness of space—if we still use that word—may be gathered from the fact that "at a rough computation" the zones where life can exist "constitute less than a thousand million millionth part of the whole of space . . . probably only about one star in 100,000 has a planet revolving round it in the small zone in which life is possible." Sir James Jeans' first logical assumption from these facts is that it "seems incredible that the universe can have been designed primarily to produce life like our own. . . . At first glance, at least, life seems to be an utterly unimportant by-product; we living things are somehow off the main line." But is logical deduction a legitimate process when we are dealing with premisses so mysterious as Time-Space; and even if it is legitimate is any human mind capable of penetrating the methods of the Creative Mind? Sir James Jeans, moreover, holds that "viewed from a strictly material standpoint, the utter insignificance of life would seem to go far towards dispelling the idea that it forms a special interest of the Great Architect of the universe." That is again a logical deduction after dismissing anthropomorphism from the logical scheme.

Yet if the Great Architect of the universe is purposeful, logic seems useless not only on the ground that the scheme of Space-Time may present another order-sequence, but because the purpose cannot be ascertained. It is of no avail to say (and Sir James Jeans does not say) that there is no Architect. There is, so far as the human mind can tell, a definite scheme of things which is not accidental, whether Life itself is accidental or not. That scheme,

of course, might or might not be purposeful, but if there is a Consciousness (and that term is not necessarily anthropomorphic) which originated the scheme, it is impossible, so far as our own Consciousness is concerned, to conceive that the scheme is without purpose, or that that purpose is divorced from the only outcome of the scheme—be it accidental or not—which is potentially competent to survey the tremendous spectacle of Creation.

Astronomy suggests the question whether or not

our aspirations are all doomed to final frustration, and that our achievements must perish with our race, leaving the universe as though we had never been? Astronomy suggests the question, but it is, I think, mainly to physics that we must turn for an answer. For astronomy can tell us of the present arrangement of the universe, of the vastness and vacuity of space, and of our own insignificance therein; it can even tell us something as to the nature of the change produced by the passage of time. But we must probe deep into the fundamental nature of things before we can expect to find the answer to our question. And this is not the province of astronomy; rather we shall find that our quest takes us right into the heart of modern physical science.

The world which astronomy depicts seems to premise an absence of free will, but physical science gives another picture. Absolute causation is apparently shut out. Science

has no longer any unanswerable arguments to bring against our innate conviction of free will. On the other hand, she gives no hint as to what the absence of determinism or causation may mean. If we, as nature in general, do not respond in a unique way to external stimuli, what determines the course of events? If anything at all, we are thrown back on determinism and causation; if nothing at all, how can anything ever occur?

This dilemma, which might be solved by the purposefulness of the Creator, must, so far as pure thought is concerned, only be solved by "a better understanding of the true nature of time . . . if time is so fundamental that an understanding of its true nature is for ever beyond our reach, then so also in all probability is a decision in the age-long controversy between determinism and free will." What do we actually know about the ultimate constitution of the whole material universe? The tendency at the present time is to resolve everything into waves,

bottled-up waves, which we call matter, and unbottled waves, which we call radiation or light. If annihilation of matter occurs, the process is merely that of unbottling imprisoned wave-energy and setting it free to travel through space. These concepts reduce the whole universe to a world of light, potential or existent, so that the whole story of its creation can be told with perfect accuracy and completeness in the six words: "God said, 'let there be light.'"

But what is Space and are these waves of light real or only useful concepts of the mind springing from some reality "which it is the object of science to study"? Sir James Jeans adopts the latter view and conceives of the universe as a Space-Time crumpled continuum or bubble in which both gravitation and the electro-magnetic forces are a mere crumpling of the four-dimensional surface, "corrugations on a cross section of the bubble by time"—the fourth dimension. He, in fact, suggests that "we may think of the electrons as objects of thought, and time as the process of thinking." The latter is a very old philosophical definition of Time and it is interesting to have this new suggested relation which connects the objective and the subjective world, especially when "we can most simply interpret consciousness as something residing entirely outside the picture [of the bubble], and making contact with it only along the world lines of our bodies." If logic is permissible in dealing with such a conception not only the Creator but human Consciousness also exist, apart from the material universe, and are not subject to the fate of material things. That is an argument for personal immortality, though this point is not urged by Sir James Jeans. He is content to urge that

all the pictures which science now draws of nature, and which alone seem capable of according with observational facts, are mathematical pictures . . . that the universe appears to have been designed by a pure mathematician . . . as consisting of pure thought, the thought of what, for want of a wider word, we must describe as a mathematical thinker. . . . The true label is, I think, "mathematical" if we can agree that this is to connote the whole of pure thought, and not merely the studies of the professional mathematician. Such a label does not imply anything as to what things are in their ultimate essence, but merely something as to how they behave. . . . The material universe remains as substantial as ever it was, and this statement must, I think, remain true through all the changes of scientific or philosophical thought.

So Berkeley's magnificent idealism comes to the aid of modern science and Sir James Jeans completes the majestic picture of all things subsisting "in the mind of some Eternal Spirit" by the great thought that "so little do we understand time that perhaps we ought to compare the whole of time to the act of creation, the materialisation of the thought." The hopefulness of the whole view from the point of man's outlook towards immortality and towards God is evident. It is not darkened by the objective hugeness of the universe or the subjective difficulties of the pure physicist. Though we dwell in worlds not realised, where Death seems to play the tragic part of Fate, yet we also dwell in a region

where Divine Conceptions are always operating on, and always teaching, not only through Time, but in timeless regions, the unconquerable but receptive soul of man.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

MR. JOHN FREEMAN'S LAST POEMS.*

Mr. J. C. Squire introduces this volume of poems by the late Mr. John Freeman with a sympathetic and understanding preface which greatly helps the reader to appreciate and enjoy these and earlier poems, and he has done good service to the memory of a notable poet. John Freeman was born at Dalston on January 29th, 1880, and died at Anerley, on September 23rd, 1929. He lived his life far from the madding crowd, and with the exception of his intimates, few knew that a poet walked amongst them. His daily avocation had little in common, as the world judges, with poetry, but the world is not always right, and his work drew him amongst men probably of all shades. Everything in nature or human nature pulsates with a wave-length which broadcasts its message in poetic form by or through the instrument which we call the Poet or (as the Scots say) the Maker.

Most of Mr. Freeman's poetry is tinged with a strain of sadness, which was perhaps partly caused by his knowledge of his physical weakness which he bore with the greatest fortitude, never allowing that knowledge to interfere with the ordinary routine of his daily work. When relaxation came his poetic mind dwelt on the future, of himself, and of humanity. In his latest poems he writes :

Poetry is the body given by strong
Imagination to the waste of life,
The wheel on which the perfect bowl is shaped
To hold the ashes of forgotten folk;
The shell that keeps a heavenly air unbroken,
Words of a tongue that else had died unspoken.

This is what poetry meant to Freeman. Nature and his love of her held him in all her moods. Trees especially appealed to him in their ever-varying beauty : the yearly renewal, the bud, the full leaf, the glory of their farewell, and the perfect tracery which braves the winter and gathers strength for spring; all in turn touched him, and brought forth song, song that was always blended with his outlook on human nature. The last poem John Freeman made was written on August 1st, 1929, and he died on September 23rd following, without having polished it. It deserves quoting in full, but some verses will suffice to show his trend of thought :

* *Last Poems*. By John Freeman, with an Introduction by J. C. Squire. Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

Age, with unabating passions,
Narrows upon me; yet I cry
Unending for youth's fresh devices
That lit my past and made this "I."

Is it the petty scourge of thought,
This malady of small regrets,
Misfeatures all I dream upon
And mars the joy that sight begets?

How great the puny Ego swells
In the distinction of remorse!
Shadows grotesquely darken over,
Clear eyes grow dim, pure voices coarse.

O folly! self-forgetting is sole bliss,
Self-idolism the steepest hell,
Like the East Wind that seres the earth,
Self dries up every human well.

Look farther—down the lane there swings
A young bull, prince-like, mid his thralls;
Deep-breasted, mountain-thewed, serene
As Hector pacing Troy's proud walls.

John Freeman saw much tribulation and won through by a fortitude and courage which brought forth fruit for the service of others. It is to be hoped that many readers will study Mr. Squire's introduction and gain true knowledge of a poet whose works will certainly live. In a sense he is the Keats of our time. His life and hope seem to be summarised in his own words :

Into the dust a spirit sank like dew,
From dust to be exhaled like air again.
Meanwhile brief darkness and sun's broken light,
And stormy joy and an ecstatic pain.

S. DE M.

* * *

LORD BALFOUR AND SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT.*

This valuable little book is the reprint of the obituary notice of Lord Balfour that appeared in the Proceedings of the Royal Society. It is by the very competent pen of Lord Rayleigh and does not deal with the public and political career of the deceased statesman. Lord Rayleigh writes in his preface :

* *Lord Balfour in his Relation to Science*. By Lord Rayleigh. Cambridge : at the University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

This Memoir is limited to an account of his early history and mental development, his scientific and philosophical thought, and his administrative work for scientific, industrial, and medical research. In writing I have been able to draw upon an intimate personal knowledge extending from my own earliest years, on the recollections of surviving relatives, and on the diaries of Balfour's sister, the Dowager Lady Rayleigh. . . . I may add that I have not drawn to any appreciable extent on the *Chapters of Autobiography*, just published by Messrs. Cassell. The present account of Balfour's early life is independent, and represents him and his surroundings as they appeared to other members of the family.

The memoir is therefore authoritative to an unusual extent and presumably will be made the base of the article on Lord Balfour in the *Dictionary of National Biography* in its volume for the decade that closed at the end of last year. Arthur James Balfour was born in 1848—the year of revolutions—and was the son of James Maitland Balfour, of Whittingehame, in Haddingtonshire, and Lady Blanche Gascoyne Cecil, second daughter of the second Marquis of Salisbury. The father, we are told, was “a country gentleman of fortune and of some ability, but in no sense a philosopher or a thinker, or even a reader,” while the mother (the sister of the great Lord Salisbury) came of a distinctly intellectual stock with a tendency towards scientific thought. It may be said (though Lord Rayleigh does not deal with that side of the matter) that his father came from a shrewd Scottish county stock which may account for Arthur Balfour's solidity of judgment. Though he went to an excellent English preparatory and to Eton he made no mark at either school (though some masters prophesied great things), and was included in those who after spending years under the classical system of school education “fail to acquire a working knowledge of the classical tongues.” In fact, he was a striking instance of a late developing mind. “His intellectual development was not precocious, but, in the event, it went on much longer than that of some of his early friends, who had, for a time, seemed to stand on a level with him. Indeed, it may be said that he went on developing almost to the end.” Like John Richard Green, he died learning. He, like his father, went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, and as a fellow-commoner he was brought into contact with Henry Sidgwick and John Strutt (afterwards Lord Rayleigh). His younger brothers Gerald and Frank attained high academic distinction. Arthur, though his abilities were beginning to be recognised, did comparatively badly and he just missed his first in the Moral Science Tripos of 1869. His mind revolted from a strict course of study. “With him the motive must be his own personal interest, not the fulfilment of a task. . . . Later in life when casually asked

how long he could continue reading a stiff book, he put the limit, rather paradoxically perhaps, at ten minutes,” and he himself said in 1899, “knowledge of the general principle may be obtained by those who have neither the time nor the ability to master the details of any particular branch of science. . . . You may know very little and not be superficial; you may know a great deal, and be thoroughly superficial. Superficiality is a quality of yourselves, not of the knowledge you acquire.”

Balfour's mind and character were growing steadily despite what he called his “laziness.” He could be, and was, a thinker, he could think on scientific problems, but he felt himself that, though he longed to be a scientist, he could not face the detailed drudgery. Yet at the age of twenty-two he played Gladstone at Hawarden Castle “like a fish,” and the Grand Old Man was quite unaware of the fact. The strange thing was that the very career he chose—political life which began in 1874—did not arouse his enthusiasm. In 1893 he declared that “his mind did not naturally run to politics.” He looked on politicians with aloof interest as a scientist would look on scientific specimens. He was not troubled about criticism and “he seldom looked at a newspaper.” Lord Rayleigh says, “as to the honours and rewards of a public career, I know on the best authority possible that he accepted most of them with reluctance, and because circumstances made it difficult to do otherwise.” He retired from the leadership of the Unionist Party possibly with regret, in 1909, but he rejoiced in the freedom that it gave him for thought. He was a philosopher at heart and in mind, but the philosophy was an original contribution to the world of thought and not mere speculation as to other people's thought. He was in this (though Lord Rayleigh does not mention it) like Bentham, though he certainly was not a Benthamite.

His first speculative work *A Defence of Philosophic Doubt* appeared at an early date, in 1879, soon after his return with Disraeli from the Berlin Conference of 1878. As a “practical result” Balfour recommends in this book that “scientific conclusions should be provisionally adopted alongside of theological ones, even at the cost of apparent inconsistency.” Lord Rayleigh drily adds that the same attitude has been taken up by modern science to explain the phenomena of light. His second book *The Foundations of Belief* was published in 1894, and he valued it more highly “than anything he had done or could do in politics.” He argued again that it is not necessarily irrational to accept both scientific conclusions and also ethical and theological beliefs that cannot be reached by scientific methods, and went further and said in his explanation of the book:

An endeavour is made to show that science, ethics, and (in its degree) æsthetics, are severally and collectively more intelligible, better fitted to form parts of a rational and coherent whole, when they are framed in a theological setting than when they are framed in one which is purely naturalistic.

That is undoubtedly more true in 1931 than it was in 1894.

In 1914 Balfour delivered his famous Gifford Lectures which were published under the title of *Theism and Humanism*, and after the War he delivered his second course of Gifford Lectures, entitled *Theism and Thought*. He in these lectures developed the thought contained in the *Foundations of Belief*. In 1888 he was elected into the Royal Society under Statute 12 and served the Society well, but in 1920 he declined to be President. He was overwhelmed with work. That work included an amazing sum of scientific administrative labours in connection with the Medical Research Council and the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. The account given by Lord Rayleigh of the efforts made by Balfour, turning a trained mind on to these administrative problems, must be read to be believed. And it was Balfour who inaugurated the Committee of Civil Research. His mind was active to the last.

* * *

NOTES AND QUERIES.*

Everyone interested either in books or in general knowledge, relating especially to the British Isles but by no means limited thereto, will heartily welcome the careful and exhaustive index of *Notes and Queries* dealing with the six years from July 1923 to June 1929. These indexes are essential to the use of a work, published weekly, which is unique in its character and object, the gathering together in permanent form of information as to books and men, as to causes lost or won, as to the beginnings and progress of English civilisation, which was or is in danger of obliteration by the death of individuals or by imperfect registration in obscure prints, newspapers, books or places. For some eighty years the notes and queries of persons of all classes, from the most learned to the most humble, have been recorded weekly by the successive editors of this invaluable publication, and the mass of information that has been gathered together is of the most diverse, useful, and in many cases the most humorous kind, illustrating as no other publication could illustrate, the life and customs in successive ages

* *Notes and Queries for Readers and Writers, Collectors and Librarians. The Thirteenth Six-yearly General Index (Volumes 145-156, July 1923-June 1929).* Guardians Publications Ltd., 14, Burleigh Street, Strand, London, W.C. 21a. net.

of the English people. Yet such a publication would have only a passing interest unless there were available a permanent record of the material collected, and this has been provided by six-monthly indexes and an elaborate series of indexes covering periods of six years. The stout volume that has now appeared is the thirteenth of these indexes, and certainly it is not the least valuable and interesting of them.

The fame of *Notes and Queries* is, in a sense, world-wide, and new contributors from all parts of the English-speaking world are continually appearing. As the Editor says, "The General Index to the twelve Volumes, CXLV to CLVI, forms, as markedly as any have done, a record of the passing of old correspondents and the arrival of new. To those who have joined us we would here take occasion to offer hearty welcome; and for those who have gone would express our continued regret and gratitude." Inserted in the General Index is a series of thirty-eight classified articles, that is to say the grouping of contributions dealing with special subjects. These include—and they give some idea of the range of subjects—anonymous works, Bibles, bibliography, Bonaparte (a useful historical section), books recently published, crests, heraldry, epitaphs, excavations, folk-lore, London (a very valuable source of information), place-names, schools, Shakesperiana, ships, surnames, tavern-signs, theatres, toasts. The subject of churches occupies much space and will be of great value to archæologists and antiquarians. Heraldry is dealt with in detail that will be of much use to genealogists. Not less interest attaches to the large gathering of inscriptions from pre-historic times onwards to modern times, very many taken from churches and churchyards. The list of tavern-signs, such as "Anchor and Hope" at Orpington ("Anchor in Hope" is a variant, as at Welling in Kent), the "Bull and Spectacles," the "Six Lords" are of special antiquarian and national interest. Very many of the oldest signs are of ecclesiastical origin, but a series of contributors show also that many were of military origin. Some undoubtedly came from a feudal or manorial source. The section on Schools is of use. A list of A B C Schools in the body of churches or cathedrals has not yet been compiled. No doubt some contributors will supply it. The section on old ships and dockyards is invaluable, and, to go farther back, the contributions on Roman remains are of great historical value. More local contributions on this subject would be welcome to historians of the Roman occupation of Britain. The purely literary aspect of *Notes and Queries* needs no special welcome, since it makes up a large part of each number. The value of this side of *Notes and Queries* is very great.

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The Editor rightly dwells on the growing development of American interest. "Every decade adds to American zeal for the knowledge of the past as the European possesses it; but it is yet more to the point that every decade both mellows and reveals the American past itself." American buildings, American customs and folk-lore throw light on the history of the mother-land. For the American student *Notes and Queries* is an essential publication. Correspondents from the Dominions will doubtless increase in time and throw light on the earlier phases of European settlement in New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, Canada and, not least, in India. Indeed *Notes and Queries* should have a large Imperial circulation. The Editor also calls attention to "the number of series of original letters and papers which these twelve volumes contain . . . there is much material worth consideration by the student of social history lying hidden and forgotten in old family collections, the safety of which, for practical purposes, would be most effectively secured by publication." This point should be considered by all readers of *Notes and Queries*. It would be also well if the Editor would publish manorial records that are scattered through the land. The appeal of the Master of the Rolls on this subject should specially interest this publication.

J. E. G. DE M.

DR. NANSEN.*

Dr. Nansen, explorer and scientist, patriot and statesman, died less than a year ago on May 13th, 1930. Several months later, in August, a meeting was held in London at the Royal Society of Arts to do honour to his name and raise up a memorial in his memory. This has taken the form of preserving his famous ship, the *Fram*, in which he made his Arctic exploration in 1893. Mr. J. Howard Whitehouse, the chairman of the Committee for the Preservation of the *Fram*, has edited *Nansen: A Book of Homage* which contains the proceedings of the London meeting and a number of other tributes by men who knew and worked with Dr. Nansen in one or other of his spheres of interest. In all that he did Dr. Nansen showed great faith and determination. But he was never reckless. In his explorations, as in his post-war refugee work, he made every preparation which he conceived necessary to success. Once this had been done he never looked back and fought on till success at last arrived. His Farthest North Expedition of 1893-6 was a typical example of his courage and foresight. Dr. H. R. Mill, vice-president of the Royal Geographical Society, describes his attempt to reach the North Pole:

* *Nansen: A Book of Homage*. Hodder & Stoughton. 8s. 6d. net.

Impressed by the extent and strength of the East Greenland Current and the vast quantity of ice and driftwood which it carried southward between Greenland and Iceland, he studied the problem of its origin and arrived at the conclusion that it must arise near the Siberian coast and probably flow across the pole. He proposed to reach the pole by "taking a ticket with the ice," so he put it, from some point north of Siberia, and letting it drift him across. . . . He was confident in his own deductions and in the strength of his ship. He planned her not to resist the ice, but to compel ice-pressure to lift her on to the surface of colliding floes. . . . The ship he named *Fram*, which means forward, and forward he went, defying all the rules of earlier polar exploration. Again, in the teeth of all expert advice and every traditional dictate of prudence, Nansen achieved success, though he did not reach the Pole.

The same spirit and determination which brought success in his explorations dominated his great humanitarian work after the Great War. On behalf of the League of Nations which could give him little practical assistance, he repatriated nearly half a million prisoners of war in Siberia and other parts of Russia, who were destitute and lost, not hoping to see their homes again. His achievements in the re-settlement of refugees were even greater. In the words of Mr. P. J. Noel Baker,

millions of starving Russian peasants saved by the private societies he led from the slow torture of a lingering death; a million and a quarter Greek refugees, torn from their homes in Eastern Thrace and Asia Minor, and resettled in new homes and farmsteads in their motherland of Greece; Armenians settled by tens of thousands in Syria . . . the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations when the war was over—what stupendous responsibilities he accepted, what vast results he actually achieved!

His name will always be remembered, not so much for his explorations or his scientific research, nor for his part in assisting Norway to become independent of Sweden, but rather for his great work in re-settling Europe after the deluge of the Great War. No man did more to alleviate the aftermath of war than Dr. Nansen. This book of homage is a small record of a great man.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The Revolver Republic: France's Bid for the Rhine,* by G. E. R. Gedyé, is a valuable contribution to the troubled history of post-war Europe, written by a man who watched the struggle between victors and vanquished first as an official in the Rhineland Commission and

* Arrowsmith, 10s. 6d.

later as Correspondent of *The Times*. The narrative contains two parts—the invasion of the Ruhr and the separatist movement engineered by France. Both are ugly stories, not only for the brutality of the methods adopted but also because they embodied the determination of certain sections of French opinion to realise the ambitions which were only partially satisfied by the Treaty of Versailles. The invasion of the Ruhr, which the Law Officers of the Bonar Law Ministry declared illegal and which caused America to withdraw her troops in disgust, was an act of open war which aroused the passionate resentment of a disarmed people. But the bribery of the dregs of the Rhineland to betray their country while pretending to be neutral, was a worse because a meaner offence and provoked even fiercer anger, which found expression in the revenge of exasperated patriots at Speyer and Pirmasens. Mr. Gedye risked his life in his determination to see what was going on and to report what he saw; and it was above all owing to his telegrams and to the report of Consul Clive, whom Lord Curzon ordered to visit the scene of the separatist movement, that its abominations were made known to the world. Publicity helped to kill it; and the defeat of M. Poincaré at the elections of 1924 inaugurated the Herriot-Briand era which led to the Locarno Pact and the entry of Germany into the League of Nations. Mr. Gedye has written a book of thrilling and tragic interest, inspired by a virile contempt for a policy that was a blunder as well as a crime.

* * *

Zwei Lebensgeschichten aus dem alten Oesterreich,* edited by Wilhelm Weckbecker, is a work of great interest to students of the mighty empire which disappeared for ever in 1918. Tastefully bound, well printed, beautifully illustrated, and extremely readable, it is excellently adapted for a Christmas or birthday present. The editor, himself the President of the Vienna Goethe Society and a well-known figure in the social and intellectual life of the capital for many years, may well be proud of the part played by his family since the middle of the eighteenth century. The first half of the book consists of the Memoirs of Emilie von Weckbecker, who relates how her father, T. G. Obermayer, rose by ability and hard work from obscurity and poverty to one of the highest places in the Civil Service. In these chapters we are transported back into the era of Maria Theresa and Joseph I, the two most attractive characters in the long list of Hapsburg rulers, the era when foreign affairs were in the hands of Kaunitz for forty years. No portion of the story is more interesting than the rise of Thugut (too little known in England) with whom Obermayer was closely associated both in the early days of struggle and in the later years of success. The second part of the book contains the recollections and letters of Feldmarschallleutnant Baron Weckbecker, the son of Emilie, which carry us through the rather drab generation of Metternich into the stormy waters of the revolution of 1848-9 and the early wars of Francis Joseph. In addition to selecting for publication the most valuable portions of the family archives, the editor has added a mass of notes which modestly reveal his wide knowledge of an eventful century of Austrian history.

* Verlag für Kulturpolitik, Berlin.

Among the many pictures of our country painted by foreigners *Discoveries in England*,* by Emile Cammaerts, holds a place apart. Unlike most of his competitors in this difficult field of national psychology, he knows us well, for he has made his home among us for twenty years. How he has learned to write our language with such idiomatic ease and delicate perfection is a mystery, as it was a mystery with Conrad; but it seems to suggest some subtle affinity which enables the distinguished Belgian poet and publicist to unlock the secrets of our mind and heart. It would be difficult to over-praise the insight, wisdom, and gentle humour of this fragrant little book. Everyone likes to be praised, and English readers will feel grateful for such understanding recognition. It took him some years before he began to feel really comfortable in our country, so different from continental standards were our works and ways. For we are the land of contrasts and compromises, of tradition and experiment, the embodiment of irrationality, which, as he defines it, means not only instinct but intuition. It brings us closer to the animals on the one side, he tells us, and to the angels on the other. The book is filled with carefully-chosen illustrations from our habits and customs, our literature and politics which seem to him to throw light on our national character. Such essays in interpretation are good deeds as well as good literature.

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At a time when the future constitutional progress of India is in the melting-pot, it is valuable to know something of the mind of the man who gave such an impetus to Indian constitutional advance in 1917. Before the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford report and the subsequent legislation, Mr. Montagu paid a visit to India studying the political position and aspirations of the Indian people. During his tour the Secretary for India kept a lengthy and intimate diary, in which he compressed his experiences and views from day to day. Mrs. Venetia Montagu has thought the present "a fitting time to give this document to the world, hoping that it may help to make a little clearer the great part which the writer played in India's destinies," under the title of *An Indian Diary*.† It is a volume of great interest, covering the six months of Mr. Montagu's stay in India, from November 1917 to May 1918. The value of the diary lies mainly in its human interest, not in its political significance. A diary can rarely hold a purely consistent outlook and opinion throughout its length, especially when compiled during a tour of investigation. Mr. Montagu himself refers to his diary as "reflecting often contradictory moods of days and hours." It is really an account of a mind in the making and of all the conditions and experiences which go towards the accomplishment of a considered judgment. Whether six months in the huge and varying area of India could possibly supply the material for a considered judgment is another matter. Mr. Rudyard Kipling, in some of his earlier stories, holds rather pronounced views on political travellers.

* Routledge. 6s.

† Heinemann. 21s. net.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Miss Pamela Hinkson's novel, "Wind From the West,"* is a charming tale of an ancient aristocratic French family. Most of the story takes place after the war, and shows the disquieting effect of new ideas in the lives of the old aristocracy. The atmosphere of these Parisian and Breton homes reveals a new side of French life to those who only know France as tourists. Miss Hinkson's book has an illusive air about it, but it will appeal particularly to those who enjoy a well-written book which does not trouble about sex problems.

* * *

The Director of the School of Oriental Studies, Sir E. Denison Ross, has just published a valuable little book on Persia and her people, entitled "The Persians."† To the average Englishman Persia is the land of splendid fairy-tales, of Omar Khayyám, and of oil-fields. Persia as a country with a great history, however, is little known to the average person; and of her arts, he probably knows of her carpets and nothing else. The opening of the International Exhibition of Persian Art at the Royal Academy will introduce Persia to England in a new aspect, and it can be concluded that people will wish to know more of that country. Sir Denison Ross has made a very complete short survey in this book; and as one of the chief authorities on Persian culture, his work will make an excellent introduction to a fascinating subject.

* * *

Every century produces some special work which must be carried on as a sacred duty by generations to come. The nineteenth century in England was an age of greatness, but the pioneer work done for poor children probably had more far-reaching results than any other event of the century. The names of Lord Shaftesbury and Dr. Barnardo are famous to-day for the amazing work they and their helpers did among slum children; and it is interesting to realise that this work was the outcome of the Religious Revival Movement of the eighteenth century. Dr. J. Wesley Bready's book, "Doctor Barnardo, Physician, Pioneer, Prophet; Child life, yesterday and to-day,"‡ gives a remarkable picture of the conditions under which children existed in East London, and it is surprising that any of them grew up at all. Lord Shaftesbury is best remembered for his Ragged Schools, and Dr. Barnardo as the founder of homes for outcast homeless children. Perhaps the most interesting part of his rescue work was his scheme to turn these waifs and strays into good citizens, self-supporting, with a strong moral code; and that his methods were successful has been proved again and again. Barnardo boys and girls to-day hold positions in the chief professions and trades all over the Empire, many have become famous in their own line; and all of them are proud of the Homes which gave them their chance in life.

* Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net.
† Oxford University Press. Humphrey Milford. 5s. net.
‡ Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.

"Love and Sunshine in the East,"* by Janet Aldis, is a very chatty book of travels, written in a light and airy vein, built on the journeyings of two friends in Eastern lands. The book is cast in novel form, and Cupid flits through it and adds piquancy to the record of their sightseeing. Viola Rockland is the only daughter of a runaway disastrous marriage. Her father is dead and she lives alone with her mother in rather a remote village which is a haven of rest to the mother. The family had washed their hands of them after the marriage, which they deemed had brought disgrace on the long lineage of a noble family. An uncle on her father's side had lately died, and left Viola a legacy of five hundred pounds with which, to the consternation of her mother, Viola decides to see something beside the village in which she was cooped up. She and her friend Christine start on their travels in search of fresh fields and pastures new. Viola is a beautiful girl, full of energy and life, and doubtless her friend found at times the chaperonage of a penniless beauty rather an arduous task, but the friend is no prude, and they enjoy their travels to the top of their respective bents. Enough of this slight story has been told—now the reader will follow with much pleasure the real purport of the book, which is to give some insight into the wonders of the East. It is a story of unconventional adventures by sea and by land; of the places visited, the people met, the temples and pagodas entered, or the manners and customs of the East: things old indeed but new and fresh to an untravelled girl. Rangoon, the Irawadi river, Penang, and Siam brought their quota to the enjoyment of the travellers, and bring it again to the reader, for there is much information to be gathered as one follows the pages of this brightly and naturally written book.

* * *

The Director of Education at Barking, Mr. J. Compton, has made an admirable selection for school use of "Scenes and Songs from the Savoy Operas and Some Bab Ballads"† in his series of "Writers of To-day and Yesterday." Mr. Compton says in his general preface to the series that though the schools are better served than in earlier days "there are still large tracts of literary territory to which school children have very rarely access. This is particularly true of accounts of travel within recent times, of modern biographies and modern belles-lettres, and it is a pity, for the best route to the classics is often by way of contemporary writers." The series is planned to give substantial extracts from work of these types and also from the great classical English authors. Certainly the Savoy Operas "are essential to a properly rounded English education. . . . The best of Gilbert has lost none of its freshness and point." To read these texts in the schools will lead the children to the exquisite music of Sir Arthur Sullivan.

* * *

Mr. V. Gordon Childe, the Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology in the University of Edinburgh, in his work on "The Bronze Age"‡ takes up "the story of prehistoric industrial development in North-Western Europe from the point at which Mr. M. C. Burkitt's 'Our Early Ancestors' left it." He therefore assumes a knowledge of the

* Herbert Joseph. 12s. 6d. net.
Macmillan. 2s. 6d.
‡ Cambridge: at the University Press. 8s. 6d. net.

Stone Age and examines in the light of this knowledge the next stage, the Copper or Bronze Age, a period comparatively brief in Great Britain—possibly some 2,000 years—but of longer stability in Southern Europe, Egypt, and the Near and Middle East. But everywhere the Bronze Age is a period of supreme importance and especially from the economic standpoint. Professor Childe illustrates the fact with useful elaboration in his introductory chapter and then deals in detail with the relations of metallurgy and trade, with types of weapons and tools and the evolution of the period. He has compiled an extremely useful and well-illustrated book.

* * *

The decay of English has been freely prophesied and every effort that is made to arrest that decay by a return to the first principles of the language and especially the grammatical is to be welcomed. Professor J. H. G. Grattan and Mr. P. Gurrey in Book I of their book on "Our Language in Theory and Practice"* dealing with "the Structure of the Simple Sentence" endeavour, out of their great experience as teachers of English, to exercise the minds of pupils, young and old, on the problems of present-day English. Step by step they build up the sentences explaining the significance of nouns and pronouns, adjectives and verbs, and the qualities of verbs and adverbs and direct and indirect objects. Grammar is made a living thing and taste (or humanism) is incorporated with grammar as it should be.

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Dr. E. G. Salter has made available, in an offprint from *Speculum*, the American Journal of Mediæval Studies (Volume V, Number 4, October 1930), her able article on the "Sources for the Biography of St. Francis of Assisi." St. Francis died in 1226 and his death was immediately followed by "a diligent collecting of records, and there exists to-day an abundance of first-hand, contemporary information, the legends or lives of the Saint being supplemented by references in other writers, Italian and foreign, members of the Order and outside." Critical discussion began in the *Acta Sanctorum* in 1768 and "it has become especially acute in recent years, when a whole literature has grown up around it, in which the value of certain documents has been variously estimated, according to the view taken of their date, their genuineness, and their tendentious tone. Critical texts of the most important sources are now available." Dr. Salter discusses these sources and summarises the results of recent criticism after considering the position of the various parties (those following the Rule of absolute poverty, those accepting Papal modifications of the Rule, and the great body of moderate Friars who only wanted peace) in the Order since the conflict considerably affected the documents. It is a most useful piece of research work, but it provokes reflection on the fierce battles which have been and are still being fought around such kindred and gentle spirits as St. Francis of Assisi and Thomas à Kempis.

* George Philip & Son. 8d. (in limp cloth 11d.).

THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR GREAT BRITAIN.

THE Editor has been good enough to invite me to contribute a survey of the economic situation in this country, "on broad lines and furnishing as few figures as possible." I imagine that he has done me this honour partly, at any rate, on account of the fact that, in very recent years, I have written three books on the economic crisis as it has developed internationally in unparalleled ways. In the course of 1925 I published *The Financial Crisis of France*. That book was written half-way through the convulsion which lasted from the opening of 1924 up to the latter half of 1926. Grounding myself on technical considerations to which I need not refer, I concluded that France would not merely surmount her existing troubles, but would very shortly and without difficulty establish the Gold Standard.

In the course of 1928 I published *The Economic Impact of America*. This was written in the middle of that period of financial inflation which ran from the close of 1926 nearly up to the close of 1929. In this case my conclusion was that great forces, "beyond the ken of London or the control of Washington," were preparing another of those reversals of fortune which are the standing feature in American economics. In the third volume, published towards the close of last year and entitled *The Economic War*, I have exposed that economic conflict in which Labour is arrayed against Labour in the battlefield of production, a conflict which, according to my theory, constitutes the fundamental problem of to-day.

The present is, indeed, a very appropriate hour for reviewing our situation. First as regards our trade we have the full figures—I must remember not to quote them—of 1930. Price-levels apart, our exports measured in quantities are down in practically every class upon the figures of 1929. Added to this, the returns for the second half of 1930 were considerably worse than those for the first half of 1930, while the returns for December of our exports were the worst of the lot. In finance we have before us the authoritative addresses, one more disturbing than the other, of the chairmen of our great banks, all of these utterances being "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." And lastly in industry, with the appointment of the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, we can judge for the first time from the figures supplied by Sir Richard Hopkins, Controller of Finance and Supply Services to the Treasury, and of Sir Alfred Watson, the Government actuary, the gigantic borrowings of the Unemployment Fund already sanctioned and the further borrowings made indispensable

in the coming financial year 1931-2 by the certainty of continued unemployment. Thus alike in trade, in finance, and in industry, all the hard facts up to date are before us, and we can tremble with statistical certainty at the promise of 1931-2.

It is true, indeed, that the exact outcome of the Budget for the current year 1930-1 remains in the unknown. But if any last illusions of optimism are left it is likely to shatter them. The figures are already available for the first nine months of the current financial year. These indicate that (a) the estimated receipts from Income Tax, Surtax, and Death Duties will probably not be realised, (b) the estimated receipts from Customs, Excise and Stamps will certainly not be realised, (c) the expenditure up to date on the civil and revenue votes has already exceeded the total estimated increase for the year. Add to all this the fall, to be certainly anticipated for 1931-2, in the yield of direct taxation, allied to the necessity of more borrowing already alluded to for the Unemployment Insurance Fund. In these terms without succumbing to the temptation of providing a single statistic, I have sufficiently indicated our economic situation.

What is the cause and root of it all? We stand, I think, at the opening stage of a new economic era, to which we have not yet adjusted our minds or our habits, and we suffer, the world suffers, accordingly. The central fact in the economics of the nineteenth century was that, on the whole, consumption tended either to balance, or to outrun, production. No doubt during that period the productive power of industry increased very greatly, but the consuming power of the population kept pace with that expansion. For instance we ourselves increased in number some five times, from the opening of the nineteenth century up to the war of 1914. Thanks to this growth of consumption moving in step with production a reasonable co-ordination prevailed between the two. Indeed, during the twenty years or so preceding 1914 there was a slight and steady rise in prices, indicating that the producer was well employed and happy, or fairly so. Thus, in spite of the great growth in international competition, Great Britain was by no means ill-placed in the world; the last year before the war was a highly prosperous one for us and we were able to continue to place large investments abroad.

Nevertheless, the times were changing. Thanks to a multiplicity of technical reasons the power of man over nature was making unheard-of progress: the processes of invention were continually expanding, and upon this tendency the war itself produced a remarkable effect. That war exercised two contradictory influences on industry, of which the latter was to prove the more enduring and the more significant. On the one hand, by with-

drawing the flower of the world's forces from work, it naturally checked for the time the world's industrial progress. But on the other hand, unexpectedly enough, it enormously stimulated the resourcefulness of science and therefore the potency of future production. For, humanity being determined, in spite of the fighting, not to relinquish its ascendancy over nature, only called to its aid still more research and more discoveries, filled the gaps in industry with women, and emerged from the war armed with more productive power than ever. Indeed, as the war itself had proceeded, it had become increasingly one not between men but between machines. For a few years after the war, that is up to about the spring of 1920, this new fact was concealed from the view of all. For though the war had tremendously stimulated the creative processes in some directions, it had not stimulated them in all. Besides, in those months mankind experienced a keen appetite, after the long night of so many privations, to consume and to enjoy once more. Hence it was that, up to the spring of 1920, that rise of prices which had been in process since the nineteenth century, and which had received so gigantic a stimulus during the war, still held good.

During the next decade, i.e. from 1920 up to our own hour, the forces of modernised production have been in full play at last, and have proved to be, I think, the dominating cause in that fall of wholesale prices, that sudden return at the opening of 1931 to the 1914 level, which has so deeply affected us. I avoid the statistics of the recent *Memorandum on Production and Trade* produced at Geneva. But it is extremely apposite to observe that to-day the output of all raw materials taken together in the world is at least half as much again as it was in 1913. Correspondingly in manufacture it is quite common to-day for the great industries of the world to possess double or even treble the capacity required to satisfy all the needs of consumption. The paradox of plenty! The tragedy of too much! This very day I read from a Manchester source that "two Preston men have patented a new cotton-spinning machine" of unheard-of efficiency and capacity. "The invention has passed severe tests . . . skill is virtually eliminated and female labour only will be required." Is this good news or bad? From the other side of the Atlantic the Deputy Director of the International Labour Office at Geneva, on his recent visit to Canada and the United States, reports that "It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the aggregate of unemployment would be far smaller to-day if technical improvements, both in industry and agriculture, had proceeded at a less rapid rate." The stern fact is that in the North American continent, during the period since 1920, owing to the extensive use of tractors, "combines," and

other machines, coupled with more scientific methods of cultivation, the output per agricultural worker has increased by a quarter as much again, forcing several millions of people to quit the land. As regards industry in that same continent the Deputy Director reports that since the war "the output per head increased in manufacturing industry in the United States by 45 per cent."

This increased pace of technical production has been accentuated since the war by another quite unforeseen factor in human affairs. For, in contradiction to all the hopes aroused by the institution of the League of Nations, we have experienced economic nationalism of the most intense and universal nature. The significance of this economic nationalism, as bearing upon our theme, is that almost every nation in the world has sought to stimulate its manufacturing development at all costs, apparently with the motive of rendering itself independent of its neighbours. Thus political emotions, harmonised in this instance with the work of the laboratories, have induced statesmen everywhere to egg on their respective peoples to produce at all costs.

A third factor in stimulus of production has been provided by the policy, so widely adopted, of stabilising the currencies of the world. The world was financed very largely by promises to pay issued by the Governments. These became so excessive that their values became uncertain, with consequent and corresponding danger to the producers of the world, who could never reckon upon the value of what they were to receive. Indeed, since the war the currencies of eight great European nations have registered a complete collapse, while those of five others have fluctuated wildly. It has been a wise move on the part of those nations to restore their currencies to a fixed basis upon the rock either of gold or of gold exchange. No doubt this process has produced many further complications, but in substance and on the whole I think that it may be asserted with confidence that it has assisted, rather than hampered, the productive powers of the world. So far, then, I have mentioned three great causes—the first of them being far the most important of the three—all of which have combined to stimulate, and have succeeded in stimulating, the productive powers of man.

We can surely pronounce no other judgment upon this extraordinary activity of post-war production than that it is beneficial in itself. In this plethora of products, in this spate of superabundance, good must predominate. For how infinitely more terrible would this last decade have been if it had been scarcity which had taken humanity by the throat! Why, then, has this phenomenon, in itself so advantageous, apparently produced such intense and world-wide misery as that which we witness to-day?

As its normal results developed we might reasonably have expected a certain decline in prices, the hall-mark, as it were, of affluence. Instead of that we have experienced a fall that has proved catastrophic and really ruinous on a wide scale, and this is the mystery which we are especially up against, that out of economic worth should come economic woe.

There are three main reasons for the existence of this amazing paradox, though the first of them is altogether dominant. While production has been striding rapidly forward, it has done so in a world more than half of which, thanks to the war, is plunged in chaos or confusion, and which, therefore, cannot purchase as it should. Remember only Russia, a world in itself; and China with its gigantic disorganised markets; and so on throughout the world. Thus an unparalleled economic activity is, as it were, hamstrung by an equally unparalleled paralysis. As I write these words I see in the headlines of one of our best journals "Millions hungry in America." In America! "America the Golden, with milk and honey blessed"! That America, which, as we were told only a few months ago in an authoritative volume, "conquers Britain"!

A secondary and minor reason for this inability to consume is furnished by that same economic nationalism which, as we have seen, has such a good side to it in stimulating production, but has also such a bad side to it in raising tariffs and barriers against the efforts of other nations to do the same. For, in this economic bedlam, each nation appears to be active not only in dumping its exports at a price under the cost of production upon other people, but also takes active steps to prevent itself from receiving the sums receivable by erecting tariffs and other barbed-wire entanglements. Hence an apparent desire to stimulate production and to throttle consumption. A third reason must be added to the two above. During the perturbations of war a superior class of persons, termed middle-men, have run away with the profits of production throughout the world. Standing between the producer and the consumer they buy raw materials cheap, and they sell them dear, with all sorts of apologies for their actions. Hence the anomaly that, while producers throughout the world receive prices which are too low, consumers similarly suffer from prices which are too high. The economic result is that while production goes up, consumption goes down or, at any rate, does not expand correspondingly. Thus these six main mighty forces, three in the order of production and three in the order of consumption, have temporarily combined to cause the havoc which we are witnessing in the economic world. It will be seen from the above that I am not in accord on this point with the main body of our economists who attribute it to monetary scarcity.

As regards Great Britain, I believe with the utmost confidence in our recovery. For after all we are the chief consumers of food and raw materials, so that their extraordinary affluence and cheapness cannot but be of singular advantage to us in the long run, providing us, as it were, with a flying start over other peoples. Nevertheless, let me draw attention at the same time to the three main adverse effects which this economic cataclysm is temporarily exercising upon us to-day. First, at the very date when the world is eager to supersede our goods and reluctant to take them, our great exporting industries in the North of England have fallen relatively out of date, thus enabling the world crisis to play havoc in that region. This very morning I received the *Special Review of the Iron and Steel Trades in 1930*. I read in it a statement that

the fact remains that there are not half a dozen really modern blast furnaces throughout the whole of the North of England. . . . Most of the local blast furnaces are nearing the end of a long and useful life. Our iron masters are working, in fact, with worn-out tools which would be tolerated nowhere else in the world. The assertion may be hotly disputed, but a comparison of the outputs of the British and foreign blast furnaces provides convincing testimony.

Similarly as regards the cotton trade. The Committee on the Cotton Industry speaks in 1930 with almost brutal frankness of the Lancashire methods. It says that

until far-reaching improvements are introduced into the British industry, there is no likelihood that Lancashire will be able to arrest the decline of her export trade.

It adds that

the organisation of the Lancashire cotton industry, with the exception of the finishing section, is substantially the same as that which existed in the nineteenth century,

and which has long been discarded by other people. "The system" now followed by the cotton industry

is to-day manifestly inadequate to meet the strain of modern conditions . . . the old conditions, so favourable to Lancashire, have passed away for ever.

In plain terms, not only technical improvements of the spinning and manufacturing sections, involving considerable equipment, are urgently needed, but the whole system of marketing is antiquated. From the Reports of that great Committee on Industry and Trade, which sat for five years up to 1929, we may extract a couple of sentences:

The whole of our industries, whether making for the home or the overseas markets, are alike dependent on the maintenance of an export trade.

In what condition, then, are these export trades?

It is, we think, abundantly clear from our survey that the first step towards putting British industries into a position to compete successfully in foreign markets is to subject their organisation and equipment to a thorough process of reconditioning.

A thorough process of reconditioning! What does that mean but that their equipment is out of date?

Our next particular trouble is that our wage-levels were violently disorganised by the war, and thus we have had to sustain the economic impact of the post-war crisis hampered by a dislocated industrial organisation. For several generations past, in fact since the opening of the eighteenth century, Capital and Labour had been engaged in a never-ending debate, and often in a sharp conflict, as to the division between them of the proceeds of industry. A rhythm of constant change, an uninterrupted metamorphosis, altogether resulting in the fact that, as Professor Clay has well described it, "before the war we had in this country reached a fair working solution of the problem . . . the basis of order in industry was a system of relatively stable wage standards . . . the maintenance of order on this basis was possible, because economic change was gradual and seldom catastrophic." But all these industrial strata of Britain were ruptured by the earthquake of Armageddon. We emerged with an almost inextricable dislocation in the wage-levels not only of the workers *inter se* in any single industry, but also in the wage-levels of whole industries *inter se*. It was in vain that the Committee on Production laboured manfully throughout the war to redress that confusion by fixing wages in virtue of its nearly four thousand awards.

The living significance of all this is that our export industries have been terribly handicapped. The effect of the war upon them has been that, first, an immense rise of prices, in accentuation of that rise which had been in process since 1896, caused a corresponding intense pressure for higher wages. Next, a rapid shift of the workers over from the industries rendered superfluous by the war to the industries, such as those of munitions, which had been rendered indispensable, set up a movement entailing a vast readjustment from production for export to production for home and military consumption. Next, the whole wage system was further upset internally by the fact that the skilled man, the pivot man of our industrial ascendancy, fell rapidly in the scale of Labour, owing to the advances in the remuneration of women and of unskilled workers, a change induced by the call for mass production, as opposed to the expert work of pre-war days. Now this dislocation was an evil of the gravest augury for Great Britain, who had been increasingly organising her energies during

five centuries for an end precisely the opposite. For Great Britain before the war was a country which, after a prolonged apprenticeship, was catering for a world desirous, as it advanced in civilisation, of ever finer products, and trained by Great Britain to desire them.

And then, on the top of all this legacy of the war, came the rise of prices up to 1920, inducing higher wages, and the gigantic fall of prices since that date. How has it been possible, with the best will in the world, to reorganise the wage-levels of a nation, when its price-levels are exposed to such great convulsions? It is under the shadow of this almost insoluble difficulty that our export industries have had to work. The problem will never be solved until prices have attained some reasonable level of stability, let us say a stability of the sort enjoyed by industry prior to the war.

The last main handicap which has hindered our recovery lies in the region of public finance. Since the war, *pari passu* with the fall of prices since 1920, the real burden of our already huge war debt has enormously increased. Then again, owing to the failure of the League of Nations to discharge its purpose, the burden of armaments has increased all round. As the present Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out last year, "Every one of the Great Powers of the world, except Germany, who has been compulsorily disarmed, is spending much more on armaments than it spent before the Great War." In fact, it is the parent of the League itself, the United States, who is spending so much on this purpose that "the total is much higher than that of any of the other Great Powers of the world." Next, our taxpayers are particularly burdened owing to the failure of the great export industries to reorganise their plant up to the present, for the unemployment thus made inevitable has had to be shouldered by those taxpayers. And lastly, the House of Commons has failed to devise a financial method of control over expenditure which, after all, is its prime duty to the public.

I understand that it is not within the terms of this article, and certainly it is not within the space allotted, that the measures necessary to remedy our situation should be set forth. I shall presume to mention the two main lines of conduct to be primarily pursued. Since our very existence, as the Committee of Industry and Trade has so justly stated, depends upon our export industries, and since those particular industries, as that Committee has also stated, need a thorough "reconditioning" to enable them to fight with success in the battlefield of modern production, it follows that the primary purpose of our statesmen and our men of business alike should be focused on that same "reconditioning." And next, in the sphere of international economics, if it be true that,

as I have argued at length in my book already referred to and entitled *The Economic War*, the grand economic evil of to-day is the want of co-ordination between the energies of Labour, that suggests our major line of policy. By this I mean the work of establishing co-ordination between the branches of the same industry dispersed throughout the world. That is not a dream. The most practical men have already taken the first step in that direction by instituting the Bank for International Settlements, which, in its initial phase, may be defined as a co-operative undertaking of the Central Banks, a unique creation in economic history. I hope that this work will be led by Britain. For, if I may indulge in one more prophecy, her industrial watchword will be Association, not ascendancy, and the crown of her glorious career will be to secure, for her own and for all other peoples, the economic co-ordination of the world.

GEORGE PEEL.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, THE FUTURE, AND THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

NOW that the Round Table Conference is over—or rather, stands adjourned—we can take stock of the progress made. On the one hand we are told that nothing has been done. Questions have been raised without answer, problems put without solution, avenues opened up leading to no destination, conjecture everywhere, decision nowhere. On the other hand the Conference is condemned because it has gone too far and has announced conclusions that have imperilled our Imperial position and thrown the whole of Indian politics into dangerous confusion.

The members of the Conference would be the first to acknowledge that their work, in its details, has nowhere approached completion. The reports of the several Sub-Committees admittedly contain many more marks of interrogation than full stops. The delegates, it is true, would have real difficulty in pointing to a single paragraph where a final conclusion is reached. Even where decisions are recorded they are tentative rather than final. Unanimity was the exception rather than the rule, and the records are marked at frequent intervals with caveats, demurrers, doubts and objections. "You have unsettled much," says the critic, "and settled nothing. The historic cleavage between Hindu and Muslim remains as wide and threatening as it was before the delegates sailed from India. The Sikhs are dissatisfied and apprehensive. The representatives of Labour are frankly scornful, and the Depressed Classes are unreconciled to proposals which hold out no assurance of their redemption."

Faced with these criticisms the Round Table delegate does not deny their truth, and yet he claims that the Conference has been a success and has indeed accomplished more than most people in this country would in October last have thought to be possible. Once at any rate the Conference was unanimous. On January 19th last, after eight weeks of unremitting labour, the delegates adopted the following resolution:

These Reports, provisional though they are, together with the recorded notes attached to them, afford, in the opinion of the Conference, material of the highest value for use in the framing of a Constitution for India, embodying as they do a substantial measure of agreement on the main ground-plan, and many helpful indications of the points of detail to be further pursued. And the Conference feels that arrangements should be made to pursue without interruption the work upon which it has been engaged, including the provision in the Constitution of adequate safeguards for the Mussalmans, Depressed Classes, Sikhs, and all other important minorities.

The Conference had four great occasions. The first was the speech of His Majesty the King when the proceedings began in the Royal Gallery. Who will forget the hush with which we listened to the words that brought up the vision of All-India?

I have also in mind the just claims of majorities and minorities, of men and women, of town dwellers and tillers of the soil, of the strong and the weak, of the rich and the poor, of the races, castes and creeds of which the body politic is composed. . . . May your names go down to history as those of men who served India well. . . .

Here indeed was authority, an authority that survived the angry and spluttering criticism which came from Mr. Churchill whilst the Conference was engaged in its most critical discussions.

The second high moment of the Conference came with the declaration of the Princes that they would be prepared to enter a Federation of All-India. The appeal had been made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru:

I say we are one India. . . . I therefore ask them (the Princes) to come forth on this occasion and say whether they are prepared to join an All-India Federation. . . . They will furnish a stabilising factor in our constitution . . . the process of unification will begin at once . . . in regard to matters of Defence they will furnish a practical experience which is yet wanting in British India.

Then came the reply of the Maharajah of Bikaner:

We of the Indian States are willing to take our part in, and make our contribution to, the greater prosperity and contentment of India as a whole. I am convinced that we can best make that contribution through a federal system of government composed of the States and British India.

Thus, within two hours of the commencement of the Conference discussions, the appeal had been made by British India and the response had come from the States. Everyone around the Table realised that a new chapter in Imperial history had been opened. The distant prospect of the Simon Commission and the far-off ideal of the Government of India Dispatch had suddenly and beyond expectation become immediate and practical politics. In accepting the proposal for participation in a federal government the Princes stated explicitly that federation and self-government for India were inseparable propositions. To quote the words of the Maharajah of Bikaner:

The Princes have made it clear that they cannot federate with the present Government of India and we are not going to make any sacrifices and delegate any of our sovereign powers unless and until we can share them honourably and fully with British India in the Federal Executive and Legislature.

This attitude was confirmed by the Nawab of Bhopal :

We have made it clear that we can only federate with a self-governing British India, and that, if British India is not self-governed, any federation will be to our own disadvantage.

And by the Maharajah of Patiala :

The main principle of federation stands accepted. . . . We have made it clear, however, that we consider certain claims to be essential. We can only federate with a British India which is self-governing, and not with a British India governed as it is at present.

The critics of the Conference who welcome the proposal for federal government and who, at the same time, decline to go beyond the proposals of the Statutory Commission, are confusing the issue with meaningless arguments. A federal government means a self-governing India. We cannot have one without the other. It may be that Mr. Churchill and Lord Lloyd as well as the *Morning Post* consider the grant of self-government too big a price to pay for a federal system, but the separation of the one proposal from the other, approving the first and condemning the second, is playing ducks and drakes with realities.

The third great occasion was on January 5th when, in the Federal Structure Committee, Lord Reading commenced his speech in reply to the demand, voiced by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, for responsibility at the centre. On the Friday of the previous week the Indian statesman had put the case for self-government. Moderately and firmly he had stated the indictment against British parliamentary government and the demand of his people for the assignment to themselves of the right to manage their own affairs. In grave words, and expressly repudiating any intention to threaten the British Government, he discharged his responsibility in making clear the certain consequences of a refusal of the demand. He emphasised what every one at the Round Table already knew, that the Conference would be judged in India by the measure of responsibility given to the central government. That was the citadel of the position. All other discussions were the outworks. In that demand for responsibility at the centre all the Indian delegation at one time or another joined. Hindu and Moslem, Sikh and Indian Christian spoke with one voice. Zemindars, taluqdars, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, merchants and labour representatives, made a common front. Begum Shah Nawaz, for herself and her sister delegate, added an eloquent plea on behalf of the women of India. The spokesman of the Depressed Classes was as insistent as the rest, and the Princes, who claimed that they were Indians first

and rulers second, threw their weight into the same scale. It was manifest that if the principle of responsibility at the centre was conceded, all other questions could be discussed, and perhaps decided, later. That refused, everything failed. If the British delegation had declined to concede the principle of a federal executive responsible to a federal legislature, the Conference, after all the elaborate preparation and widespread hopes, would have come to an end as sudden as and more disastrous than the crash of the R.101 upon the hillside outside Beauvais. The Chairman then called on Lord Reading. His name was familiar to Indian ears. His probable attitude towards the proposals had been for weeks past discussed in almost every Indian newspaper. For five years he had been Viceroy. He spoke not only as the leader of the Liberal delegation, but as one whose experience gave him an unquestioned authority and rightful precedence. No one will, I think, forget the eager quietness with which the Committee heard the operative words of his speech. There was no rhetoric, no purple passage. As was customary in the Committee, Lord Reading remained seated whilst he spoke :

My Lord Chancellor, of course the time has now come when, speaking on behalf of the Liberal Party Delegation, I should inform the members of this Committee where we stand as a Liberal Party. . . . We, the Liberal Party Delegation, approach the subject of responsibility of the Federal Executive to the Federal Legislature with a genuine desire to give effect, as far as we legitimately can, to the views of the British Indian Delegation in this direction, provided that adequate safeguards and reservations are introduced which will enable the Government of India to be carried on with reasonable security to all interests, and that the new constitution will be fairly workable.

Had not Lord Reading read this passage from his manuscript he might have seen in the glistening eyes and faces of the delegates something of the relief that came with his message. "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion we were like them that dream."

The fourth great occasion came with the declaration of the Prime Minister at the concluding Session :

The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights.

Since the Conference concluded another critical decision was made when, rising late at night, Mr. Baldwin, at the end of the

debate in the House of Commons, dissociated himself from Mr. Churchill and said :

I must put this question. We are His Majesty's Opposition and, if it should happen that we should change places with right hon. gentlemen opposite, what do hon. members behind me suppose that our duty would be? We have only one duty, and that one duty is to try to implement so far as we can what has been done in the Conference.

Whilst the believers in Indian self-government can rejoice in the course events have taken, they must recognise that we are not at the end but only at the beginning of our work. So far we have done little more than map out the course. The race has yet to be run. The task of framing the Constitution upon the plans laid down will be the heaviest ever yet undertaken in history. Problems have been already raised which seem to baffle the mind. We are face to face with questions where the file affords no precedent and where history reveals no comparison. Apart from the dominant business of building the constitution, the questions of finance, defence, the services, the franchise, can only be answered after inquiry that will need to be patient, exhaustive and inexorable. So far the outline only has been sketched. It is true, as Mr. Benn said, that the outline is not to be rubbed out but to be filled in, but the filling in will need patience and unwearying effort. Indians in the prosecution of their demand for self-government have been able to mount up with wings as eagles, but they must now set themselves to walk and not faint, and it will be a long toilsome road. The task of the reconstruction of India has yet to be accomplished. The burden will be borne mainly by the Indians themselves, but they will not be able to carry the burden alone. History, not of our making, has decreed an association between India and Britain, and that association makes inevitable a partnership which cannot be dissolved without loss and cannot be broken without incalculable peril.

Apart from the major difficulties associated with the making of a constitution, there are a score of problems which will tax the resources of statesmanship. The problem of the Minorities brings before us the Hindu-Moslem settlement and the question of the Depressed Classes. The communal question cannot be discussed here. To deal with this cardinal problem would demand all my space. The condition and future of the Depressed Classes in India will call for the unremitting attention of any Committees or Commissions to be set up. These classes were effectively and faithfully represented at the Conference by Dr. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur Srinivasan, who, in addition to eloquent advocacy, submitted a Memorandum setting out the claims of their community. We also received a report of the All-India Adi-Hindu (Depressed Classes)

Conference held at Allahabad on November 16th, 1930. British people who wish to acquaint themselves with the condition and grievances of this large section of the Indian people should read the Memorandum of Mr. M. C. Rajah contained in the Report of the Indian Central Committee, as well as the several memoranda submitted to the Statutory Commission. In some respects the most informative document is the Report of the Depressed Classes Committee of the Bombay Presidency issued in March 1930. This Committee was appointed in November 1928 with the following terms of reference :

To inquire into the educational, economic and social condition of the Depressed Classes (Untouchables) and of the Aboriginal Tribes in the Presidency and to recommend measures for their uplift.

The Report is of the highest value, as it is based upon a recent *ad hoc* inquiry by a Committee of ten members, eight of whom were Indians. The findings were based upon exhaustive investigation and are in the main unanimous. Like all literature dealing with the Untouchables this Report is poignant reading. In the Bombay Presidency proper the Depressed Classes number about one and a half millions out of about sixteen millions. Here are some passages from the Report :

The Depressed Classes are obliged to live in a state of isolation from the rest of the community. The effects of this isolation have been disastrous both to the Untouchables as well as the orthodox Hindus.

As a degraded people the Depressed Classes are expected to follow a code of behaviour according to which the Depressed Class man may not do anything which will raise him above his appointed station in life. . . .

The overwhelming characteristic which includes both the isolation and the servility is that of untouchability. A person born untouchable remains untouchable, however superior he may be in personal cleanliness to the so-called touchable, and there is no way open to him by which he can escape his fate.

Then follows the story of resulting social disability. The children of Untouchables are in many cases excluded from the common schools. Sometimes, if admitted, they have to sit apart. We are told of the trouble arising where the Untouchables are excluded from the use of the public wells.

There are a few instances where the Depressed Classes have insisted on their right to use a public well, but though they may have succeeded in this the cost has been heavy, and the victory has been unreal. For example, in one village the touchable Hindus had several wells containing water all the year round while the Depressed Classes' wells ran dry in the hot weather. The Depressed Classes, aided by their more educated brethren from the town, decided to insist on their right to the use of one of the touchable wells, and, having given prior notice

to the police of their intention, went in procession and used it. The presence of the police prevented a riot, but the effect has been that the touchable Hindus have boycotted the Depressed Classes and refuse to sell them anything from their shops or to employ them. This has entailed great suffering on the Depressed Classes.

After the record of specific disabilities the Committee make many recommendations, but they show how deep-rooted is the trouble.

Although we have recommended various remedies to secure to the Depressed Classes their rights to all public utilities we fear that there will be difficulties in the way of their exercising them for a long time to come. The first difficulty is the fear of open violence against them by the orthodox classes. It must be noted that the Depressed Classes form a small minority in every village, opposed to which is a great majority of the orthodox who are bent on protecting their interests and dignity from any supposed invasion by the Depressed Classes at any cost. The danger of prosecution by the police has put a limitation upon the use of violence by the orthodox classes, and consequently such cases are rare.

The second difficulty arises from the economic position in which the Depressed Classes are found to-day. The Depressed Classes have no economic independence in most parts of the Presidency. . . . We have heard of numerous instances where the orthodox classes have used their economic power as a weapon against those Depressed Classes in their villages, when the latter have dared to exercise their rights, and have evicted them from their land, and stopped their employment and discontinued their remuneration as village servants. This boycott is often planned on such an extensive scale as to include the prevention of the Depressed Classes from using the commonly used paths, and the stoppage of sale of the necessities of life by the village Bania. According to the evidence, sometimes small causes suffice for the proclamation of a social boycott against the Depressed Classes. . . .

We do not know of any weapon more effective than this social boycott which could have been invented for the suppression of the Depressed Classes. The method of open violence pales away before it, for it has the most far-reaching and deadening effects. It is the more dangerous because it passes as a lawful method consistent with the theory of freedom of contact. We agree that this tyranny of the majority must be put down with a firm hand if we are to guarantee to the Depressed Classes the freedom of speech and action necessary for their uplift. If propaganda and compromise fail, legislation provides the only remedy.

The Report deals with a province where the Depressed Classes only form 8 per cent. of the whole population. Throughout the whole of British India the Depressed Classes number, according to the Simon Commission, about 43 millions, representing about 19 per cent. of the whole population. Their numbers are unevenly distributed, and their disabilities press more heavily in some districts than in others. The history of the origin and growth of

the problem must be sought elsewhere. The condition of these people is acknowledged everywhere as a reproach, and it is manifest that India has here a problem more intricate and difficult than any other. Whatever committees are set up dealing with minorities, franchise, separate electorates, and reserved seats in provincial or central legislatures, recruitment to the army and the services, the claims of these people must receive primary consideration. Their demands for the franchise must be weighed with sympathy. Give the Depressed Classes man a vote and the likelihood is he will be untouchable no longer. There may be a risk in extending the vote, but surely that risk is not comparable with the risk of allowing the wrongs and sufferings of these people to fester into bitter discontent which will one day most certainly provide the material for uprising and revolution. Abraham Lincoln said no country could exist half-slave and half-free. The Maharajah of Bikaner quoted the words of the Apostle Paul: "For we are members one of another." History has made the Depressed Classes an inseparable part of the Indian body politic, and there is another passage from Paul's writings which runs, "If one member suffers, all the members share its suffering."

Happily there are signs of improvement, but the deadliest enemy of the Depressed Classes has been their own despair and inertia. They have been taught through generations to accept their lot as predestined and inevitable. Now, as in the vision of Ezekiel, there is a noise and a shaking in the valley of dry bones. Christian missions have done much in giving these people status and hope. The Untouchables are becoming class conscious and are learning that their emancipation depends upon their own efforts and protest. They are forming themselves into organisations that can effectively challenge the powers above them, and the social conscience is being awakened. The Hindu Maha Sabha at its session in 1928 declared for equal social and political rights and expressly condemned the disabilities of the Untouchables. Mahatma Gandhi, speaking at Mirzapur Park, Calcutta, on May 1st, 1925, said:

So long as untouchability disfigures Hinduism, so long do I hold the attainment of Swaraj to be an utter impossibility. Supposing it were a gift descending from Downing Street to India, that gift would be a curse upon this land if we do not get rid of this curse.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has had attributed to him the following words:

I do say what is my sincere conviction that unless you are able to solve your own social problems about the Depressed Classes and the Untouchables, I do not see any real prospect for real genuine constitutional advance, and any constitution you may get will certainly not arouse any interest in me, because I do feel, however ideal your constitution may be, unless you

have got the support of the minorities, and unless you command the confidence of those whom in your vanity you may describe as Depressed Classes, your constitution will not be worth a day's purchase.

The claim for self-government is mainly a claim to status. Status cannot be acquired by one class in India and denied to a fifth of her people. Equal rights within the Empire mean nothing if forty to sixty million of our fellow-subjects are to be denied the elementary rights of human beings. Indians protest, and rightly protest, against any policy which disparages or prejudices the status of their nationals throughout the world. That protest will never have the full weight it deserves as long as status and citizenship are denied to a fifth of the Indian people at home. The grievances of the Depressed Classes have frequently been used as an argument against home rule for India. Dr. Ambedkar, on the other hand, used the condition of his class as an argument for self-government, and contended that the only hope for emancipation of the Untouchables lay along the lines of self-government and democratic representative institutions.

With problems such as these to solve and desperate difficulties to overcome, India will need all the help and sympathy and patience that the British people can give. The energy and effort hitherto devoted to the cause of political propaganda must be diverted to the harder task of social uplift and reform. Swaraj will not mean the millennium. Come as quickly as it may, it will mean hard work and heartbreak, and there are many evils in India which will not be cast out without prayer and fasting. Dr. Holland Rose, in the concluding paragraphs of *The Development of the European Nations*, speaks of "the sense of disappointment, especially prevalent in Italy and Germany, that the attainment of national unity has led to few of the blissful results foretold by the prophets of those movements. After struggling for a generation through a wilderness of plots and punishments, those two peoples reached the Promised Land only to find it a parade ground."

A happy and prosperous India would be an enormous factor in the future of the world. That happiness and prosperity will depend upon the effort and co-operation of her own people. Swaraj, we believe, may enable Indians to consecrate their gifts and efforts to the uplift of their own community. India must bear her own burden. Her strongest leaders will stagger under that burden, but British help and sympathy may save them from being crushed. The withdrawal of British domination may mean to some "The Lost Dominion." To others of us the offer and acceptance of British friendship may mean a great community gained. Autocracy giving place to partnership is a change consistent with all that is best in our Imperial history.

ISAAC FOOT.

THE TRADE DISPUTES BILL AND THE GENERAL STRIKE.

OF all branches of the law there is none that stands in greater need of codification and of reasoned amendment than the law relating to Trade Unions. The common law is vague. The statute law, enacted by Parliament under pressure from this interest or from that, to meet some emergency or to overrule some unexpected decision of the Courts, is full of perplexity. There is no guiding principle, no certainty of application. This law, which affects the lives of millions, is a thing of doubt. To-day when we are overrun with a plethora of commissions, inquiries and committees, it is a pity that this one subject, which above all others stands in need of unimpassioned inquiry, should be excluded from the calm atmosphere of investigation and thrust into the arena of party strife.

On political grounds no doubt the Trade Disputes Bill can be justified. The Conservative Act, itself a grave psychological mistake, reopened the wounds that had been caused by the General Strike. The sores remained. I doubt if the general mass of workers was greatly troubled in the matter. But among the politically-minded (and it is the politically-minded who influence affairs) the resentment was deep and lasting. Perhaps it was asking too much of a Labour Government, returned in 1929 to a precarious lease of power, to leave undisturbed the ghosts of 1926. And yet one could have wished it otherwise. For the Bill is mere retaliation—folly answering folly. It undoes what has been done, and does nothing else. There is nothing constructive, no new advance. At a time when so much requires to be done, it is almost as grave a psychological error as was the Act of 1927.

With a singular economy of words, the Bill covers a multitude of subjects: the political levy, intimidation, the employment of non-union labour by local authorities, the political activities of the Civil Service, and the illegal strike or lock-out. It is with this last alone that we intend to deal.

The General Strike of 1926 presents a problem of profound difficulty. There are some who believe that it was right and just and proper. And, though we may shudder at the lawless forces which it let loose, we need not withhold our admiration from the willingness to sacrifice and the class-loyalty that it called forth in such abundant measure. But Parliament, if it is to be the servant of the nation, is bound by a higher loyalty than that of class: and no Parliament which was true to its function could acquiesce in a recurrence of 1926. In so far as the Conservative Act illegalised the general strike or lock-out it was right. In so far as it en-

croached unduly upon the legitimate functions of Trade Unions it was wrong. In so far as the present Bill restores those functions it is right. In so far as it legalises the general strike or lock-out it is wrong. The problem before us is to preserve the community from another 1926, while preserving to the Trade Union its legitimate rights. And if it be found that the balance between the two cannot be exactly held, so that the Trade Union cannot preserve the whole of its rights without some danger to the public, it is the Trade Union that must suffer a curtailment of its right rather than the country a curtailment of its security.

From what, then, do we seek to preserve the country in the future? Was it the objective of the General Strike or its extent and character that made it dangerous? And in our legislation for the future do we wish to illegalise a dispute because of its object or because of its character and extent? There is here a distinction of very great importance. I cannot but think that the general public are concerned simply with the character and extent of the dispute. They are not over-much concerned with the object. Whether it be political or industrial is a matter of secondary consideration. The thing against which they desire protection, the thing that they dread, is this sudden invasion of "the common-round, the daily task," this letting loose of great and shadowy powers (it may be a selfish trade unionism on the one side, a selfish capitalism on the other), this utter dislocation, this monstrous disturbance of inoffensive lives. That is what the general strike or lock-out means to ordinary folk: and it is against this thing that they demand protection.

Now it cannot be too plainly set down that the politician seems hardly concerned with this aspect of the matter. He is concerned, not with the extent and character, but with the object of the dispute. If its object is industrial, whatever its extent, he is prepared to legalise it. If its object is political, however diminutive it may be, he is prepared to make it an offence. It is Parliament, rather than the people, that the politician is seeking to protect. This was largely true of the Conservative Act of 1927. The disputes that were declared illegal were those that had an object "other than or in addition to the furtherance of a trade dispute" and "which were designed or calculated to coerce the Government." So far the dispute was illegal purely by reason of its object. The Act, indeed, proceeded to define coercion as including not only direct coercion but that indirect pressure to which any government can be subjected by inflicting hardship on the community. Thus, as it were by a side-wind, it brought into the consideration of the matter the extent and character as well as the object of the dispute. But the primary con-

sideration in deciding the question of legality still remained, and is to-day the object rather than the character of the strike or lock-out.

Still more is this so in the Bill at present before Parliament. The illegal strike or lock-out is simply defined as one "the primary object" of which "is an object other than that of furthering purposes connected with the employment or non-employment, or the terms of employment or with the conditions of labour of any person." Motive, and not extent or character, is the sole test of illegality.

Everyone, I suppose, will admit that it is desirable to illegalise the political strike or lock-out. Political matters should be dealt with by Parliament. But we may well ask the question: What is a political—or to be more correct a non-industrial—strike or lock-out? The stock example is that of railwaymen refusing to carry an unpopular potentate from Dover to London. Such a refusal would be very wrong, but it would inconvenience no one, not even, in these days of motor-cars, the unpopular potentate himself. One can imagine, in one's wilder flights of internationalism, a general strike of the workers against war. However noble, it would be politically wrong. But, however wrong, just perhaps because it is noble, it is fantastically unlikely to occur. One can imagine a little more easily a lock-out by safeguarded manufacturers with intent to brow-beat a Free Trade Government. One can imagine a strike by politically-minded workers to enforce nationalisation. But beyond these two I know of no trade dispute of any magnitude whose object is primarily political and of which there is at present the remotest possibility.

They are both wrong, and both dangerous. And any legislation dealing with trade disputes would rightly make them illegal. But who would pretend that it is against strikes and lock-outs of this nature that the public, looking back with misgiving to the days of 1926, ask for protection? Yet it is only of such strikes and lock-outs that it can be said with any certainty that they are made illegal under the present Bill.

Even if we extend the definition to include as illegal those strikes and lock-outs of which a substantial, as opposed to the prime, object is political, the needs of the public will not be fully met. There are few things more difficult to prove than motive, even though it is assumed, as the law in its common sense assumes, that a man is expected to intend the natural consequences of his acts. And if motive is difficult to prove in a single individual, how much more difficult in the case of innumerable individuals in many differing trades and industries? If we assume, as we may, that the printers, when they struck in 1926, were influenced sub-

stantially by political motives, could we make the same assumption of the engine-driver? In such a vast confusion as was that of 1926, whose was the master-mind and what was the substantial motive? Surely it must be clear that the evil of the general strike or lock-out is not its motive, but its character and extent. And if we would truly protect the community, it is with questions of character and extent that we must be concerned. But as soon as we launch upon this part of our inquiry we find ourselves in perilous seas. Labour demands that the sympathetic strike should remain inviolate. Yet what the public fears is the sympathetic strike carried to the *nth* degree. It is the same problem which faces us in international politics. A war in the Balkans can wear itself out, and the world will be little the worse. It is only when a war in the Balkans drags into its vortex innumerable other States that the world totters on the abyss. It is not the delinquencies of the Balkan State, but the horror of the sympathetic war, that has caused the nations of the world to write the Covenant of the League.

In attempting to limit the extent of the sympathetic strike or lock-out, we have by good fortune at any rate one starting-point. There are certain sympathetic strikes which at present cannot take place without an infringement of the law. Under the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, a person employed in the supply of gas or water cannot in breach of his contract withdraw his labour without incurring heavy penalties. The same provision was extended by an Act of 1919 to those employed in the supply of electricity. The reason for these provisions is obvious. No such withdrawal of labour can take place without creating undue hardship upon the peaceable inhabitants of the "cities, boroughs, towns and places" that depend upon these prime necessities for their ordered life. In those industries at least any strike or lock-out, whatever its intention, must in effect be a direct attack on the community. Now very wisely the community has recognised that those persons employed in these industries, having a special responsibility to the public, deserve from the public special consideration with regard to security of employment and in other matters connected with the terms and conditions of their labour. The gradual extension of this principle to other similar industries is one of the most hopeful and constructive ways of curtailing the extent of a general strike or lock-out. It would recognise in the industries to which it was applied the essentially public character of their work. By granting security of employment it would enhance the status of labour: and by making it an offence to break the contract of employment without due notice it would exact the responsibility which is inherent in every privilege.

There are several industries and services to which this principle could obviously be extended without difficulty or delay. But there are other industries, equally essential, to which just as obviously the principle should be applied, but in which its application is hedged about with difficulty. Two such industries that immediately leap to the mind are the transport services and the printing and circulation of news. It was the withdrawal of these two services which, more than anything else, marked the events of 1926 as a general strike. Transport is the material foundation of a modern civilised State. In theory it is as essential a service as electricity or gas, and almost as essential as water. But in practice there are difficulties in applying to this service the principle already applied to the supply of gas and electricity and water. They are not difficulties in dealing with capital. A sympathetic lock-out in the world of transport, if not illegal already, could be made illegal without injury to any interest. But on the side of labour there are many in the lesser ranks of transport workers, such as the dock-labourer, to whom it is difficult in present circumstances to offer security of employment. And where society cannot give the privilege, it is not right that it should exact the obligation. There is also the natural objection of the transport worker to handle the products of blackleg labour during a strike in some other industry. Action of this kind is the most proper and legitimate manifestation of the sympathetic strike. It is human nature and should be respected. But while the legality of such action must be strictly preserved, and while we recognise with regret that security of employment is not yet practicable in all grades of transport workers, it is yet possible to apply our principle of extended contracts to the greater part of this essential industry.

If transport is the foundation of our material life, our political life (using the word "political" in its broadest sense) depends upon the printing and circulation, in other words the transport of news. In the modern world there can be no democracy without the press, and the sudden withdrawal of news is almost as much an attack upon democracy as the forcible eviction of Parliament itself. The withdrawal of news, whether by Labour or Capital, in the course of some other industry's dispute, is quite obviously an attack upon society. It is in no sense sympathetic. So far from assisting the parties in the primary dispute, it actually withdraws from them the means of justifying themselves before the public. It is thus entirely anti-social. The conditions in the industry are such that there should be little difficulty in giving the workers the necessary privilege of a lengthened contract of em-

ployment, and thus placing the industry within the category of essential services.

In this way, beset though it is with difficulties, by gradually extending the area of reciprocal privileges and obligations, we can gradually extend the area of the illegal strike or lock-out. Outside the area there will always be industries to which the principle of the essential service cannot be applied. Either logic or the special circumstances of the case forbid. In such industries we must proceed with the building up, along the lines of Liberal thought, of methods of conciliation. The constructive machinery of peace—works' council, joint industrial council and national council—these afford to the public their only adequate protection. Salvation will come, not through the elaborate but doubtful declaration of an Act of Parliament, but through the growth of the machinery of good-will and the simple dictates of sound common sense.

PHILIP M. OLIVER.

THE NATIONAL-SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

I WAS in Heidelberg last summer during the week-end when the Saxony elections announced that for the first time since the *Putsch* of 1923 the Fascists were to be taken seriously on the political map of Germany. Looking at Germany at that time and from that corner of the Reich, the message was given concerning the next Reichstag election: "Coming events cast their shadows before." I remember a conversation, too, with a young German business man. He argued in favour of sweeping German political and economic life with a strong broom, so strong indeed that none except someone sitting up above with dictatorial powers would be able to hold it.

When the Reichstag election results became known last September, and in particular the fact that the Nazi Party in the Reichstag had jumped from 12 to 107 and made itself the second largest party in the State at a single bound, I chanced to be on the way to the United States. American professors and students on board collecting the results of their summer studies in Europe, did not rate too highly European security and co-operation, or Europe's future chance of peace. In particular they underlined this new thing in Germany. The first decade of the peace is over, they said; a new generation in Germany is making its voice heard. At one of the American universities I came across a smart young German who had been expounding in a college lecture to her fellow-students the rise and significance of the new National-Socialist movement in Germany. She brought a touch of pathos and of evangelical romance to her declaration. Her enthusiasm was infectious. She rolled all Germany's tedious political parties into one; she poked fun at the logical and elephantine follies of the system of proportional representation; she wiped the tears from the workaday face of Germany, monstrously abused by all the world; she announced a new age in the language of Fichte, and with endearing lyrical beauty sang the song as her forefathers before her: "*Deutschland, erwache!*"

I perceived from these varied and impressive hints that the new National-Socialist movement of Germany was not to be taken lightly, and was glad when the next opportunity came to wander about in Germany for a few days and listen in. I roamed about in the larger cities like Berlin, Hamburg and Stuttgart, and looked at one of the main spiritual roots of Fascism in the German universities. At the headquarters of the *Voelkische Beobachter*, the daily paper of the Nazis issued in Berlin, I was told they had 80 per cent. of the students behind them. This no-doubt is a partisan

view. Of those students interested in political questions, however, it is certain that the Nazis get appreciably the largest following, compared with any other party. In Tuebingen University I was told 1,500 could be called Nazi. This movement is German educated youth in revolt. The students come from middle-class homes, whose economic foundations the war and the peace have destroyed. There are thousands of such families, with no economic basis to sustain them, who are making a proud struggle to maintain a memory which has become more beautiful because it is a memory. According to information received there are 30,000 university-trained students unemployed. They think the world has been monstrously unjust to them. Wilson has betrayed them; the world has acquiesced in that betrayal. For sins not of their commission they are to be bled, they and their children to come. They resent the *Kriegsschuldluege*. In their reaction from the doctrine of 100 per cent. German responsibility for the war, educated German youth has swung to the other and no doubt equally dangerous extreme. My impression is that German education in the higher schools and universities is systematically canalising the blame for post-war German evils to an external, and in particular 1919, cause.

There is a vague romanticism and passionate nationalism mixed up with this education. For this reason its roots drive deep. I talked with the wife of a German professor. She described her eighteen-year-old son, an enthusiastic Nazi. He wore a metal band round his wrist. "I will break this band," he had sworn an oath, "on the day that Germany is free." The mother was infected with the enthusiasm of her son. Her picture of "the day" included lousy Communist heads rolling in the dust. There is a fervent desire to cleanse Germany internally and to re-establish her reputation abroad. On one side the movement is hard and cynical, on the other it is imbued with seriousness and religiosity; it is capable of a crusade to win back those sections of German youth which war, inflation and peace have inclined to make reckless and abandoned. In circumstances it will go to war. But, if only constructive openings can be found, the Nazis of the universities will make a great contribution to the future of Germany and Europe, for they include the very best of Germany's youth.

A political movement does not grow from a representation of 12 to 107 of course through the work of the higher schools and universities, nor as a consequence simply of the moral and economic revolt of university youth. The stage has a nation-wide setting. The leaders of the Nazi movement have laid themselves out to appeal to every kind of discontent and mobilise it into a movement. The peasants and agricultural workers suffer both from low prices

of the things they have to sell, low wages and relatively high prices for their raw materials and the manufactured goods they require to use. Their economic discontents have been skilfully exploited. The peasant has been described as the pure source of German life and German greatness amid the corrupting and Jewish influences of the city. The movement, although some of its followers have complexions uncomfortably dark, and noses which do not conform, stands for racial purity; it captivates the countryside with the prospect of the coming of the Nordic Man. There is a special message for the little shopkeeper. He is told how his life is ruined by the Jews who run the big stores like the Wertheimers and the Tietzes. The great and important class of officials and employees (*Beamtentum und Angestellte*) have subtle appeals made to them, rousing pre-war memories, and the folly is announced of the cuts in salaries, the reduction of the effective German market on this important side, by a callous Government which is in the leading strings of the Jews. The Jews are the burnt offering, it is clear, which the Nazis propose to sacrifice to the German God.

The language of pity is handed out to the *rentier* class. Big Business is sedulously cultivated, not least through the backstair activities of Hitler. Above all, the Nazi movement has understood how to dramatise the needs and the aspirations of youth. Youth of the middle-classes in the first instance, it is true, but youth, too, of all ranks and classes. The Advance Guard (*Sturm-Abteilung*) sound the tocsin of a third empire in which the monstrosities and injustices of the second will have passed away, and in a new form the immortal glory of the Empire of Bismarck will be revived. They take the imagination of youth from the swamp, the imbecility and the infertility of Germany's post-war multiple party system into the region of vision. With nothing in his pocket and nearly five million unemployed on the street, they fill his mind with the substance of things hoped for. The new Germany is evoked in heroic legends and mystical leadership. In the third Reich the strong right arm of youth will hold the saviour aloft over the bones of incapacitated and grumbling elders; youth with its freedom will come into its own. The movement takes care with its speakers, too. A special school of oratory has been established at Munich, based on popular psychology. "Get your audience in a good humour" is one of its golden rules. The acting of Dr. Goebbels, the Berlin Nazi leader, and the perorations of Hitler make welcome variations on the German platform. Nazi public meetings are run with a substantial profit. They compete in excitement with the cinema and the boxing-ring. No post-war party in Germany, not even the Communists, has shown so conspicuous a talent for appealing to a many-sided discontent, and

none has been more adept and Machiavellian in its ruthless exploitation. The unemployed are carefully studied and skilfully used, whether in the Reichstag or a Berlin metal workers' strike. A Socialist writer has described the new movement as the Salvation Army of the degenerate bourgeoisie—degenerate because they have lost their economic status through the war, the inflation and the peace, and whose future, because of the technical developments and the relative breakdown of Capitalism, stands before them as an ultimatum.

The Nazi movement has its programme, but the programme is, perhaps, the least important part of the movement. The recently published twenty-five points set out that programme, though none of these points can be accepted as other than a rough propaganda generalisation and capable of every kind of casuistic interpretation. These are some of the points :

1. Unity of all Germans in an "All-Germany" in accordance with the proclaimed right of self-government of all nations. (This is a scheme more ambitious in fact than Friedrich Naumann's Central Europe of the war years.)
2. Equal rights for Germany with other nations, and cancellation of the dictates of Versailles and St. Germain.
3. Germans must be of German race. Religion is of no importance in this matter. No Jew is to be allowed to be of German nationality.
4. All non-Germans who have come to live in Germany since August 2nd, 1914, shall be expelled, if they live on German money.
5. Abolition of income without work, and escape from the slavery of interest payments.
6. Confiscation of all war profits.
7. Nationalisation of all industries and firms which are already now in the hands of trusts. (This item has been much watered to meet the requirements of Big Business.)
8. Enlargement and conservation of the middle-classes.
9. Land reform, inclusive of possible nationalisation. (But the big landlords, after hearing the interpretations, sleep comfortably in their beds.)
10. Restoration of the conscript system.
11. German-controlled Press.
12. Strong Central Government power. Representation on the basis of ranks and interests. The leaders of the party promise to fulfil this programme even if they risk their lives.

On one side the National-Socialist movement is a healthy reaction against the evils and the inefficiency of the multiple party system. It is a cry of weariness for a government which can govern. The popular lines of propaganda which have made it already so powerful in the country are fairly plain. There is first the assertion that all the evils of post-war Germany have been caused by what

is called the most unjust treaty that was ever framed in history, the settlement of 1919, a settlement which, as Hitler said after the recent elections, must and shall be done away with "by fair means or foul."

In the second place is the assertion that the settlement of 1919 was due primarily to the Social Democratic Party and to the leadership of Jews in the State. The Marxian Socialist movement is described in racial rather than economic terms. The whole Social Democratic Party therefore comes within the ban of the powerful anti-semitic movement of the Nazis. In some ways the struggle between the Nazis and the Social Democratic Party is sharper than that between the Nazis and the Communists. There is, indeed, among the Nazis, a dissenting group of National Revolutionary Socialists, which is Communistically inclined. In no field of their propaganda are the Nazis more energetic than in their demand to clean up post-war Germany from the baneful influence of the Jewish Social Democratic Party with its "catch-words of pacifism and internationalism."

The third popular demand is for an economically independent Germany which carries with it on the one hand a revival of agriculture and on the other the building up of an urban industrial system of a national character, meeting the needs of an internal German market. Germany is portrayed as being bled to death by international finance, and international finance in turn as a monopoly of the Jews.

It is not easy to answer how the ingredients of Nationalism and Socialism are mixed in the Nazi brew. There can be little doubt, however, that Big Business will keep a free hand. The Nazi movement teaches the mass to trust its leaders. Great personalities alone bring salvation. So far as there is any clear conception of what this National Socialism amounts to, it will be found in the ideas of the corporative state as they have been practised in Italy. The destruction of the free trade unions of Germany is involved. The trade unionist in Germany is not slow to realise that the working classes of Italy are the worst paid of Europe. The Hitler *Putsch* of 1923 in Munich supplies the one model so far as Germany is concerned. Then was proposed the abolition of democracy, the dissolution of all parliaments, the suppression of Press freedom, the closing down of trade unions, the death penalty for strikes and the abolition of all political freedom of opinion. The methods to be used were those of the severest terror. Persons who stood in the way of the *Putsch* were to be removed. Hitler revived the memories of these methods in his speech after the Reichstag elections when he referred to the heads in the coming days which would "roll in the dust." A section of Youth joined the move-

ment because they took the word "Socialist" seriously. They are in conflict with Hitler and the main movement which is nursing, or being nursed by, Big Business.

What is the significance and the future of this movement? It aims at the conquest of political power. Its objective is to become the strongest single power in the State and at that point to take over the government of the country and do for Germany, in short, what Mussolini has done for Italy. The battle royal will take place at the Prussian elections early in 1932, when the eight-year-old power of the Social Democratic Party, under the leadership of Otto Braun, will be challenged to the roots. Who controls Prussia controls Germany. The Nazis are mobilising accordingly. Their success will be determined to no small extent by two factors, both largely outside the control of Germany: (1) the duration of the world economic crisis, and (2) the effectiveness of the League of Nations, especially in the sphere of disarmament. If unemployment continues in Germany on its present scale throughout the year, the Nazis will be afforded a maximum opportunity. A world economic conference which intended to deal seriously with the causes of unemployment would burst many a Nazi bubble. The mobilising of a world opinion which can make it plain beyond peradventure that the World Disarmament Conference will do something other than talk, would again diminish in a large way the augmenting power of German discontents.

No one can regard the Hitler movement as a temporary or passing phenomenon. It contains within itself the powerful drive of educated youth and of a victimised generation which is conscious that it is suffering for the sins of its fathers and the hypocrisies of a wider world. On its flanks are an ex-officer class and the sympathies of Stahlhelm. A Hitler triumph in Germany would weight Europe on the side of Fascism. Internally civil war would be at the door. Externally the League of Nations might yield place to a system of alliances, open or concealed, and whose very creation, if history means anything at all, would be an act of war.

RENNIE SMITH.

LIBERIAN SLAVERY: THE ESSENTIALS.

THE Report issued by the League of Nations upon Liberian Slavery, grave though its charges are upon slavery, raises certain issues of outstanding international gravity. The first of these is whether it is possible or not to save the State of Liberia; the second issue is one which must have occurred to all those to whom the Liberian Report came with such a profound shock, namely, whether a similar inquiry held in other parts of the world would reveal conditions of slavery as bad as those in Liberia.

It has taken nearly fifteen years to galvanise the nations into official activity with regard to Liberia. Unfortunately it is now beyond question that slavery, not merely as bad, but even worse in character and spread over far wider areas, would be disclosed if similar official inquiries could be undertaken; the only practical question is whether it will require, as in the case of Liberia, fifteen years of unofficial effort before official action is taken. In this connection it is impossible to stifle the disturbing thought that these great tragedies known for so long, have involved a volume of acute human suffering which could have been prevented if official action had been taken earlier. To-day the crime of man-owning and man-stealing is being carried on in certain areas of the world on a greater scale than anything in Liberia, involving precisely the same cruelties and precisely the same systems of corruption, yet the cry of the millions of suffering slaves must apparently wait for many years yet before their faint hope of freedom can be satisfied.

At the same time, not all Governments refused to listen to the cry of the slaves in Liberia. It is to the credit of the British Foreign Office that it did try to deal with the situation ten years ago when the British Government of that day took the important step of placing certain facts before the Conference at Versailles, demonstrating the deplorable conditions of Liberia. What did the British Foreign Office say at Versailles in 1920? (a) The natives of Liberia (2,000,000) defied the Liberian Government. (b) Internecine war was frequently waged, involving active slave-trading and cannibalism. (c) The Liberian Negro Government could not maintain its authority over the interior. (d) The incompetence and untrustworthiness which prevailed in the public service threatened Liberia with bankruptcy. At the time the British Foreign Office made these facts known to the Powers at Versailles it was possible to save the State of Liberia, to-day it is doubtful whether any human agency can restore the administrative health of that great territory.

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The moving spirits in the foundation of the Republic were those generous-hearted philanthropists who, more than one hundred years ago, believed in the "Back to Africa" policy for the emancipated slaves of the Southern States of America. They believed that these freed Negroes, having passed through the furnace of slavery, corruption, oppression and cruelty, in returning to Africa would take with them a spirit of liberty for the peoples of the west coast of the African continent; indeed the early Negro settlers of Liberia adopted the motto, which is to-day that of the country: "*the abolition of Slavery and the love of Liberty brought us here.*" Instead of liberty the 15,000 Negro and half-caste Liberians have imposed on the country almost every form of serfdom and slavery, greed and corruption, oppression and cruelty, coupled with brutal wars on a scale more numerous than those inflicted upon the natives of any other African territory within recent years. Great indeed is the betrayal of their fellow Negroes by the 15,000 Liberian Negroes.

When the humane voices of Dr. Nansen, Lord Cecil and Count Apponyi were raised in the Assembly at Geneva, appealing for freedom of the slaves, the delegates were overwhelmed with the most emphatic official protestations that the allegations against Liberia were without a shadow of foundation. The President of the Liberian Government telegraphed to the League of Nations, and M. Sottile, the Liberian delegate, quoted the telegram in which it was asserted "it is inaccurate to say that forced labour exists in Liberia, or that unpaid labour exists," yet at the time this telegram was being sent, the Report of the Liberian Commission now shows that members of the Government were themselves exacting forced unpaid labour for their own private purposes. M. Sottile himself added: "In Liberia in principle all labour is free, and all labour is justly paid." Again last September, M. Sottile declared that "slavery in every form had considerably diminished and at the present moment was non-existent." It will be difficult for the League of Nations in future to place complete confidence in the assurances of the Liberian Government.

The principal abuses which have flourished in Liberia during the last twenty years are financial corruption, pawning of persons, slavery, forced labour and native wars; all of which are almost inextricably interwoven, but taken as a whole they are the outgrowth of the unsound financial situation. The Report of the Liberian Commission contains many illuminating passages upon the kind of financial extortion practised upon the unhappy natives. The following are a few illustrations only, and are taken from one or two areas of this great country:

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	£	s.	d.
Paid to Lieutenant Phillips on his threat to burn town	40	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy (Vice-President of Republic) for releasing old men captured for Chief's refusal to send men to Fernando Po	100	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy to have men released from road during farming season	80	0	0
Paid to Superintendent Brooks for motor launch sent to arrest him (Chief Broh) for sending messengers to Monrovia	72	10	0
Paid to Senator Tubman on case which never reached Court	110	0	0

The extent to which this extortion was inflicted upon a single chief and his village is shown by the fines exacted from Chief Jeh and his Sub-Chief Zibo:

	£	s.	d.
Initial ("Executive") fine imposed by President King	300	0	0
Paid to the District Commissioner at Grand Cess ...	100	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy for three lawyers (Tubman, Cooper and Dossen)	100	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy for above lawyers	300	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy at temporary settlement of case ...	60	0	0
Paid through Sub-Chiefs to Superintendent Brooks ...	14	0	0
Paid to Lieutenant Phillips by Sub-Chief	1	0	0
Paid by Sub-Chief Martin to Lieutenant Phillips ...	10	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy by Paramount Chief Jeh	5	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy by Paramount Chief Jeh	20	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy by Paramount Chief Jeh	40	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy by Paramount Chief Jeh	40	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy by Paramount Sub-Chief Zibo ...	8	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy by Paramount Sub-Chief Zibo ...	50	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy by Paramount Chief Martin ...	60	0	0
Paid to Mr. Yancy for release of Jeh by Wedabo people	140	0	0
	£1,248	0	0

In the case of the so-called "fines" it is significant that few if any of them were imposed by any judicial authority. In addition to these sums paid to the President, the Vice-President and Senators of the Republic, the common soldiery also took a hand and exacted their toll from the unfortunate natives: cattle, rice money, and other "loot" which is the usual perquisite of uncontrolled soldiery.

The Liberian Commission does not mince words in dealing with the shipment of natives overseas. They tell us that these were secured "under conditions of criminal compulsion scarcely distinguishable from slave-trading and slave-raiding," and they illustrate this feature with an abundance of tragic material. The Commissioners describe an incident in connection with the securing of nearly 800 natives in Sinoe. These natives were first trapped by sending them down country under soldiers carrying rice for sale at

the port; but in order to secure them for this purpose the villages had to be raided until 600 to 800 vigorous young men had been caught. This body of natives was shipped to the Spanish island of Fernando Po off the coast of the Cameroons. The District Commissioner who had observed the raiding and protested was promptly relieved of his office! At a later date one of the servants of a local Government official captured from the same district 330 men; these were shipped to the plantations in Fernando Po by the s.s. *San Carlos*. The Commission reproduces in the Report a letter signed by a District Commissioner, ordering to be sent down with the aid of soldiers "as many men labourers as you possibly can, not exceeding 250 . . . deliver to the Hon. Samuel A. Ross for the purpose of being shipped to Fernando Po per orders of His Excellency the President, C. D. B. King." This letter closes with the peremptory salutation—"Fail not observing the above." The discussion with the President as to the authenticity of this letter is interesting, for although he informed the Commission that he had never given such orders, it is clear that his replies did not wholly satisfy the Commission.

Dr. Christy's Commission reproduces conversations between Vice-President Yancy and Native Chiefs during which he demanded 500 men for shipment to the Spanish island of Fernando Po. As the men were not being brought forward quickly enough, he is reported to have exclaimed "if they are not here by seven o'clock, I will burn these two towns." Perhaps the most serious feature of this particular incident is that the Government was informed of the transaction. The Commission concludes its account of the incident by saying "The ship sailed. Arrived at Fernando Po the Liberian Consul, Mr. Gabriel Johnson, turned the boys over to the 'curador' and they were divided among the plantations." Several shiploads of natives obtained "under conditions of criminal compulsion scarcely distinguishable from slave-trading and slave-raiding" were taken to "Liberty City" (Libreville) in the French Congo, and to those Portuguese islands of unsavoury repute, San Thomé and Príncipe. One of the worst features of this overseas traffic was the attempt made to pacify these human cargoes by assuring the natives that they were not going to the Portuguese or the Spanish plantations but to the British colonies of the Gold Coast (Sekondi) or Nigeria (Lagos). The story of one such shipment is reproduced by Dr. Cuthbert Christy's Commission in the picturesque broken English of the Kru Boys concerned (the Kru Boys are the seafaring community of West Africa):

Ship comes (and then sails). Four or five days time we no see Sekondi. Went to Captain and say "When we going to get to Lagos?" Captain say, "I no take you Lagos. I take you not to Lagos but to French Congo."

We say: "What we done, you no pay us?"

Then he say "everything to Massaquoi. . . ."

When we get to French Congo . . . he started to send labourers ashore . . . they started to beat us and send us away to bush.

Before we went, we say, "why you send us bush? We be sea men."

Captain say "this is our order."

The extent of the overseas traffic may be gathered from one contract which was for the supply of 3,000 labourers, £9 each, of which a bonus of £1,000 was given for every 1,500 boys secured and shipped. According to the Commission not less than 7,268 natives were secured and shipped between the years 1914 and 1927. The capturing of these simple Africans had been accompanied by all the horrors of the slave-trading traffic: deception, corruption, burning of natives' homes, robbing families of their children, wives of their husbands, men of their wives, whilst the wretched natives themselves were frequently underfed, nearly always flogged and certainly in some cases flogged to death, in short, Simon Legree and all his slave-owning and slave-driving fraternity of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* reappear in the pages of this sober but appalling indictment by Dr. Christy's Commission of inquiry into slavery in Liberia.

But slavery is not the only crime which has been established up to the hilt against the Liberian administration, for unpaid and unfed forced labour has been exacted not merely for public works but also for the private advantage of Members of Government, Government Officials, Senators and Members of Parliament, and even Clergy! The names of those who, it is stated, exacted this forced labour without pay include the President of the Republic, the Vice-President, Senator Macborough, Superintendent Brooks and the Rev. Cummings. The following are three quotations from the evidence:

Every week 250 men from this section here on this road. When they collect all that some go to the Secretary's farm; some to the President's farm; some to the Station Master's farm; and they tell us to bring some more.

That big farm you see there, it belongs to the President. The labourers did that work. We send 250 men on the road to work. When they go, they divide them; they don't send all on the road. Some of them go on the farms. Some go to David Carter's farm; some they send in the bush to cut palm-nuts.

They caught me, tied me, and brought me to the District Commissioner's place and told me to give 43 labourers. When they got the 43 labourers, the work they did for the D.C. you will see on his farm.

The third system of servitude is that of pawning, which in Liberia is scarcely distinguishable from slave-owning. A native pawned cannot be redeemed except by a third party; that is, it is

impossible for the person pawned to redeem himself. A person may be repawned by the holder. The local price of the pawn is the local price of the slave. In practice the Commission tells us there is generally a secret agreement that the pawn shall never be redeemed. But the pawning system, like every other abuse of power over the natives in Liberia, has been established and extended by the avarice of the Negro Liberians which has taken the form of "fines" inflicted arbitrarily and without any recourse whatever to such Courts of Justice as may exist. The Commission is careful to illustrate the pawning system by several well-authenticated incidents:

Judgua, a headman from Kanga, living near Royesville, fined £18 os. 2d. for road delinquencies, pawned his *wife and child* for £7 to one Kankawah. They have been in pawn five years without prospect of redemption.

Varnai Quai, a headman from Baimeh, fined for road delinquencies and for failure to provide carriers, £17 5s., pawned two sons for £8 and £7 respectively to one Karpali in Weijo two years ago without much prospect of redemption.

Jallah, of Teh Section, fined £5 for road delinquencies, pawned his son to one Mr. Law, an Americo-Liberian, for £5, two years and four months from April 21st, 1930. The boy ran away after four months, and court costs for returning him increased his redemption fee by £7 13s. For each day the boy was away the court decided he had to pay to the holder one shilling.

Varnie, from Teh Section, fined £14 for road delinquencies, pawned his sister to one Vombo in Zodie for £3. She has been a pawn for two years.

Paramount Chief Nyola of Sengbeh pawned his child to pay fine of £20 imposed by President King.

The Commission discloses one feature connected with pawning which demands the urgent attention of certain civilised governments:

In Bassa County there were frequent citations of pawning, one notable example of which was an abuse of the system for profit involving civilised persons in the following manner: A man will take a number of women in pawn and place them at work on his farm. They in turn are encouraged to entice young men into intimate relations with them and the young men are immediately seized, fined and made to work out the amount of the fine on the farm.

The collapse of the Liberian Administration is so complete and the necessary reforms are so urgent and varied that what is really required is the creation of a Government; presumably, however, the League of Nations in conjunction with America will attempt to remodel existing institutions. The first thing to do, and without this nothing can be done, is the complete reorganisation of Liberian finances. As the Commission points out, Liberia needs money. In order to carry out this financial reconstruction, the

United States Government must be willing to surrender its present receivership in favour of some form of international loan. Next to financial reorganisation is the establishment of an adequate and clean judicial system. One of the greatest blessings which civilisation has conferred upon the backward races of Africa has been that of giving to them the rule of justice in place of, say, the witch doctor, the poison test, and other crude methods of settling disputes. It is true that Liberia has had a certain number of Courts which have only functioned according to local circumstances, and the power has been wielded by interested parties. If the country is to develop it must be given a judicial system to which the natives can with confidence go for at least some measure of justice. Next to the reform of the administration of justice is surely that of a further inquiry into the conduct of the administrative officials. Within the necessarily limited area of the inquiry by Dr. Christy's Commission, it has been discovered that a large proportion of the administrative Commissioners were either incompetent or corrupt or both, and indeed, so strongly did the Commission feel upon this that they emphasised that the "*first radical change*" must be the removal of the present five District Commissioners of the Hinterland, for they are "dishonest and corrupt officials, skilled only in devising means of intimidation for the purpose of extracting money from the natives and in creating opportunities for extorting more." These Commissioners should undoubtedly be replaced by a number of competent white men of irreproachable character and reputation.

But it must have been clear to the Commission that a reform of the administration of justice, the removal of the present Negro Liberians acting as District Commissioners and their replacement by white Commissioners, would involve the disbandment of the present corrupt police force, whose place should be taken, until the reorganisation has been carried through, by some form of international police. Indeed, this would seem to be in the interests of the handful of Negro-Liberians themselves whose lives will be in some jeopardy when the natives come to realise that the goodwill of the nations is no longer with the members of the Negro-Liberian Government. In addition to the foregoing there must be restoration of the responsibility of the tribal chiefs, possibly along the lines adopted by Great Britain in Northern Nigeria. Finally, civilisation is entitled to expect two practical steps in the immediate future. First the bringing to trial of those guilty of these crimes, and secondly the restoration to Liberia of the natives shipped overseas under slave-trading conditions to the plantations in the French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

JOHN H. HARRIS.

WANTED: A SUFFICIENT REASON.*

IT is frequently said nowadays that Materialism is dead. The philosophical work of so eminent a physicist as Professor Whitehead, as well as the accounts of the Universe that have been given by Sir Arthur S. Eddington and Sir James Jeans support this conclusion. The breaking up of the Atom has caused the break-down of the Atomic philosophy. The translation of physics into mathematical formulæ has revealed the gulf that stretches between the abstractions of Science and the rich concreteness of experienced Reality. The alleged existence of indeterminacy in Nature has loosened the bonds of necessarian doctrine, and left vacancies that may be filled according to the presuppositions of those who contemplate them. The old description of the Atom as "*totus, teresque, rotundus*" can no longer be applied to the Universe, or be a criterion of the philosophy that seeks to interpret it. "*Omnia exeunt in mysterium*" becomes the watchword, not only of philosophical Theology, but of Natural Science.

This change of outlook is to be seen in other realms of thought than that of the physicists. From the biological point of view Professor Julian Huxley, while dismissing God from his thought as a needless and oppressive burden, seeks to preserve and even to foster Religion as a spirit of reverence towards the Universe and of practical devotion to its presumable ends. Professor Alexander avails himself of the conception of "emergent evolution" in order to construe it as revealing a *Nisus*, which is preparing the birth of Deity and already suffers the birth-pangs of that consummating event. Mr. Joad, from the standpoint of Realism, recognises the primal and independent existence, not only of Matter and Life, but of Values—the True, the Good and especially the Beautiful. Idealism is knocking at all these doors and is, indeed, forcing them ajar. In many quarters we may discern the return of Berkeleyanism—but without God.

Yet a closer scrutiny will reveal that, with important exceptions, the change is illusory and in the last resort impracticable. The real question is whether what is at first sight a more spiritual view than the old actually counts for more. The change is illusory if Reality, though not treated as crassly material, is held to be

* (1) *God in Christian Thought and Experience*. By W. R. Matthews, D.D. Nisbet. 10s. 6d. net.

(2) *The Philosophy of the Good Life*. By Charles Gore, D.D. Murray. 10s. 6d. net.

(3) *The Faith of a Moralist*. (Series I and II.) By A. E. Taylor. Macmillan. 15s. each net.

(4) *The Mysterious Universe*. By Sir James Jeans. Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d. net.

(5) *The Flight from Reason*. By Arnold Lunn. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 7s. 6d. net.

interpreted, because governed, by its lowest terms; whether these, abstracted from the concrete whole, are or are not treated as the Criterion of the True, the Possible, and the Eventual. Are the Spiritual Values that are recognised at least in words truly effective throughout the Nature and Order of Reality as a Whole? Are they "a garden enclosed"—whether humanly subjective or unaccountably independent—or are they so constitutive of the Whole that their nature, pre-suppositions and implications must be treated as explanatory of the Universe? It is not enough that they be admitted and left to fit themselves into a Universe which strictly speaking can be, and perhaps can only be, interpreted without them. If they are independent of the physical order of the Universe, upon what do they depend? If they are in any true sense sovereign over and satisfying to Man, are they so because they are sovereign over, organic in, and explanatory of the Universe, the evolution of which appears to culminate—for the time being—in Man, and to make a fresh start in the historic process by which his Manhood is being fulfilled? Are the highest Values so based upon Eternal Reality, that though the floods and the winds of cosmic dissolution beat upon them they will stand, or are they founded upon sand, so that in that catastrophe "great will be the fall" of them? That is the supreme and urgent issue. And it is not solved by the downfall of dogmatic materialism, or even by religious reverence for the ideals of Man, unless they represent something or someone so supreme and final that all else is instrumental to them. For these and other reasons, Professor Julian Huxley's attempt to preserve Religion without God is doomed to failure, because intrinsically self-contradictory. Religion at once humbles and exalts human personality, by presenting to Man the Adorable as attracting and responding to Man's reverent approach. To dismiss God and to preserve Religion means to depreciate and dissipate the Adorable, by trying to preserve its elements, without the personality, in terms of which alone are they explicable, and by which alone can they be unified, lifted to the spiritual level, and made effective.

Professor Alexander seeks to meet the difficulty, as has been said, by treating Emergent Evolution as evidence of a *Nisus*, a striving, of the Universe towards the eventual realisation of God. Religion then becomes the anticipation, the yearning for, this final Advent. But from whence is this conception drawn, and what can be its meaning? Apart from Man no such striving is apparent, either in particular existences or in Nature as a Whole, which appears to be "running down" and not reaching forward. Only in Man is this striving found, and only in Man can its meaning be discovered. Even in Man it is chiefly found in saints, heroes and reformers;

in their consciousness, efforts, and influence. And in their case they are striving to give effect to what, for them, is the *given*. They are seeking to realise the Real. Receptivity is the key to their creativity. It is their faith in the unseen which carries with it their endeavours to give substance to "things hoped for." In the most intimate way, Man's *Nisus* is purposive and personal, the attempt to utter and give effect to that which is immanent in himself because it transcends him. If human experience is, by analogy, to be extended to the Universe, its vital content must not be left behind. The attempt to take the *Nisus*, without the Purpose and the Personality, is an unwarrantable and unworkable abstraction from the actual. In order to be a reasonable hypothesis it must be more than Professor Alexander concedes. The prophet felt the *Nisus* and gave its explanation when he cried, "The glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together" (Isa. xc). To expect "the glory" without "the Lord" is to expect the event without an adequate and truly explanatory cause. God must be the Alpha if He is to be the Omega.

The discrediting of Materialism by Science completes the discomfiture which had already been brought upon it by its inability to explain Consciousness, Spiritual Values, Man. Both this failure and the halting admission of the reality and independence of Spiritual Values, contended for by Idealists and conceded by the New Realists, intensify the demand of Reason, as well as Faith, for a Sufficient Reason of a Universe in which these Values appear, persist and unfold their meaning. All the more is this explanation needed when justice is done to the authority and constraining influence of these Values and to the fact that, on the whole, they tend to secure Man's actual being in promoting his ideal well-being. The term Sufficient Reason, which had a great vogue in philosophical apologetics for religion up to recent times, has fallen out of use. And this because of the defective way in which it was put forward. In urging what was known as the Cosmological Argument for Theism, metaphysical Theologians sought to justify belief in "a great First Cause" as the means of escaping from the infinite regress of "Second Causes," and then to attribute such attributes to the First Cause as would be adequate to all its effects, and, therefore, stop all questioning about It, and all attempts to get beyond It. The flaw of the argument, as presented, was that it appeared to offer an external Cause of a Universe that was internally self-enclosed and complete without It. The truly Sufficient Reason must be *Ratio insita*: universally immanent as well as transcendent, the constitutive implication and organising principle of all that is, if all that is be at all adequately envisaged and is to be at all adequately explained.

The argument, weakened by this defect though it was, went to show that belief in One God, personal and perfect, Creator and sustainer of all that is, was not only the most religious but the most rational explanation of the Universe. In a striking work recently published by Mr. Arnold Lunn, entitled *The Flight from Reason* (Eyre and Spottiswoode), the author quotes T. H. Huxley as admitting that "the *a priori* arguments against theism, and given a deity against the possibility of creative acts, appear to me to be devoid of reasonable foundation," and recalls that Professor W. K. Clifford admitted in controversy with Dr. Martineau that the Theistic hypothesis was "reasonable," "an explanation of the facts" and "unavoidably suggested by the categorical imperatives of the Moral Sense." Carrying the war into the enemy's country with great vigour and extensive knowledge, Mr. Lunn exposes the now-admitted weakness of the Doctrine of Evolution, as presented by Darwin, Huxley, Spencer and the rest, charging their assumptions and inconsistencies, as well as those of more recent writers, to what he terms their "*Theophobia*."

Happily any such reproach cannot be brought against such outstanding representatives of physical Science as Professors Whitehead, Eddington, and Jeans. Confining our attention to the work recently published by Sir James Jeans, entitled *The Mysterious Universe* (Cambridge University Press), we find that the author, having described the Universe as it now appears to the physicist, declares that "the Great Architect of the Universe now begins to appear as a pure mathematician" (p. 134). Later on Sir James extends this statement by saying, "We discover that the Universe shows evidence of designing or controlling power that has something in common with our own individual minds—not, so far as we have discovered, emotion, morality, or æsthetic appreciation, but the tendency to think in the way which, for want of a better word, we describe as mathematical" (p. 149). On this it must be remarked that the Universe—when examined on its physical side, and with all other contents, for the time being, excluded from attention—can reveal nothing more. Yet by the same showing and with the same justification, those who fix their attention on human experience—whether emotional, moral, or æsthetic—will find God revealed according to the predominant concern, as the great Lover, the Moralist, or the Artist. Each abstract part of the Universe demands and finds its own characteristic features in the Sufficient Reason, and all must be brought together in the Sufficient Reason of the Whole.

Sir James Jeans entitles the final chapter in which he states his conclusion "Into the Deep Waters." In other words he sees and surmises by a venture, and a venture of Faith. Yet that venture

is instinct with Reason, as Reason, in Man, comes to state its demands and satisfy them. The interpretation of the world may be prevailingly that of a Mathematician, a Moralist, or an Artist. Yet whichever the observer and interpreter may be, he does not make what he finds. It is there awaiting discovery. And to the discovery men bring their whole personality. As Thinking and Willing personalities they carry the sense of their own contingency into the world, and treat it also as being contingent. Yet these two contingent realms are bound together in what discloses itself as a system. Finding the contingent to be thus systematised in an order, they are constrained to regard the Whole as an effect, and to find its Sufficient Reason in a Supreme Thinker, Who wills His thought. To set aside this interpretation—though it involves a venture of Faith—is to think away Man's thought, to maim Man's only apparatus for explaining Reality by an arbitrary selection and abstraction from it. Consequently it is to narrow the Universe itself, or at all events the Universe as *Knowable*, to the dimensions that are within the scope of the instrument of explanation, thus arbitrarily and unnaturally limited.

The reasonable assumption is, therefore, that the principle of a Sufficient Reason which is treated as applicable to the realm of the physical and invoked for what is involved in the physical, is equally applicable to what may be termed the supra-physical, and that larger demands will be made upon it in proportion as the supra-physical manifests qualities and values that are spiritual in their nature and richer in their content than the physical. Moreover, as this higher realm is so evolved from, or grafted upon, the lower as to form an organic whole the Sufficient Reason of the Whole must not only be adequate to, but found within, this higher realm. What is just enough for the lower and poorer—however wonderful—will not stretch to the higher and richer. It, therefore, cannot be the Sufficient Reason of the organic Whole. Whereas on the contrary, that which explains the highest and richest, being indeed immanent in it, can and should include the explanation of the lower, because the lower forms the basis upon which the superstructure is reared. Hence the work of those who apply the same principles to the spiritual (which is set within the context of Reality, as an organic Whole), as are applied to the physical world by Sir James Jeans, is at least as legitimate and reasonable as his.

For this reason careful attention should be given to three works that have been published recently, namely, *God in Christian Thought and Experience*, by Dr. W. R. Matthews (Nisbet & Co.), *The Philosophy of the Good Life* (John Murray), Dr. Gore's Gifford Lectures, and *The Faith of a Moralist* (Macmillan), Professor A. E. Taylor's Gifford Lectures. All these thinkers start

with what is *there*—with what is given in experience, religious and moral. All find their explanation of this experience in what is inwrought in it, as the vital pre-suppositions upon which it rests and the satisfying goal which inspires, organises and rewards its characteristic endeavour. Each writer, in his own way, shows that the experience he explains is not sectional, but, broadly speaking, universally human—a living growth that seeks and finds a historic and spiritual culmination. All find in Theism, indeed in Christian Theism, not an artificial construction brought to and imposed upon the experience, but the reasonable inference from the concurrence between the inwardly given and the historically actual, which suggests and indeed reveals a real “ingression” of the eternal into time, of the Divine into the human.

Dr. Matthews places “the Christian consciousness of God within the larger frame of religious history as a whole” (p. 4), and finds the initial quest of Religion to be the endeavour to reach a Divine object that satisfies “the need for Unity and the need for the substantiation of Values” (p. 18). He traces the history of this quest from its lowliest beginnings to its culmination in Christ. He gives an account of what is contained in Christ's consciousness of God, formulates its contents, and seeks to unfold both its implications and its consequences. He then proceeds to show that the Theological conception of God, which is held by the Christian Church as a whole, is at once a true rendering of religious experience, the sufficient and complete explanation of the spiritual quest, and, while requiring faith, the most reasonable explanation of universal Reality as it unfolds its meaning in Man. In the course of his argument Dr. Matthews deals fairly and even sympathetically with all the alternatives to this Theological explanation and faces its difficulties. His book demands careful study, as the work of an author who, if conservative, is modern, who has remarkable power of absorbing up-to-date results over a very wide range of science and philosophy; who, not least of all, is a very lucid and fairminded expositor of all points of view, including his own.

Dr. Gore, taking his start from the supreme importance of the “Good Life” and its maintenance, proceeds to show “the high degree of practical certitude, experienced by those who are commonly recognised as ‘good’ men” as to the Supreme Values of this “good life.” He also sets forth the large agreement that prevails, not only as to the nature of the “Good,” but as to its presuppositions and the spiritual demands which have sustained and inspired its pursuit. He first of all passes under successive review the teachings of Zarathustra, the Buddha, the Teachers of Asia, Platonism, the Prophets of Israel, and Jesus, the Christ. He then proceeds to show that, while for certain reasons India is

isolated, there is a large consensus of agreement, not only in regard to ethical idealism, but as to both the fact and the nature of its Theistic foundation. He goes on to argue, in the concluding Lectures, that the conception of God as personal and as Creator is more reasonable than that of "ethical idealism" left in air, the rationality of the Christian interpretation of moral evil and the rationality of the idea of a gradual self-revelation of God, culminating in Jesus Christ, and finally explains what is the meaning and justification of "rational faith." Dr. Gore concludes by saying that "it has been the aim of these lectures to encourage this venture of faith as the highest kind of rationality." In this dark world such faith is "a venture and an experiment, is an experiment which, for the best of mankind, has become, and for each of us may become, also an experience and a practical certitude, as sure as the evidence of the Senses, and destined to pass into open Vision."

In *The Faith of a Moralist* Professor A. E. Taylor publishes his two series of Gifford Lectures delivered in 1928 and 1929. The First series is entitled "The Theological Implications of Morality," the Second "Natural Theology and the Positive Religion." The importance of this work can hardly be exaggerated. It represents the profound thought, the penetrating and comprehensive survey, of a great Christian Platonist. The author sets out to establish the conclusion "that, at the heart of all our moral efforts, there is always the aspiration towards a good which is strictly speaking 'eternal,' outside the temporal order and incommensurable with anything falling within that order" (I, p. 15). He argues with convincing force that the Values of "our moral, æsthetic, religious being" are true ingredients of the "system of realities," possessing Actuality, though transcending the actual. Values "are simply the dominant features in the pattern of reality" (I, p. 374). The moral quest "points to the actuality of God, the absolute and final good, as indispensably necessary if the whole moral effort of mankind is not to be doomed *ab initio* to frustration" (I, p. 105). "The supreme loyalty" involved in the moral life requires, he contends, an object "with which we stand in a *personal* relation more intimate than any that could come into competition with it" (I, p. 209). "Belief in the abstract reality of God, and love for the God in Whom we believe, are at the heart of living morality" (I, pp. 209-10). Such "moral Theism must take account of the initiative of the divine, and so reckon seriously with grace, free movement outward on the divine side, as the ultimate source of human moral endeavour itself" (I, p. 250). The moral life, thus understood, presses forward towards an eventual "beatitude which includes progress in attainment, though not pro-

gress to attainment" (I, p. 425). All this is exhaustively reasoned, full attention being given both to the accordant and the divergent conclusions of the foremost thinkers of the past and of the present time. The impression made by this First Series reminds one of the answer made long ago by a Moralist to an objector who remarked, "That only means Morality," "*Morality means all that.*" It is impossible to deal, within the limits of this article, with the Second Series, in which Professor Taylor treats of Reason and Revelation, Religion and the Historical, the Supernatural and the Miraculous, Authority, Institutionalism, Sacramentalism, etc., ending with a discussion of the relations between Faith and Knowledge. Two remarks must suffice. While loyal to the restrictions imposed by the Gifford Trust, Professor Taylor often resembles a bird beating its wings against a cage, or rather a bird circling round and hovering over a nest that is netted against its approach. The second remark is an inquiry whether when Professor Taylor speaks of the "sense of the actual presence of the divine" as "transcending the merely moral" (II, p. 67) he is not putting forward a somewhat lower view of morality than he has reached in Volume I, for morality has been shown to involve "love for the God in Whom we believe," this love being itself a response to the "divine initiative" of grace, as the immanent spring of true morality, which because of this initiative seeks its fulfilment in God. The "Is" of Religion energises in the "Ought" of Morality, though it reaches beyond "Oughtness" narrowly understood. Fulfilment of what is implicit in the actual is indeed the keynote of the whole of this remarkable work. Religion not merely "works," but, because the transcendent is the truly immanent, fulfils the inmost meaning of Morality, which lives and grows by the apprehension of the Supreme Values; these, as God-given, being inwoven into the whole texture of Reality, as its dominant feature.

All the writers to whom attention has been called agree in treating what is highest in Man as organic to his nature, and, therefore, as organic to the Universe as a whole. All agree in finding these Supreme Values to be implicit in religious and moral experience, and experienced as *given* from above, by One Who not only "inhabith eternity" but reveals Himself in Time, thereby beckoning and uplifting Man to the Eternal. All, therefore, find the Sufficient Reason of the Universe in God, as Self-giver, the Object of a Faith which is not only reasonable, but is verified by experience. They do so on precisely the same principle and by the same procedure of thought as that by which the mathematical order of Nature is attributed to a Divine Mathematician. Yet they are able to invoke, not only in aid of their argument, but as its very spring and nerve, an actual experiment that becomes progressively

an experience. Everything depends, in the last resort, upon this experience of God, for if it be true of and essential to the highest in Man, it reaches out to the uttermost bounds of existence, and embraces the Universe as a whole. God, and God alone, is the Sufficient Reason, not displacing the necessity of Faith, but informing it in satisfying it. Without this Sufficient Reason, Idealism is not an explanation but an enigma, for Man's ideals, while involving Thought, Emotion, and Imagination, are practical and purposive. They present the ideal to personalities for achievement. They are independent of Man's imperfect vision and achievement of them. They reveal themselves within him as given, authoritative and constraining. Where do they abide? Whence do they spring? Why do they persist? Why do they excite to a pursuit which is not only inwardly satisfying, but outwardly effective in promoting and transforming the life of Man? Surely it must be because Man has been made "in the image of God"; because, therefore, the Ideals, which are bringing Man to the full measure of his manhood, reveal the existence, the purpose, and the perfection of a Divine, personal and transcendent Value and Valuer—the God, Who was known and made known as Father by Jesus Christ our Lord.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE RUSSIAN BEEHIVE.

IN the first century Virgil observed bees but made careful observations only, without deductions. In the nineteenth century Mendel, an Augustinian Monk, observed his peas and dancing mice and from his accurate observations of them and their offspring deduced the Mendelian law of heredity. By the application of this law wheat was grown in latitudes where formerly it was impossible; and as a result continents were changed. All men of science have attempted to deduce laws from observed facts. If it is possible to deduce a law which fits a great number of known facts, then it becomes possible to predict the future course of events resultant upon these facts, or closely related to them, with a considerable degree of accuracy. If an event of world-wide importance is noted, or preferably several of them consecutively, it is essential to form a very clear opinion as to whether these events are the results of a series of coincidences, which are not likely to occur again, or whether they are all the result of some change or fear of change in the economic structural formation which will cause other events of the same description to occur continuously and over a period of time. The events of world-wide importance which seem to have a very close connection and which might be followed by further changes and upheavals of large dimensions are as follows:

1. Changes in the United States tariff 1930 primarily protect producers of raw material.
2. The United States through the Federal Farm Board supports domestic prices of farm products.
3. Oil market in Europe demoralised by price war.
4. Exports of lumber by the United States to Europe cease. England in the last year has doubled purchases from North Europe.
5. World price of wheat in Winnipeg of fifty-five cents. The Chicago price is seventy-six cents.
6. Exports of agricultural machinery from the United States to Europe reach new record.
7. Price of all raw commodities weak; price of wheat and oil below 1913 level.

Could these phenomena all be caused by the rapid economic change of one great country?

Russia is a country three times larger than the United States. She possesses and controls one-third of all the merchantable timber forests in the world; one-quarter of the known deposits of oil; an area of wheat and cattle-growing lands equal, or nearly equal, to the present lands used in the world to-day for this purpose. Russia to-day is a nation of one hundred and fifty million people, ruled

and controlled by a military dictatorship. Against all belief this rule has remained stable for twelve years and must now be considered and calculated as permanent. The fact that the Soviet rule has existed for twelve years is highly important, but, in itself, this is hardly sufficient, unless supported by a true economic reason, for its future stability.

At the time of the French Revolution the most efficient holding of land consisted of a very small farm of around twenty acres, with the necessary number of hens, pigs, cows and horses to support the family, consume the waste products, fertilise the soil and work it with a very small radius of action. The total amount of tools, machinery and equipment was probably less than ten per cent. of the value of the lands. In the last twenty years the economic size of a farm for all grains has probably changed in one bound, not from twenty acres to a hundred, but from twenty acres to ten thousand. The unit of the most efficient farm has now changed to an area that a group of machinery, tractors, combines, etc., can operate with maximum efficiency, probably a working radius of two miles, which would give a farm just under eight thousand acres.

Napoleon received the support of the French peasants by promising them the ownership of the land in small divisions. In Russia to-day the Soviet form of Government is naturally suited to operate collectivist farms, and the percentage of total lands operated in large units, as opposed to those operated by small individual holders, the Kulaks, is rapidly growing, the area operated in large units changing from 10 per cent. in 1928 to 40 per cent. in 1930, with an estimate of 70 per cent. in 1931. If a farm of this size under modern conditions is the most efficient unit, then the cost of production can be lowered and the standard of living raised more quickly by this method than any other, and a real economic reason that the Soviet form of Government should continue to exist immediately appears. From all reports the dictatorship over Russia is absolute, so that no man's or no group's desire for individual action or profit receives any consideration. Each man's standard of living is not decided by his own efforts or success, but regulated to a common standard set by the State.

In history there have been few or no instances where the internal policy, standard of living, and foreign relations have been so completely regulated. (Sparta in 400 B.C. was controlled with equal severity, but for military purposes primarily. A much better simile would be that the ideal Soviet State functions exactly as a beehive. In neither case is the individual free.) From the standpoint of the engineer (the Queen Bee) the situation is probably as nearly perfect as possible for the production of his Utopia. An undeveloped

country with untold natural resources, no, or very few, obsolete factories, railways or roads; a hundred million industrial and for the most part willing slaves at his command, under penalty of starvation for disobedience or slothfulness (the majority, perhaps consciously or unconsciously, imbued and inspired with the dream of the Perfect State). How could there be a better setting for building a country anew, using in its construction and development all the most advanced knowledge that has been acquired and verified by a hundred years of expert thought? For an engineer it would be much easier to design and construct a new industrial competing nation on a mass production basis than it would be to bring an obsolete and high-cost industrial nation to a first-class degree of efficiency, as in the latter case most, or all, would have to be destroyed and then rebuilt.

Through the published performances of Russia and through the so-far achieved success of her Five-Year Plan, it is beyond question that the Russia of to-day has begun to make this dream of dreams come true. To construct a super-modern country from the beginning up—to suffer the necessary sacrifices and deprivations to accomplish this end and to see this dream come true or die in the attempt. That this dream may become a reality a difficulty, at first sight immense and unsurmountable, must be overcome. Colossal sums of cash money must be at her disposal continuously. But Russia is "*incommunicado*." She is at the moment and will probably remain a pariah among nations; she has no credit, she can float no bonds; she can buy no machinery or goods on the instalment plan but for cash only. At the same time she is practically not bound by international laws. She has no continuous and long-standing ties with other nations and no such ties can be stable even if made. She is, therefore, in a unique position, free to be entirely selfish and to carry out whatsoever plans will suit her best without regard to the economic consequences to others. This is a power and an advantage that have never been possessed or equalled by any other nation. Given this set of circumstances, what is the only method of procedure by which she can obtain her first end: that is, to have at her disposal an unlimited and continuous source of cash?

In Soviet Russia individuals have no part in foreign trade. The State has a monopoly of exports and imports. With this control, and this alone, it is possible to carry out a predetermined plan. If Russia deliberately determines not to consider profit or loss on her operations in oil, lumber, wheat and fur, but to liquidate her resources in these commodities irrespective of profits, she can do so and can obtain a great and steady flow of cash over a long

and continuous period of time. A lumber company operating in America does not consider its total receipts from the sale of lumber as profits, but must deduct interest on capital, cost of operation, cost of transport, depreciation and depletion to arrive at a net income. Otherwise the lumber company, in a shorter or longer period of time, could deplete its resources rapidly and show a large portion of its total receipts as profits and would be economically justified only if the cash obtained meant its life and progress. In the same way wheat growers in America cannot consider their gross receipts as profits and spend them as such; if they were to do so they would shortly be compelled to mortgage their farms and shortly afterwards to lose them. A sale, however, of part of a farm might easily be justified to purchase high-efficiency harvesting machinery for use on the remainder.

A country such as Russia, with unlimited resources, can adopt and I believe has adopted this procedure of liquidation of assets. The Soviet Union has set out deliberately, with full knowledge of what she is doing, counting the gain obtained as more than equal to the depletion caused, definitely to liquidate a large fraction of her resources as the only means she possesses to obtain the vast quantities of money necessary to rebuild and re-equip her country. If this is her intent, as assuredly it is, she can and must offer her raw material in unlimited quantities and over very long periods of time at prices lower than any others offered, whatever they may be. In effect Russia states to the world: "Under our present method of Government, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, our ideals are diametrically opposed to the rest of the world and therefore we are the natural enemies of all other forms of Government. We will have nothing to do with them and we ask nothing from them, but we propose to sell to the world, direct or through various contiguous countries, in a manner perfectly legitimate, under the universal laws of commerce, vast quantities of raw materials to be paid for in cash; and direct or through these countries we, in turn, will purchase for cash all manufactured products which we require. We are aware of the economic havoc this may cause and welcome it." It seems utterly impossible to prevent any great country (except in isolated instances for short periods of time) carrying out this purpose. It would be equally futile to prevent a multi-millionaire in this country from liquidating part or all of his estate (too many people want bargains). It would be stupid to refuse to buy lumber products from Finland, which might or might not have originated in Russia. It would be equally stupid for the London General Omnibus Company to refuse to purchase oil from Roumania which might or might not have originated in Russia. I believe

no method can be found to prevent Russia carrying out her purposes except a general and vigorous blockade, which is unthinkable.

Taking all facts into consideration it seems certain that Russia at present is liquidating her natural resources, regardless of profit, and economically will be compelled to continue to do so during her period of reconstruction. Her complete or even partial reconstruction could not be carried out in a country as vast as Russia in a period of less than twenty-five years. Such a liquidation will probably increase over the first third of this period as new light railways, saw mills, oil wells, and wheat lands are developed to the production stage, and will probably diminish as her own standard of living rises and her own factories supply an increasing percentage of her requirements, that is to say when her true budget balances. The probability is high that the theory outlined above is true. If the Soviet Government continues to produce "men of iron" sufficiently idealistic and sufficiently strong continuously to mould a nation to their will under a low standard of living (which can only rise slowly for the first few years), then the liquidation of Russian resources is possible and will be continuously practised on a scale proportionate to such resources and to the vast requirements of imports necessary to the upbuilding and development of a great new, modern and efficient country.

If this theory accurately fits and is supported by all known facts, even if it is not openly avowed by the Soviet Government, it becomes a matter of supreme importance to each country to examine, to build defences, or to prepare to take advantage of the great economic changes that must inevitably ensue. If correct, wheat, beginning in 1931, will be offered in continuously increasing quantities over a long period of years at prices lower than any other country can, or will, offer it. Oil and its products have been and will be offered from the south of Europe in increasing quantities at prices which will ensure their sale. Lumber and its products will be offered from north European countries below all competition. Sales of furs in continuously higher quantity and in price low enough to ensure their sale must continue.

Do the present known facts support or disagree with this theory? The Winnipeg price of wheat (where the world price is made) is now fifty-five cents compared with the American price of seventy-six cents, a vast and unbelievable difference caused partly by current events, apart from Russia, but probably more by fear of future continuous economic changes. The oil market in Europe is demoralised, as is shown by the fact that the Royal Dutch Company and the Shell Union have met increasing difficulties in producing and selling oil and its products at a profit. In part this has been caused

by a comparatively small export of oil from the south of Russia, but the prices of the stocks of these Companies and other oil companies are already discounting a much greater and more lasting change than has yet occurred. The lumber market of Europe during the last twelve months has undergone an upheaval. The forests of Norway and Finland remain comparatively idle, and Finland itself is tending to become the chief intermediary in lumber products between Russia and the outside world. Already has this startling movement so grown that exports of lumber from Russia to England have doubled in twelve months (from twenty million dollars to forty million dollars). This would only be the beginning. Russia already partly controls the fur market of the world, exporting \$22,000,000 in 1913 and \$61,000,000 in 1928. The liquidation in this direction need not therefore be so drastic or cause hardship except to those nations directly competing with her.

Granting that the theory of continuous liquidation is possible, let us examine the economic profits and losses in each country affected. The acreage of land planted in wheat in Russia to-day is equal to the acreage planted in 1913, when Russia was one of the factors in making the world price. During the fifteen years that Russia no longer exported wheat, the rest of the world greatly increased its production. Russia's Five-Year Plan calls for her "Total Sown" area to increase from 120,000,000 hectares in 1929 to 130,000,000 in 1931 and to 142,000,000 hectares in 1932. By great sacrifice, as her present production is not sufficient properly to support her population, Russia again comes into the market, offering small but increasing quantities of wheat under a liquidation theory at prices at which it must be sold ahead of all other production. The present world over-production and the added fear of Russia's surpluses have caused the world price of wheat to drop more than 50 per cent., and it now becomes a problem of paramount importance to every American, farmer or manufacturer, whether the price of wheat in America shall be artificially supported far above the world price, or whether the price shall be allowed by the natural laws of supply and demand to stabilise itself around the world level.

The question involves not only the price of wheat but the price of all farm products and, in direct and interdependent relationship with them, the whole question of the standard of living in this country. President Hoover and his Administration are then confronted with the most difficult problem that has been placed before a United States Government since the Civil War. Shall the Administration artificially, and against all natural laws of supply and demand, support the price of wheat and other farm products? Shall they, in time of great crisis, dare to break those great natural laws which have never yet been broken with im-

punity, or shall they, realising the gravity of their actions, the importance of a step which cannot be recalled, fearlessly state that the United States is strong and powerful enough to maintain a standard of prices and therefore of living far in advance of the rest of the world?

Mr. Hoover and his Administration, fearlessly, knowing the cost, have determined that the standard of living in America shall be maintained. It is a bounden duty of every citizen to uphold his hands and to thank God that in this time of great crisis we have a President wise enough to analyse the natural laws of supply and demand, realise their vast effect and yet, in face of that knowledge, use the power of Administration to maintain the standard.

Every farmer, and nearly every citizen, can clearly see the necessity for maintaining the price of farm products. If that price is maintained, their standard of living is maintained; if that price sinks for a long period of time below the cost of production, then their standard of living must inevitably be lowered. Do they see the other side? An interference with natural laws, that is the artificial raising of a price, cannot be kept up for a long period of time, and can only be effective if the production of farm products is quickly lowered until the supply and demand balance. If the prices are to be held at an artificial level over a long period of time, then the curtailment of production no longer becomes a matter of policy, it becomes a matter of necessity. If the farmers of the United States support the Administration in artificially raising the price of farm products, then it is their imperative duty to make the policy permanent and economically sound by decreasing their production to the extent calculated and advised by the Administration. (The great danger lies in the fact that the individual farmer has never yet agreed to the control of his production.)

The United States is in the very happy position of being one of the great wheat-growing countries and yet having a domestic demand equal to 90 per cent. of its production. Compare this with Canada's situation where the domestic demand is 30 per cent. of the production. The problem in the United States is, therefore, comparatively simple. A reduction of 10 per cent. in the planted acreage of wheat will, theoretically, balance the supply and demand and if this reduction is made immediately the great laws of natural supply and demand will no longer have to be broken and the domestic price of wheat can be maintained naturally at any level considered wise and to the best interests of the community. Russia does not yet produce enough wheat to support properly her own population and, while the fear of her possessing a large and increasing surplus to export is imminent, the actual fact has not yet happened.

With oil the situation is temporarily grave. Russia's production of oil is as follows :

1913	...	...	8,900,000 tons	
1920	...	...	3,800,000	„
1929	...	...	13,600,000	„
1930	...	...	17,000,000	„ (estimated).
1931	...	...	23,000,000	„ (planned).

Russia, therefore, now holds third place in the oil-producing countries of the world. Her own consumption is small, but should grow in unbelievable leaps and bounds. The sale of very large quantities of oil, over a period of very few years, at prices below any others offered, is a problem of the immediate future only. There seem to be two theoretical solutions to this problem : 1. That the United States should, for this period, curtail its production to the degree necessary to balance the supply and demand. (A very difficult solution, as all other oil-producing countries would take immediate advantage.) 2. That non-oil-producing countries should grasp at such a non-recurring opportunity. The best investment for a non-oil-producing country is a three to ten year supply in storage. Oil stored in the United States is 270,000,000 barrels, an amount equal to Russia's exportable surplus for ten years. This is an excessive amount for an oil-producing country, but not excessive for England, France, Germany or Italy. Russia's excessive supply, while it lasts, would not be half sufficient to build up an adequate reserve for these four nations. The financial operations and construction involving such an immense policy would be a joy at any time; an even greater joy when prompted by a national urge. (What wonderful bonds! secured by England's oil reserve.) Why should not England purchase Russia's oil and fill her disused coal mines, free of storage costs, by pipe lines from the nearest ports?

The price of cotton is steady and firm, this in face of a great drop in domestic consumption and a depression of business. For the first time in the last four great depressions, cotton has not led the way downwards ahead of other commodities. The reason is perhaps that under a liquidation plan by Russia, who is receiving, and will receive, greater and greater amounts of cash, one of the first imperative demands will be for cotton in continuously increasing amounts. Imagine a country three times the size of the United States, with an initial population of 150,000,000 quickly coming to industrial life and creating a new and insatiable demand for a great raw material. How short a time will it be before the present cotton-grower's problem will be reversed; how to grow a sufficient supply? The production of cotton on a large scale in Turkestan would modify this conclusion.

Canada is situated in latitudes and with a climate comparable

to that of Russia and Siberian Russia. Therefore her main products are, and must remain, similar. They are wheat, lumber and furs. Owing to her situation she must inevitably bear the major burden of any liquidation of resources by Russia. Her great men and politicians must think deeply to prepare the permanent defence which Canada will require. The logical solution is clear and will be carried through by this great nation.

The situation of England is entirely reversed. Theoretically and geographically it is England's last great opportunity to take a major part in the equipment and construction of a continent, a work in magnitude comparable to her original share of the growth, first of the United States and more recently of Canada and South America. England's normal requirements call for immense quantities of the raw materials which Russia may wish to liquidate: lumber, oil and wheat.

The unmistakable trend of Russia's future trade is shown by the credit or debit balances with the various nations. In 1929-30 her debit balance was \$80,000,000 approximately with the United States. That is to say, she purchased from America \$80,000,000 more of goods than she sold to them. With England, in the same period of time, she had a credit balance of \$75,000,000, that is to say, she sold to England more goods than she purchased. With Germany she had a credit balance of \$10,000,000. Speaking of imports and exports to America, Mr. Litvinoff, Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, says: "In the present conditions, we cannot buy unless we sell. If they will not buy our goods, we shall transfer our purchases elsewhere." England's opportunity lies here. She is able to take, and perhaps would be willing to contract for a very large fraction of Russia's total available exports of raw material if, in turn, she obtained a contract to import into Russia at least an equal quantity of manufactured goods; cotton and woollen materials, machinery, electrical equipment etc. Considering that the prospective trade over the next twenty years should amount to many, many billions of dollars, England might and could solve her unemployment problem and again become an effective and competing nation. If this problem were placed to-day before England's people, they would insist that this, their last great opportunity, be taken.

Theoretically this solution is easy; practically it is very difficult. It is hard to imagine the maintenance of honourable relations with the heads of a state diametrically opposed in principles, although it might be successful through an intermediary state.

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CHINA UNDER THE NATIONALISTS.

THE dramatic appearance of the Three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria) on the scene of China's latest civil war brings to an end the short-lived government of the Northern Coalition. If there were doubts as to the motives behind the move, none is now left in view of the presence of the "Young Marshal" in Nanking in November to attend the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party). The field, therefore, is again fortunately clear for the execution of the constructive and reconstructive programmes the Nationalists have laid down during the last several years as the new foundation on which to build a new China. The old China collapsed almost two decades ago; the tragic experiment of a republic came to a grievous end. The family, guild and village systems gave signs of foundering on the first impact with machinery and industrialism. They disappeared amidst the turbulent waves of internecine warfare during the years of 1916-26. China became a vacuum—a void. Out of the great territories of Mongolia and Tibet, and out of the over four hundred millions of war-wearied, poverty-stricken, and security-less people, the Nationalists must needs weave a coherent system—a social order, an economic society, a body politic—that will be able to fit the specifications of a modern sovereign State and to withstand the evergrowing strain of twentieth-century civilisation.

The specifications of a modern sovereign State provide for no unilateral conventional tariff, extraterritoriality, leased territories, concessions and settlements, and other conditions of servitude that have been associated with China. So they must go. The strain of twentieth-century civilisation cannot be withstood except by an efficient national Government with centralised control of foreign relations, fiscal policies, and military organisation; with a network of railways, telegraphs, telephones, aeroplanes, and radiograms; with a literate and politically conscious people; with machinery and industrialisation. So these must be had. This, in a nutshell, was the programme on which the Nationalists rose in 1926; and this remains the programme of the Nationalists now in power in Nanking. The last few years have accomplished but one tithe of what the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) first set out to accomplish; one tithe in only four years—more than half of which were primarily devoted to military campaigns for the preservation of the régime—is, however, a memorable milestone that Nationalist China may regard with some satisfaction. If the record has been sprinkled here and there with disappointments, they are owing to the abundance of pitfalls and obstacles on the road to normal conditions.

Hope had swelled highest, in the early days of Nationalist advance, among the radicals, the intellectual communists and labourites, the workers and peasants of south and central China where the early Kuomintang propaganda, tinged with red, went deepest. Where this propaganda of "down with everything and up with the proletariat" went deepest, the upheaval was destined to be most turbulent; hence the terror and disaster of last autumn in central China, when every restraining influence was removed by the withdrawal of the troops to the northern front. Socialism had been promised; "communism" ran rampant, thanks to the agile Borodin. To the half-literate worker or peasant with half-baked notions, both meant that they could have what they had not. To the idealistic, intellectual supporter and agitator, they presented visions of an Utopia with an equalisation not only of opportunity but of possessions. All of them desired to gain their objectives immediately after Nationalist military occupation of the territories. Their urgent claims had to be satisfied by violence, and violence came very near to wrecking the Nationalist revolution. Therefore, before the Nationalist armies were to cross the Yangtse River to sweep northward, the party had to be purged. The peasant and labour unions had to be suppressed, "communists" had to be executed when caught, and their leaders proscribed. All proletarian elements that took an active part in aiding the easy victories of the Nationalist armies south of the Yangtse Valley were of necessity driven from the political scene, with the assurance that the socialist programme of the revolution would be carried out, but without violence and not immediately.

Socialism is the apex and not the foundation of the Nationalist pyramid; the foundation is a stable, centralised, "partyocratic," reasonable, non-violent and evolutionary Government; a peaceful, secure, comparatively prosperous, improved, and reconstructed country; a literate, educated, optimistic, politically conscious, law-abiding, back-to-work population; a respectable and equal international status. The foundation must first be built.

There was another class of malcontents—the regionalist militarists whose ambition was not only regional autonomy, but factual regional independence of the national authority, with the possible exception of foreign affairs. They were not satisfied with being administrative units of the central Government. They desired more than decentralisation; what they desired was, for want of a better name, "regionalism." In other words, reversion to the conditions prevailing in the years 1916-26 when each region had its satrap; all regions collected their own taxes, disposed of their own revenues, maintained their own armies, fought their own private civil wars; no region gave even lip service to the shadow of a Government in "Peking." It would be perhaps unjust to accuse the neo-militarists of absolutely

egoistic motives; all the same, they struggled against the institution of a national Government, in which lies the hope of making the name "China" designate not only a civilisation, not only a territory, but a State, a nation. They fought for the grandeur, the authority, the power which regionalism would bestow upon the regional leaders. In the opinion of Nanking Nationalists, such a retrogressive step must not be taken; such a loose system must not be instituted. Measures had to be employed to clear the obstacles from the path to union and unification; they were employed. And every blow administered told. In 1928, the Kuangsi clique disappeared. Just recently, the northern Coalition has collapsed. After four years of rising and ebbing fortunes of the Nationalists, the country is again ready to welcome the constructive and reconstructive plans solemnly pledged, carefully laid, some already begun, none yet completed, by the Nationalist régime.

There remains yet another extraneous element whose dissatisfaction, vociferously amplified, has been expressed through the various foreign publicity channels, here and there reflecting Nationalist China—incompletely, unfavourably, sometimes distortedly. Fed by unfortunate events in China and abetted by the press that devours revolutions, lynchings, brigandage, and communist uprisings, the spokesmen of this sect have been able to propagate their version of a chaotic China, bewailing the passing of the past—all order and meekness; deploring the intolerable present; predicting the futility of the future. The components of this extraneous element are what we may call the "status-quo-ists" of the foreign communities in China. With a background of law, order, constitutional government, and the rest of the paraphernalia of a modern State, they see China as a Chinese would see the Europe of the Middle Ages. Devoid of any knowledge of Chinese history or language, and thus unable to interpret the underlying causes that are bringing about the regeneration of an old civilisation, they are wont to regard transient events as permanent fixtures. For the preservation of their treaty-protected super-privileges, rights and vested interests, they have coaxed, urged, and compelled their home Governments to prosecute a so-called "strong" policy. In order to prove the validity of their case for a *status quo*, they are compelled to disprove the prevalent view that in the National Government at Nanking are the seeds of a unified and stable China. Their fear is justified in that their earthly possessions are directly involved; but, their outlook is warped for exactly the same reason. For, in fact, if the *status quo* could protect anything, it could, at the best, preserve no more than what they have acquired. An uncompromising attitude and policy, amid the liberal currents sweeping through China, entails friction, stagnation of trade, and impediment of the development of a country

whose prosperity will inevitably alleviate to a certain extent the world's chronic economic depression.

Over these barriers of obstruction, Nationalist China has to travel towards the realisation of her goal. Amidst punitive expeditions, party purifications, communist disturbances, foreign protests, and military campaigns, the National Government has to prepare for the fair day. Having all these in view, one may not judge too harshly what the Nationalists have or have not done. That they could have done anything at all is extraordinary. Now the fair day seems dawning, it is an opportune time to look through the *débris*, which in time is to be cleared, at the new foundations, in order to estimate their strength and quality.

The Nationalists have succeeded in establishing a Government which, with all its theoretical shortcomings, has demonstrated its practical stability. There are no more fly-by-night cabinets or periodic Presidents. With minor changes, the Government personnel has remained the same since the end of 1927. The wheels of government have, during civil commotions, rolled on in spite of them. Circumstances may have compelled pauses in the preparation and execution of reconstructive plans, there has been no sudden break. There is continuity. There is consistency in policy. If a rigidly controlled "partyocratic" Government tends to be dictatorial, its dictatorial nature has assisted stability. If the committee system is somewhat less efficient, its inefficiency is compensated for by its service as a reservoir for all recognised leaders, and as an organisation that cannot be crippled by the absence of one or two components. The Organic Law of 1928, though itself an instrument propounding party sovereignty, provides, in anticipation of the constitutional period, a skeleton of a constitutional Government, with its executive, judiciary, and legislative departments, as well as those of control and examination, which are modern adaptations of old Chinese institutions. In the Central Executive Committee—the supreme organ of the party, elected biennially by the Party Congress—the Central Supervisory Committee and the Central Political Council of the party; in the State Council, the supreme organ of the National Government, the same leaders form the predominant group. The presidents and vice-presidents of the five *yuan*s (departments) and ministers of the important ministries are appointed from the members of the State Council just referred to. Therefore, although there is a multiplicity of hierarchical organisations, one above the other, there is a simplicity of control achieved through the existence of a small group of leaders whose predominance is recognised in fact, though not in theory; and the recognition has been evolved from their persevering association with the cause of the Revolution and the Nationalist Party.

Often has it been doubted, and oftener asked, whether the Nationalist Party will successfully abdicate in favour of the people. And when? To these questions a definite answer has to be postponed. Nevertheless, one cannot help but feel the drift of the current; it is quite perceptibly towards the right direction. And every rebellion the Nationalists have had to face and crushed has hastened the peace. Every week the exhortation that "Above all, the convocation of a People's Convention . . . should be accomplished with the least possible delay" contained in the will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen is being drilled into the minds of thousands of Chinese officials, students, soldiers, and civilians. The Fourth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang, convened in November, has adopted a proposal for the convocation of the said convention on May 5th, 1931.

The Nationalist policy is building democracy in contrast to grafting it as attempted by the early revolutionaries. The gradual, patient, and effective enforcement of local autonomy in the districts—the primary units—is the only way. The results so far are not too satisfactory. It is so regarded by President Chiang Kai-shek; and in his manifesto to the people, made public on October 11th, he considered the enforcement of the district autonomy system as one of the five post-war tasks the National Government has to execute.

The equitable and reasonable adjustment of China's international status has been considered just as important as political reconstruction. China's *débâcle* since the last century is too familiar to need recounting; suffice it to say that not until the Washington Conference did she again find some sort of equilibrium. Throughout the years immediately before the Revolution in 1911 and afterwards, there had been a growing feeling among the educated, especially the foreign-trained, Chinese that international equity demanded international equality for their country, lamentably slipping from the pedestal of sovereignty into a semi-colonial coma. The Japanese Twenty-one Demands, Wilsonian idealism, the Versailles disappointment, the nullification of the Washington agreements through the inaction of one Power—one after another hastened the growth of this feeling until, having been long suppressed, it had to burst out when the occasion arose. The Shanghai Affair of 1925, the turning-point of Chinese contemporary history, was the occasion. Thenceforth there was no alternative but the acceptance by the Chinese of the Nationalists' foreign policy. And it was on account of their foreign policy that they first gained nation-wide popularity. First and foremost on the Manifesto adopted by the Kuomintang First National Congress in 1924 was the declaration:

All unequal treaties such as those providing for leased territories, extraterritorial privileges, foreign control of the customs tariff, and exercise of political authority on Chinese territories which impairs the sovereignty of the Chinese nation, should be abolished, and new treaties concluded on the basis of absolute equality and mutual respect for sovereign rights.

The traditional irresponsiveness of the foreign Powers during those years led to a policy wherein unilateral abrogation was contemplated and justified by the unilateral nature of the treaties as well as the recognised principle of *rebus sic stantibus*. As late as November of 1927, the Foreign Minister of the Nationalist Government declared:

As there is no reason for the existence of the unequal treaties and agreements concluded between former Chinese Governments and the Governments, corporations and individuals of foreign States, they shall be abrogated by the Nationalist Government within the shortest possible period.

Happily, simultaneously with the heightening determination of the Nationalists to bring about the change, events were transpiring such as the Chamberlain memorandum, the retrocession of the British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang, the admission of Chinese representation on the Municipal Council of the International Settlement at Shanghai, the elimination of the radical elements from the party, the expulsion of Borodin, and finally the Nationalist conquest of "Peking" in 1928—these tended to influence the Nationalists to take the sting out of their "abrogation policy." The cumulative effect of these events on the Chinese mind was, first, the suggestion that perhaps the foreign States were sincere and willing to replace the old régime with a new; secondly, the conviction that radicalism, after all, had its glorious as well as its baneful side. Accordingly, in July 1928 the Nationalist Foreign Minister's statement contained this clause:

The Nationalist Government will immediately take steps to terminate, in accordance with proper procedure, those unequal treaties which have not yet expired, and conclude new treaties.

The tactics are different; the policy is the same. What Nationalist China wants is the passing of the unequal treaty régime. How it passes into history is a matter of secondary importance. Without doubt, it is passing. Tariff autonomy has been regained. Several concessions and the leased territory of Wei-Hai-Wei have been returned. Five States have, conditionally, relinquished extra-territoriality. Negotiations have been going on with Great Britain, the United States of America, and Japan with reference to the same question. Commercial treaties, equal and reciprocal, have been entered into with Poland, Greece, Czecho-Slovakia, Persia; they are being discussed with several other nations.

What is even more important is the passing of the fossil mentality. The last few years have witnessed a remarkable change of atmosphere which augurs well for peaceful relations between China and foreign Powers. Among the sensible foreign elements both in China and abroad, it is generally recognised that the old foreign status in China will have to go soon; the question is how or when? Among the Chinese, there is no more talk of "driving the foreigner into the sea." The reaction caused by dilly-dallying is vanishing. It would be, to say the very least, unfortunate, should this golden moment be let pass without producing fruitful results that will be beneficial to both the Chinese and the foreigner.

The turning of China from Russia to Great Britain, America, and Germany for counsel and assistance through various political and technical advisers is one of the most important events modern history has recorded: it has, however, cost China dear. Clever Russian propaganda made China appear the aggressor in the Chinese Eastern Railway incident, while in fact what China did was similar to the British action in raiding the Arcos; the object was the same, to clear out the "red" cells and organisations that were undermining the existing political and economic institutions of the country. The unfortunate part of the affair was that it involved a railway, itself the creation of criminal intrigue; this blurred the situation until it was too late. Being ever in fear of losing their possessions in China, the foreign nationals there lent a credulous ear to the story of the "seizure," which had never been intended, and blazed it forth, thus nipping in the bud any moral support the world might have given. As a consequence, the Russians trampled to pieces both the Kellogg Pact and the innocent Chinese along the border. Last autumn they publicly congratulated the brigand rabble of central China upon their success in terrorising and ravaging the country—the brigand rabble which the Soviet subterranean network, radiating from the China treaty ports, has organised into "Communist armies" to proclaim their gospel of destruction.

As I have said, Nationalist China, during the last few years, has achieved probably only one tithe of what has to be done: truer than anywhere else is this in the field of material reconstruction. But one tithe is very much in four years, considering the prevailing circumstances. Domestic, if not yet foreign, credit has been revived; this is due to the Government's ability, in spite of all handicaps, to meet both the interest and principal of all its bond issues since 1927. Successful efforts have also been made to meet foreign obligations in default, a legacy from the defunct Governments. A "militarised," neglected, and abused railway system has been, after two years of labour, brought back to life, on a

business and profitable basis. The employment of the British share of the Boxer Indemnity in completing and extending some of the existing lines will usefully increase the present somewhat insignificant mileage. The inauguration of air-mail and passenger service between Shanghai and Hankow last year is destined to extend the system, and, with the co-operation of the American Curtiss interests, to link up practically every important city of China. The ratification by China recently of an agreement with the German *Lufthansa* Line means the impending connection of Nanking and Berlin by air. Seventeen thousand miles of postal lines, discontinued before the Nationalist régime, have been restored; an equal mileage of new postal connection by motor 'bus has been established. Twenty-five new telegraph offices have been opened; fifty-two short-wave and seven long-wave wireless stations have been installed. These instances are taken at random from the spheres of finance and communications, as being both important and tangible. They indicate that China has not been all war and brigandage. Finally, it may perhaps be reiterated that China, larger than Europe, is more a continent than a country. Many regions not directly affected by the disturbances have gone on with their ordinary life. As a whole, China is getting ahead in spite of her tremendous burden. The more the latter is reduced by peace and stability, the sooner will she reach what the Nationalists have set before them as her destination.

G. KUANGSON YOUNG.

WOMEN AND LAMBETH.

O Almighty God, look mercifully upon the world, which Thou hast redeemed by the blood of Thy dear Son, and incline the hearts of many to offer themselves for the sacred ministry of Thy Church.

SO runs a collect which, in view of the great need of ordinands, the 1930 Lambeth Committee on the Ministry of the Church commends for general use. The Committee's sense of urgency with regard to fields white for harvest finds its echo in a Resolution adopted by the whole body of Bishops. "The Conference is convinced," asserts Resolution 6r, "not only that it is the duty of the Church to foster vocation to the ministry, but that it behoves every clergyman, schoolmaster, parent, and indeed every Christian man and woman to seek out and encourage signs of such vocation."

It is not easy to understand the Bishops. When they ask Christians to pray that the hearts of many may be inclined to offer themselves to the ministry, presumably they want to be taken seriously. When they say that it behoves every Christian man and woman to seek out and encourage signs of vocation to the ministry we may assume that what they say they mean. They are not a set of irresponsible prattlers; they are men speaking after prolonged consideration and with a grave sense of responsibility. And yet the request for such prayers and the exhortation to such action is coupled with a blank refusal to listen to the offers of those whose hearts God has inclined. To ask for ordinands and to reject those who offer themselves is not, of course, necessarily inconsistent. The senile, infants, mentally defective, criminals, or the insane, might be rejected without inconsistency, for their defects would render them unsuited to the Ministry of the Church. Are then the would-be ordinands whom the Bishops reject, not at sight—for they do not even grant them an interview—but without inquiry, senile, under-age, mentally defective, criminal, or insane? No.* They are persons of mature years and of good report: they are literate—several of them are university graduates holding theological diplomas—and they are neither lunatic nor senile. They have none of these defects, but—they are women.

It would appear, then, that the Bishops hold that women are sufferers from some different defect which would make them incapable of serving the Church. But does this fit in with the other conclusions of the Conference? Not in the least.

* Statements as to their sense of vocation may be found in Appendix B of the Memorandum to the Bishops, which may be obtained from any bookseller. *Women and Priesthood*. Longmans, Green & Co. 1s.

The Conference wishes to insist on the great importance of offering to women of ability and education, who have received adequate special training, posts which provide full scope for their powers and bring to them real partnership with those who direct the work of the Church, and genuine responsibility for their share of it, whether in parish or in diocese; so that such women may find in the Church's service a sphere for the exercise of their capacity.

Moreover, the Encyclical Letter which precedes the Resolution quoted above insists that:

We have sought in our Resolutions to encourage in every way open to us the ministry of women. They have become free as never before in history to use in varied service to their community their distinctive gifts and ideals. We know that many of them desire to devote their lives to Him in whose service is the perfect freedom. We would assure them of our determination to secure for them, so far as in us lies, a place of honour in the organised life of the Church.

The thoughtful reader is inevitably perplexed. The Church needs priests; the Church needs women; women wish to serve the Church as priests. The need and the response seem to dovetail, and yet the response of women to the Church's call is summarily rejected.

We cannot encourage in any way those who press for the Priesthood of Women.

A majority of the Sub-Committee [on Deaconesses, etc.] believes that there are theological principles which constitute an insuperable obstacle to the admission of women to the Priesthood, apart from all considerations of expediency. Others who do not agree with them on the matter of principle see grave difficulties of a practical nature in the way of such admission.

No attempt whatever is made by the Bishops to state either the "theological principles" or the "grave difficulties of a practical nature." Instead, a claim is made to meet the needs of the situation by "reviewing and enlarging the work entrusted to the Order of Deaconesses." The work of a Deaconess as enlarged by the 1930 Conference is as follows:

- (a) To assist the minister in the preparation of candidates for Baptism and for Confirmation.
- (b) To assist at the administration of Holy Baptism by virtue of her office.
- (c) To baptise in church, and to officiate at the Churching of Women.
- (d) In church to read Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany, except such portions as are reserved to the Priest, and to lead in prayer; with the licence of the Bishop, to instruct and preach, except in the service of Holy Communion.

This, of course, excludes the administration of all sacraments other than Baptism. It even excludes the administration of the Chalice—an act permissible to *men* who are neither Priests nor Deacons.* It excludes the privilege of preaching in the service of Holy Communion: the only service at which the Book of Common Prayer authorises a sermon. It excludes the privilege of pronouncing Absolution in the sacrament of Penance.

And yet—in spite of the fact that seriously-minded women believe themselves called to the Priesthood, an office which includes all these privileges from which the Deaconess is excluded—the Bishops assert that the office of Deaconess will provide women with “full scope for their powers” and adequate “sphere for the exercise of their capacity.” In other words, they assert that women, because they are women, are incapable of Priesthood. No attempt is made to describe or to explain this incapacity. It is left vaguely dependent upon some wholly undefined theological principle. That is the ruling not of all the Bishops at the 1930 Lambeth Conference, but of a majority. A minority—we are not told how many—hold that there is no objection in principle to the ordination of women to the Priesthood. The position of this minority must of necessity be a painful one. They are admittedly (see Resolution 61, already quoted) keenly aware of the Church's need of priests; they are also aware that a number of seriously-minded would-be ordinands have been refused consideration: in other words, they are aware that the Church, of which the Bishops are the mouthpiece, is in one breath calling upon God to inspire persons to offer themselves for His ministry, and in another rejecting incontinently the offers which are being made.

What, then, of the future? Are the Bishops who are in a minority and the women whose plea has been curtly dismissed by the majority, to continue to pray: “Incline the hearts of many”—with the addition of a clause to the effect: “But make sure that the hearts Thou dost incline are men's”? Are those who have themselves heard the call of God to their own hearts to set about discouraging others should the call come to them? Must they, if others write to them for counsel, respond with heavy words of gloom and of repression? “The Church needs priests. . . . ‘It is the duty of every Christian man and woman to seek out and encourage signs of vocation.’ The Church is making a strong appeal to those who accept Christ as their Lord to ‘cherish the ambition of offering themselves in the sacred ministry. . . .’ But the labourers must be male, the vocation is a male vocation, the appeal is to males only. Crush in yourself the sense that God is calling you. Tell yourself that what to you has seemed the appeal

* See Resolution 65.

of Christ to your highest nature is a delusion of the devil or of your own conceit. That you are earnest, devout, fired with the love of Christ, gifted with good intelligence, well qualified with university degrees, experienced in social and educational work—all this counts for nothing against the fact that you are a woman.” Or, “You are young and so presumably endowed with vast supplies of that adventurousness, enthusiasm, and courage which in young men seems to the Bishops so well worth winning for the Church that they have devoted a whole section of their report to Youth and its Vocation, proclaiming it to be their ‘confident belief’ that Youth is about to make its witness ‘in a fashion and on a scale far beyond that which any previous generation has seen’: yet, however adventurous, however enthusiastic, however courageous you may be, you must remind yourself that being not a young man but a young woman you are in your very nature incapable of that ‘life in close partnership with Christ,’ which while demanding sacrifice, ‘is abundantly compensated by the glorious happiness’ of living ‘to the service of God for the highest welfare of mankind.’”

“The work of the Church,” says the Bishop of London, speaking as Chairman of the Committee on Youth and its Vocation,

is crippled by the shortage of clergy. This fact constitutes a direct challenge to the younger men of to-day when facing the question of what their life's work shall be—to ask themselves, not “Why should I?” but “Why should I *not* be ordained?” It is a man's job. There is no work in the world which makes greater demands on the best that any man can give. There is no human quality which it does not need or cannot use to the full, whether physical, intellectual, moral or spiritual. In the width of its outlook, as in the bigness of its task, it stands alone; it touches life at every point; its idealism is in the clouds, but its feet walk on the common paths of men.

It will be surprising if Youth—descending for a moment from the exaltation of its capital letter to the lower case and expressing itself merely as a young woman—does not echo rather dryly: “Its idealism is indubitably in the clouds.” “There is no human quality which Priesthood does not need or cannot use to the full. . . .” “None,” comments the young woman, “except those of more than half the human race.” “Not, ‘Why should I?’ but ‘Why should I *not* be ordained?’” “Why, indeed? I see no reason; but Lambeth does, and is too busy to pass the reason on.” “It touches life at every point. . . .” “But not at me. I am incapable of Holy Orders and must content myself with something which, however well suited to me the Bishops think it, I don't myself feel called to. I may become a Deaconess.”

“That's right, my dear Young Woman,” repeats the Bishop

of London, with his hand upon Youth's arm. "That is Feminine Youth's Great Vocation. You can never hope to celebrate the Sacrament of Holy Communion, nor even to administer the Chalice. You can never hope to preach or prophesy at the Communion Service. You can never hope to pronounce Absolution. You can never hope to hold the cure of souls in slum or in village of your native land, or in Indian *basti* or African *kraal*. But you may, if you will become a Deaconess (and be careful to remember that a Deaconess is *not* a woman Deacon), help a man to prepare candidates for Baptism or Confirmation; you may baptise—presumably because the act of holding a baby seems womanly and suitable—and you may officiate at the Churching of Women—doubtless for a similar reason. You may, under certain circumstances, 'speak' (not preach or prophesy) at 'other than the regular services.' You may conduct retreats—a privilege open to lay men. And you may give spiritual counsel before passing on a penitent to a man for Absolution. Priesthood—no: that is a man's job."

It is remarkable that not only the Bishop of London, who is, of course, notorious for his breezy optimism, but also the presumably less exuberant Committee, should claim to have found in these offices "a vision of a great order of ministry . . . which can satisfy the fullest desires of women to share in the official work of the Church." The enthusiasm of the Committee is, indeed, more than remarkable, it is baffling, in view of the fact—which the Committee "frankly admits"—that although admission to the revived order of Deaconesses has been open to women since the year 1862 "inquiries show that the number of women asking for ordination as Deaconesses is comparatively small and that far more women of the stamp and qualification envisaged find scope for their gifts in other ways."

It will be well to consider the Committee's "vision" in some detail. It is of "a great Order of ministry for women, distinct from and complementary to the historic orders of the Church." The Committee expresses an "earnest hope that the vision will be shared by the Church at large." It affirms that

the Order of Deaconesses is an order *sui generis*: the only order of Ministry open to women, but an Order which both from the solemnity of its ordination and the importance of its function can satisfy the fullest desires of women to share in the official work of the Church. This may be thought to be a departure from primitive practice, but the times have changed, and though we value historical precedents, we do not think that they need entirely restrict us in our endeavour to enlist the great gifts and special contribution of women to the varied and immense needs of the Church to-day. Once the principle is accepted that

the Order of Deaconess is not simply an equivalent of the Order of Deacon, the way is open for a new consideration of the status, functions and possible development of the Order, and it is in the light of this principle that we desire our recommendations to be considered.

The more thought that is given to this passage the more amazing it appears. Either the Committee's "great Order" which is to "satisfy the fullest desires of women" is that same Order of Deaconesses which for years has admittedly failed to attract women—except in very small numbers, and those not "of the stamp and qualifications envisaged"—or it is something new. If it is merely the order revived in 1862, with certain valuable but by no means epoch-making extensions of privilege, why should the Committee expect that its sudden enthusiasm should now spread to the rest of the Church? If, on the other hand, the intention of the Committee was to inaugurate some new Order distinct not only from the historic Orders of Priest and Deacon, but also from the historic Order of Deaconess—and, surprising though it may be, this interpretation of their (defeated) intention seems not incredible in view of the phrases used on pages 178 and 179 of the Report*—how could the Committee have imagined that its proposals would be acceptable either to the opponents or to the supporters of the admission of women to the historic Priesthood? Those who oppose the admission to the Priesthood are not in the least likely to welcome anything so violently revolutionary and wholly contrary to ecclesiastical tradition as the institution of a new Order of ministry "distinct from the historic Orders of the Church." Nor would the supporters of the admission of women to the priesthood be any more sympathetically disposed. They would oppose the innovation, not only on the same grounds as their opponents, since they equally value the historic ministry and its apostolic origin, but also on the ground that to offer women something which is inaccessible to men is but another way of refusing them what they believe to be a privilege with which sex-differences have nothing whatever to do.

That, surely, is the point which needs emphasising. Priesthood is a human and not a sexual function. Women hear a call to serve God in His Church, and they believe that they hear the same call that men hear. They believe themselves called to baptise babies, to officiate at the thanksgiving of women after childbirth,

* "An Order which can satisfy the fullest desires of women. . . . A departure from primitive practice . . . the times have changed . . . though we value historical precedents we do not think that they need entirely restrict us. . . . When ordained her name should be entered on the diocesan roll of ordained ministers, and it would be for Provinces and Dioceses to decide how best to relate this fact to membership of official and synodical bodies. . . . Not hesitating to give a new content to the purpose shown in 1920 . . ." etc.

to prepare children for confirmation, and to give spiritual counsel to girls and women, but they do not believe that the call to these offices is all that they hear, any more than the men who are called to the Priesthood believe that they are called to certain offices exclusively. They believe that God is calling them to the administration of all the sacraments, not of one only, and they believe that He is calling them to preach or to prophesy in the service of Holy Communion, not only to speak at other than the regular services. They also believe that He is calling them to a ministry which involves not only assistance given to another but the direct "cure of souls" which is the prerogative of the parish priest, whether at home or abroad. In the case of some of these women the call seems to be so clear as to be widely recognised by their fellow-Christians, not excluding the Bishops themselves. The Subcommittee reports:

We are impressed with the fact that there are women, whether Deaconesses or not, who have special gifts of spiritual or intellectual kinds which are not now being fully used by the Church. We desire that Bishops should be willing to give to such women special commissions, either permanent or temporary, to give addresses, to conduct retreats, or to give spiritual counsel, for we are convinced that there is need for official authorisation for such prophetic and spiritual powers.

The recommendation has been accepted by the Bishops and embodied in Resolution 71.

It is impossible to suppose, in view of these facts, that the taboo against the admission of women to the ministry can be maintained indefinitely. The present position so bristles with anomalies that its breakdown is inevitable. The advice which anyone may be called upon to give to women who hear God's call to the Priesthood and who do not know what to make of the situation need not, surely, be wholly gloomy and repressive. Not: "The Church wants to hear nothing of your sense of vocation, and never will," but "Not all the Church is yet alive to the need; some day it will be." Taboos are much harder to overcome than reasons; but with God there are no taboos and God is Almighty. Meanwhile, have not the Bishops themselves exhorted us to pray, and are they not themselves praying, surely sincerely even though, some of them, with very muddled heads, for more labourers for Christ's harvest? Let us then, in conclusion, repeat the clauses from the collect with which we set out and say once more:

O Almighty God, look mercifully upon the world, which Thou hast redeemed by the blood of Thy dear Son, and incline the hearts of many to offer themselves for the sacred ministry of Thy Church.

URSULA ROBERTS.

ARNOLD BAX.

THERE are cogent reasons why Arnold Bax, among contemporary British composers, possesses marked claims to attention. Nearly all his work is characterised by the firm establishment of significant individuality. His music is alert, thoughtful, and coherent in address. These are qualities distinctive in our time. Their assembly in a single composer demands at least brief examination. More topical grounds for analysis exist in the forthcoming performance of Symphony No. 3 at the Royal Philharmonic Society's concert on March 12th, and the production of Symphony No. 2 at a B.B.C. concert on April 29th, both works being conducted by Sir Henry Wood.

The narrative of Bax's career consists mainly in a record of his work as a composer. Of Irish extraction, he was born in London in 1883. At the age of seventeen he proceeded to the Royal Academy of Music for a five-year course. His masters were Frederic Corder for composition and Tobias Mathay for piano. In both subjects his apprenticeship was brilliant. He displayed an uncanny aptitude for reading at sight the most intricate full scores. This personal fluency led him to underestimate the complexity of his earliest works, which suffered from needless elaboration. Experience soon prompted him to eradicate the fault, and to confine his expression to writing which was sufficiently decorative without being ornate. The consequent gain in musicianship and technique was profound.

Although the official list of his compositions opens with a trio for violin, viola, and 'cello (1906), Bax no longer regards this work, chaotic in form and derived from Strauss in content, as representative of his outlook. The symphonic poem *In the Faery Hills* (1909) illustrates more satisfactorily the romantic course he elected to follow. It reveals the fundamental influence which, until about 1920, Celtic folk-lore exerted prominently in his music. The composer is extraordinarily alive to the subtle implications of the atmosphere encircling Irish legend. In this tone-poem he conveys a vivid impression with sensitive and poetic charm. The music embodies with great merit artistic experience both fresh and lasting. Bax's creative output has been so prolific that a selective method of criticism becomes necessary when discussing the achievements which now follow. *In the Faery Hills* epitomises the first phase of his evolution. The second phase, distinguished by a proper tendency towards luxuriance of thought and manner, stretches roughly from 1913-20. The third phase, notable for a more economised utterance, extends thereafter until 1930, and seems to

reach its appointed close in Symphony No. 3, first heard early in that year.

As the outcome of a visit to Russia in 1910 Bax wrote a number of piano works which quickly attained a deserved popularity. *May Night in Ukraine* (1911), *Gopak* (1911), and *In a Vodka Shop* (1915) separately exhibit an inventive quality which endures. In each case the impression without being meretricious is well suited to the title. The First Violin Sonata, originated in 1910 and revised towards 1915, is attractive for an easy lyricism and a considered understanding of the instrument's potentialities. A more profound emotion dominates the Second Violin Sonata (1915). It contains much indicative of the sombre and introspective aspect of Bax's nature. Although his poetic intention is realised mainly through a compelling harshness the writing, even where it is bleak, is often invested with a beauty which for its appreciation requires chiefly a close acquaintance.

In the orchestral poems *The Garden of Fand* (1916) and *Tintagel* (1917) Bax returns to a Celtic atmosphere with the difference that these works when compared with *In the Faery Hills* show a great advance of style. *The Garden of Fand*, which is concerned with magical legends of the sea, is permanently attractive for richness of melody and harmonic colour. These qualities combined with subtle attention to detail give strength and enchantment to Bax's pictorial aim. His success is due at least in part to a careful subordination of descriptive features in the expression of musical intent. *Tintagel* belongs largely to a similar vein. It requires, therefore, little separate comment except to observe that Bax's treatment is sufficiently independent to dispel any suspicion of a reliance upon preconceived formulæ to further his Celtic representations. Introspective severity is dominant in the orchestral tone-poem *November Woods* (1917). The rugged and occasionally stormy music contains much of that remorseless beauty overlying romance which is an essential of Bax's outlook. This work is especially preferred by the composer himself. He writes with a power of thought revealing musicianship free from any emphasis upon superficial realism; yet he is fully alive to the opportunities of his theme. The result is austere indeed, but it is an austerity which does not repel. The *Symphonic Variations* for piano and orchestra (1917) are at first hearing probably among the most unpleasing of all Bax's compositions. One feels that he is striving to enunciate a series of ideas only partially conceived. A more detailed understanding of the *Variations* brings to one the certainty that initial bewilderment is due not to poverty of utterance, but to unusual wealth of material covering an extensive field. Such music makes no concessions to the impatient listener with whom, surely, it will

never be popular. It rewards, none the less, an unhurried approach; and among discriminating students seems likely to gain in favour.

During this period Bax began more particularly to develop those talents which justify his present-day notability as a writer of chamber music. The Quintet for Piano and Strings (1914-15) had attracted attention for its alternation of sombre charm and sullen grandeur no less than for masterly understanding of his instrumental combination. The First String Quartet was thought rightly to consolidate an auspicious beginning. Its character is of a delicate gaiety wholly opposed to the more forbidding mood of the Piano Quintet. The best pages undoubtedly belong to the slow movement. Bax's poetic sense is displayed to eloquent effect through the usage of entrancing melody in association with apt harmonic subtlety. The Quintet for Strings and Harp (1919) marks a reversion to thoughtful concern with tragic elements, but the emotion carries an intensity, even a magnificence, which sustains the course without unprofitable excursions into contemplative gloom.

There follow two works which indicate conspicuously Bax's transition to his third phase extending roughly from 1920-30. Hitherto a distinctive feature of his compositions had been a luxurious and complex ornamentation. In the *Phantasy* for Viola and Orchestra (1920) and the piano work *Mediterranean* (1920), set for orchestra during 1921, we find decorative tendencies replaced by more compressed utterance. Contrapuntal usage is frequent and the harmony, though losing none of its former brilliance, is concisely organised. The *Phantasy*, whose three-movement form is akin to a concerto, anticipates the benefits ultimately derived from this change of method. The display of melodic resource bears an assurance that there is no diminution of Bax's inventive fertility. There is substantial promise of more experienced economy in presenting matter; and the composer's technique stands out with greater clarity for an absence of overmuch ingenuity. The convincing impressionism of *Mediterranean* exemplifies the success which, in a contrasted manner, Bax achieves by new means. From an orchestral standpoint the wisdom of his expressive reconsideration appears established beyond dispute. The next ten years contain, among a number of exalted achievements, Bax's three symphonies. As, psychologically, these works stand a little apart from the rest of his music it will be convenient to consider them subsequent to a discussion of certain other compositions falling within the same period.

A fine consequence to the interval of transition was the appearance, in 1921, of some admirable choral writings, a medium so far little favoured by Bax. The carol entitled *Mater Ora Filium* for un-

accompanied double choir, taken from a manuscript found at Balliol College, Oxford, shows at once that Bax's powers lose no force when delivered in vocal terms. His intricate counterpoint carries unflinching a musical justification. He has accomplished, with triumph, the difficult task of preserving an early English atmosphere throughout a treatment in modern idiom. His setting, attractive for its genuine scholarship, maintains a dignity which is truly classical. In further choral writings such as *Of a Rose I Sing* (1921), *Now is the Time of Christymas* (1921), and *To the Name above Every Name* (1923), one can trace a similar elevation of style made vital through the lofty ideal which Bax exercises both in sentiment and music. These qualities are distinctively summarised in *St. Patrick's Breastplate* (1923-4). An advanced degree of inspiration is excellently matched by lasting insight into the requirements of the text, and a full knowledge of how best to interpret it through modern musicianship.

Contemporaneously with these outstanding choral works Bax increased his output of orchestral and chamber music. The Sonata for Viola and Piano (1921) formed a valuable and eloquent addition to the scanty literature for that combination. The symphonic poem for orchestra called *The Happy Forest* (1922) is memorable for a spontaneous gaiety which comes all too rarely to Bax; and for its curious forecast, in a contemplative middle section, of material used in the Epilogue to Symphony No. 3. Three chamber works of widely different character belong to 1923. The Quartet for Piano and Strings (in one movement) is pervaded by that sombre and wistful charm which, through his compositions, expresses an urgent component of Bax's nature. In the music of the Quintet for Oboe and Strings one finds an echo of earlier Celtic associations. Although of simple design, and often attractive, this work suggests that Bax's handling of the "faery" atmosphere had become, temporarily at any rate, a little self-conscious. No doubt the passing weakness was due, in some measure, to circumstances of stylistic alteration. The Sonata for Violoncello and Piano moves with a pleasant competence which rises, on occasion only, to moments of real note. It is adequate without being remarkable. The construction is not ill-done because, to Bax, fundamental deficiencies of craftsmanship are at all times virtually unknown.

The next apparent activity of importance manifested itself in the Second String Quartet (1927). Considered movement by movement it gives much satisfaction. The composer writes forcibly and to the point without neglecting a beauty which is most happily expressed in tranquillity. It is less clear what precise relation one movement bears to another; and undoubtedly this absence of unity partially deprives the Quartet of the purposeful effect as a whole, notwith-

standing the strength of individual sections. In 1929 several further works were published. They include the Third Violin Sonata which gains from an externalised statement less visible in its two predecessors; and the Third Piano Sonata which, like the two previous Sonatas of 1919, reveals in manner and matter Bax's genuine comprehension of the instrument. At the Promenade Concerts during the same year a first performance was given of the Overture, Scherzo, and Rondo for orchestra. This composition, which is distinct from any deep problem, is cheerfully energetic and shows that Bax loses nothing in aptitude when writing mainly to give pleasure at the moment.

The three symphonies belong respectively to the years 1922, 1925, and 1929. Although each is to be regarded as absolute music it is fair to say that "the spiritual problems which are grimly set forth in the First Symphony are but partially solved in the Second, finding, ultimately, a benevolent resolution in the Third." Bax follows the classical tradition of using three movements, although the Third Symphony bears the addition of an epilogue. Symphony No. 1 in E flat (not E flat minor as is often, and wrongly, stated) is predominantly grim and relentless. The comparative frequency with which it is performed indicates that a corresponding strength of thought does much to make its harshness acceptable. There is an evident purpose in the strife. Bax writes with a commendable restraint even at his most vigorous; and he is nowhere betrayed into pointless declamation. The content is unusually satisfying not only for a positive address but because there is no confusion between novelty and a rational aim towards originality. The intensely subjective character of the slow movement necessitates a search for beauty, but the final reward is sufficient. In this movement, as in the Symphony as a whole, there is a degree and worth of thought which more than compensates prolonged study.

Symphony No. 2 in E minor and C contains an introspective treatment of the problems enunciated in its predecessor. Of the three Symphonies it is the most difficult closely to appreciate. The composer often withdraws, as it were, to commune with himself; and we are not readily invited to participate in his thoughts. The situation is eased by the presence of musical factors aiding identification. Unity is established by the generous use of recurrent material. There are four main themes which are delivered in the opening pages, and their metamorphosis is reasonably simple to investigate. The main difficulty is to acquaint oneself with sufficient promptitude with the great profusion of material employed in this Symphony. Each further experience of its powers certainly enhances respect for the composer. Those listeners who are tenacious enough not to admit early defeat will find here writing which

has frequent claims to greatness. Symphony No. 3 is offered without any formal key-title. It is a singularly gracious work, easy to accept, and brings a pleasure which long outlasts a first acquaintance. One feels that the doubts and difficulties of the first two Symphonies here reach a settlement which is not less satisfactory for being pleasing. There are many passages whose sheer beauty belongs to a level of inspiration hardly equalled in the whole range of Bax's music. The peaceful epilogue forms an ideal conclusion to a work which one believes to be of classic importance. This Symphony is a supreme achievement.

Bax has already been widely observed, in our own country and elsewhere, as an artist of significant thought and exceptional poetic aim. There are those who claim for him a position greatly exalted among the composers of to-day; and his accomplishments suggest that in this his admirers propagate not extravagance but justice.

ROBERT H. HULL.

COLOUR PREJUDICE IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

A GROWING number of first-class London hotels will not admit a person of colour, though to refuse on that ground is, of course, illegal. From time to time accounts appear in the press of educated Indians and Negroes being requested to leave public restaurants. These incidents are local symptoms of an evil unknown to our ancestors, only found in British possessions and in the United States of America, which tends to dissolve the whole fabric of our Colonial Empire.

In the later Roman Empire the colour question was unknown. A Roman citizen became one for all purposes. The Emperor Philip was an Arab, Vespasian a Spaniard, Heliogabalus a Syrian. Whilst the memory of the Empire remained the spiritual heritage of Europe race or colour prejudice did not exist in Christendom. The Crusader who escaped from captivity by the help of the daughter of a Saracen always converted and then married her. It would apparently have been considered "bad form" not to have done both. St. Thomas à Becket was popularly supposed to be the son of a London merchant and a Syrian lady. Though this is now considered a romantic legend, it shows that there was no feeling against intermarriage with Asiatics, nor prejudice against those we now term Eurasians. One of the daughters of the great Charles V, the glory of the house of Habsburg, was married by her father to the illegitimate son, "Il Moro," of a Medici Pope by a Moorish mistress; his portrait seems to show that his mother was a Negress rather than a Moor. He misgoverned Florence for some years. To-day the Latin countries, which have inherited the Roman tradition, have no colour prejudice. The late General Dodds had as much, or more, Negro blood than French, and was the youngest French General on the active list when he conquered Dahomey. In popular dancing halls in Paris full-blooded Negroes mingle with the throng of Europeans. In the cafés of Marseilles Arabs wrapped in bournous sit and eat without exciting any notice. It is a commonplace that Spaniards and Portuguese emigrants intermarried freely with the aboriginal inhabitants and with Negroes in Mexico and South America, as did many of the French backwoodsmen with the Canadian Indians. The Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the present French Ministry is a full-blooded Negro, the deputy for Senegal.

This tolerant attitude towards people of coloured races is not confined to the Latin nations. Even before the revolution of 1917 an Asiatic who became a Russian citizen became an equal with Russians in every relationship of life, alike for rank in the Army,

or marriage with a full-blooded Russian. General Alikanoff was the military governor of Odessa about 1905, when he put down a local outbreak with great severity. He had risen almost to the highest rank in the Russian Army without, it is said, even changing the Mohammedan religion of his ancestors for that of the Greek Church. He merely put a Russian suffix to his name, which originally was Ali Khan.

It is sometimes urged that the change to Protestantism at the Reformation led to a change of feeling, and that Great Britain and the United States are Protestant countries, while the Latin, which remained Catholic, have also remained unaltered in this respect. But there was no change in this country under Elizabeth. The three Shirley brothers returned from Persia with Persian wives. John Rolfe married Pocahontas, and her portrait with her infant son still hangs in the English country house where her descendant lives. Shakespeare wrote *Othello*. One can imagine with what an indignant chorus of outraged colour prejudice it would be received to-day; but then it excited none. Yet England was on the whole Protestant. Also in the Southern States of America racial feeling amongst white Roman Catholics is as deeply rooted as it is in the Baptists and Methodists by whom they are surrounded. Cardinal Vaughan, when a young missionary priest, on taking leave of the Mother Superior of a convent, who visibly shuddered at the thought, said he hoped to meet her in heaven with a Negro saint on each side of her. Protestantism cannot be the cause.

Less than two centuries ago all the evidence goes to show that there was still no change. If, as we are so often assured, there is a natural and instinctive antipathy between white and coloured peoples, how is it that no murmur reaches us from the not far distant time of George the Third? In the eighteenth century, from the time of Queen Anne, thousands of Negroes were brought into this country as servants. Their legal status for many years was that of slaves, until Lord Mansfield decided in *Somerset's* case that slavery was repugnant to the Common Law. After that decision the number of Negro immigrants probably diminished, but neither before nor after it can one find any trace of colour prejudice. Thackeray was correct in *The Virginians*, where he makes George Warrington's Sambo accompany his master to England from America, and marry one of the housemaids at Castlewood before settling down as family butler. It is a curious fact, always ignored by the opponents of miscegenation, whose usual justification is their desire to keep the race "pure" (an excuse I have heard urged most earnestly by Indian Brahmins in support of the caste system), that the many thousand descendants in this country of these mixed

marriages show not a trace of their Negro origin. The influence of climate and surroundings would seem far stronger than that of blood.

Compare conditions in Java with those in India, in any of our other Eastern possessions, or in Shanghai, where British influence has always been predominant. In Java, and throughout the Netherland Indies, which are to Holland what India and the Crown Colonies are to us, the Javanese and other indigenous races, and the Eurasians, stand on the same social footing as the Dutch themselves. Their prospects in life are only limited by their characters, abilities, and education. They have the fullest equality of opportunity. They can rise to any position in Government service, in trade, in planting, and in the professions. A Eurasian from Java has been Colonial Secretary at The Hague. Intermarriage is frequent in all classes, and the children of mixed marriages are considered Europeans, however dark in colour. A few years ago the leading Dutch merchant in one of our largest eastern seaports told me how much he admired our colonial system of government. He thought it better than the very different one of Holland, "except," he added, "for your silly race prejudice. It is very hard," he continued, "to get into the best clubs in Batavia, but I never heard of anyone objected to on account of his colour." Holland, Protestant for the most part, "Nordic" like ourselves, agrees with the Latin countries, with Russia, with almost all the world outside the British Empire and the United States, in having no colour prejudice.

How different is our attitude. Even in estates belonging to British companies in the Netherland Indies I was assured by the general manager of a very large one that, however competent a Eurasian or Javanese may be, he can never hope to attain the status and pay of a European assistant. He would gladly have promoted a Javanese he employed as a clerk, but his British assistants would not have worked with him. A similar statement was made by the head of one of the largest mercantile firms in Rangoon, who told me that his British staff would show such resentment at being joined by a Eurasian of good family, with an English public school education, that he dared not make the experiment. Throughout our Eastern possessions it is the exception for an Asiatic or Eurasian to be employed by British mercantile firms, or planting companies, except in a subordinate capacity.

In the Federated Malay States there are rare examples of Asiatics becoming members of European clubs, but in India their exclusion is absolute. The late Syed Ameer Ali was a profound lawyer, whose work on the Indian Evidence Act is the common textbook wherever the Indian Evidence Code is law. He was the first

Asiatic to sit on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He was for many years a member of the Reform Club, but he could not even cross the threshold of any European Club at Calcutta. The late Lord Sinha was the first Asiatic to enter the House of Lords. He filled the responsible post of Under-Secretary of State for India, and was subsequently Governor of an Indian Province. He dined with the Viceroy, but could never dine, even as a guest, at the club at Bombay. Some years ago a graduate of Cambridge, a Chinese scientist, who afterwards discovered the identity of the germ of septi-pneumonic plague in Manchuria with that of bubonic plague in Hong Kong, was giving evidence before a commission in the Straits Settlements. He was asked by the chairman, when the commission adjourned for tiffin in the middle of his examination, to accompany them to the local club. The outcry, which I myself witnessed, could not have been greater had a Tamil sweeper been brought in from the streets. These same protesting clubmen had no objection to go to banquets given by wealthy Chinese merchants, but any suggestion that they should be returned was considered as unthinkable.

In China, including Hong Kong, "the treaty-port mind" has for years steadily lessened the regard of educated Chinese for this country, a bitter legacy that will take a long time to eradicate. Everywhere intercourse between the British merchant class and the Chinese, with rare exceptions, is limited to business relationships. Those who do not follow this custom are usually regarded as cranks. This deplorable attitude has affected official circles. Only a very few years ago (I do not know, though I hope, things are now different) at receptions at Government House at Hong Kong, one drawing-room was reserved for Europeans only, one was common to Chinese and Europeans. The British Government never more unfortunately trusted the man on the spot than when they followed the advice from China, inspired by this treaty-port mentality, to refuse the request of Sun-Yat-Sen for British advisers to be sent to Canton. He then naturally turned to Russia. This extraordinary act of folly cost the merchants of Hong Kong alone many millions of pounds in the prolonged and bitter boycott of British goods which followed shortly afterwards. This incident shows the international effect of racial prejudice in China. In local matters British policy has been equally shortsighted.

At Hankow a few years before the concession was handed back to China, a Chinese gentleman who has since been decorated by the British Government, and who was at the time an unofficial member of the Federal Council of the Federated Malay States, sat down on a seat overlooking the Yangtse-Kiang. He was at once ordered to move on by a policeman, the seat being reserved for Europeans

only. In 1907 I saw in the public parks of Shanghai, including even Jessfield Park, which is outside the concession in Chinese territory, notices at each gate that Chinese were not admitted "unless accompanied by infants," i.e., amahs, or nursemaids with European children. No objection was raised to Japanese prostitutes in the conspicuous kimonos of their race and calling. It was not till very recently, under pressure from the Foreign Office, following Sir Austen Chamberlain's inauguration of a saner policy towards China, that Chinese ratepayers were allowed three members on the council, and at the same time the irritating restrictions on the enjoyment of the parks were modified. I understand a small charge is now made for admission which of course, in fact, still excludes the poorer classes of Chinese. These tardy and partial concessions to justice and commonsense have been so clearly extorted by necessity that racial feeling has for the time being probably increased rather than diminished, for confidence is a plant of slow growth in Chinese breasts, and the Europeans feel that they have to some extent "lost face," to use a Chinese expression.

The difference in the social atmosphere on board a Dutch or Japanese liner should be compared with that on a British. Asiatics travelling on a British boat as first-class passengers will probably not meet with open rudeness, though this is not unknown, but as the ship sails further and further from England they will, unless very fortunate in their company, find an increasing aloofness on the part of the majority of British passengers returning to the East, amounting sometimes to what is practically social ostracism by the time the boat leaves Port Said. They may even be required to sit at separate tables at meals.

The psychology of a passenger ship on a long voyage is a curious thing, no two are alike. It is for some reason more unfavourable to Asiatics on the outward than the inward voyage. I have again and again seen Chinese, Indians, Siamese, Burmese, people of wealth and position, often better born, better educated, and more intelligent than the majority of their fellow-passengers, holding, it might be, degrees of English universities, barristers, doctors, or government servants, treated in a manner which I know they deeply felt, and which they have sometimes, in confidence, as deeply resented. Planters and those engaged in commerce are the worst offenders. British civil servants usually, and army officers frequently, show their better breeding by their better manners, but they seldom endeavour to be really friendly; their attitude is correct, but chilly and aloof. I remember hearing the wife of a well-known Assam tea-planter, a clever and charming woman, describe how Mrs. Besant, and a number of her English and Indian friends,

had ignored the usual spirit of Britons in the East on a voyage to Bombay. "Why," she remarked, "there was not a man on board who would not have liked to kick those Indians, when they saw them sitting on deck next an English lady." Many voyages, during more than twenty years in the Far East, have convinced me that colour prejudice is spreading in British possessions. An increasing number of Asiatics, who are British subjects, travel by Dutch or Japanese lines in order to avoid it, and they are fully justified in doing so.

Gibbon, in one of those luminous asides which make the eternal value of his history, says, "For I know that the classics have much to teach, and I believe that the Orientals have much to learn." No one who has followed the recent utterances of Mahatma Gandhi and other prominent Indians, or who has studied the tangled web of Chinese politics since the revolution of 1911, will doubt the truth of this saying, but how much harder we make it to solve political difficulties when we set up needless social barriers between ourselves and men and women of different races, who are, as men and women, not only as good as but often better than ourselves, not only our intellectual equals, but often our intellectual superiors! How can the British Colonial Empire persist if it is permeated through and through by such a spirit? How can the indigenous populations, to whom Mr. Baldwin referred in his fine speech to the students of Glasgow University, respect us? Only if, in his words, "they see truth and loyalty, fair play and self-control . . . that will be their conception of the nation; and the nation's work in governing, controlling, and advising is to that extent made more easy instead of more difficult. The day that we cease to be worthy of that respect, that day the foundations of the Colonial Empire will crack."

The "Unchanging East" is rapidly altering. The shock given to European superiority by the victory of Japan over Russia was felt all over Asia, but the spectacle of the Great War, and the influences which it let loose over all the world, have completely changed not only the mental outlook of the intelligent Asiatic, but the way that his mentality works. The unimaginable has become commonplace. No nation can now live its life independently of the rest of the world. Modern science will increasingly make interdependence a law of the universe. The whole future of our Colonial Empire may turn, not on the choice between this or that reform in the machinery of its various governments, but in the adoption, in as full a measure as we are able, of social equality in our intercourse with the coloured races inhabiting it, a change of heart that no legislation can effect, which would of itself work wonders in the solution of all political difficulties.

DAVID FREEMAN.

THE ETHICAL QUALITY OF GREAT ART.

THREE features, indelibly impressed upon the entire evolution of racial consciousness, ultimately determine the relation between æsthetic experience and moral experience. In the first place all early forms of artistic expression, no matter how primitive they may be, are inseparably interwoven with equally crude religion and ethics. The savage carves and decorates his idols, while he celebrates his gods' exploits in poetry and song. Secondly the finest creations of art without exception, though quite distinctively in each great sphere, have unceasingly exercised an irresistibly elevating and refining influence on the arduous advance of man's spiritual life. Indirectly and even insensibly they have spurred him onwards, inhibiting his baser tendencies, purifying his ideals and clarifying his purblind vision. Finally and most significantly the individual artist himself has often either ignored or explicitly disclaimed the pursuit of any moral aim or the advocacy of any specific principle. But such an attitude is by no means universal; and Hebrew drama and poetry are only the most familiar instances of the persistence of the primal connection between art, ethics and religion, while the superb themes of Milton and Dante are confessedly "great argument" that

assert Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men.

Yet we may confidently suppose that even under these conditions the creative energies of the poet were concentrated upon the purely æsthetic aspect of the task rather than on its didactic. For this had so long embedded itself within his very personality that it required little further manipulation, except as the crude ore to be magically transformed into the golden filigree of his art.

The vital significance of this is too easily and too often misinterpreted. At first sight such obsession with technique and form seems to render the truth of "Art for art's sake" indisputable. On the other hand the questions force themselves upon us: Can art ever lose its original intimacy with the other main types of experience? Is not this absolutely necessary to its very being as art, so that its loss entails in the end an inescapable decadence and annihilation? It must of course be clearly recognised that art's autonomy is so vigorous that it can exist, and even appear to flourish, under highly adverse conditions, just as a powerful nation may encounter struggle and defeat more effectively than prosperous peace. The issue is thus not merely one of alternating advance and retrogression, but of ultimate survival; it can be decided therefore only by a survey equally wide and prolonged. We need not dispute that the poet may find inspiration in "his

mistress' eyebrow," provided, however, that this is not dissociated from the lady herself; his art, in other words, may focus itself on no matter how trivial a detail, but only so long as this remains unsevered from its native context. From this context it may, or indeed must, become æsthetically discriminated so as to provide the subject material of imaginative creation; but to exaggerate this distinction into positive separation is invariably fatal. While it is profoundly true, therefore, that art is concerned with detail and that the most delicate and minute details possess paramount importance, still these always remain elements within a context which is not simply more comprehensive than themselves, but which is also one source of their highest æsthetic value. Undoubtedly this context-source can never obtrude itself without imperilling the subtle balance and proportion essential to all great art; but although it must be taken for granted it is none the less absolutely indispensable.

We merely express the same principle in different terms in saying that every finished artistic product is a self-complete and autonomous whole. For it is a whole wherein every detail finds its proper place, from which alone it can contribute its due value. But this plainly means that the whole is always a construction or synthesis; it is never "natural" as is Nature's own beauty; and in this sense art becomes identical with artifice, or even with artificiality, though these are of the highest conceivable order. Still further, all construction demands selection with its concomitant rejection; or more technically, synthesis involves a prior analysis which may itself be either deliberate or unconscious and implicit. Now when we seek the origin of the factors ultimately incorporated within the æsthetic whole, once again we discover a context of one kind or another, wherein they lay concealed until the artist's insight discerned them for his own purposes. This holds true no matter how powerfully imaginative his work may be, since whatever heights it may attain, imagination must derive all the raw materials for creative transformation from outside itself. Imagination, therefore, can never transcend prior experience except by modifying and supplementing it; it operates always within and upon a context which includes but does not imprison it, just as the eagle, however high it soars, must always remain within its airy ocean. Regarded as psychical activity, similarly, imagination is conditioned by accompanying mental processes, and these in turn by cerebral reactions and bodily functions in general.

Thus equally in its method and its content, in form and in material, artistic creativeness never possesses absolute independence, because it can never isolate itself completely from what I have thus far called "source" and "context." The realm of

art is undeniably uniquely distinct and specific, and therefore also autonomous; but its distinction is much too often, and always quite unjustifiably, confused with total isolation. At first sight this erroneous impression appears to find support in what is actually nothing more than restriction—in that concentration upon detail which I have already described as one essential of all fine achievement. Yet indispensable as such concentration is it may obviously be carried too far, with the result that imagination, being compelled to work more or less *in vacuo*, either quickly exhausts itself or is condemned to patent artificialities. From this fate every true artist is guarded by that healthy instinct which bids him demand an adequately large field and subject, even at the risk of failure due to over-ambition; while whenever a theme in itself apparently slight is selected, it can be effectively handled by only a great artist because, in every case, its lightness veils a profound significance. To the average mind the "flower in the crannied wall" is nothing more than weed, simply because the poverty of the mind parallels the pettiness of the object; and it must be frankly recognised that the vast majority of artists, being but little raised above the general level, can attempt no more than petty themes however skilfully these may be treated. Their highest triumphs, therefore, are always threatened by the perils of that over-restriction which is so often mistaken for independence. Now were art a mere democracy, this numerical majority would settle the issue. On the other hand scarcely any object of any event is so trivial but that the aristocracy of genius will seize and splendidly interpret its true meaning; and this clearly implies that while the autonomy of art is not merely retained but is immeasurably intensified, nevertheless its creations are indissolubly welded with a much more comprehensive context, thereby gaining a value and expressiveness far transcending even the purely artistic as such.

Again then we are confronted anew by "context" or "source," ever present and ever dominant though never obtrusive; and while the artist may quite justifiably accept its influence almost unconsciously, æsthetics is compelled to consider its real nature. This may be variously described in terms of history or life, of experience or actuality; a fine drama or novel is more or less "true to life," just as "realism" is an ever-recurrent phase in one guise or another. Now the instinct of the realists is in itself perfectly trustworthy, though unhappily, like every instinct, it is too easily limited or (still worse) perverted; and its commonest fault is precisely that tendency to an exaggerated restriction which, as I have already insisted, concentrates on detail to such a degree that the trees too easily hide the wood, while too often only rotting and

fungus-covered stumps are depicted. All realists, nevertheless, clearly admit by implication that the independence of art is always qualified or conditioned and can never therefore be absolute; and the term "reality," with its synonyms "real world" or "Universe," plainly include life and history, Nature and human experience. For all experience, in the end, must be experience of the real Universe, no matter how remote this may appear to be; even symbolism ceases to be symbolism unless it more or less truly represents what is actual, while man instinctively seeks to pass beyond his symbols as such to the reality for which they stand. Every symbol, in short, is a device imposed upon the mind by the baffling intricacy of the Universe, and merely accepted *faute de mieux* until the hieroglyphs can be deciphered.

Thus the ultimate "source" or "context" of all artistic creations and all artistic activity is Reality or the actual Universe; not simply, however, as physical or material, though it is with these aspects of Nature that art is always most intimately concerned, but rather as the immaterial realm that is its native sphere; and this in two respects. For Reality is the sole origin of art's material—of the crude ore which it refines into gem-encrusted gold; although no refining can erase the subtle mark which the Universe impresses on all its elements. On the contrary it is precisely the function of art to bring these ineradicable traits into prominence, and to discover and unmistakably express the countless links which bind its imaginative creations, not only into one great æsthetic unity, but equally with the vaster whole of real being. This is the ultimate aim which great art always pursues, even though unconsciously and sometimes, perhaps, crudely; drama inspired by the ideal of eternal justice or Nemesis, architecture towering heavenwards, poetry that senses "what God and man is" in the commonest flower, not to cite mystic art passionately yearning for communion with what it deems the highest. But in all cases alike and by all modes it is the Universe that reveals itself, first to the artist, and then through his work to his age or nation or even, in the rarest of the immortals, to all posterity; and thus, fulfilling its deepest purpose, art transcends itself to become a direct vision of Reality.

But this must mean, still further, that its inescapable influence on human experience incessantly transcends itself so as to become not only purely æsthetic, but at the same time profoundly ethical, "irresistibly elevating and refining the arduous advance of the race's spiritual life." In stressing this truth, however, three grave errors must be avoided. In the first place the ethical aspect of art must never be regarded as suppressing and supplanting the distinctively æsthetic. For this is itself both unique and eternal,

so that to eradicate it would be to destroy art, as such, and leave nothing that could take its place. Only, once again, distinction should not be confused with isolation; art remains ever a phase or manifestation of Reality, so that the æsthetic category falls within the dominant ethical category. Further this always demands the fullest interpretation and widest application; it implies age-long influences and deeply rooted tendencies, not the petty standards of the fleeting hour; and so long as the artist remembers that he is also a man and a citizen, he may elect to disdain the goody-goody provided that he conserves the Good. The final misconception, somewhat paradoxically, springs from the products of art themselves; for these are all inevitably static—an immortal poem, an immemorial temple, an eternally beautiful statue. Now since art is almost universally thought of in the light of these its creations, the natural impression is that art is essentially static also. But the strenuous effort of the artist plainly shows how profoundly mistaken this belief must be; indeed to describe art as creative obviously means that it is dynamic, striving always to achieve that finished perfection which all great works enshrine. Thus art is perceived to be the revelation of the Universe as itself both dynamic and organised, as possessing structure or architecture, equally on the minutest and the vastest of scales, that is in essence identical with the delicate *nuances* of a sonnet on the one hand, and on the other with the sublime proportions of great tragedy. This universal organisation is the dominant note of to-day's science, insistently expressed in Whitehead's *Philosophy of Organism* and Smuts' *Holism* as modern presentations of the Idealism of Plato and Hegel, for whom also Reality is "eternal creation and eternal vitality."

The dynamic quality of art, therefore, is one form assumed by the dynamism of the Universe; and it is directed always towards achieving that perfection which all true artists crave as their sole standard of completion and full satisfaction. But neither completion nor satisfaction can ever be lightly achieved; for these standards, although infinitely various, are nevertheless absolute, just as their attainment is sternly and rigorously conditioned. No real artist, again, seeks "success" in any facile sense; rather does he at all costs pursue that perfection which alone can yield permanent satisfaction. Now the ultimate origin of these standards or criteria can be only the Universe; once again, however, not simply as physical. From the Universe, similarly, spring the conditions which control all artistic endeavour and underlie all æsthetic perfection; and from this viewpoint art is perceived anew to transcend its own wide boundaries and to gain an indelible ethical quality. For its realm is not merely dominated by Reality but is, again

like Reality itself, inherently dynamic. But effective dominance of whatever is dynamic must express itself as imperative; and thus it is felt to be by every great artist who, as contrasted with his pettier fellows, works not simply because he likes to but because he feels he must, and who is not so much (as they are) attracted by his subject as driven by it, irresistibly impelled rather than fascinated. To this there is an illuminating analogy in the intellectual realm; for the continuous expansion of thought, with its resultant conquest of ever fuller knowledge, is possible only through absolute conformity to what Whitehead has rightly called the "iron necessity" of logic. In this respect "free thought" can never exist; on the contrary, thought is eternally subjected to its own despotic laws. Exactly so as regards great art; it likewise recognises a necessity which, while it is golden rather than iron, is still necessity; and when it is insisted that genius creates laws for itself, the essential point is that these are laws in the deepest sense which genius strenuously maintains as inviolable. It is true that while the thinker must explicitly formulate his basal principles, the artist can but rarely do so; none the less the delicate, keen and unevadable influence of the "artistic conscience" plainly fulfils the same function in its specific sphere in spite of its inarticulateness.

Thus knowledge and thought on the one hand, and the finest art on the other, are equally conditioned by their respective types of a single dominant necessity, springing from and incessantly maintained by the dynamic Universe; and the parallel to the highest levels of moral experience becomes obvious. The truly great artist, exactly like the thinker and the saint, freely and joyfully, but unreservedly, submits to this necessity which so rigorously conditions his creative activities, yet at the same time confers immortality upon his work. Thus he is made the instrument, unique and indispensable for his particular task, of Reality; hence it is that his triumphs "elevate and refine man's spiritual life"; and herein we discern the deeply seated ethical quality of all great art.

J. E. TURNER.

A DISILLUSIONED CITY.

DURING the course of a month's holiday in Ireland, a week or more of which was spent in Dublin, the saying of Parnell recurred with force to my mind, that it would take Ireland ten years to recover from Home Rule. After eight years Dublin is slowly recovering from the fever of freedom. But what a changed Dublin it is! The city is now doing penance for its new virtues. Cleansed of municipal sin, it is seeking its salvation in economic sacrifice, and humbly awaits the awards to come.

One of the most vivid memories of my early days in that city is of the bevy of beautiful girls who thronged Grafton Street every afternoon about the tea hour. They enlivened the capital; festive they were but never scandalous. They preferred the wearing of the blue that matched their eyes to the wearing of the Green, but to-day that is all gone and Dublin is gone Green Mad, with its green letter-boxes, green on every tongue, and Shakespeare's Christian name Irishised to Liam, and Moore's to Sean. Gone are the glories of those good old days when amid political darkness Dublin sparkled with Bohemian gaiety and shone with social splendour. Gone are the days when a newly-arrived English regiment would have all its bachelor officers engaged to the Irish girls before they had been a week in the place. The days when the Viceregal Lodge was a Court are likewise gone, and to-day it is still called "Uncle Tim's Cabin" by a race which seems peculiarly gifted to bestow fitting names upon those in authority. Uncle Tim Healy has gone to join the Great Majority, and his "Cabin" is the resort of a different crowd from that which thronged its corridors in the days so long departed.

Many things have gone and old things have become new. Dublin has adopted a sort of indiscreet night life based on the legends of London or Paris. Where formerly the streets were deserted by ten at night, now the cafés are only beginning to light up. Immense cinemas, with brilliant illuminations, cater with restaurant and dance-room for a jaded throng. Young girls may be seen by the dozen sitting about in that indecorous, splay-legged manner that is not yet five years old in Dublin, though ten in London. Cocktails are an ordinary diet of these evening ladies, cigarette smoke takes the place of chatter, and the dance rooms rock to the tunes of jazz as they do in many other cities, but the jazz lacks that peculiar lilt of custom, there is no real enchantment in its unconservative appeal—it is not Irish and that is all there is to it.

Dublin that thrived on excitement languishes in disillusionment, and mental dullness, apathy and dancing go hand in hand. The city is being reborn, and the pains of its new birth have left it

weak and nerveless. After eight and a half years Dublin spells disenchantment to anyone who knew it of old. True, the streets are cleaner, the contract for cleaning them having been given to a French company. Previously they waited for a good shower of rain driven by a heavy wind to do it for them. A wonderful system of motor-coaches covers the entire length and breadth of the Free State which will take you into quiet villages that the railway never knew, at cheaper rates, and in quicker time. The old jaunting cars, so beloved of the English tourist, are fast disappearing, and private-looking taxis are taking their place. The streets have been rebuilt, government buildings have been washed, and splendid macadamised roads laid everywhere. Electricity is displacing steam in spite of its cost per unit, and sports-grounds are being provided with stands that should seat thousands of foreign visitors, but these come not. The fear has gone as well, and a sane, if uneasy, sense of responsibility has settled over the city. The Dublin of to-day is but a suburb of the ancient Dublin. It cut off its nose to spite its face and the virtue and folly of plastic surgery are becoming obvious. Ours is the age of cheap thinkers, and there are plenty of cheap thinkers who are ready to supply plausible moral *clichés* for advancement of this sort. Nobody who thinks is deceived. Nobody who has seen anything is impressed. And the only people who are interested are those who have to maintain a position, as a natural anxiety forces it. The greatness of Grafton Street has departed, and the soldiers' side of Sackville Street on a Saturday night is no longer gay with the red of the tommies' coats. Where are those splendid shops that were once the city's pride and formed one of the busiest shopping centres in Europe? Where is the social life that was once the city's light? Where is the literary force that once made such a noise in the world? They have not spluttered out, but they burn dimly, and they will need tender care to bring them back to their old lustre.

In spite of all I believe in the future of Dublin because I believe in the Cosgrave Government, and I believe in Dublin. Both have lost much of their charm, but the good manners of the city have not departed. Dublin is still one of the best-mannered cities of the world. Dublin, always gracious to strangers, has become tolerant of hereditary enemies. The "M.C." on the breast of a passing officer is no longer called a "Michael Collins," nor are the initials "R.E." on a soldier's collar translated as "returned empties." The stories told of Black and Tan ruthlessness have lost their bitterness. The old description of the Irish as a pleasant people on a fertile sod fighting like fiends for friendship's sake and hating each other for the Love of God, no longer applies, or if it does then it is not apparent. The Cosgrave Government has justified the feeling of

confidence that Mr. Cosgrave's known patriotism merited. De Valera's flash in the pan of theatricalism has practically cost him 90 per cent. of his supporters, for since the Free State has commenced functioning—and functioning well in spite of many recurring drawbacks—the character of the Irish is tending towards practicality, and the sentimental nonsense of the Republican Brotherhood is but a past phase. Mr. Cosgrave cannot get as much support as he had before his election on such a tiny majority. The opponents will not support any drastic temperance movement and the Labour Party is always in opposition. This latter Party has to be reckoned with in the near future. It is well organised and well led. Dublin has cast out its devils, occasionally it shows a touch of the cloven hoof, particularly when an armoured car passes with its crew enclosed in a bomb-proof mesh. "It's one of them — cages left behind by the English. It took the Boers to put them into khaki, and the Germans put them in tin hats, but it took the Irish to put them in cages. Perhaps it's some of themselves as people say they ain't all gone yet," someone may remark.

No one who keeps ears and eyes open in a pleasant pilgrimage across Ireland to the Electric Power Installation at Limerick can doubt that Ould Ireland is still Ould Ireland, and likely to remain so, Free State and Dail notwithstanding. The frequency and earnestness with which all sorts and conditions of Irishmen assure one, never now in confidence as of old, that the Government is ruining the country, is remindful of the days that are gone when this very pastime was the only one indulged in by successive British Cabinets. It is really but a natural expression of the race's invincible antagonism to constituted authority. "Is there a Government?" the Irishman on landing in America is reputed to have asked, and on being answered in the affirmative, remarked, "then I'm agen it." The persistence and accentuation of certain other national characteristics seemed less easy of acceptance. This was due partly to the changes wrought since a previous visit to the city, and partly because we have all been assured, so often and so loudly, by those whom we pay to tell us, that the New Ireland of Sinn Féin fashioning was going to be something very different from the old disreputable example of British misrule. After a couple of weeks spent in moving about the old familiar places, whose names, Dingle, Dargle, Glen-of-the-Downs, Furry Glen, Mohair, and Youghal, are as soft music to a wanderer returned, it is borne in on me more clearly than ever before that the Irish are an ever-rebellious race, but not a revolutionary one; also, that the causes of the country's chronic discontent lie deeply rooted in the national character.

In the days of the Congested Districts Board the present of

ducks to a poor peasant was accepted with a lack of grace that made you think they should have been swans, and they became known by individual names by no means flattering to the givers, and collectively as "them congested ducks." To-day summertime comes in for some mishandling in the rural parts, and the way to distinguish it from standard time is by calling the latter "God's time," and the former, "them Protestants' time." Since English and Irish time has been equalised that "two-faced lyin' blackguard," the clock in Limerick with the double face, which showed that the sun rose twenty minutes earlier in England than it did in Ireland, no longer excites the ire of the half-drunken men who paused to curse it, and assure their friends that "no sun ever riz in England afore Ireland—England afore Ireland, never hoora." And it is very hard to-day to find a sale for the humorous pictures that used to illustrate this rural view. Trudge through the streets of any town between Dublin and Limerick, and observe the fully-licensed houses. At Limerick Junction, Athlone, and many other places where I took the trouble to count them, they worked out at an average of one to every fifty of the inhabitants. One is told that drunkenness is far less common than it used to be in the west and south of Ireland—likely enough, with the present prices of whisky and porter. Drink is writ largely on the faces and in the habits of the petty townspeople, and in the dreadful hovels and ragged children of the peasantry. The Government is doing something to ameliorate this condition, but the funds are not there, and however good their intentions without the necessary cash there appears no hope of an early improvement.

The two characteristics of the race, namely, its cheerful indifference to the cumulative penalties of overbreeding, and its passionate love of landlordship, are exhibited in one-roomed cottages and on the stone-walled fields that stretch through bracken and furze to the barren places of the hillsides, so pitifully small and with soil so poor that one can hardly conceive any one of them to be worth the cost or labour of building the wall. Ireland's eternal problem arises on every hand out of the thriftless procreativity of the peasantry that scorns to take thought of the unborn; the rebel, the corner-boy and the gunman are each in his way a manifestation of the fact that more hungry mouths are produced than the land can feed. Failing adequate outlets by emigration, the inevitable result must ever be poverty and unrest. But the hold of religion on the peasantry is still strong enough in many parts to prevent any reference by prudent politicians to this aspect of the problem; the man in the street and his brother in the peat-fields continue, therefore, in the ways of their forbears and blame Government, as of old, for the unpleasant results. "Erin-go-bragh," it used to be,

to-day it is more like "Erin-go-ragged-trousers, Erin-go-roofless-houses, Erin-go-butterless-bread."

It is curious to observe while talking to the humbler folk of the Free State—farmers, fishermen, or simple labourers—how obviously their feelings are divided between racial pride in their country as an independent unit, and personal regret for the changes that have been wrought. The chief of these changes is the extinction of the "quality," the free-handed, sport-loving, landed gentry; the disappearance of the regiments which spent so much money and created so many diversions. The simple peasantry talk guardedly of the trouble, for rural people have learnt by bitter experience not to meddle in politics. Eventually the conversation will turn to crops, and there every man is at home and on his own ground, and you will perceive in all minds the tendency to compare things as they are with things as they were. Erin, as is her wont, wistfully remembers the days of old, and the old song, *Let Erin Remember*, which used to touch my imagination as a boy with its sad refrain, no longer strikes a responsive chord. It is not in the concert of remembrance, and the proud invader is no longer there to be taunted with its melody. *Who Fears to Speak of '98* is no longer sung. It is simply not done these days. But, "Who regrets to think of '22," might be a good substitute. Did not Mr. Cosgrave give them a nasty reminder the other day, when referring to De Valera's attempt on the Presidency? He said, "Mr. De Valera has burnt your homes, and now he complains of the smell of smoke." The visible track of destruction left by the revolution and the aftermath of civil war are not quite obliterated as yet, and they remind one that the path to a Free State, as the path to a throne, is through the tented field. I think the old country idea that there are no Irish in hell has gone the way of many pleasant families and happy beliefs.

The disappearance of many old families whose names were household words throughout the land, the comparative scarcity of anglers, tourists, racing-men and sportsmen, are all factors which combine to create in one's mind a somewhat melancholy impression, a sense of new dignity purchased at the price of the old geniality. But the impression of melancholy is somewhat dispelled by a philosophic acceptance of the inevitable. The tear and the smile in the eye still blend with enchanting attraction, and force one to the remembrance that Ireland never has impressed one with its sturdy practicality, or as a well-governed island of thrifty, sober citizens. All the old faults and virtues are still there, and the people are still the same happy-go-lucky lot they have always been, troubles or no troubles. When you come to look below the surface the new order of things bears a striking resemblance to the old. Out of the

nominally free Government set up a new despotism has arisen, differing only from the old by having a new code, and new men to enforce it. To give the new order its due the new code strikes one as superior to the old in abstract things, but in the concrete things of life it is decidedly worse, for the simple reason that it has been devised by the Irish themselves based on sentiment, and there is not the respect for national feeling which the invader found it tactful to observe. The waving of flags, whether red or green, is no longer proscribed, but many other things are, principally the ebullition of feelings on festive or patriotic occasions which bring on the scene those smart, soldier-like police, without which Ireland might become the Land of Saints its ancient literature states it to have been.

The police stand out in sharp contrast to the drab mob, and one is forced to wonder if authority does not do something for the individual as a man, if not as a collective entity. The new force are a very fair reproduction of the old Royal Irish Constabulary, as indeed they should be, for they have mostly been recruited from the old force. The soldiers quartered in the old British barracks are manifestly brothers of Private Mulvaney, somewhat more limited in outlook by a range which has been narrowed by the absence of foreign service. But Private Mulvaney will still show you how "the devil went through Athlone by standin' leps" if you take the trouble to ask him. Between troops and police, however, law, order, and a wholesome respect for the rights of such property as remains are fairly satisfactorily maintained. The man in the street prides himself on this fact even while he insists that the Government is ruining the country. From his point of view an Irish Government which imposes taxes even heavier than those of the old régime, and fails to provide soft jobs for all its supporters, is a severe trial to honest patriots. The fact that the country's grievances can no longer be ascribed to British stupidity probably makes it all the harder to bear.

Frontiers disappear, old orders change, rulers die, political creeds vary, feuds wax and wane, but certain things abide—the soul of a race whose roots lie deep in the native soil and form the real anchor of the people. The Irishman returned after many years' absence will find food for regrets and also respite from them, for many good things remain which the trouble has not destroyed: chiefly the unconquerable humour of the race, which persists in spite of the squalor and raggedness which encompass it on every side, and these qualities are the saving graces of the humorous-tragic comedy that is Ireland to-day.

ALEXANDER JACOB REYNOLDS.

WHERE ATHANASIOS TOOK REFUGE.

THAT the English as a race are mad is so well known that it has become almost a platitude, but equally so that the maddest of the species is the ubiquitous spinster is not to be gainsaid by anyone. The earth is covered with her tracks, in cities or in the wilderness, so therefore without further preamble I introduce myself and my two companions in that guise. For we have recently returned from Kharga, an oasis which lies 125 miles to the west of the Nile in the Libyan Desert, and to reach which one crosses a waterless region. We had been warned, of course, that we were facing the impossible with the transport we had to hand. The only camels we could procure were the village ones of the cultivated areas of the Nile, that live more softly than their desert brethren and are not suitable nor yet able to do such a march. We had not proper saddles, nor the correct water-cans, and the camel men were as ignorant of the desert as ourselves. All this and more was said in the hope of deterring us, but feminine minds do not welcome opposition, and we became keener for our adventure in the increased ratio of the forebodings.

We therefore had pummels put on the transport saddles which were then covered with the bedding and rugs; our water-cans were made from four-gallon Shell oil tins—we carried six, two with boiled water for our own consumption—and two goat-skins of water for the men. Having engaged the camel men four days before our departure, they proceeded to dock their animals of green food and to keep them on barley and chaff, only watering them once in three days, and just before starting. These preliminaries attended to, notice was sent to the local police officer of our intending departure, a permit from the Inspector of Antiquities for the use of the Rest House at Kharga was obtained; also a guide from the next village, and an excellent one he was, tough and wiry, and used to desert travelling. It may interest others to know what our outfit and food were. We had a fair-sized hamper with the softer or cooked foods, containing three small chickens, tomatoes, beet, bread and oranges, while a larger basket had tinned meat, salmon, fruit and biscuits. We also had a big pudding made stiff of rice and dates, which cut like a cake, very filling and substantial. We took a primus stove so as to be able to indulge in tea or boil hot water, and though we carried a basin our ablutions were almost *non est*, our fear being always the lack of water if delayed at all *en route*. Our equipment for the night consisted of a light tent of the bathing variety; two small portable mattresses which just fitted the interior, three fleabags and our own rugs. We each took a small holdall and a little leather bag for personal belongings. The men brought sacks of

chaff and barley for their camels, and bundles of bread, cheese, dates and tomatoes for themselves.

Our start was made on a Sunday morning in February about 7 a.m. The party were as follows: we three women, Misses A., B., C., and with us came Miss C.'s excellent servant Sadek who is a Government guard and allowed arms. Seven Bedawin villagers of the same tribe as himself brought their camels, good-natured sort of men and cheery, two of them well known to Miss C., and one carried the second gun, for which we had obtained a firearms permit. We mounted our three camels, the other four carrying the rest of the equipment, and the men following on foot. We started from near the Temple of Abydos, 320 miles south of Cairo, and made for a steep wadi or pass where the Egyptians had quarried some 3,000 years ago in the limestone hills for the temple. It was very steep, and we scrambled over the sand and rocks till we came out on to the desert proper, which lies 1,000 feet above the Nile valley at this point. Stony undulating desert lay before us, with a wide track furrowed by countless feet. We had struck the Roman road, not marked on any ordnance map, that went like all Roman tracks as straight as possible to one of the four eastern entrances of the oasis. It was with a thrill that one came to a mound or rock, always chosen at a strategic point, and saw vast quantities of broken potsherds of antique ware. Huge encampments must have been here, the pottery coarse and made for homely usage. We felt we had jumped back centuries and that at any moment a Roman legionary might appear, a scene that would scarcely have been out of place.

The first evening brought us to the little narrow-gauge railway on which a train runs to Kharga on Tuesdays and returns Fridays. The railway rather damped our ardour, especially when the old guide suggested that we should follow its track. There may have been sense in his idea as at certain points there are water tanks along the line, but we had come for the desert not the railway, so after following it for twenty miles—it runs this distance along the old Roman road—we branched off to the south-west, the furrows of the trail very visible. The scenery was extraordinarily varied. We passed through wide plains fringed with little hills, which narrowed to a mere track with great boulders strewn across the path, in and out of which we had to step with care. We saw worn sandstone mounds of erratic shapes, sometimes round or tentlike, others square massive blocks, or again spiral and fantastic according as the wind had sculptured them. On one plain with huge, isolated, but slowly shifting, sand dunes were large fortress-like mounds; these were termed the "Ziggurgat" by the guide, the meaning, he explained, coming from a legend of hidden treasure beneath the rocks. Incidentally I may here mention that Miss C.

speaks fluent Arabic, otherwise an expedition such as this would have been impossible. Legends seemed very appropriate as the evening drew on and we found ourselves on the second night marching in a limestone country, the moon which was nearly at its zenith illuminating the outcrop of rocks over which our camels felt their way like some ghostly phosphorescent, lighting up the track. Huge boulders seemed to press in around us till we felt we had entered a magic country, and had been changed into doughty knights riding to the wizard's lair, while the white gleaming rocks were sleeping dragons or primeval beasts barring our path, so fantastic yet real were they. Camping that night one felt in the midst of unknown forces, eerie, unexplained, certainly not human. It was reassuring to hear the jovial if tired talk of the men as they squatted round a little oil stove they had brought, and the grunting and gurgling of the camels, bringing with it a sense of confidence.

Our third day's march was again through wide plains, bounded with highish hills that terminated abruptly. It was hot too, and our faces got scorched. We passed a deep depression which looked like a dried-up lake and in which rested the not long dead body of a camel. Indeed this trail was strewn with the skeletons of camels, our guide hopefully going to one heap of bones, which he proceeded to inform us had been his camel twenty-five years ago! Along the track small cairns of stones were erected, but the whitened bones of a camel make even finer sighting marks, and were accordingly often put up. Late in the evening we traversed a plain thickly strewn with black stones. Many camels had perished here, and it seemed like the Valley of Dry Bones, so gruesome an aspect had it. On the far horizon we caught sight of a rocky eminence on which was a huge pole, to the side of which our way lay through a small pass and into a plain of white limestone and sand, bordered with hills of a darker hue. Everything was in perpetual contrast. As for the pole we had seen as a road indicator, we were afterwards informed that it was quite likely to have survived since Roman days, as on some of the other Roman tracks wooden posts are still to be seen which have been sunk in the ground to mark the route.

Our last trek was the longest of all. We started at 6.30 and shortly afterwards left the limestone to find ourselves crossing a plain most appropriately termed that of the "Watermelon." For the ground as far as the eye could see was strewn with round dark grey stone balls, the size mostly of a watermelon or pumpkin. They were detached stones, and in one or two places had been rolled to a heap to make small cairns, and one could not help wondering if by any chance we had strayed into the bowling alleys of the giants or gods of yore. This plain melted into another limestone plateau. Here, however, the outcrop had taken the form of petrified

waves, white and frothy, with the surf curling at their tips from one to eight feet high. They abruptly ceased and we descended to a flat, gravelly plain, perhaps once the bottom of a placid lake, as we came across minute shells. It was a hot, monotonous ride, but on mounting the slight incline at the further side, the most magnificent view extended before us. We were standing on a red sandstone plateau, that fell abruptly at our feet into deep chasms, its outline as it stretched away on either side forming fantastic fortresses and outstanding rugged bastions. Some 1,000 feet below us lay the sandy desert which surrounds the oasis of Kharga, fringed to the west, north and far south with steep pointed mountains shaded through a gamut of tints, from palest pinks to red and finally purple blues. Rising before us perhaps five miles distant stood an isolated mountain, its flat fort-like top only two or three hundred feet higher than that we were standing on, while away to the south-east another such hill rose from the plain, the two placed as superb watch-towers for the oasis. The view seemed endless, swallowing up the hills, desert plains, sand dunes, and showing here and there the tops of palm trees, the fringes of the cultivation, while in the far south a green band, hazy in the sunlight, proclaimed the final goal of our adventure.

The descent of the pass was at first by what seemed an almost engineered road, perhaps a legacy of ancient Rome, when weary troops had plodded to their destination here. Our guide, wiry and tough, with wicked twinkling eyes suggested a shorter route, which would save $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles march. This proved to be nothing short of a waterfall course down which we all slithered, he and his camel flying down it at top speed, while the men cursed him as they were afraid for their camels' legs. Their tempers however were soon restored as half an hour later brought us to our midday halt at the old Roman fort of Ed Deir, where a bubbling well supplied the animals and men plentifully with water. My camel, I was informed, drank twelve gallons! The Deir had been well chosen for its fine position as it both guarded the first water supply of the track and also defended one of the four entrances on the eastern side of the oasis. After Roman times the fort, which was made of sun-dried mud bricks, was used by Christian or Coptic monks—hence the name Deir, meaning a monastery—and in later days, during the last war, evidences of the Scottish Horse were most visible, from their names being scratched over the whitewashed stables. Some fighting had taken place with wandering dervishes, who with their co-religionists the Senussi have for many centuries harried the otherwise peaceful oasis.

Leaving the Deir we passed quite close to the high isolated mountain Umm el Ghennein—the Mother of Ghennein—Ghennein being

the other hill in the far distance. Near its foot the sand dunes start, going in a straight band not very broad, directly from north to south, always moving slightly in that direction. They are high too, their very rounded shapes often reaching three to four hundred feet. At a small derelict village which had been built by the ambitious company who laid the railway we came to a momentary confusion. One of the camel men beat a reluctant camel, whose load was empty water-cans, and joggled the tins so that they rattled and frightened the others, who stampeded. It was a tiring final trek as we plodded on across a very heavy sandy plain, the sun sinking long before we had sighted the oasis proper, and our light for the rest of the journey was the full moon. At 9.30 we entered the real oasis of Kharga, having had to skirt it for over a mile owing to a system of irrigation which encircled the cultivation, and had very few bridges. We were finally led by a sleepy policeman to the hotel—which was shut—and outside of which we wearily camped. The great nuisance was the mosquitoes. Out in the desert we had not given a thought to the pestilential insects.

Next morning we walked to the Antiquities Rest House, about four miles to the other side of the oasis, on a sandstone hill by the old Christian cemetery of the third, fourth and fifth centuries. Beyond are the ruins of a monastery, for here in A.D. 337 to 361 St. Athanasius, the compiler of that long and dismal Creed, was banished from Alexandria and found refuge. Later Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, the founder of the Nestorian Heresy, was also banished here. The tombs of these early Christians are like small domed houses arranged on either side of broad avenues. Their façades were usually adorned with pilasters and recesses for lamps, and little triangular windows. Built of sun-dried mud brick, they appear to have been coated with a plaster of yellow ochre-coloured mud, this pigment being found in the neighbourhood. Inside a few crude paintings are still to be seen, usually the vine and ears of corn entwined round the little niche altars, typifying the Bread and Wine, while on the ceilings and walls personages of the Old Testament, Noah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Adam and Eve, go happily hand in hand with St. Paul, the Evangelists, and one or two of the Apostles. We saw one attempt to draw the story of the Nativity, but no scenes of the Crucifixion or Resurrection.

After a rest and an early lunch, we took donkeys *minus* bridles or stirrups! and rode to the Temple of Hibis, picturesquely placed in a grove of palms. Built by Darius about 500 B.C., it was added to by succeeding kings until in the time of the Romans the Emperor Galba, in A.D. 69, wrote up a Greek inscription on one of the gateways. The temple is built after the style of all the Egyptian temples but the Persian influence is to be seen in the drawings and

bas-reliefs. The features of the individuals have a different type of countenance and the mythology had either become decadent or taken on new gods, as the usual divinities of Egypt had assumed various and strange attributes, unknown in the earlier Egyptian worship.

We called, of course, with all ceremony on the Mudir or Chief of Police of the province. He was a very courteous Egyptian, interested in the place, and gave us a variety of information about the oasis. After we had taken the ceremonial coffee, he instructed a guide to lead us to the village and to show us the queer underground streets or tunnels on which the houses are built. Tiny shafts of light illuminated them from time to time, but even when accustomed to the gloom we had to walk sometimes several yards in pitch darkness. This type of building has a two-fold merit. If the town is attacked it is easier to close the streets and hide upstairs, or to lure the enemy into a dark tunnel and dispatch him; also in summer time when the thermometer reaches 125 or 130 Fahr. the downstairs rooms of the houses are comparatively cool.

Kharga is famous for its dates, which are sweet and juicy, the groves being watered by ains or wells, one of which we visited. It was more like a pool twenty feet across, the water bubbling up in the middle. The sides are of plastered mud kept in shape by trunks of palms, a fashion started by the Romans who perhaps made them into bathing places. The people were polite and friendly, much cleaner than the dwellers in the Nile valley, and the word "bak-sheesh" was not heard at all. Strange as it may seem, the little town was not unwholesome even in its tunnelled streets as might have been imagined, and there was a curious absence of livestock, hardly any dogs, goats or chickens to be seen. We returned next day by the little toy train which left at 7.30 a.m., and climbed out of the oasis by another long wadi to the desert, across which we puffed at no untoward speed and reached the junction on the main line in the afternoon. Our camels also started back the same morning and were proposing to take five days to go home. It had been a delightful trip, a little hazardous perhaps, as certainly we had had neither the camels nor equipment for the desert, but the mad are holy, being afflicted of Allah, so no doubt we had been specially looked after and taken care of!

C. ALEXANDER.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE FRANC AND ITS HUMOUR.

THE "Correspondence respecting the Position of British Holders of French Rentes issued in the United Kingdom in 1915-1918" has been published as a White Paper (France No. 1, 1931, Cmd. 3779). As often happens in high diplomacy, the worse the matter, the better the reading. This White Paper makes good light reading. To be fully appreciated it must be read in the context of two other events that became known at the same time, namely a certain speech of M. Moret's about the franc, and a certain decision of the Court of Cassation on the claim of French holders of a certain loan that the interest be paid in sterling and not in francs.

Such relief in the normally drab business of studying the affairs of men in their international aspect will be welcomed by impartial people who happen not to be financially interested in French Rentes. The kernel of the three events may be put in this way: (1) the French Government, invited by Mr. Henderson to make reparation to those British subjects who lent it £50,000,000 and are now to be repaid with the sum of about £13,500,000, not only rejected the invitation, but indignantly rejected it; (2) M. Moret, in an apology of the Bank of France, explained the attraction of gold to Paris as the result of a world-wide recognition of what he called the "guarantee" of the franc; (3) the French holders of the City of Tokyo 5 per cent. Loan issued in 1912 in London, New York and Paris, challenged the legality of their being paid the interest in francs, and won their case for payment in sterling.

Those three events, by the convergent light they threw upon the franc, illuminated a comedy such as seldom softens the bitterness of those who study French finance. If M. Moret had not addressed the annual meeting of the Bank of France at that particular moment; if the French bondholders had chosen any other moment to submit their claim: the action of the French Government would have lost much of its pleasantry.

M. Moret's words deserve to be looked at first. The occasion was the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Bank of France held on January 29th. M. Clément Moret, the Governor of the Bank, took the opportunity to defend the Bank's policy in amassing some 53,500,000,000 francs' worth of gold. Much has been written, and much thought, about the apparently unnecessary mischief of a policy which allows and encourages the accumulation of absurd quantities of gold in Paris with the resultant shortage of gold for normal international purposes and the general dislocation of trade and financial machinery.

M. Moret's defence attracted attention on two grounds, one that of the difficulty about monetary gold, two that of the franc as a token of French public faith. That aspect of the matter which concerns the gold problem must be reserved for comment in its proper place. On the other matter M. Moret propounded the remarkable hypothesis that the gold received in Paris during 1930 had not solely been the result of the repatriation of French credits abroad. Part of it at least, he said, resulted from an influx of foreign capital with a view to profiting from the stability and security offered by the franc. That circumstance, he commented, bore witness to the great work of financial reform achieved by France, whose money "was now one of the soundest guarantees of the world."

Be it remarked that he qualified his statement by the adverb "now." The really difficult thing to understand, however, was that the chief officer of one of the chief central banks in the world could take so circumscribed, so ephemeral a view of what constitutes a guarantee, as publicly to express his satisfaction with the "soundness" of a token which there and then, as the very words passed his lips, was devaluated to the extent of 80 per cent. The theory of a guarantee is that it ensures the continuity of value; if sound, the result is that the value of what it guarantees is not less now than it was at the beginning, whether five, ten, twenty or more years ago. In 1927 the franc was in effect declared bankrupt. The creditors were paid the equivalent of 4s. in the £. If a man in private life were to go bankrupt, pay his creditors 4s. in the £ and then say to them: "I guarantee the four bob to be sound; I am one of the soundest guarantees in the world," he would be regarded as a man who added flippancy to injury, who regarded fraud as a joke. Curiously enough the words "joke" and "joker" are common currency in the underworld for "crime" and "crook." While therefore such pleasantries as talk about "the soundest guarantee" on the part of a deliberate bankrupt need not be regarded as untrue to life, the scope of its truth is nomally limited to society which stands at the opposite pole from, say, the men who constitute the board of the Bank of England. One is driven, in one's efforts to explain away the baffling things that sometimes take place in big public matters, to assume that the men who do them cannot see what they do for the very bigness of what they do. The spectacle of the Governor of the Bank of France, within four years of the devaluation of the franc to 20 per cent. of its former value, publicly and without a ripple of apparent self-consciousness claiming the franc as one of the world's "soundest guarantees" is such as to trouble the serenity of simple people. How *can* it be explained?

Less than a fortnight before M. Moret spoke, the Government of the French Republic handed to the British Embassy in Paris its final refusal of the Henderson request that the franc should be helped to fulfil more than 20 per cent. of what on its face it promised to fulfil in 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918. To British readers, however, the greater interest of the full correspondence now published is not the sorry tale it tells of the franc, but the sorrier tale it tells of the guardians of British interests.

In the first place the Rentes were a franc loan, although the subscription was in sterling. The subscription being in sterling, the British Government, the Bank of England, and the City of London should have taken the elementary precaution of stipulating that it be a sterling loan. It was, however, a franc loan, the issue of which had to be approved by the British Government "to the possible detriment of subsequent British War Loans," as a phrase puts it in the first communication recorded in the present White Paper (London to Paris, July 24th, 1930).

In that same letter we read "Although the French Rentes issued in the United Kingdom were admittedly denominated in francs, none the less they were issued by the Bank of England against sterling subscriptions and the money actually received by the Government of the Republic was sterling. This issuing of franc bonds against sterling subscriptions was a most unusual arrangement, and constitutes a clear distinction between the issues made in London and in France." That sentence in itself constitutes an indirect indictment of the British Government of 1915, for it ought to have been that Government's business to safeguard British interests and not to jeopardise them by "a most unusual arrangement."

The subsequent behaviour of the British Government was even more remarkable and even more culpable. After the war the franc depreciated in value. In No. 1 of the White Paper Mr. Henderson refers in these words to a surprising series of transactions: "... the Government of the Republic have on numerous occasions maintained that, as a matter of equity, debts due to them in francs should not be treated as franc liabilities but should be calculated in foreign currencies or in gold on the basis of the rate of exchange ruling when the debts were contracted. This principle was maintained by the Government of the Republic and accepted by His Majesty's Government throughout the settlement of the accounts between the two Governments relating to the war period; and in these accounts the franc claims of the Government of the Republic were regularly treated as convertible into sterling, at the rate of exchange ruling at the time when the services giving rise to the claims were performed. The claims in question in-

volved sums amounting to many millions of pounds. To take one example alone, the claim of the French Railways for transport of British troops during the war period was in April 1925 agreed at 315,400,000 fr. The current rate of exchange during April 1925 was 92.4 fr. to £1, but this claim for 315,400,000 fr. was converted at 27 fr. to £1 and was thus treated as equivalent to £11,670,000 instead of £3,413,000, giving an advantage of £8¼ million to the Government of the Republic."

Now why? If in April 1925 Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Churchill were so completely lacking in a sense of their responsibility to the citizens of Great Britain as to present the French Government with a virtual gift of British cash in conformity with a certain principle, without even engaging the French Government to adopt the like principle in the converse case, one may indeed criticise the French Government for taking advantage of an easy prey, but the permanent wonder of the traditional British rôle of dupe in these matters is not thereby affected.

The British Note of July 24th, 1930 ended with an appeal that "the Government of the Republic may take an early opportunity to grant an equitable measure of compensation to the holders of these Rentes, whose unfortunate position is due solely to their desire to help the Government of the Republic during the war." The French answer (October 28th, 1930) was a long but simple "No!" ending with as flippant a jest as probably is contained in any State paper of any country, not excluding Russia, on the subject of money: "France is, moreover, fully conscious of having utilised exclusively in the common interest of the Allied Powers all the resources which were placed at her disposal during the war, while His Majesty's Government, on their side, are aware that since 1926 every effort has been made to raise the value of the French Rentes and that the British bondholders have shared in this rise in value in exactly the same measure as the French bondholders."

The third document of the White Paper gives the text of a second Note sent from London to Paris, dated December 24th, 1930, in which the British Government was stung into suggesting that the matter be referred to arbitration. The 1915 Rentes fell to be repaid in January 1931. "His Majesty's Government readily accepted the desire of the Government of the Republic that the procedure to be followed in setting off the credits due to France in the War Debts accounts should be based on considerations of equity rather than on those of strict law. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the Government of the Republic, having benefited by the application of equitable considerations in this and other transactions when it operated in their favour, would not

hesitate to deal in the same spirit with the British holders of the French Rentes issued in London; and it is thus with keen regret that His Majesty's Government note that the Government of the Republic decline to grant any compensation in respect of these claims." (Paragraph 2.) "... His Majesty's Government desire to urge, for the most serious consideration of the Government of the Republic, that the correspondence which has passed on the subject should be referred, by agreement, to an arbitrator of high international standing, who should be asked to decide the equitable and just basis upon which, having regard to all circumstances affecting the case and to international custom in such cases, the payment of interest on and repayment of capital of the French Rentes issued in the United Kingdom in the years 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918 should have been and should be made." (Paragraph 3.)

That suggestion was rejected, as most people would have foretold; but the letter, dated January 17th, 1931, in which the refusal was expressed, contained two delicious passages. The first appeared in paragraph 4 of the Note: "The arbitration proposed would result in entrusting to an arbitrator the task of judging the financial policy of France and, if necessary, of introducing alterations therein for reasons of equity. Now the determination both of the financial policy of a State, so long as that policy is not disputed on grounds of law, and of any measures of equity which it may be considered proper to take in connection with that policy, is entirely a matter for the State in question, i.e., in the present case, for France." National pride sometimes produces unexpected perversities. In this case it was France's pride that if retribution be made, it must be made spontaneously by France, not as a result of arbitration; and on the other hand, she had no intention of making retribution.

The second passage deserves a little closer study. It appeared in paragraph 7 of the Note and ran thus: "The Government of the Republic need not repeat that they regret the losses suffered by those of the British bondholders who were original subscribers to the French loans and had no idea of speculation. They feel themselves, however, in no way responsible for these losses. The state of affairs, from which the French bondholders suffer as well as the British bondholders, is due to general causes, before which the whole French Nation, much against its will, has had finally to bow."

If the full footnotes to that paragraph were to be written, they would recall what is perhaps the most relevant of all the facts about the post-war French policy of repudiation. It was in 1927 that M. Poincaré put the franc into bankruptcy, and thereby formally threw over 80 per cent. of the franc's liability. If France

at that time had been in the position of a private individual, she would not have been allowed to do anything of the kind. Her assets were such that she could have met, not 20 per cent., but 100 per cent. of her liabilities. But in international affairs there is no law. A nation acts as it chooses and is its own judge and jury. The only justification in the minds of ordinary people for the bankruptcy declared by M. Poincaré in 1927 would have been a genuine impoverishment of France resulting from the Great War. Not only, however, was France not impoverished; she was enriched by the Great War. At that time she was the second richest nation in the world after the United States. As long ago as 1924, that is in the year before M. Caillaux pleaded *in forma pauperis* before the melting heart of Mr. Winston Churchill for a remission of the bulk of the French Government debt to Great Britain, it was established on no less an authority than the Finance Minister of France that the Republic flourished. In November 1924, when the Morgan loan of 100,000,000 dollars was raised for France in New York, M. Clémentel, the French Finance Minister, wrote part of the prospectus, pleading the security of the loan by reason precisely of the flourishing financial and economic state of France. He showed that the excess of expenditure over revenue had been reduced from 23,759,000,000 francs in 1919 to 4,183,000,000 francs in 1924.

M. Clémentel went further. "France has turned" (he wrote) "to the intensive development of her foreign trade. This effort has been most successful. . . . The recent development of France's export trade is in large measure due to the return to productivity of the great industrial centres devastated during the war. For example, the average monthly production of coal, exclusive to Alsace-Lorraine, which in 1919 had declined to 48.5 per cent. of the 1913 production, has reached during the first nine months of the current year 96 per cent. of the 1913 monthly average. The output of iron ore, excluding the important production of Alsace-Lorraine, has more than doubled since the conclusion of peace. Similar progress has been made in the finished textile and chemical industries." As for the devastated regions, "of the area rendered unfit for cultivation as a result of war damage, which at the time of the Armistice covered 8,150,000 acres, all but 815,000 acres had been restored to productivity." "Great progress," ended M. Clémentel, "has been made in reconstruction, industrial productivity and foreign trade."

Lest it be thought that M. Clémentel was painting too gay a picture in his anxiety to impress potential subscribers to the New York loan, he went on to repeat the performance at home, where the temptations of mixed motives could not assail him. He wrote

a signed article in *L'Europe Nouvelle* of December 6th, 1924, in which he displayed the economic strength of France by revealing that in 1924 French exports exceeded imports by the substantial estimated figure of 3,000,000,000 francs. His words were: "La situation économique générale justifie, en effet, tous les espoirs. Je ne veux, en ce moment, citer pour exemple que la balance commerciale: déficitaire jusqu'en 1923, elle présente pour 1924 un excédent d'exportations que l'on peut évaluer, sur la base du premier semestre de 1924, à près de 3 milliards de francs." By contrast, British exports during the first eleven months of 1924 fell below the level of her imports by nearly £300,000,000. M. Clémentel left nothing unsaid: "D'autre part (he continued) la réconstitution des régions libérées est presque complètement achevée: les usines sont en pleine activité, les maisons sont presque toutes reconstruites, et les voies ferrées se retrouvent dans le même état qu'avant la guerre."

The ground on which the French bondholders of the City of Tokyo Loan challenged the legality of being paid in their own devaluated currency, as above recorded, was that the loan, when issued in 1912 in London, New York and Paris, had been expressed in terms of sterling, and that therefore the interest and capital could be claimed in sterling. Could there be a more ironic or more domestic answer to the Moret thesis?

The dates of these three conflicting events fell within one fortnight: (1) January 14th (the French bondholders' rejection of the franc as a "guarantee" in the Moret sense and their demand for sterling instead): (2) January 17th (the French Government's lack of concern that those British bondholders who trusted the franc had lost 80 per cent. of their money) and (3) January 29th (M. Moret's serene belief in a world-wide and unshaken confidence in the guarantee afforded by the franc).

The great qualities of the French people, in medicine, in art, in the ability to enjoy life, are a source of world-wide gratitude to France. It often happens that individuals and nations are not even conscious of the things they are good at, and take an absurd pride in the things they are not good at. Diplomacy and finance are notoriously the most unattractive aspects of French ability; yet the average Frenchman no more understands why it is so than the average Englishman understands why his ingrained Puritanism makes of him a moral hypocrite.

GOOD WORK AT GENEVA.

The sixty-second session of the League Council, which took place at Geneva from January 19th to 24th, did unexpectedly good

work. The business before it was more than unusually controversial, even unpleasant. There were those in several countries who saw in it a possible test of the general faith in the future of the League itself. In particular it was a commonplace of German comment, propounded in advance of the event, that Dr. Curtius would probably return from Geneva to resign, that the Stresemann policy would be finally discredited in Germany, that Germany would leave the League and would be caught on the rebound by something like a Nazi mentality.

None of those things happened. Instead, a conspicuously wise treatment both of the disarmament controversy and that of the Polish minorities sent back Dr. Curtius to a Germany agreeably surprised by what had taken place, and sent back Mr. Zaleski to Warsaw convinced that Poland, although clearly the object of Geneva's disapproval, could still make amends without being submitted to any form of apparent coercion.

Something may be gained from an examination of the precise process by which the Council contrived to do the right thing, firmly but tactfully, and at the same time to avoid exciting resentment on the one side or failing fully to satisfy the other.

The more important of the two main subjects before the Council was that of disarmament. The initial atmosphere was bad, partly because of the quarrelling that had marred the meetings of the Preparatory Commission in the autumn, partly because certain of the Powers represented on the Council had reached tentative and private decisions on controversial points beforehand. The unfortunate thing was that a division of opinion had openly established itself between Germany on the one side and a vague combination of the "Allied" Powers on the other. In the Preparatory Commission on December 1st, 1930, Count Bernstorff had proposed the convening of the disarmament conference for November 5th, 1931. His proposal was defeated, and the decision was reserved for the Council at its January meeting. It became known on January 3rd, 1931, that certain of the "Allied" Powers, including France and Great Britain, had exchanged views and had decided to vote for March 1st, 1932 as the date of the conference. That news had a provocative effect, as it was bound to have, in Berlin. The German organs of opinion, official and unofficial, at once inspired the expectation that Dr. Curtius would uncompromisingly oppose such a date, it being the German contention that if the "Allied" Powers sincerely wanted disarmament, there could be no purpose in postponing the conference till next year. We were therefore presented with the curious probability of a first-rate controversy about the difference of a few months in the date of an important conference, without relevance to the substance of the conference itself.

That was silly. But it was not all. The said Powers took the same occasion to agree, privately and between themselves alone, that the best chairman for the conference would be Dr. Benesh. Now nobody in any country would dispute the soundness, and even the excellence, of such a choice on the merits of Dr. Benesh himself. He shares with M. Briand the distinction of having been in office almost continually since the war. His knowledge of post-war diplomatic problems and his experience of them at first hand is unequalled among contemporary statesmen. His enthusiasm for the cause of disarmament and for the League of Nations as a means thereto is well known and universally convincing. It was therefore unfortunate that the news should be made public, before the Council met, that the leading Geneva Powers outside of Germany had hit on him as the best man for the job. German opinion, being already inflamed, was in a mood to oppose anything that was suggested by the "Allied" Powers for no other reason than that it was suggested by them. It therefore caused little surprise in the first week of January to learn that Dr. Curtius would oppose the appointment of Dr. Benesh to the chair, not because (as the German spokesmen were careful to explain) he was personally unfitted, or personally distasteful to German opinion, but because in the prevailing conditions a "neutral" chairman, one not associated with either of the "camps," would be likely to exert a more sedative effect on German opinion.

When the Council met, therefore, on January 19th, nerves were raw and blood was hot. The success achieved by the Council in face of such initial ill-omens was one of the best things that has happened at Geneva. The method of shock-absorption that was adopted proved to be wholly effective. On the second day of the session (January 20th) the various chief delegates made long speeches on the moral case for disarmament and on the particular devotion to it of the governments they represented. The practical aspect of the matter was then adjourned for treatment till the last day of the session (January 24th). From that method it resulted (1) that for three days, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of the week, the world had resounded with the expressed good intentions and high motives of Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, etc., and (2) that in the exalted atmosphere thus diffused it became a practical impossibility for the representatives of those nations to confine themselves to a nonsensical squabble about whether the conference should take place on this date or on that.

The first act on January 20th was that Señor Quinones de León submitted to the Council a report of the Preparatory Commission's

work. Mr. Henderson, President of the session, then made a really good general speech on the importance and necessity of the League's living up to its own purpose. "Disarmament," he said, "by collective agreement is the most important question in present-day international politics, and the acid test of a nation's loyalty to the ideals, aims and purposes of the League of Nations." He referred to world-wide "unemployment, poverty, distress, political unrest" as a contributory element in the world's need of disarmament; and welcomed as an essential condition of success the collaboration of the United States of America, Soviet Russia, Turkey and other non-Members. He frankly recognised that the existing nervousness and talk of future wars was itself a danger to the peace and an implied doubt in the efficacy of the League of Nations. "What I want to ask," he said, "is this: In how great a measure is this anxiety, this fear, this unrest, the result of the armaments that now exist? How far is it the result of the uncertainty as to whether war can be prevented by the League of Nations?" Mr. Henderson shares with M. Briand a gift for generalising about peace and disarmament without giving a mere effect of platitude such as soothes but does not deeply impress his audience. His effect was impressive and realistic. Before he sat down he urged the case not merely for the limitation, but for the reduction, of armaments. He was followed by Dr. Curtius, who contrived to refrain from a too discordant note, and even to scale some part of what may perhaps be called the Henderson heights without shirking his clear duty of warning the Council that Germany expected Geneva to do its duty. "The Council is aware," he said, "of German opinion regarding the Draft Convention. Since the creation of the Preparatory Commission, we have been forced to realise each year more clearly that the path followed by the Preparatory Commission was leading it farther and farther away from its original aim. We have given continual warnings and we have reminded you in what real disarmament must consist. Nevertheless, in spite of the objections raised by us, the essential factors of any real *land* disarmament have been eliminated one after the other from the Draft Convention. The scheme for disarmament prepared by the Commission represents, at most, the stabilisation of the existing armaments and would even permit of an increase in those armaments. That is why the German representative, acting on the instructions of his Government, was obliged, in the spring of 1929, to dissociate himself from the majority of the Commission. But even this clear warning was not heeded by the Commission. The latter even went so far in the end as to place in the draft, which in itself is entirely inadequate, a new confirmation of the disarmament imposed upon Germany by the treaties. It was

therefore quite natural that Germany could not accept the results of the Preparatory Commission's work.

"The Disarmament Conference can only achieve acceptable results if, before the figures are entered, it thoroughly revises the methods proposed. It should, moreover, be guided by the fundamental principle of the League of Nations—that is to say, the equality of all its Members—and should not set security against insecurity and threats against powerlessness. My predecessor has already said this. In 1928 Herr Hermann Müller, the German Chancellor, used similar words at Geneva. The German Government has on many occasions endorsed that principle, and again in its memorandum submitted last summer with regard to the question of the European Union. Not more than six weeks ago Count Bernstorff, speaking in this very room, again demanded for Germany equality as regards security. I entirely approve of his remarks and wish to emphasise them. If the League of Nations abandoned this principle, it would not be carrying out its mission, which is to ensure by means of disarmament security for all its Members; it would be failing in its mission of peace; it would endanger its own existence and lose its *raison d'être*. If, however, the League fulfils its obligations in the matter of disarmament, Germany will be the first to approve. No nation can be more sincerely desirous of securing true disarmament than the German nation." He did not refer to the question of the conference date except to "hope it would meet at any early date."

Signor Grandi contributed another of those statesmanlike appeals of his which during the past twelve months have made of Italian foreign policy a strong factor in the cause of disarmament. In particular he repeated the thesis already argued by the Italian delegate at the last Assembly that "security" in the Continental sense must follow, not precede, disarmament on land. There has been no more nonsensical or mischievous conception in post-war Europe than that the nervous nations must first arm themselves into "security" before being able to talk disarmament. That conception, difficult as it is for non-Continental minds to understand, still inspires the foreign policy of one great Continental Power. "Security," said Signor Grandi, "is a factor which must be taken into account in determining the degree of disarmament, but it is not a preliminary condition. It is the conversion of this factor into a preliminary condition that caused the uncertainties and vacillations which occurred with regard to the principles and methods by which we should be guided in seeking the solution of these problems."

On the question of the date of the conference he was less restrained than Dr. Curtius. In a rhetorical passage he tilted at

the absurdity of the Council's finding any difficulty in fixing the date for a disarmament conference at a time when "Europe is struggling in the throes of the problems resulting from the economic upheaval caused by the war, while budgets are overburdened with huge debts and extraordinary taxes to meet war losses and reparations, while the economic crisis means millions of unemployed on the street every day."

M. Briand's speech was longer than Mr. Henderson's, a fact that no doubt resulted from his transparent purpose of not saying anything that meant much. He said it with the grace and correctitude of manner that one always expects from such lips; he conveyed in the most general way and on the heights, as it were, the general desire of France for a reduction of armaments and her confidence in success: but his words left behind them an empty feeling and a certain sense of something unfulfilled. He even at one point allowed himself, indirectly and glancingly it is true, to dissociate himself from the Grandi argument above alluded to. "Personally," he said, "in considering disarmament, I am much less concerned with the number of soldiers, guns, rifles or any other instruments of death that any one nation may possess than with the determination of the country in question to use, or refrain from using, what it possesses." That is dangerous doctrine. No disarmament of the nations will ever result from so weak a form of self-deception. To be prepared for war is the surest guarantee, not of peace, but of war. M. Briand had to speak to two publics, his Geneva public and his Paris public; but Dr. Curtius had been in the like dilemma. It was an unnecessary sop that M. Briand threw to his distant audience, and for that reason his speech will not rank among his best.

Mr. Yoshizawa gave the usual firm, convincing and solid help that Japan always gives to the cause of disarmament; and Mr. Zaleski did some good by announcing that Poland had signed the Optional Clause.

It was the sitting of January 20th that decided the quality of the week's work. Its tone was so good, in spite of one or two doubtful episodes, that when on January 24th the Council met to draw up its practical resolutions, it found itself unhampered by any lingering bitterness. The question of the chairmanship had unfortunately to be left open, because five out of the fourteen Council votes were cast against Dr. Benesh. It is clearly desirable that the Chairman be unanimously chosen. There was some talk at Geneva of inviting a citizen of the United States to preside over the conference: an arrangement which would tend to increase American interest in the work. The immediate reaction in Washington to that suggestion was unfavourable. Both the suggestion

and the reaction, however, were tentative and unofficial. It had already been decided (January 23rd) that the disarmament conference be convened on the first Tuesday of February 1932 following the January meeting of the Council. That will be February 2nd, 1932. The date after all had caused no difficulty, prestige and faces being saved all round by a simple compromise. It was decided that the conference be held in Geneva if adequate accommodation for the many delegations and staffs can be arranged in that town.

The largest subject before the Council, if measured by the length of time devoted to it, was that of the Polish treatment of the German minority in Upper Silesia, Poznan and Pomerania during the November elections. On the general nature of the facts there was never much doubt or misunderstanding. There were certain flagrant cases which were either proved by subsequent judicial proceedings or established by other good evidence: the case of Hohenbirken, where the whole German population was subjected to systematic terrorisation; of Golassowitz where the like thing took place; and individual cases such as the kidnapping and beating of the sixty-year-old farmer named Greizke in Ober-Wilcza, and the maiming of the journalist Hunolde in Sorau. Such typical cases, proved and documented, suggested that the full dossier of allegations was substantially founded.

Minority atrocity, over and above its immediate wrongs and injuries, is a dangerous form of political stupidity. It is one of the commonest sources of European ill-feeling from which past wars have resulted. One of the compensations that life holds for the British people, condemned as they are to groan under a traditional type of government which offers itself an easy financial dupe to Continental guile, is that at any rate they are spared the sort of nationalist ferocity that turns parts of Europe and of the Near East into a human jungle. In Eastern Upper Silesia innocent Germans, men and women, were subjected by Polish bands to the sort of physical treatment they might expect if they suddenly found themselves at the mercy of a gang of leopard cats in the north of Siam. Why? Because they were Germans, and not Poles. It is the sort of reason that would be enough for the Queen of Hearts in Wonderland to cut off any number of heads; but in real life, as a form of electoral excitement, it is an odd extravagance.

On January 21st Dr. Curtius stated his case to the Council with some bitterness and at great length. He stressed the point that the atrocities had been committed by or with the connivance of officials and of the police, and drew particular attention to the terrorist activities of the semi-military Polish organisation known as the Union of Insurgents. That is a body of ex-Service men, founded in

Silesia with the general object of saving Poland from dangers unspecified, but originating from the particular danger that was imagined to descend upon Poland when the 1921 plébiscite in Upper Silesia went against her. Mr. Zaleski, in his first answer to Dr. Curtius, admitted that the union was composed of men "certainly ardent, perhaps even too ardent" and that "in many cases they may have been mixed up in disturbances." It is not an easy thing for the Polish Government to defend the Union of Insurgents when speaking at Geneva. In August 1928 that Government defined the objects of those "ardent" men as "humanitarian work and cultural and social activities." They engage in military training, hold manœuvres, wear uniform. After the elections of November last they were ordered to return their arms to the communal authorities, presumably because their humanitarian, cultural and social activities were finished for the moment.

Dr. Curtius demanded that the Council take action to fulfil its obligations towards the minorities. Mr. Zaleski in the course of a long address, in which, as had been expected, he tried to represent the Polish "incidents" as reprisals against an alleged maltreatment of Poles in Germany, admitted that the incidents did take place, and that they "were to be both regretted and condemned."

The real interest of what took place at Geneva lay in the successful deflating of opposing emotions. On the one side German opinion had been a little cynically expecting the Council to shelve or shirk the issue; on the other Polish official opinion, directed by the gaunt and difficult mind of Marshal Pilsudski, had degenerated into such a condition of muddle that it hardly recognised the difference between black and white. Some of the black, however, was so black that it had been recognised in its native haunts in Upper Silesia, and corrective measures had been taken in advance of the Council meeting. Mr. Zaleski therefore, when he had an opportunity of gauging the strength of feeling at Geneva, was fortunately able to emphasise, with perhaps some forgivable exaggeration, the remedial measures that had been taken. "The Polish Government," he said, "will use every means to bring about peace and tranquillity in Upper Silesia. It has acted with severity, and will continue to do so relentlessly, against all the instigators of disorder, whatever their origin."

The discussion took the whole of January 21st, the two protagonists speaking in turn. The important result was Mr. Zaleski's statement that he "did not deny that there had been riots at the elections in Upper Silesia" and his promise "that the guilty had been, or would be, punished," and "that losses would be made good."

That admission and that promise gave the key to the report drawn up by Mr. Yoshizawa and submitted to the Council on the afternoon of the last day (January 24th). The report, which was adopted by the Council, first established that Articles 75 and 83 of the Convention on Upper Silesia had been infringed by Poland, and then submitted that the Council's action should consist in noting the Zaleski promise above alluded to and in requesting to be informed by Warsaw before the next meeting of the Council of the full results of the Polish investigations, the penalties imposed and the indemnities given. Germany was satisfied, and Poland saved from a too obvious humiliation by being given the opportunity of herself prescribing the necessary redress.

A ready method of measuring the improved tone in Europe that resulted from the Geneva successes was to observe the difference they made to Nazi prestige in Germany. On February 7th they combined with the Communists in the Reichstag to bring down the Brüning Ministry. They were heavily outvoted. Three days later the Government turned the discomfiture of the Nazi into a rout by carrying a still greater majority with them in certain legislation designed to embarrass the Nazi. Thereupon the Nazis trooped from the Reichstag in a body, uttering the stingless threat that they would not return. It was only four months earlier that they had trooped spectacularly into the Reichstag exuberantly confident that they could sweep everything before them.

A BETTER NEAR EAST.

The existing European background of recurrent malaise and the world-wide background of economic and financial depression makes doubly satisfactory a remarkable achievement that has changed the diplomatic relationship of the Balkan and Near Eastern countries from bad to good. The initiative in what has been done came from Mr. Veniselos, who has a developed capacity for concentrating on his object of the moment with an artistic disregard of everything else. In this case he was enabled to achieve success by the equally determined co-operation of Ismet Pasha, whose statesmanship has become one of the abiding assets of the Near Eastern peoples. The result is that whereas the Near East has in the past been a traditional storm centre in which European troubles originated, it now promises to become something more peaceful and more settled. The culminating achievement of a Greco-Turkish understanding was completed on October 30th, when Mr. Veniselos visited Angora to sign a treaty of friendship, a convention for the stabilisation of the Greek and Turkish fleets, a trade agreement, and subsidiary agreements such as together

seem likely to inaugurate a new phase of Near Eastern relationships. The popular enthusiasm excited in Athens and in Angora certainly symbolised something new in the spirit of the Near East.

The present consummation is the result of two years' work. It was in the summer of 1928 that Mr. Veniselos, on again becoming Prime Minister of Greece, began the elaborate diplomatic process which has now fructified. He visited Rome, Paris, London and Belgrade to explain that his object was not a Balkan alliance (for an alliance is directed against other parties), but a free, friendly union of the Balkan and Near Eastern States. At the same time he began preliminary negotiations with Italy, Jugoslavia, Roumania, Turkey and Bulgaria, it being his policy not to advertise the progress of those negotiations until success in each case was assured; in which event he visited the capital concerned merely to sign the instrument that had been created. In that way treaties of friendship were concluded without much difficulty with each of those countries, except Turkey and Bulgaria. Turkey was clearly the key-case. It has taken two years in this case to accomplish the work, but the result is potentially of profound importance for the peace of the world. It remains for parallel treaties to be made between Greece and Bulgaria and Greece and Albania, but the work in those two instances should be made easier by the pivotal success in the case of Turkey.

It is true that the Greco-Bulgarian problem needs all the easing it can be given. At the January meeting of the League Council Mr. Henderson, on Bulgaria's request, offered his mediatory offices to the two countries. He urged that the outstanding issues be submitted to arbitration, as Greece wanted them to be; but up to the time of writing Bulgaria had not consented.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

February 15th, 1931.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE NATURE OF TRAGEDY.*

Miss Lily Campbell's work on Tragedy, as principally illustrated by what she calls "Mirrors of Passion" in the shape of Shakespeare's great tragedies, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear* and *Macbeth*, is of importance since her keen analysis of the whole problem of tragedy, of the moral philosophy current in Shakespeare's day, her chapters on the "Mirrors of Passion," and the support she derives from contemporary authority, open a new outlook on the most disputable subject in literature. Miss Campbell regards *Hamlet* as a Tragedy of Grief, *Othello* as a Tragedy of Jealousy, *King Lear* as a Tragedy of Wrath in Old Age, and *Macbeth* as a Study in (not merely of) Fear. Each of these great plays undoubtedly represents, as well, other elements in the theory of Tragedy. There is the relation of humour to tragedy, the relation of unresisting innocence to tragedy, the relation of madness to tragedy, and lastly the relation of God to tragedy. No definition of tragedy is really complete when we limit it to the classical and mediæval conception "the harm of hem that stoode in heigh degree." The tragedy operates in the slum as terribly as in kings' palaces. That some of the Elizabethans knew well.

* *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion.* By Lily B. Campbell. Cambridge: at the University Press. 16s. net.

Miss Campbell opens her series of essays with the statement that the problem of tragedy has always been the problem of evil in the world. The presentation of the evil that befalls men is but one of the concerns of tragedy; the other and the more important is the explanation of the why of the evil so presented. Thus it is that tragedy and philosophy, tragedy and religion, must always have much in common.

But is this altogether true? It is, of course, true that philosophy and religion are essentially related to the theory and the facts of tragedy. Yet tragedy is not necessarily the fruit of evil, though there is much in the Greek and the Norse or Anglo-Saxon tradition which supports that view: the eternal conflict of Good and Evil. But a tragedy may happen, and in the present writer's opinion most often happens, from the conflict of two Goods. A man or woman is on the verge of a great scientific discovery. In the course of the experiments he or she has an accident which means inevitable death in the course of a few days after intolerable suffering. Indomitable will-power keeps the discoverer at work with a mind perfectly clear. Death would be a good thing for the worker, the Discovery would be a better thing for the world. Hope keeps him alive, and then a second accident happens and all his papers and records are burnt before his eyes and he falls dead. That is a tragedy. There is no touch of evil in the whole transaction. Death is not an evil, and his whole work was good. It looks as if an extra-mundane power had intervened. But that is not an evil. The conflict of good with good, the choice of paths both of which are good, are the most frequent causes of Tragedy. Tragedy seems essentially the incapacity of man to solve the equation of his life and of related lives when they are in the full current of affairs.

The punishment of sin by God or man seems an inevitable thing and is not a tragedy in itself. "That sin brings inevitably its own punishment to the heart and conscience of the sinner" is, as Miss Campbell says, the view of Shakespeare, and that fact in certain cases must contribute to tragedy. But the tragedy of Lady Macbeth is that she, essentially good and noble in her earlier life, tried to solve the problem of the advancement of her husband in a way strewn with sin. She could not see the way to solve the equations of their lives without committing sin, and it is the contrast of what she might have been with what she became through ignorance that constitutes the real tragedy of the play. The play centres about Lady Macbeth and not round her stupid husband. The inability to solve his problem made her tragedy. What is the tragedy implicit in the play of *Hamlet*? Miss Campbell uses deftly and well the material available in Shakespeare's

day on such subjects as diseases of the soul and the seeing of spirits.

The moral philosophy of the Renaissance was thus built upon a definite and detailed physiological explanation, and no modern psychologist has more strenuously insisted upon the fundamental relationship between body and mind or body and soul than did these writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century in England. That to a great extent this moral philosophy came to centre about the struggle between the sensitive appetite and the reason meant that to the moral philosopher as well as to the physician the abnormal or diseased conditions of mind and body, where the connection of mind and body was most apparent, were of absorbing interest.

That is specially true of the psychological studies in *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and *King Lear*. The witches in *Macbeth*, the abnormal condition to which the weak personality of Macbeth sinks, the sleeping-walking which the powerful personality of Lady Macbeth could not resist, are the price that sin demands, but they are the outward symbols of the inward tragedy, the incapacity of the man and the woman to adjust their lives to the path of greatness without the aid of crime. In the case of *Hamlet* Miss Campbell regards the whole movement of the play as a tragedy of grief. That it certainly is, and abnormal conditions again, in the case of Hamlet himself, are necessary to reveal the causes of the grief. But it is more than this. The true tragedy is the effect of sin upon innocent people who only ask to be allowed to love and yet in the wide circuit of sin are drawn into its ambit. The misery of Ophelia seems to be the real tragedy of the play. She did no ill. She could not ward off the inevitableness of sin and its reward. Perfectly good, the shadow of sin nevertheless covers her and she flees to the protection that Death and the Hereafter might give her. She loved and therefore she died. The greatest tragedy that life reveals, the tragedy of Christ upon the Cross, is, on the vastest scale, the tragedy of Ophelia. Christ loved the whole world and therefore Christ died. But we see in this case the solution of the tragedy, while the tragedies of the humble folk of life seem unsolved. The strongest argument for personal immortality is that in this immortality is the only solvent of tragedy, the perpetual tragedy of life.

Miss Campbell, of course, reflects the common view that *Othello* is a tragedy of jealousy. It is true enough, but there is something more than jealousy in this dreadful play. Here, and here only, does Shakespeare depict an absolutely wicked man, Iago. The greater tragedy in the play is the co-existence of good, noble, sensible people and a man so desperately wicked that his life seems an insult to the Creator. How could a good God suffer the existence

of a creature of infinite badness, a badness that infects like a fell disease everybody except Desdemona? That, and not jealousy, is the ultimate tragedy, and for its solution we must go into the purposes of God further than we have gone yet. Goodness and Badness in *Othello* are boldly faced, and Badness apparently conquers. *Deus ex machina* may provide a solution; education may provide a solution; the innate existence of law in society may provide a solution. The solution must be provided, yet we, more than three centuries after Shakespeare's death, have not provided it. The Pope, in Browning's *Ring and the Book*, faced the same problem of a man utterly evil and saw the only hope in committing the criminal, without delay, to the educative force of God. Probably this is the solution in a special case, but education and the application of the principles of law reduce year by year the chance of men like Iago being brought into the world. However that may be, Miss Campbell gives the opportunity for a further study of tragedy, and in giving it provides fields of thought that freshly illustrate her theme that drama is a teaching force.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

THE FUTURE OF THE SCHOOLS.*

The classification of English schools, at any rate of those which are directly or indirectly under Government control, and the allied problems of pædagogy and the supply of teachers, seem at last to be entering a scientific or, at any rate, common-sense stage. It is not too soon when we consider the fact that after all the efforts of a hundred years it is really questionable whether the pick of the young men available resort to the universities of England. At one great university, outside the still-charmed circle of Oxford and Cambridge, some considerable alarm is felt at the opinion expressed by competent authorities that the standard of men passing into, at any rate, one great profession has become definitely lower since the war. It is certain that the Bar, to take another profession, no longer attracts the pick of Oxford and Cambridge graduates. The great men who were "called" in the sixties and seventies of the last century have been followed by a slowly dwindling stream of genius. This might be explicable to some extent by the emergence of new careers of a more attractive kind, but not wholly explicable. The Church has certainly suffered the same kind of eclipse, though the standard of religious faith has as certainly gone up. The fighting services and the Indian Civil Service have hitherto relied to a great

* Board of Education: Report of the Consultative Committee on the Primary School. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s. 6d. net.

extent for recruitment on an hereditary tradition, but this tendency is dying down, while the Home Civil Service is attracting men of considerable ability of a new class whose Sign on the Sky is Safety First. The percentage of pupils of first-rate ability who emerge from the secondary schools is probably not greater in number than those who emerged from the old grammar schools, despite the fact that there are almost 400,000 pupils in secondary schools on the grant list, practically one per thousand of the total population of England and Wales.

The much-abused nineteenth century in England and Scotland and Ireland produced scientific thinkers, jurists, scholars and poets of rare genius in great numbers, despite the disorganised state of British education, and these phenomena could be observed at any rate as far back as 1750. Many of the greatest thinkers and scholars (including famous divines) sprang from the very class that is now filling the secondary schools under circumstances of great comfort and apparent opportunity. The village schoolmaster, passing rich on forty pounds a year, sent out of his village lads who were to become Proconsuls and Archbishops, while the schoolteacher of to-day, passing poor under the Burnham scale, very rarely produces a great man or woman out of the 400,000 pupils there are to choose from. It is impossible to believe that the standard of intellectual life has sunk to such a grievous level. There must be something wrong with the administration and classification of schools and with the teaching.

So obvious were these deplorable facts to those who knew the history of English education during the last two centuries that even the Board of Education, though burdened like Martha with much serving of statistical tables, was moved. There is always a tradition of great men—men such as Mr. Matthew Arnold, Sir Joshua Fitch, Sir Robert Morant, Sir Michael Sadler—with which the Board of Education is blessed, and fortunately at present there are men such as Sir Henry Hadow and Sir George Newman who combine immense knowledge with a sense of the needs of the time. The Consultative Committee of the Board is, moreover, a very strong body, and it has at its call, so to speak, local Directors of Education of the first ability and specialists such as Sir Percy Nunn and Professor Burt who can give advice on intricate questions of pædagogy and psychology. In 1926 the Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Hadow produced on the Education of the Adolescent a Report that frightened out of their wits Parliamentary amateurs of the highest rank. The Hadow Report (as it is called out of respect for the language spoken by our kinsmen in North America) boldly proclaimed that all was wrong with secondary education as conceived and brought forth by the State;

that there is a tide in the affairs of children which reaches a certain mark at the age of eleven or thereabouts (the official phrase is *eleven plus*); that on reaching that age the children should be transferred from the primary schools to junior secondary schools; that they should remain there until the age of fifteen (*fifteen plus*), and then they should be dispersed according to ascertained ability to further secondary education or to various fields of apprenticeship. The wise local directors of education took up the scheme (though it had no statutory sanction) and at present the necessary reclassification of schools is approaching completion. The Church of England, acting under the wise advice of the late and the present Archbishops of Canterbury, fell in with the scheme and acquired new educational merit as well as the friendship of the local education authorities. Whatever Parliament may say there is no going back on the Hadow scheme.

But Sir Henry Hadow and his friends were not content, since they were impressed with the undoubted fact that the future of the Secondary School turns on the future of the Primary School and the Infant School and these are often, most often, in a parlous state. In consequence the Consultative Committee began in 1928, under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Hadow, to deal with the question of the Primary School, their task being to report "as to the courses of study suitable for children (other than children in infants' Departments) up to the age of eleven in Elementary Schools with especial reference to the needs of children in rural areas." The compilation of the Report took two full years of earnest work, the field of the Primary School being surveyed from every possible angle for the first time in the history of education. The conclusion of the whole matter must have disappointed the cranks who abound in that region of education. The Report declares, "what a wise and good parent would desire for his own children, that a nation must desire for all children." That is in many respects what the children, and especially the urban children, do not obtain. The great labours of Sir George Newman, on behalf of both the Ministry of Health and the Board of Education, are beginning to bring physical health into all schools and that is what a wise and good parent would wish for his own children. But there is still a great amount of ill-health in the schools and it is very probably to be traced to conditions obtaining in the homes and in the infants' schools. The task of reporting upon the education of children in the lower stage of primary education up to the age of seven *plus* is about to be undertaken by the Consultative Committee, and some rather startling results must be expected from this further investigation, since the present Report insists that the foundation for the curriculum in the primary school must be laid in the infant school.

But assuming that the health problem in the school is conquered by the school medical officers and the parents working in conjunction, the purely educational aspect of things in the primary school is open to deadly attack. The main idea of a national educational system is continuity from the infant school to the university stage or to the apprenticeship stage and to combine continuity with thoroughness of teaching in every stage. There are definite stages: from entrance to the school to the age of seven *plus*, from seven to eleven *plus*, from eleven to fifteen *plus*, from fifteen to effective entrance into professional, industrial or commercial life. The Report enunciates these divisions and declares that:

If the successful development of secondary education depends on treating the years after eleven as a definite phase in child-life, with distinctive educational requirements and with problems of its own, the necessity for a similar realisation of the special province and role of primary education is not less imperative. The primary school is not a mere interlude between the infant school and the later stages of education, nor is its quality to be judged by its success in preparing children to proceed to the latter. It is continuous with both, because life is continuous, and it must be careful, accordingly, to preserve close contact with both.

This deliberate frontal attack on the system of examinations for free places in secondary schools is reinforced in various parts of the Report. The monstrous system by which bright little boys and girls immediately on leaving the infant school are forced, like Strasbourg geese, until the age of eleven to swallow indigestible intellectual food to swell their intellectual livers and win scholarships at the age of eleven, may please ambitious parents and teachers ignorant of the first principles of education, but it is ruinous so far as the children themselves are concerned and as ruinous to the secondary schools. It is a common experience that the scholarship children fade away in the secondary school. They have been forced at the very age when they should not have been forced. The criterion, says the Report, of the primary school

must above all be the requirements of its pupils during the years when they are in its charge, not the exigencies of examinations or the demands of the schools and occupations which they will eventually enter. It will best serve their future by a single-minded devotion to their needs in the present, and the question which most concerns it is not what children should be—a point on which unanimity has hardly yet, perhaps, been reached—but what, in actual fact, children are.

The business of a passing-out examination to the secondary or junior secondary school from the primary school is "to assess capacity, though the importance of a certain measure of attainment

must not be ignored." That policy must be driven home in all primary schools if the secondary schools are to have pupils worth having. The present system entails scrappiness in the secondary schools, a little poverty-stricken knowledge of many subjects. The fewer subjects taught in the secondary schools the better, but thoroughness, brutal and realistic thoroughness, in all subjects taught is essential. That almost cruel thoroughness was the basis on which the great statesmen, thinkers, scientists and scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were built. The secondary schools of to-day are too soft and tender. A school day is not a long one, but during it, if the work is very hard, few home-lessons will be necessary and it will be a preparation for the school of life.

The primary school must have all the advantages it can get and not least in the rural districts. Every school, however small, must have a certificated head teacher. The children in the school must be classified, but not for examination purposes. It is the stage when past defects can be made up and the heavy demands made by the period of physical growth in the period of puberty can be forestalled. The training colleges should at once be prepared for the coming demand for competent teachers. They are practically unfamiliar with the very schools, the small rural schools, that will need their teachers. The demand for teachers in the infant schools, moreover, will be great, and there is not at present adequate means of training. The machinery for a great and complete national educational system is on the ground, but at present it cannot be said that it has been erected into position. Yet if we wish to continue as a great nation it will have to get it at work and very soon.

J. E. G. DE M.

KING ARTHUR IN ITALY.*

In 1929 Professor Gardner, in a paper communicated to the British Academy on the "Matter of Britain" in mediæval Italy, promised to expand his conclusions in a more comprehensive work. The present book is the fulfilment of that promise, an exhaustive survey of the whole field of Arthurian influence on Italian literature.

Even before Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote his *Historia* (between 1134 and 1139), the first focus of Arthurian matter, fragments of the legends had reached Italy, carried by troubadours and trouvères to the North and Centre, or by the minstrels of the invading Normans to Sicily and the South. In the thirteenth century Dr. Gardner finds allusions to Arthur and Merlin, Lancelot and Tris-

* *The Arthurian Legend in Italian Literature.* By Edmund G. Gardner, Litt.D. J. M. Dent and Sons.

tan, Iseult and Morgan La Fay, to be common coin of poetry; St. Francis would say of his brethren, "Here are my Paladins, my Knights of the Round Table," and the coming of Arthur was the current phrase for the coming of the coq-cigruës. Arthurian motives are constant in Italian literature up to the Renaissance. Boccaccio owed much to them ("Bochas," as Caxton called him, appealing to his *De Casu Principum* as witness to their historic authenticity), Fazio degli Uberti saw in Britain chiefly the scene of knightly exploits, Pucci wrote vigorous narrative ballads on Arthurian themes, while Boiardo—the contemporary of Malory—mingled the Knights of the Round Table with the Paladins. And finally, in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* the whole atmosphere belongs to that world of adventure and faerie, characteristic of the Arthurian tales in Italy.

Italian versions of the legends begin, we learn, with the *Meliadus* of Rusticiano da Pisa, drawn from "the book of King Edward of England" (probably *Tristan* or *Palamède*), and continue to appear till the sixteenth century, the most significant being the *Tristan Riccardiano*, "a magnificent fragment" of the thirteenth century, the *Tavola Ritonda*, "an attempt—remotely anticipating that of Malory—to fuse several branches of Arthurian story into a consistent whole," and a *Vita di Merlino*. All derive plainly from the fundamental sources, Wace and Geoffrey, the prose *Tristan*, the prose *Lancelot*, Robert de Boron, and so forth, but they blossom in a variant manner in the new soil, and often contain episodes completing the standard versions, suggesting independent traditions and lost originals. In the *Lancilotto* of the *Codice Panciatichiano* the Graal appears, as nowhere else, borne on the horns of a white stag—that mysterious stag that nearly always has a close but undefined connection with the consummating vision. As a whole, however, the Italian versions lack the mystical transmutation by which the French author of the *Queste* and Malory after him gave the whole story its perennial and universal significance. The Graal occupies far less place than the tale of Merlin (who from the time of Frederick II appears, oddly, as the prophet of the political vicissitudes of Italy), or, more especially, that of Tristan. Even Lancelot, though he maintains his essential character (the great-hearted humility, for instance, to which Dr. Gardner delightfully calls attention), yields the palm to the lover of Iseult.

One of the most interesting chapters shows the influence on Dante of what he himself called "the most beautiful legends of King Arthur." Merlin is the "good enchanter" to whom he looks in his incomparable sonnet, "*Guido, I would that you and Lapo and I, in an enchanted ship might sail away. . .*" There

are Arthurian gleams in his *Rime Pietrose*, when for love of his lady he would, like Merlin, "sleep in stone," or like Tristan in his madness "wander eating grass," while the famous canto of Paolo and Francesca seems inspired by the prose Tristan. Yet Dante, alone among his compatriots, finds Lancelot the more significant figure. Dr. Gardner inclines to deny any direct influence of the Quest of the Graal on the *Divina Commedia*, though he grants that the resemblances are "suggestive and interesting"—such resemblances as between the Earthly Paradise and the land through which Lancelot approached the Graal castle, between Dante's confession, implicit in the reproaches of Beatrice, and the confessions of Lancelot to the hermits, and, one might add, between the opening of the *Inferno* and Lancelot's plight between the pathless forest, the rocks that were "high and old," and the dark sea. Till remembering how Lancelot, with all his human weakness, achieved that final vision "of such great marvels and such great joys as no tongue can tell nor heart conceive . . . not of earthly things but of spiritual," one is tempted to find a deeper likeness, as though in Lancelot Dante saw his own image.

Threading for the most part unexplored territory, and drawn largely from unpublished sources, Dr. Gardner's book has unique value for all students of Arthurian legend and comparative literature.

BARBARA BARCLAY CARTER.

* * *

AN AMERICAN DIPLOMATIST.*

Henry White: Thirty Years of American Diplomacy, by Mr. Allan Nevins,* is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of international relations during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first two of the twentieth. Roosevelt called him the most useful man in the diplomatic service, and Colonel House described him as the most accomplished diplomatist that the United States had produced. He inherited the money which enabled him to travel in early life and to prepare himself for the career which began with a subordinate post at Vienna at the age of thirty-three. It was, however, in London that he won his spurs, and for twenty years he was the right-hand man of a series of American Ambassadors to the Court of St. James. His charm and intelligence opened the door to the best English society, and it may be doubted whether any American diplomatist was ever such a general favourite. "The dearest, best and most lovable of men," declared Lord Curzon, and indeed the picture which

* Harper Brothers. 21s.

emerges from this substantial volume is most attractive. In 1904, at the age of fifty-four, he was appointed Ambassador to Italy, and three years later to France, which he had known since the days of the Second Empire. The most important of the chapters which describe White's diplomatic activities before the war is devoted to the Algeciras Conference, where President Roosevelt played a leading part behind the scenes.

By far the most detailed and significant part of the book, however, is the account of the Peace Conference, at which House, Lansing, White and Bliss represented their country. White was a Republican in politics, and the invitation from a Democratic President was a great surprise. But it was a good choice, for he had known Europe for half a century and shared Wilson's desire for a moderate peace and a League of Nations. Nothing is more interesting in this volume than White's letters from Paris to Lodge, who, unlike Root and Taft, was a narrow Nationalist and clamoured for a vindictive settlement. The more he saw of Wilson at work, the more he admired his courage, his wisdom and his dignity. Though he loved France, he was, in his biographer's words, "dismayed and shocked" by the short-sighted violence of Clemenceau, Poincaré and Foch. He was never very influential and saw little of the President; but he fought hard for Wilsonian principles. Indeed, he blames Colonel House for his supposed readiness to compromise in regard to the exorbitant claims of Italy. He knew more of the feelings and conditions in Germany than any of his colleagues, for a married daughter who had learned to love her adopted country kept him informed. It was a real sorrow to him that, owing to the timid selfishness of the Lodge Republicans and the unskilful strategy of the President, the United States remained outside the League. As a letter-writer he does not compare with Page and Spring Rice, and in stature he does not approach the great Ambassadors of the type of Charles Francis Adams, Pauncefoot, Marschall von Bieberstein or Paul Cambon. But his life was crowded with interest, and Mr. Nevins has done full justice to a fine theme.

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THE TWO NATIONS.*

The nineteenth century was an age of great social discontent and ultimate reform out of which modern Britain has grown. By the beginning of that century the Industrial Revolution was in full flood submerging the whole nation in its progress, and changing the whole course of national life. The predominant theory of

* Longmans. 12s. 6d. net.

laissez-faire encouraged an unbridled individualism, regardless of its repercussion on the happiness and well-being of the working class. During the first half of the century there was seething unrest which found its focus in the Chartist movement. In their recent book, *The Age of the Chartists, 1832-1854*, Mr. J. L. Hammond and Mrs. Barbara Hammond examine the conditions under which the working man lived during these years and the reasons for his discontent. Among the poor there had grown a sense of the great injustice of society. The rich and the poor, as Disraeli so vividly described in *Sybil*, were two nations, separated by a great gulf. The upper classes had a monopoly of culture and happiness which were denied the lower orders. In comparison with the eighteenth century and before, the artisan was better off. He might be able to afford in some degree what had once been a luxury for the rich. But the extra money he might possess was of little use, when deprived by his position of all the benefits of civilisation. He was suffering under a sense of injustice rather than of sheer poverty. As Mr. and Mrs. Hammond point out "a man might be less poor and less uncomfortable than his grandfather, and yet have in his consciousness a more wounding sense of balked instincts, more of the sting of defeat, more of that impatience of calamity which springs from a belief that it is injustice."

As discontent grew, *laissez-faire* began to lose its hold on society and be superseded by a doctrine of benevolent State interference. The State began to think itself responsible for the welfare of all its subjects. The Reform Bill of 1832 did not, indeed, directly benefit the working class; for long they remained unrepresented in Parliament. But it did assist the general reform movement which was now seriously beginning to alleviate the conditions of life among the new industrial classes. Agricultural England of the early eighteenth century had become superseded by a great industrialised state which attracted a new class of town workers. The problem was to provide them with the benefits of civilisation and of culture, as well as to partake of their labour. During the twenty years following the Reform Bill, we can find the germ of nearly every reform and benefit which the working classes received at the end of the century.

In 1833 the State first took an active hand in the education of the poor. It gradually relieved the Church of its praiseworthy but inadequate attempt to provide universal education, and paved the way for the Act of 1870. In 1835 a Liberal Government passed the Municipal Reform Act which went a long way to reorganise the towns and encourage a true civic life. The Poor Law which had remained substantially the same since the days of Elizabeth was reformed and adjusted to meet more nearly, though perhaps not

adequately, the needs of the day. The Churches which had remained somewhat aloof began to sympathise more closely with the aspirations of the poor. The work of Dean Hook in Leeds was an example of the power of religion in the relief of distress. So also progress was made in sanitation and hygiene, in the care of health, in the encouragement of culture, and in the recreation of the people. On the surface, perhaps, little seemed to have been accomplished. But the seed had been sown which was steadily to grow and ripen. Mr. and Mrs. Hammond have described most vividly the conditions under which the industrial classes laboured, and how a beginning in reform was made. Out of that germ have grown our great social services of the present day. Mr. and Mrs. Hammond in this very able survey have done much to make understandable the troubles and the aspirations of that age.

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A LIFE OF JESUS.*

This *Life of Jesus*, by Mr. Basil Mathews, is written by one who knows every inch of the Holy Land, mountain and plain, river and stream, and also the history of the peoples among whom our Lord lived in his earlier days, and in the years of His ministry. The life of Jesus is told by Mr. Mathews in an easy almost colloquial style, no doubt designed to bring the facts home to the minds and vision of young people: yet older readers, who know the text well, will miss the beauty of expression with which they are familiar, and will be perhaps apt to feel that in laying special stress on the humanity of Christ Jesus, the spiritual side is somewhat lessened. Doubtless Mr. Mathews feels with Frederick Myers in his great poem "St. Paul," "Jesus divinest when thou most art man," but that striking poet never for a moment loses sight of the spiritual in the material life of our Lord. It was Christ's magnetic spirituality which drew men to him more than the health and vigour of his manhood. His healing and authoritative powers were derived from a higher source than mere physical conditions even of the highest order. Mr. Mathews hardly makes this clear. His aim is to bring the Christ vividly before his readers, an aim in which—in a material sense—he is most successful. Yet the mere portrayal of perfect manhood must fail to inspire the modern world in the sense that Christ undoubtedly inspired His disciples during His Life on earth. The Master's parting assurance of "I am with you all the days, even to the end of the world," and His

* *A Life of Jesus*. By Basil Mathews. Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d. net.
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promise to His disciples of another comforter—or *help* as Mr. Mathews renders the Greek text—to guide and guard them and to lead them into all truth, His Presence going with them, is something more than a remembrance to be cherished and striven after; it is a living spiritual inheritance which all may claim.

Mr. Mathews follows the life of Christ as given in the New Testament, with all the details of the Master's journeying with which he has made himself so familiar by a residence of sixteen years in the Holy Land, realising for himself and others the every-day life of a family of craftsmen living under Roman rule. Closely familiar with the history of the period Mr. Mathews writes fully and comprehensively of the customs of both Jew and Gentile, and fills the gaps in the discourses of the Master and His disciples with the every-day speech of our time—a form which tends to clash with the more symbolic language of the Greek text and our immortal translation. No doubt this method is followed so as to give greater reality to the biography for young readers. The goal is to bring to mind and to visualise the scenes and manner of life in which our Lord passed the years of His earthly sojourn. Mr. Mathews' photographs, taken by himself on the spot, and the reproduction of Holman Hunt's two pictures in colours, add to the interest and general understanding of the Holy Land, while an appendix and maps help much in the study of the lifetime of our Lord.

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MODERN ENGLISH VERSE.*

A new anthology of English verse claiming to be "a representative selection of English poetry written during recent years" is worthy of close study. It is in a sense supplemental to Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* which

introduced the Victorians to the "best original Lyrical pieces and Songs" from Tudor times to 1855. Entrenchment upon the scope of that justly famous collection has, in the planning of this book, been avoided; poets writing before 1855 are here included only if work of theirs be missing from Palgrave. Some sixty-four authors are represented by 106 poems and pieces. . . . Doubtless unknown writers have escaped attention, isolated sonnets of worth or lyrics of outstanding beauty been missed . . . such oversight is inevitable. Indebtedness to other anthologists one gladly confesses. Mr. Laurence Binyon's *Golden Treasury of Modern Lyrics* is especially admirable. But for many years to come no anthology of modern Poetry will claim to be definitive.

* *A Hundred Years of English Poetry*. Selected by Mr. Edward B. Powley. Cambridge: at the University Press. 4s. 6d. net.

The Oxford Book of Victorian Verse might also have been mentioned. Mr. Powley's scheme makes his welcome anthology definitely supplementary to other works of the same kind. He speaks justly condemnatory words of much recent work. "Who, concerned for the good estate of English Literature, has not long been forced to the regrettable conclusion that most of the poems which appear in the periodical press or are collected and published in attractively bound volumes are unworthy of authorship?" Undoubtedly the answer is in the affirmative, but the collection of dead verse and dead fiction that had been published before Mr. Powley's period is enormous. Vanity is probably the cause, and editors are not necessarily good judges of poetry. Mr. Powley's preface should be read by editors, for he lays down a standard. A poem "says something intelligibly, expresses its message with due regard for prosody . . . and makes an emotional appeal." Editors (and authors who are prepared to pay for publication of books) will do well to keep this terse definition in mind. It is not the taste of readers and especially young readers of which Mr. Powley complains.

The taste of the average boy and girl of sixteen in the matter of modern Poetry is sound enough. . . . Outside the schools and universities—as any who have had experience of extra-mural teaching or broadcasting upon literary topics can tell—is a large public still perfectly competent to distinguish good Poetry from bad, yet much bemused by the new versifiers. In these pages the task of rigorous exclusion of the poorer modern verse has not been shirked.

What is the result? Mr. Powley draws into his anthology twenty living poets, nine of whom are over sixty years of age (two of the nine being over seventy) and four on the shady side of fifty-five, and the youngest of all is thirty-five. In addition to these there are some other real poets who died young, such as Mary Webb, Rupert Brooke, Charles Hamilton Sorley and Herman James Elroy Flecker. There are not, probably, thirty modern English poets of whom Mr. Powley has hopes of even limited immortality, and half of them are or were at their recent deaths over or nearly sixty. One poet of real ability and some inspiration to each million of population seems a poor result when account is taken of intensive modern efforts in the schools and universities and by means of extra-mural teaching to teach the basic qualities of English literature. Every school magazine, however lowly, contains verse of excellent quality and sometimes of truly lyric force, and yet there are practically no poets, makers of verse, in Mr. Powley's mature judgment.

It is an extraordinary position. Even if it is possible to adhere to Mr. Powley's belief that the late Mr. Thomas Hardy is "one of the very greatest figures in our Literature" he really belongs to a past age. The alarming fact is that there does not seem to be emerging a new group of real poets, even minor poets, with something to sing, with some contribution to the most remarkable age of transition in the history of England and the world. The elder poets, men over fifty, are still producing very excellent verse and occasionally verse of great beauty, and of one or two of these there are no examples in this book. But of new poets there are none: men or women with a passionate message to deliver in a fit and noble medium and with a penetrating philosophy of thought. Yet after all it is always the darkest hour before the dawn, and it may be that a Shelley and a Keats, a Wordsworth, an Arnold and a Browning are at school thinking the long, long thoughts of youth.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

There is not a dull page in this little book.* Dr. Coulton has emphasised the years of "The Middle Ages" in town and country life in England with clear insight, the result of deep research into the archives of the period, and he treats all the various subjects and conditions under which the people lived in a broad and illuminating manner. This record of mediæval life is the outcome of broadcast wireless talks in the autumn of 1929, and is primarily intended for those who have not the leisure for the fuller study of Dr. Coulton's larger publications. The Dark Ages may be reckoned from A.D. 400 to 1,000, and the following five centuries in a more special sense form the Middle Ages: *Le haut moyen âge*. The reader sees the film unroll, and watches the stream of civilisation meandering through the land, sometimes running into backwaters and gathering to itself weeds that choke and stop its progress through the centuries, yet ever emerging with renewed force to fertilise and bring to birth the reform of the sixteenth century. With our increasing knowledge of the past, five hundred years seem to be a breath in one lifetime and reformation a second breath. Dr. Coulton tells his story of *The Mediæval Scene* in eleven short chapters and starts with "Chaos and Reconstruction" working onward to Reformation. The second chapter deals with the customs and ways of life in the mediæval village, and the author states at the outset "Throughout this little book, the examples will be most often drawn from English social history; but in default of notice to the contrary, the reader may take them as typical of Euro-

* *The Mediæval Scene: an Informal Introduction to the Middle Ages*. By G. G. Coulton. Cambridge University Press. 5s. net.

pean society in general." The next chapter describes "The Church and the village in mediæval times." The Church in those days was in fact "a State within a State" exercising over men's minds and bodies a supremacy exceeding manorial rights or privileges. A child had to be baptised into the Church, if not, the parents were accused of heresy and punished. In the period of Norman England the Church was very dominant and the lack of education fostered this domination. The wealth of the Church increased by gathering to itself *deathbed* dispositions, and many lords "gave up to monasteries the churches which they possessed because their ancestors had founded them. . . . The clergy, of all orders, may be reckoned at less than one in thirty of the *adult* population. They comprised practically all the modern classes which were directly concerned with religion, literature, and education." The chapters following are of even more account describing as they do "Towns and Fields," "Chivalry," "Monasticism," "Trade and Travel," "Scholasticism and Free Thought," "Law and Politics," "The Church and the Economic World," and finally, "Popular Religion." These phases "with the well-known renaissance of learning amongst scholars, nobles and merchants, and with a general growing impatience of moral abuses, and with concurrent economic causes, worked for the change from the mediæval to the modern mind."

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In the first volume of her *History of Ireland** Miss Eleanor Hull comes down to the close of the Tudor period and in her second to the present day. Even in two volumes this is a long time to cover, though she has covered it with uncommon ability and no less uncommon insight. It is a thorough scholar's work. She verifies everything, states what she finds without reserve, and states it with perfect clearness. No doubt she has her own point of view—would not history be the dulllest of subjects without it?—yet this point of view is never obtruded. Her book, in many respects, represents the best effort that has yet been made to deal with the tangled and troubled annals of Ireland as a whole in the light of recent research. It has obviously involved great labour, and it is a kind of labour for which the recognition is not invariably so generous as should be the case. In some matters the first volume impresses us even more than the second, and the author is at her best in the survey of pre-Christian and early Christian Ireland. She approaches the Norman invasion in the right attitude. The Angevins showed a respect for the reign of law, and Henry II was characteristically Angevin. As the tribes of Rome enjoyed the Pax Romana, so the Irish tribes enjoyed the Pax Normannica. Peace did not come in a day, yet peace came and with it came also organised rule. So much is this the case that the eastern part of the country, where the Normans enforced order, was known as "the land of peace," whereas the western part, where the Brehons did not enforce order, was known as "the land of war." Miss Hull clearly perceives how fundamentally the invasion of Edward Bruce shook the new Norman institutions. In her second volume she also indicates the importance of such turning points in Irish history as the plantation of Ulster, which differentiated the northern province

* Harrap. 18s. each.

even more from the other three, the significance of the intervention of Louis XIV on behalf of James II, and the share taken by striking personalities at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. She writes of Daniel O'Connell with the restraint of one who knows right well that the gold in this great man was mixed with more alloy than with most. It is quite evident from her pages that the annals of the first half of the nineteenth century revolve around this strange statesman who was as much Utilitarian as Roman Catholic in his outlook. A series of fine illustrations enhance the value of the letterpress. There are references to the contemporary authorities the author uses, and perhaps in a future edition she will also provide references to modern authorities.

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The Handwriting of the Renaissance,* by Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, is an American publication of considerable learning and of vast industry and its sub-title, "Being the Development and Characteristics of the script of Shakespere's time" (we quote Dr. Tannenbaum's spelling and italics which are not usual in this country), gives it a special current interest. Mr. Ashley H. Thorndike in a brief introduction says truly that "the need of a compact and well-illustrated manual on Elizabethan handwriting has become obvious to all literary students, and they will thank Dr. Tannenbaum for the enormous labour and pains which he has given to their service. I believe that the book should also prove useful to students in other fields of the Renaissance and specially to all concerned with documents of that period. . . . He is a practising physician specializing in mental disorders, and yet for many years he has also been a Shakesperian student and collector and a highly-qualified expert in handwriting." Dr. Tannenbaum's investigations have on occasions "brought him into conflict with many authorities and especially Sir Edward Maunde Thompson" on the subject of the handwriting in parts of the manuscript of *Sir Thomas Moore*. But he has also been known by various non-controversial works, and this book, with its elaborate essays on Renaissance Script, will be studied with interest. The distortion of supralinear letters from at least the fifteenth century has "caused some modern writers to brand Shakespere as an illiterate and others to excuse his 'bad' penmanship (which was not bad at all) on the ground of writer's cramp or some other alleged disabling disease of the nervous system." Dr. Tannenbaum claims that he has enunciated for the first time the general principles relating to these and other apparent distortions, thus enabling the student to decipher many documents of the Renaissance period. The author deals with the Minuscules, the Majuscules, abbreviations, punctuation and other marks and numerals in the most elaborate and illustrated detail. "The absence, and, what is often worse, the careless use of punctuation marks in old manuscripts often give rise to ambiguities and errors which it is the task of modern scholars to rectify." If Dr. Tannenbaum by his methods can solve the very numerous textual problems in Shakespere's plays he will indeed have deserved well of literature. Moreover, it is not Shakespere alone that needs textual re-editing.

* George Routledge & Sons Ltd. 16s. net.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The years of the Protectorate in England are commonly thought of as a period of religious fervour and plain living, a mode of life common to all ranks. Oliver Cromwell was a man of deep religious beliefs in the Puritan sense and he endeavoured to instil that spirit into his children. There was a difference, however, between the upbringing of Puritan children in a private house and in the Court of the Lord Protector of England, with the result that Cromwell's daughters, at least, became singularly broadminded and charming women. Mr. Robert W. Ramsey's book "*Studies in Cromwell's Family Circle and Other Papers*"** gives an interesting insight into the Protector's private life. Cromwell was evidently devoted to all his children, but especially to his second daughter, Elizabeth Claypole, whose death so shortly preceded his own. The most interesting of his daughters, however, is the third, Mary, Lady Fauconberg, who lived to receive the future James II at her husband's home at Newburgh. In 1699 Mary's husband went to Venice as Ambassador to the Republic, and the account of his travels and work there make delightful reading. He was a kindly man, ambitious in a mild way, perhaps inclined to be fussy over little things, conscientious and devoted to his wife and home. Cromwell's *marriage de convenance* for Mary Cromwell, which lasted for nearly fifty years, seems to have been a great success, although there were no children. The letters and adventures of Mr. John Doddington, at one time Lord Fauconberg's secretary, and then Resident at Venice, make excellent reading. John Doddington was an amazing letter-writer, for nothing escaped his notice, and his contribution to this excellent book makes the student realise afresh the literary value of correspondence in the late seventeenth century.

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Mr. Walther Steinthal's book "*Dreyfus*,"† translated from the German by Captain Raymond Johnes, is a straightforward account of the famous French trial and its results. The story is so terrible and covers so many years, that it is difficult to realise that little more than thirty years have elapsed since its beginning. It is right that a case of this description should become living history to ensure that it cannot be repeated, but it is perhaps doubtful wisdom to bring it before the public again so soon. France knew what the world thought of the matter when the facts came to light, and, horrified herself, made what recompense she could to Colonel Dreyfus. There is nothing, however, that can make up for long years spent on Devil's Island, the black spot of modern French criminal jurisprudence, and France would receive the congratulations of the civilised world if she removed the stain of such a prison. This act in itself would be a fitting tribute to Colonel Dreyfus, the living victim of a system which would have disgraced seventeenth-century England, when a similar system prevailed in this land.

* Longmans. 9s. net.
† Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Seymour de Ricci's work "English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530-1930) and their Marks of Ownership" is the text of the Sanders Lectures for 1929-30. The author lays stress on the interest to be found in the travels of books; that is to say the various libraries through which they have passed, and the individual marks they obtain in their journeys. Few people realise that a dirty little label on an old book may be the press-mark of some famous library. The general reader, as well as the bibliophile, will find this book interesting, for it is not too technical and makes good reading, while the plates add to its value.

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Mr. C. A. Macartney's little book, "Refugees: The Work of the League,"† may be warmly recommended to all who take an intelligent interest in European politics as well as to those who make a special study of the humanitarian activities of the League. Everyone knows something of Nansen's noble work for the helpless sufferers of various nations; but in the 120 pages of this clear and authoritative record we shall find exactly what we want to learn in regard to the Russian, Armenian, Greek and Bulgarian victims of the great upheaval, and the aid rendered by the new international equivalent to the Good Samaritan. Mr. Macartney is a master of his subject and writes with a restrained sympathy that is more impressive than emotional lamentations. The moral of the book is that there is plenty of good will in the world, and that when it is rationally and internationally organised, as has now for the first time become possible, effective aid can be rendered where it is most urgently required.

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Miss E. M. White, who has already published some excellent books on woman and citizenship, now presents us with a thoughtful little volume entitled "The Girl Voter."‡ She combines a wide knowledge of the past with a lively interest in the present, and in a series of stimulating chapters she discourses pleasantly on the heritage, the opportunities and the responsibilities of the young voter who now shares with her brothers the privileges and burdens of democracy. The book is full of information conveyed with simplicity and skill, and it may be recommended to teachers of the coming generation as well as to the representatives of that generation themselves. The concluding chapter, entitled "Some Women Citizens at Work," sketches the careers of Sybil Thorndike, Margaret Bondfield, Mrs. Humphry Ward and other reformers and servants of humanity whose example should encourage the girl voter to become a valuable member of a free, educated and healthy community.

* Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

† League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent. 1s. 6d.

‡ Herbert Russell, 35, Temple Chambers, E.C.4. 2s.

THE OUTLOOK FOR INDIA.

THE Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi have signed an armistice, if not a treaty of peace, and the Congress has ordered the suspension of Civil Disobedience. This transformation scene in the Indian drama has come with such suddenness that some journalists have been tempted to speak of the miracle achieved by the Viceroy. A brief review of the events of the last nine months seems, therefore, necessary before attempting to consider what is likely to follow this spectacular *dénouement*. In May last the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission was presented to Parliament. As was noticed in the September number of this Review the proposals contained in this Report were momentous; Sir John Simon and his colleagues laid before Parliament a scheme for the eventual withdrawal of England from India; that withdrawal was to be gradual, it was to be performed in stages; but the first stage was to be initiated at once and was to consist in the withdrawal of British control from the Provinces. For a while the power at the centre was to remain intact; when the Provinces had demonstrated their capacity of self-government, the power at the centre was to be handed over to an elected Chamber and the withdrawal of England from India would be complete. A quarter of a century ago these astounding proposals would have been received in this country with consternation and would have been immediately repudiated by all responsible leaders of public opinion. In 1930 they were received with composure; praise was showered upon the Report, and in some quarters it was described in terms which would not have been inappropriate to a very conservative document. England was obviously looking at the Indian question from a new angle of vision.

The experiences of the Statutory Commission were very different in India, where misfortune had dogged their footsteps from the beginning. Before the Report was published the political parties had determined to condemn it; on publication it was greeted with howls of anger and contempt. India, it was alleged, would not even consider a change of constitution which did not give her full Dominion status immediately. Because they could not receive an assurance to this effect the Congress politicians and Mr. Gandhi refused to attend the Round Table Conference. Public men in India who accepted the invitation of His Majesty's Ministers were denounced as toadies and traitors and were accompanied to the quays at Bombay with black flags. But though the Congress is the most efficiently organised party in India it does not control the best minds. In spite of virulent denunciations, the Princes came, the Muslims came, and with them came a very weighty body

of Hindu Liberals who put country before party. The result was a delegation which spoke with the authentic voice of India and which was able to represent her with a dignity and ability which made a profound impression in London. Then, about the Round Table in St. James's Palace, a wonderful thing happened. Political India regained her confidence in England. For this the credit is due to the Prime Minister and to all the delegates who represented the three parties in British politics; of the admirable part they played there can be no doubt. The Indian members, at least in private conversation, were loud in their praise. "All the English delegates," they declared, "were out to help; they joined with us in an honest attempt to overcome difficulties." After two months of labour in the fogs of London the Conference arrived at a series of provisional conclusions and the Indian delegates went back to convince their countrymen of England's good-will. India was still seething with Mr. Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement, crowds were in constant collision with the police, and hostility to Great Britain was being preached all over India as a national duty. It was not a time at which the voice of reason could easily make itself heard. But, thanks especially to the loyalty and courage of certain Hindu Liberals, reason was heard and prevailed. Mr. Gandhi was persuaded to ask for an interview with the Viceroy, and on March 6th an agreement was reached between these two strangely assorted plenipotentiaries by which the Civil Disobedience Movement was called off. It is impossible to withhold admiration from Lord Irwin's courage in initiating these last perilous negotiations. He knowingly exposed himself to cheap sneers for negotiating with a rebel and he risked his personal reputation solely for the sake of India. It is probable that the happy issue of the negotiations was due, in great measure, to his personality; I suspect that no man who had not Lord Irwin's high-minded idealism would have persuaded Mr. Gandhi to peace. History alone can say whether Lord Irwin's action was as wise as it was unselfish. In the troublous days which are probably in store for India he may be remembered as the Viceroy who first weakened the imposing prestige of Government, but for the present he has brought off an achievement of capital importance; he has created an atmosphere in which England and India can sit down to the sober consideration of practical politics. It would be ungenerous not to recognise that Mr. Gandhi, on his part, has made concessions which may possibly jeopardise his political influence. The spirit of turbulence which his teaching has evoked may refuse to sink down at his bidding; indeed the machinery of Congress must be marvellously efficient if, all over the sub-continent, violence, boycott and intimidation cease at a word from the

party's headquarters. But for the present the situation justifies a sober optimism, for the reason given by Mr. Baldwin at Newton Abbot: "The forces of moderation in India itself have, for the first time, triumphed over the forces of extremism."

What was settled at the Round Table that could produce this change of heart? What news did the Indian delegates bring to their countrymen from England? I think it was that English public opinion was much nearer to their point of view than they had suspected. In the political controversy which has distracted India for the last half-century two distinct issues have been confused:

- (1) the ascendancy of one race over another;
- (2) the form of government most suitable to India.

The Round Table Conference implicitly disposed of the first. The hateful doctrine that the Government of India rested upon the ascendancy of the White race was not formally repudiated but was allowed to lapse. Lord Justice Sankey almost said as much when he declared that the object of the Conference was to place responsibility for the government of India squarely upon Indian shoulders. Before the Conference met it was legitimate to doubt whether there was in India anything which could reasonably be called a national demand for equality of status. The first day of the Conference dissipated all doubts on this head. The Princes, who have most to lose from a fundamental reorganisation of the constitution, took their courage in their hands and asked in unequivocal terms that Indians, while remaining partners in the British Empire, should be masters in their own house. The Muslims joined with the Hindu Liberals in asking for equality of status. That was the accepted euphemism; a Hindu delegate put it more crudely when he claimed that the greater pigmentation of his skin should not be made the ground of political inferiority. When once the demand for racial equality was squarely formulated it could not be refused. The ascendancy of one race over another is repugnant to English feelings. It is, moreover, the most pernicious of political doctrines, for it can never command the willing assent of the governed; it is perhaps the one conception of government which is capable of uniting all Indians against the British connection. No self-respecting Indian can subscribe loyally to the theory that he and all his race are an inferior people, that no education, loyalty or sacrifice on his part can put him on an equality with the White man. This is so obvious that responsible Englishmen have not, for many years, avowed the theory of racial superiority. But Indians believed that this theory, though unavowed, still governed British policy and that it was for the purpose of maintaining White supremacy that the English laid so much stress upon (1) the effi-

ciency of the administration, (2) the impartiality of government officers, and (3) the protection of the dumb millions. Even the maintenance of an army adequate to resist external aggression and suppress internal disorder is viewed askance by Indians because they suspect that those forces might be used to preserve English ascendancy. These are instances of how the racial and political issues have been confused. The efficiency of the administration, the protection of the peasantry and the maintenance of an adequate army are vital to the peace and good government of India and must preoccupy whatever statesmen control the destinies of the sub-continent. Hitherto Indians have not considered them dispassionately, because they believed them to be pretexts for retaining the supremacy of the White man. It is a legitimate inference from the published reports of the Round Table Conference that the doctrine of White ascendancy was not defended at St. James's Palace and went by default. This was the landslide of which Mr. Churchill complains; but complaints are now too late; the holding of a Round Table Conference is itself incompatible with the theory of colour domination. The landslide has in fact taken place and it was the conviction that racial discrimination would not in future be the keystone of Indian government that led to the great reconciliation.

If this great issue is now settled and racial bitterness no longer envenoms political differences, England and India can undertake a sober consideration of the difficulties inherent in framing an efficient government out of autogenous materials. These difficulties are very real and it would be foolish to approach them in a spirit of facile optimism. The extreme Nationalists have hitherto refused to consider them; they have always said, "Let us first get rid of the English and then all will be easy." But all will not be easy when English control is withdrawn; on the contrary the intrinsic difficulties will then for the first time appear in their full magnitude. The men who will lay the foundations of the new government in India will need to be constitutional philosophers who will go down to the first principles of human government. They will have a far harder task than the Fathers of the American constitution, for they will find very few precedents to guide them. The question of Minorities, for example, must be examined much more seriously and more thoroughly than heretofore. Most of Northern India is occupied by two distinct nationalities differing very greatly, one from the other, in culture and history. There ought to be room in India for these two different cultures, as the Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University said at the Muhamadan Educational Conference last Christmas; but Europe, with the doubtful exception of Switzerland, offers no

example of two nationalities occupying one region in mutual toleration. Poland and Czechoslovakia are instances of areas in which two or more nationalities are comprised in one State, but they are not of happy omen, and indeed it is perhaps only the Minorities Commission at Geneva that can tell how obstinate and intractable this problem has shown itself to be. Again it will be no easy matter to reconcile the autocratic privileges guaranteed to the Princes with popular institutions in the British Provinces. I will not attempt even to enumerate the many problems which await solution by a constituent Assembly for India. I wish here to confine myself to one point of primordial importance. That point is that the Chambers which are to assume responsibility in Delhi and the Provinces ought, at least at the outset, to have a sober, prudent and (I am not afraid to say it) a conservative character. The Indian Chambers ought to be inspired by that unparalleled caution which characterised Japanese policy at the beginning of the new era. The Indian Chambers should be more inclined to support than to thwart the Executives, and the Executives themselves must be armed with power to act quickly and decisively. The vital importance of a strong Government at the present juncture is not sufficiently recognised by Indian politicians. The majestic fabric of government has for long towered so high above all possible opposition that the Indian mind cannot easily adjust itself to the thought that government might one day become impotent. With the establishment of popular Chambers more familiar with opposition than with responsible office, a weakening of the Executive is a not unlikely contingency, and at the present juncture a weakening of the Executive might lead to disaster.

India is just now seething with new ideas, many of them of a highly subversive tendency; they have sprung into existence by contact with Western thought. I am reminded to-day of an observation made to me nearly thirty years ago by the late Mr. Gokhale; he had been speaking of the benefits which English Literature had conferred on India, benefits which in his opinion outweighed the material harm which, he alleged, British rule had done to his country. When I asked him to define those benefits he answered: "English Literature has freed us from the thralldom of authority." This is, I believe, a very penetrating analysis of the effect of Western thought on India. The East was, till recently, prone to an exaggerated reverence for authority, whereas the West ever since the Renaissance has stressed freedom of thought and the indefeasible duty of every man to judge for himself. Since Mr. Gokhale spoke to me English ideas have gained the upper hand in India and the tide is now running strongly against authority. Everywhere old orthodoxies are being ques-

tioned, ancient usages criticised and the authority of the State challenged. Much good has come from this new and active spirit of emancipation; the tyranny of caste is being mitigated, women are appearing from behind the "pardah" and the myth of untouchability is losing something of its sinister power. But ages of emancipation are difficult times for rulers. This was the experience of Europe at the Renaissance and during the revolutionary fervour at the end of the eighteenth century, and the experience will probably be repeated in India. Such is the opinion of thoughtful Indians. Discussing the future with an Indian delegate to the Round Table Conference last December, I happened to say, "One of the possibilities of the next half-century is that the Untouchables may rise and take a bloody revenge for the injustices which they have suffered for so long." My friend, who is himself a Brahman, turned on me and said: "It is not only a possibility; it is a certainty." The breakdown of the old restraints and sanctions which have hitherto governed Hindu life is in itself a serious threat to the stability of society. To add to her troubles India has recently imported from Europe insurrectionary doctrines which cause uneasiness even in the country of their origin. There are Marxists and Communists; there are Trade Unionists who, as one of them confessed to Madame Viollis,* are more violently opposed to Indian than to English capitalists. Some of the things said at the All Parties National Convention in December 1928 are calculated to give a shiver to men of property. A Mr. Banerji, for instance, protested against a clause in the draft constitution which recognised the validity of contracts and asked, "should they not say that their object was to shatter the existing state of things and remould it nearer to the heart's desire?" He proceeded to declare that "one of the first duties of the new State of Bengal, created under the Commonwealth, will be to unsettle the permanent settlement of Bengal."† These wild and whirring words would not create much perturbation in the West, where democracy has learned to protect itself against its own extremists. But India has still to learn this lesson. Her conservative classes have for ages been in the habit of looking for protection to an autocratic administration and have not yet realised that under a popular government they must organise themselves. That is one reason why the government of an autonomous India should be imbued with solicitude for order and respect for property. Neither the Labour nor the Liberal Party at home can reasonably be asked to show particular sympathy for the classes which in India represent the ancient order of society. That duty is directly incum-

* *L'Inde contre les Anglais.*

† *Proceedings of the All Parties National Convention, Allahabad.* P. 63.

bent upon the party which is historically associated with the defence of property and the maintenance of order in this country. Lord Peel and Sir Samuel Hoare were, of course, right to insist upon safeguards for the security of English trade and the punctual service of loans raised in London. But safeguards for property and the maintenance of order are of even greater importance; these cannot be protected by transitional provisions; they must be woven into the stuff of the constitution itself. The paramount duty of conservative statesmen is to secure that the next Government of India Act is drawn in harmony with those enduring principles which are the ultimate justification of their party.

THEODORE MORISON.

THE DRIFT TOWARDS PROTECTION.

IT is not surprising that at the present time the drift of public opinion should be towards protection. Our country is suffering from a very severe spell of trade depression. Numbers of industries find it impossible to sell their goods at a profit; factories are shut down, mines are closed, workpeople are discharged. The number of unemployed has reached a very serious figure and the cost of their maintenance has become such a burden upon the Exchequer that there is reason to fear a grave financial crisis. To meet such a situation public opinion naturally turns to the popular remedy of protection. Protection is popular because it is based upon the belief that we can shift our own troubles on to the foreigner by shutting out the goods that he sends into our markets. Also opinion always tends to concentrate on things that are directly visible, and we can all of us visualise the sufferings that particular industries have to endure when their trade declines. Consequently, without looking further ahead, people jump to the conclusion that the remedy is to be found in protective tariffs to save individual trades from foreign competition.

So far as the present crisis is concerned this particular remedy ought to be ruled out of most of our minds by the fact that other countries, that already have high protective tariffs, are suffering from trade depression as much as we are. In the United States the situation is very serious and Congress is busily engaged in trying to devise schemes of relief for the distress and the widespread unemployment. Canada is in much the same position; so also is Australia. In Germany the number of unemployed has now reached roughly 5,000,000, or double the number in Great Britain. France has hitherto seemed to escape from the world depression, but recent evidence shows that unemployment even in France is now becoming widespread. This experience of our neighbours and of our competitors ought to dispose of the popular assumption that we can cure unemployment by means of tariffs. Nevertheless that popular assumption continues. It receives a strong backing from a large part of the newspaper press, and it is supported by at least one of our three political parties.

That protective tariffs might, and often would, benefit particular industries is an indisputable proposition. It is because these industries understand that fact that they ask for tariffs; and it is because the public is anxious to help them that it supports the general idea of protection. In addition, the industries that want tariffs for their own benefit are steadily engaged in urging their case upon Parliament and upon the newspaper press. In this connection it has to be noted that an elected assembly which is

intended to represent the public interest quite frequently under electoral pressure will prefer private to public interests. A little group of electors can get together and bring such pressure to bear on rival Parliamentary candidates that perhaps both will commit themselves to support of this group, regardless of the general effect upon the nation. The same consideration applies within the House itself. Each party is dependent on a multitude of separate units and must often subordinate its policy to pressure from particular groups.

Ultimately, however, what a country ought to consider is the general interest, and as regards our country in particular we have to ask ourselves whether its general interests can be advanced by adopting a policy of protection for the benefit of particular groups of producers. We have to begin by realising that the necessary and intended effect of tariffs is to raise prices above the level at which they would remain if there were no tariffs. This proposition is constantly challenged by protectionists. They are always asserting that tariffs will not raise prices. It is a peculiar attitude to take up, for the industries that ask for tariffs specifically ground their appeal on the fact that the foreigner is selling below the prices that are profitable to the British producers. If the tariff does not raise the price it brings them no benefit. By way of countering this argument the advocates of protection often state that if the home producer is able to secure the home market he can so expand his output as to reduce costs and thus keep down prices. Conceivably this might happen with particular firms in some particular cases, but if so surely it is the business of those particular firms themselves temporarily to lower their prices and thus shut out the foreigner and increase their output. If the argument holds good they will in a short time be producing a larger quantity of goods without loss of profit.

If this cannot be done by producers themselves, or in combination with one another, the imposition of a tariff can only have the effect of raising the price above what it would be if there were no tariff. But higher prices, though beneficial to the particular producers who secure them, are an injury to the people who have to pay them. It is on this account that the principal advocates of protection in England have so frequently stated that raw materials are not to be taxed; but they always fail to explain what is a raw material. In Lancashire scores of mills and thousands of operatives are engaged in producing cotton yarn; but this fine product, the result of elaborate processes of production, is itself useless except as the raw material for subsequent industries, notably the weaver's industry. Is cotton yarn to be treated as a manufactured article and protected by a tariff or is it to be treated as a raw material and

not protected? That is a fundamental question which the late Joseph Chamberlain steadily refused to answer when he was advocating protection. Exactly the same consideration applies to our great iron and steel industry which is now suffering severe depression and is demanding the establishment of tariffs in its favour. The number of makers of iron and steel in Great Britain is undoubtedly very considerable and their sufferings deserve the nation's sympathy, but the number of users of iron and steel is much greater than the number of makers, and it is hardly fair that the latter should be subjected to a special burden for the benefit of the former. Iron and steel are the raw materials of our shipbuilding industry; they are required for railway construction, for bridge building, for locomotives, for making motor-cars; they are also used in hundreds of smaller ways for joists in buildings, for pipes, for wire and for cutlery. Some of these industries that depend upon iron and steel, notably shipping, have to face world competition. Somehow or another our ships must be built so cheaply that they can command a sale in foreign countries, or if used for our own carrying trade their cost must be relatively so low that they can carry goods in competition with the shipping of other countries. Is it fair that our great shipbuilding and shipping industries, which have perhaps more than any of our other industries built up our commercial position in the world, should be denied the right to buy the materials they require at world prices?

Incidentally it may be mentioned that though our iron and steel makers are complaining of foreign dumping the returns of the Board of Trade show that our exports of iron and steel goods are more than double the value of our imports. The exports in 1930 were £51,000,000 and the imports £23,000,000. If, then, the majority of our iron and steel producers are able to sell their goods abroad, how is it that the minority are unable to overcome foreign competition in the home market? Moreover, if Parliament should concede the demand of those iron and steel producers who ask for a protective tariff and thus shut out foreigners who are now sending us a certain amount of iron and steel goods, these foreigners would at once turn their attention to the possibility of capturing some of the foreign markets which we now hold and our export trade would consequently suffer. There would thus be a double loss; our home consumers would lose the advantage they now possess of being able to buy foreign iron and steel goods at low prices, and our exporters of iron and steel goods would lose some of their foreign markets.

This consideration applies to our trade generally. Great Britain has an enormous export industry. Per head of population our

exports are about double those of any other country in the world. We have built up this gigantic export industry by the efficiency of our exporting manufacturers. If they are sufficiently competent to command world markets abroad, how is it that our manufacturers producing for the home market should confess themselves unable to compete with foreign goods sent to Great Britain? This confession of failure, openly proclaimed by the advocates of protection, is not going to help our industries to secure a good reputation in the markets of the world. Yet it is on her export trade that Great Britain depends for her national life.

One argument for tariffs which is constantly being pressed nowadays in view of the slump in trade is that if we had tariffs we could use them as a weapon to compel other countries to lower their tariffs against our goods. That is a very plausible argument. Admittedly other countries are not quite playing the game with us. We allow them practically free entry into our markets; they by high tariffs exclude a good many of our products from their markets. It is therefore plausible to suggest that we might say to the foreigner, "Either you let us in free or we will shut you out." The answer is that practically all foreign countries have tariffs against one another, and none of them get better treatment in their respective markets than we do. Under the most-favoured-nation clause of the commercial treaties which exist between Great Britain and various foreign countries British goods are admitted into practically all foreign countries at the lowest tariff rates. If therefore foreign countries cannot get from one another by means of the tariffs they all possess better terms than they give to us, it is extremely improbable that we should improve our position by starting tariffs.

There is a further difficulty of great practical importance. We cannot merely say in general terms to a foreign country: Reduce your tariffs or we shall put on tariffs against you. We have to decide in advance what particular tariffs we shall put on and that decision must seriously affect particular industries of our own. To begin with there is the difficulty of the most-favoured-nation clause in our commercial treaties just referred to. That clause binds us as well as our neighbours. We could not, for example, put a duty on French wheat for bargaining purposes with France without also putting the same duty on wheat imported from other countries. To scrap these treaties would be a disaster to our trade, and even if this were done the difficulty would still remain of deciding what particular tariff we were to select for use as a weapon. A duty on Belgian iron and steel would be a powerful weapon against Belgium. It would be welcomed by British makers of iron and steel, but if the Belgians gave way and reduced their

duties on other British goods the iron and steel duties would have to go and what would our iron and steel makers then be saying? This difficulty is fundamental, and no one has yet suggested how it is to be solved.

Another favourite argument for tariffs is that our standard of wages in England is higher than the standard in other countries, and therefore it is only reasonable that we should put duties on foreign goods so as to get a fairer level. To this suggestion the experience of Australia furnishes a striking reply. The Australian Government for years past has been raising tariffs on imported goods, because of the high level of Australian wage rates. But as soon as the tariff is raised, the Australian trade unions demand a further rise in wages because of the increased cost of living. And so the game goes on, with the result—now apparent to the world—that Australia is living beyond her means and is in extreme financial difficulty.

Another popular cry is that we ought to shut out the products of pauper labour. But it is not only in foreign countries that what is called pauper labour is to be found. The standard of life in India is probably lower than that of any other country in the world except China; yet India is still, in spite of the great decline in trade during the past few years, the best customer for British goods. Are we, because of the cheapness of Indian labour, to impose prohibitive duties on the goods that British India sends to Great Britain?

A much more attractive argument for a protective system of tariffs is the suggestion that tariffs might serve as a link of Empire. That suggestion makes a wide appeal throughout Great Britain and makes a somewhat less wide appeal in the Dominions. The idea that we should encourage trade within our own family, as it were, strikes the imagination of all Englishmen who value the great Empire which their ancestors built up and which they are helping to maintain. But though this ideal has occupied a big space in the minds of our people for several generations the practical difficulties in the way have hitherto proved insuperable. In earlier centuries the conception of trade within the Empire was based on the assumption that the colonists whom England had sent out must subordinate their trade interests to those of the Mother Country. Apart from certain exceptions they were compelled to limit their trade to the ships and to the ports of Great Britain. They constantly resented this limitation of their freedom, and England's insistence upon it was the final cause of the revolt of the American colonies. To-day, perhaps as the result of vague memories of that revolt, the attitude of the Mother Country is reversed. She is offering, in effect, to make all the sacrifices;

the Dominions are plainly stating that they intend to consider their own interests first. At the recent Imperial Conference, Mr. Bennett, the Premier of Canada, made it clear that any preferences that Canada might give to Great Britain would be subject to the condition that the interests of Canada came first. A precisely similar attitude is taken up by the other Dominions. As a matter of fact all the Dominions are heavily taxing goods received from the Mother Country, so that they may build up local industries to compete with hers.

Nor is there any chance, judging by present facts, of the Dominions and Colonies ever being in a position to give opportunities for British trade that will enable us to dispense with our foreign trade. In spite of the territorial expansion of the British Empire which followed the Great War, the exports of Great Britain to countries within the Empire, including Protectorates and mandated territories, still remain considerably less than half of our total export trade. It is also important to note the fact that the Dominions are relatively increasing their trade with foreign countries. The largest of Great Britain's world customers is India, but unfortunately the present political situation in India adversely affects British trade. In the last three years British exports to India have declined from £84,000,000 to £53,000,000. The coal trade furnishes a striking example of Great Britain's dependence upon her foreign customer. Empire countries take hardly any British coal. Our principal customers for coal are France, Italy, Germany and Belgium. But the enthusiasts for Empire trade, failing to find any satisfactory features in our total exports to Empire countries as compared with foreign countries, try to console themselves by pointing out that some of our Dominions take per head of their population larger totals of British goods than foreign countries do. That, however, leads us nowhere. Our best customer, as above stated, is India, but per head of the Indian population British exports to India are minute, about three shillings. On the other hand, the Channel Islands take about forty-one pounds' worth of British exports per head of their population. It would hardly be profitable to scrap our trade with 300,000,000 Indians in order to concentrate on trade with fewer than one million Channel Islanders. Yet this is what is suggested by the per-head argument in support of trade with the Dominions. Happily, in spite of the exaggerated importance which many people attach to Empire trade, an active movement is being carried on for improving our trade with foreign countries, and the Prince of Wales has given a most valuable impetus to that movement by his visit to South America.

All schemes for regulating trade by tariffs, or by other forms

of State interference, overlook the fact that trade is necessarily an extremely complex matter. Trade would not exist at all if people were content with the things that they produce themselves or that their own families produced. It is just because people want something else than the things they produce that they trade with other people. For example, a few years ago I met in Yorkshire the heads of two firms in the woollen trade, one a spinner, the other a weaver. The weaver bought his yarn, not from his friend the Yorkshire spinner, but from France. The spinner sold his yarn not to the Yorkshire weaver, but to Germany. It was purely a question of quantities. Thousands of similar illustrations of the complexities of trade could be given, and it is safe to assume that the men who are engaged in this business, and whose living depends upon the success they achieve, will understand better what is the wisest course to pursue than any politician. That is the broad general argument against tariffs or any other form of interference with trade, and that argument remains as sound to-day as in past generations. The fact that we are suffering from a trade depression does not justify the establishment of tariffs which, though they might benefit some favoured industries, would injure others.

Indeed, if we look at the world as a whole there is no escape from the conclusion that tariffs are one of the main causes of the present world-wide depression. The great trouble from which the world is suffering to-day is the fact that goods are being produced in large quantities without adequate consideration of the capacity of the world to consume them. Both in the case of agriculture and in the case of manufacturing industries this awkward fact is partly due to improvements of machinery and other improvements in methods of production, but unfortunately the different countries of the world, instead of considering what they can do to increase consumption, or if necessary to diminish production, are all devoting their efforts to stimulating the activities of their own producers either by tariffs or by bounties. This policy is in progress not only between foreign countries but also between different parts of the Empire. Not only are the British Dominions trying to stimulate their manufacturing industries by means of tariffs, but also they are pushing the sales of their agricultural produce by means of bounties. Australia, for example, is giving a big bounty on the export of butter and is proposing a further bounty on the export of wheat. Simultaneously the Dominions are engaged in what may be almost described as a tariff war with one another. For example, Canada and Australia both have hostile duties against New Zealand butter. Similar movements are active throughout Europe. The world is, in fact, suffering from what is now known

as economic nationalism, and unfortunately the people who guide that policy limit their outlook to the interests of the producer.

That indeed is almost an inevitable evil when politicians interfere with trade, for the politician, as pointed out earlier in this article, though nominally concerned with the interests of his country as a whole, is in practice controlled by the interests of particular groups of people who are able to put electoral pressure upon him. There seems little hope of escape from this trouble, which is largely the cause of the present world trade depression, unless by some means or another people can be brought to realise that the business of the State is to think of the consumer first, for it is he who finally determines the direction of industry. Make the consumer happy and he will keep the producer busy.

HAROLD COX.

THE SPANISH CAULDRON.

THE last of the Hapsburg kings is at bay. Flanked by his faithful political paladins of the old order he has once more turned on his adversaries and bid them do their worst. "*C'est magnifique,*" mais . . . it savours a little too much of Canute trying to beat back the waves. It is Spain's tragedy that Alfonso XIII was born several centuries too late; it is his own personal tragedy that on every occasion when he has gone out to meet the aspirations of "the New Spain," circumstances have conspired to suck the monarchy back still further into the vortex.

Inevitably one is drawn to use feudal terms in appraising the present situation in Spain. The case of Rudolf of Hapsburg vainly seeking to suppress the galvanic forces that were working to make a federated Swiss nation presents a striking parallel. The difference is mainly in the character of the rebels themselves, who in Spain add to the inherent individualism of the Iberian a marked feudal imprint that shackles their every movement of revolt. A nation which in many respects has still to burst the bonds of feudalism finds itself now at one and the same time in conflict with a king representing an alien tradition and a political system which, parliamentary in name, in fact was pure feudalism. The successors of Canovas and Sagasta, champions of the alternating "Conservative" and "Liberal" parties, were able to marshal their regiments of political levies for the purpose of more or less sham elections, but throughout the dismal period of the Restoration (1876-1923) there was a fatal hiatus between the parliamentary tourneys of oratory and the surging national life. It came to be taken for granted that with the advent of each successive Cabinet there would be a convenient distribution of the provinces among the vassals, and just as the knights in the tournament were known by the colours of the fine ladies for whom they jousted, so the civil governors were wont to exhibit the political tattoo-mark of their respective suzerains.

The spiritual and economic resurgence of Spain is perhaps one of the most remarkable phenomena of the century. Sooner or later it was bound to seek political expression, and aside from the steadily-growing attraction of the Socialist myth, it naturally took the form of a profound disgust with the "political" system hitherto in vogue. When, therefore, in September 1923, General Primo de Rivera, in characteristic Spanish fashion, came "to save his country" and send the politicians packing, he really did succeed in cutting the Gordian knot that bound Spain to its past and unwittingly brought to maturity the latent forces of renovation. His *coup d'état* was something more than a military pro-

nunciamento, because it responded to this deep under-current of dissatisfaction, and it is significant that *El Sol*, the *Manchester Guardian* of Spain, welcomed the dictatorship in its early months. The dictatorship, however, as such régimes always do, brought its own problems, and the key to the present political confusion in Spain is this dual task incumbent on the present generation of Spaniards, of liquidating seven-and-a-half years of arbitrary rule and simultaneously constituting a genuine body politic which shall blend with the national soul. Of these two immanent forces moulding Spain's political destiny, the one is, of course, mainly negative, the other a positive constructive impulse. Until the latter predominates—and it is far from doing so at present—there is little hope of any palatable concoction emerging from the Spanish cauldron. The alternate process of simmering and boiling will and must continue.

It can be shown that the concentration of animus on the head of King Alfonso himself is to some extent fortuitous. He does, of course, represent the Hapsburg-Bourbon tradition of absolutism—which the 1876 Constitution was designed primarily to fetter—and Spaniards, who are as sensitive of their dignity and self-respect as the modern educated Indian, have convinced themselves that Spain is an object of mild scorn to the outside world simply on account of its anachronistic monarchy. In actual fact, that is not where the shoe pinches. The special circumstances of this country, and not a dynastic atavism, are responsible for King Alfonso being, for all practical purposes, his own dictator. He it was who, in the parliamentary period, assumed naturally enough the power of which the politicians, with one or two notable exceptions, were unworthy; who welcomed (to say the least) General Primo de Rivera and his fellow-generals as a means of grace for the country that he dearly loves, and at the same time as a screen for his own personal disgrace, i.e. his responsibility for the Annual disaster in Morocco (1921) on which the parliamentary commission was about to issue its report; who, seeing that his dictator had forfeited the support of the majority of the Army, improved the occasion by replacing him by his Chief of the Military Household; who, taking a short-sighted view of the task of the "reconstitution of Spanish politics" which was the mission of the Berenguer Government, merely succeeded in driving still deeper the wedge between himself and the nation; who finally has refused to walk the plank that was put down for him as recently as February 17th by Sr. Sanchez Guerra, Monarchist turned Republican, and Sr. Melquiades Alvarez, Republican turned Monarchist.

Alfonso the debonair deserves, of course, the tribute paid to him by the foreign Press on that occasion for his skill in manipulating
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the pieces of his miniature chess-board. But no one who knows the situation in Spain or meets and talks with Spaniards can honestly subscribe to the facile enthusiasm for King Alfonso's ability. Granted that it is a difficult business for the Sovereign in the circumstances to bridge the gulf that separates the Throne from the People, nevertheless the worst possible posture for King Alfonso would appear to be to identify himself once more with the discredited *políticos* of the old régime. Yet that is precisely what he has done. And in view of the widespread political effervescence, the present government of "monarchist concentration" has perforce had to maintain a host of restrictions on liberty and civil rights that have automatically earned for it the name of the third Dictatorship. Liberals like Count Romanones and the Marques de Alhucemas (who was Prime Minister of the Government ignominiously expelled by the Military Directory) have placed themselves in an invidious position by co-operating with dyed-in-the-wool Conservatives and even "minions" of the Dictatorship, in a wild and despairing effort to save the Throne. They recognise, it is true, that the country demands a *Cortes* emerging from "sincere" elections, with power to modify the 1876 Constitution, but they are not prepared to compromise the King's Majesty by leaving the future form of government of Spain to a free verdict of the nation.

"The mixture as before" is the judgment passed on the Aznar "solution" by the two classes of disgruntled Spaniards, one of which is intent on undoing all that was done in seven-and-a-half years of illegality, and the other looking towards the establishment of a new order, completely distinct from the game of politics as played before 1923, and therefore by necessity a Republic. Not positive attraction, however, but sheer desperation is impelling Spaniards towards "the Republican adventure," as Sr. Cambó calls it, and that is why Englishmen cannot help wishing still that King Alfonso could find some way out of the present *imbroglio ad maiorem Patriae gloriam*.

Perhaps the greatest blow to the King was the publication, three days after the Royal Decree of the Berenguer Government for elections which were generally repudiated, of a letter from Sr. Santiago Alba, the ex-Liberal and Foreign Minister who has been resident in Paris since he was publicly accused by General Primo de Rivera of peculation. The King made a special point of conversing with Sr. Santiago Alba on his way through to England last summer and must have known very well the ex-Minister's attitude to the Spanish problem. Yet he appears to have counted on Sr. Alba to come forward with Sr. Cambó, the most up-to-date and least discredited of Conservative politicians, to begin again

the parliamentary game of ins and outs, as if nothing had happened since 1923. A passage from Sr. Alba's letter will illuminate better than any words of mine the "ideological" issue that bars the way to any political progress:

I declared then (in a letter published in April, 1930, after his conversation with the King) that, if the Régime were to follow the plan that was being pursued by the Berenguer Government and has now been formally ratified, the authority of any *Cortes* reared on such foundations would be automatically tainted and that this would be, not a solution, but *another* grave and possibly irremediable obstacle to Spain's progress along a normal and dignified path which shall provide an exit from the labyrinth created by the Dictatorship. That is the situation to-day. Let us have no illusions. Spain is suffering to-day from a state of civil war, latent or clamorous, waged by pacific means or methods of violence alternatively, but all the time acute and menacing. One half of Spain is being incited against the other half. Each is waiting and watching upon the other under the sign of repression or conspiracy. It is the evil legacy of all dictatorships. The first, most serious and most urgent business of those of us taking an active part in public life must be to put an end to it. . . .

It is necessary to divert these turbid waters into normal channels of opinion and legality. It is necessary to avoid further and otherwise inevitable bloodshed. It is necessary to face the dynamic give-and-take struggle of all great democracies. No State can put up with the alternative of chronic conspiracy and repression. It is necessary to hand over to citizens the key of their own destiny instead of seeking it, as some do, in the aid of a few friendly generals, in the support of so many regiments of the Army or in the protection of the Civil Guard. . . .

Let us adopt the remedy at whatever cost. The first thing of all is that Spain should flourish, and Spain cannot flourish—we can see that perfectly well—if she is to be burdened by these problems which are created, not by external circumstances nor indeed internal *malaise*, as is the scourge of other peoples of the world, but by the passionate determination, on the one hand, or listless apathy on the other, of her own sons.

Let us recognise that in our country there can be no peace—I am referring not only to material tranquillity but to the moral state of peace, not merely to calm in the streets but to that still more important calm of conscience, so long as the Highest Powers of the State do not submit themselves at the end of the two Dictatorships to the test of a popular verdict. The Republicans and the Socialists demand it. A very important section of the national opinion, much more substantial in both quantity and quality than could ever have been imagined in the time of the Restoration or the Regency, sympathises with that demand. Even among the Monarchists themselves there are those who secretly subscribe to it. . . .

Sr. Alba has now definitely thrown in his lot with the so-called "Constituent" group composed of former Conservative and

Liberal politicians, with a certain following who maintain their attitude of non-co-operation until such time as the King faces the music. These persons do not, of course, refuse the name of Monarchists, but they are unlikely to depart from their present attitude. Apart from them, but equally likely to fall in with the national demand, is Sr. Francisco Cambó, who is represented in the present Government by Sr. Ventosa, Minister of Finance. Sr. Cambó has recently founded the Centre Constitutional Party which should provide a nucleus for the Right *bloc* in any future *Cortes*. He has also made even the present Government pay the price of his support with an important declaration on the question of autonomy for Catalonia. The present Government cannot, of course, solve this problem or the equally important one which they have set themselves—the stabilisation of the peseta—but at least they can initiate the proper measures for their solution. Their promise of a *Cortes* this coming summer is, of course, moonshine and no one takes very seriously the genial optimism of Count Romanones. A *Cortes minus* Socialists, Liberals and the increasing section of the nation which is behind the Constituent group, would be a travesty.

Like the Berenguer Government this second contingent of "*criados del rey*" (servants of the King) may be credited with the best intentions in the world, with an honest resolve to compass that "civil concord" which is indeed the country's greatest need. But, as Sr. Alba's letter suggests—and the fall of the previous Cabinet a week after suspension of the intermittent Press censorship goes to confirm—theirs is an impossible task. The Bourbon majesty *plus* all the interests enlisted in the defence of the established order are powerless against the modern form of rebellion, passive resistance. And a Government which after a month still lacks the moral courage to lift the censorship, re-establish civil guarantees and even to cut away the remaining dead wood of the Dictatorship is obviously shaky, liable indeed to give up the ghost like its predecessor once the tap of suppressed indignation is turned on again. Within the Cabinet, of course, there are sharp differences of opinion. Sr. de la Cierva, Minister of Public Works, is known to be a fierce opponent of the policy of attaching the peseta, stabilised say, at forty to the £, to the gold standard lifebuoy, and the volume of more or less interested protest by the partisans of re-valorisation (the dream of the peseta exchange at the old par value has not yet faded) on the occasion of the recent visit of M. Pierre Quesnay, Director of the Bank for International Settlements, bodes ill for the course mapped out by the Minister of Finance, who is also, naturally, accused of working simply in the interests of Catalonian and other exporters.

A more immediate source of friction is provided by the ado with regard to the Penal Code. One of the concrete accomplishments of the Primo de Rivera Civil Dictatorship was the drafting of a more up-to-date code of criminal law to supersede the old precepts of 1870. It was worked out by one of the Committees of the National Consultative Assembly, but from its publication in September 1928 it has been always associated with the name of the Dictator's Minister of Grace and Justice who introduced it. Now it happens that Sr. de la Cierva was Chairman of the Code Committee, while the present Minister of Justice, the Marquis de Alhucemas, in his capacity of President of the Academy of Jurisprudence, had not long ago voiced the prevailing demand for its instant abrogation, along with all other "illegal" measures of the Dictatorship. The Press lays particular emphasis on the undoing of this arbitrary deed because the Code does make a serious attempt to institute an effective system of control of newspaper statements. One would have thought that it was in everybody's interest to prevent journalistic liberty degenerating into licence, as was unfortunately in the past the case in Spain, but no! anything to do with the Dictatorship is written down as "unclean" and must go.

In this dilemma the Government only seeks to gain time. The Marquis de Alhucemas has invited professional advice from all the appropriate organisms on the question of reforming, where necessary, the Galo Ponte Code, but the answer is a foregone conclusion, and it has already been made by the Madrid College of Lawyers, namely that any mere tinkering with that Code is to recognise implicitly its legality. I mention this as a good example of the "all or nothing" attitude of Spaniards which effectually excludes in most cases a common-sense, realistic solution of their problems.

The Government then seeks to gain time, in order to carry through its arrangements for the "furiously sincere" elections that General Berenguer sought in vain. But here the astute Count Romanones has stolen a march on the bluff soldier. While promising that the elections to the *Cortes* shall take place in the last fortnight of June—and that the *Cortes* itself will have a "Constituent" character—he has stoutly maintained both before and since he took office that it is essential to have municipal and provincial elections first. The municipal elections are fixed for April 12th and, it must be confessed, the Government are taking the most rigorous precautions to ensure fair play. In deference to popular clamour the Municipal Charter and Provincial Statute of 1924 and 1925 respectively—one of the most helpful contributions of the Dictatorship to the Spanish policy—are being ignored, and

the 1877 Law is to be the one in force, thus excluding woman suffrage, P.R. and corporative representation. All mayors and town councillors appointed by Royal Decree under the previous Government are deposed, though re-eligible. And instructions have been given to the thirty or so newly-appointed Civil Governors such as have never been known before in Spain. Any established case of hanky-panky on their part—one thinks of the pleasant practice of *encasillado* by which opponents were conveniently shut up on polling-day—is to be punished with instant dismissal by telegram.

For all that, cynicism and pessimism represent the prevailing attitude towards these municipal elections. The idea that it is simply an opportunity of dividing the spoils is rooted in the average Spaniard's mind, and so in the Press of the Left the new Civil Governors have been promptly docketed as so many liege-men of Romanones, so many of Count Bugallal, the Conservative leader, etc. It is this frame of mind which makes one say that politically the Spaniards are hopeless and don't deserve any better political system.

Secretly, however, both supporters and opponents of the régime are eagerly looking forward to these municipal elections, the first for eight years. The occasion will be a very useful test of strength, a rehearsal as it were of the Monarchy v. Republic challenge, and on the result of the local contests will depend the maintenance or not of the boycott of the elections to *Cortes*. The Socialists in particular are leaving no stone unturned to capture seats in every province. Their decision to join forces with the Republican groups, where this can be done by mutual agreement, has come as a surprise to many people, for the thesis of the party had always been that they should remain outside ordinary political skirmishes and concentrate on the class-struggle and safeguarding the social interests of the workers. The change of tactics does not meet with the approval of "the old gang" of leaders, Professor Julian Besteiro, Angel Saborit, and others, who have resigned from the executive in consequence. It is indeed significant of the inexorable character of the issue "for or against the régime" which dominates the Spanish scene. Before the meeting of the National Committee on February 22nd, which issued these tactical orders, the provisional coalition of Socialists and Republicans was already indeed an accomplished fact. Are not the most revered leaders of the Socialist Party and the General Union of Workers respectively Professor Fernando de los Rios and Sr. Largo Caballero, now accommodated in the Model Prison in Madrid in company with the "Republican" members of the Provisional Government which was to take over after the December revolt?

In a striking article published on March 11th, Sr. Francisco Cambó, whose reappearance on the political stage is perhaps the most notable event of the day, confidently asserts that the Socialists have made a great mistake. He sees in the decision to form a united front with other anti-monarchical elements a certain loss of their working-class strength and the inevitable secession of such elements into the anarchist-syndicalist camp or even the Communist group. It may be allowed that Cambó is haunted by memories of the *Sindicatos Unicos* in their hey-day before General Martinez Anido stamped out terrorism by ruthless Black-and-Tan methods. But he is usually well-informed, and he may well be right. The rivalry between the moderate constitutional Socialism of the Union of Workers and the disciples of the early French syndicalism, direct action, etc., has certainly once more become acute. It was, of course, the explanation of the various strikes all over the country last November and December which were the cause of more sleepless nights among honest bourgeois—and, be it said, foreign residents—than any "revolution."

The same article by Sr. Cambó contains a good many home truths which the large floating population not wedded to either Guelf or Ghibelline (Monarchy or Republic) is now no doubt carefully digesting. The wealthy industrialist and Mæcenas of the arts in Catalonia—a kind of Rathenau of Spain—acknowledges the strength of the tide of opinion flowing against "the régime" and "Him in whom it is incarnate," but he deplores the naïve presumption that a "revolutionary" movement to turn out the King is going to stop there. His idea is that in the present year of grace any such "political" revolution would be inevitably swallowed up in a social revolution. It is the conventional bogey of Bolshevism which the spokesmen of the possessing classes frequently conjure up. But there is substance in it in a country like Spain, where, as a writer in the January number of *The Contemporary* pointed out, interest in Soviet Russia and literature about its achievements abound. And Sr. Cambó is probably right when he says that, although indeed sporadic disturbances might continue for some time, the much-heralded "revolution" is doomed to failure because of the state of mind predominating in the country. This he defines as a feeling of rancour, a negative sentiment which, however justified, is not the stuff that kindles the flames of revolution—which is not, in any interpretation, zeal for a complete upheaval of the social order. His conclusion is that nothing positive or constructive can come out of a movement which is simply "agin the régime." He points to the ineradicable difference of ideas and of training of the motley anti-Monarchical throng, which would come out in all their intensity

"the day after the revolution" and so lead to the chaos of which every Spaniard is desperately frightened. Wherefore, he says, you should support the present Government which at least has a programme that includes most of Spain's pressing problems and a good chance of carrying it out.

The self-regarding intention is a little too transparent. But there is no question that the formal adhesion of Sr. Cambó to the Monarchy and the established order is one of those unconsidered trifles that are pregnant with consequences. Already after the amalgamation of his *Liga Regionalista* with the remnants of the old Maurist party (whose leader is Minister of Labour in the present Cabinet) "the Cambó solution" was being spoken of as the King's next step. And since the Catalan leader is nothing if not a realist he may yet prevail upon King Alfonso to make that small gesture of abnegation—throwing himself on the mercy of his people expressing the national will through a Constituent Assembly, which is all that is needed to save the situation. Sr. Sanchez Guerra's remark when he was called upon in the recent crisis to form a Government among the recalcitrants—"Reality (*realidad*) is stronger than Royalty (*realeza*)" remains the key-phrase, although he himself was too much of a romantic idealist—a Spaniard in fact—to make possible its application.

The immediate purpose of the new Centre Constitutional Party is to recruit for the service of the Monarchy business and professional elements that have hitherto stood outside politics, a direct response to the League for the Service of the Republic, organised early this year by Jose Ortega y Gasset, Ramon Perez de Ayala and other considerable "intellectuals," and which boasts already an enrolment of some twenty-five thousand persons. The Duke of Alba has hastened to join the Cambó party.

It was certainly high time that something was done to harvest the much-dispersed zeal for a modern progressive Spanish nation. The sponsors of this new association do not profess political convictions—Sr. Ortega y Gasset declined a post in the Cabinet that Sr. Sanchez Guerra almost formed in February—they conceive their task to be first and last one of civic education. And if they can succeed in developing a real political sense in the charming and highly-intelligent Spaniard—to whom this one boon has so far been denied by the gods—they, and not either King, Military Dictator or grandiloquent *politico*—will go down to posterity as the saviours of Spain.

It is inevitable in present circumstances that their ship should set sail under the sign of Republic. Sr. Ortega y Gasset explained to me the other day at some length that the King was irremediably compromised by the vested interests which, oblivious

of the welfare of the nation, had battered on the Monarchy's prestige. (The allusion is to the Church and the Army, although indeed one of the most remarkable phenomena of Spain to-day is the number of officers and ecclesiastics rallying to the anti-Monarchical forces. Cf. France under Louis XVI.) "The Monarchy of Saguntum has not managed to convert itself into a nationalised institution, it has been an association of private groups living parasitically on the Spanish organism, using public power for the defence of private interests. . . ." This note of contrast between the living spiritual reality of the Nation and "the traditional Spanish State now reaching its last stages of decomposition . . . succumbing to its own inherent vices"—runs through all the educational work of this Spanish "Congress Party." It is an entirely healthy symptom, the one positive among a bewildering mass of negatives.

Whether King Alfonso, when the present tumult and shouting dies, will be there to assist by his precious qualities of leadership in the process of "nationalising the Spanish State" is an open question. Most Spaniards would answer with an indignant "No." I am not so sure. In any case there is a great future for Spain along the lines indicated in the battle-cry of the *Agrupacion al servicio de la Republica*—and that way alone—"Iberia Resurgent made a reality."

W. HORSFALL CARTER.

LADY BURGHCLERE'S *STRAFFORD*.*

THE great figures of the seventeenth century have suffered from being presented too much in harsh blacks and whites. Strafford lives in the popular memory largely through Macaulay's portrait, as the champion of despotism and the foe of popular liberties, while to some few he has the melancholy charm of the loyalist who gives himself for a lost cause. Even so, Cromwell for two centuries was Burke's "great bad man" or a saint misunderstood, and Montrose a leader of savage banditti or a Bayard born out of season. Truth lies somewhere between these violent antitheses, and we are slowly seeing the seventeenth-century leaders receive a juster interpretation.

It is strange that the character that so fascinated Browning should have been almost the last to have justice done to him. Strafford fills a large part in the general histories of the epoch, but hitherto there has been no adequate biography. There is Knowler's collection of letters published in 1739 with Sir George Radcliffe's memoir, and there is Dr. O'Grady's admirable study of the Irish administration; but Lady Burghclere's book is the first attempt to present the man and his career as a whole. She has had great opportunities, for she has had access to the unpublished papers in the Fitzwilliam collection, and has been able in consequence to show Strafford in his intimate correspondence with friends like Laud, as well as in his domestic life. The result is a recognisable picture of a man, a great man by whatever standards he be tried. Lady Burghclere is a most competent and candid biographer; she makes no claim for impossible virtues, and she is quick to acknowledge faults; her purpose is to show the complete Strafford, the fiery, indefatigable, resolute builder who lived and died for his work, and to set that work in a proper perspective. Her style has a pleasant simplicity, and she lets the facts provide their own rhetoric. She has produced not only a substantial contribution to our understanding of the seventeenth century, but a faithful revelation of a very great Englishman.

No one who has studied the Vandyck portraits can be in doubt as to the meaning of what Robert Baillie, the Covenanter, called that "proud, gloomy countenance." The tall, spare figure, bent at the shoulders by much desk work, the rugged features, the dark, bent brows are all instinct with authority. "A brave commanding face," wrote his friend Exeter, "which sheweth gravity without dullness, severity without cruelty . . . and love without extravagancy." Here is a true man of action, a Themistocles who could make little towns into great cities. The seventeenth century was

a time of intellectual turmoil, when both in religion and politics men sought an infallible canon, and were prepared to die for minute speculative distinctions. But this man is clearly no metaphysician, and assuredly no dogmatist. His creed, whatever it is, must be a working creed, a practical rule to build by, and not an abstraction of the closet.

A political faith he had, but it was simple and forthright. If law was to reign and life to be tolerable and secure for all, there must be a central authority, and that he found in the monarchy. But Lady Burghclere is right; the popular view which makes Strafford share with Laud the responsibility for Charles's attempt at personal government is false; "his part in that unprofitable experiment was small." He was bred a lawyer and had that "fear for the laws" with which Hobbes credited Sydney Godolphin—a characteristic of the best Royalists which is too often forgotten. He believed in Parliament, and began his career fighting by the side of Hampden and Eliot for its privileges; he was responsible for the substance of the Petition of Right, and his Irish government was strictly parliamentary. "I will not fall," he told the House of Commons, "into the deep of foreign actions, but address myself to particulars. I cannot forget the duty I owe my country, and unless we be secure in our liberties we cannot give." To him, as to Montrose, the interest of King, Parliament and People was one and indivisible. "To the joint well-being of sovereignty and subjection do I here vow all my care and diligence." But he hated muddle, inefficiency, corruption and oppression, and when it came to fighting these there must be an authority to act swiftly in emergencies. "Let us make what law we can," he told the House of Commons, "there must be—nay, there will be—a Trust left in the Crown." That is to say, he believed that the safety of the nation in a crisis must depend upon an executive power above and outside the ordinary law, an inalienable and overriding prerogative.

This, of course, is a truism to-day. Probably Pym and Hampden would have accepted it as a general maxim. The trouble came with its application. This residual authority was vested in the King. Could a king like Charles be trusted to use it wisely? Doubtless the safety of the State was the supreme law, but who was to decide where that safety lay? It was less on the question of the monarchy that Strafford differed from Pym, than on the qualities of one particular monarch. Another point of divergence from his first colleagues lay in his latitudinarian attitude to religious strife. He could not understand why the lesser matters of belief and discipline should bulk so large in certain minds; to him most of the quarrel was about things "purely and simply indiffer-

* *Strafford*. By Lady Burghclere. London. Macmillan & Co. Two vols.

ent." Hence it is foolish to talk of his "apostasy." He never changed his views any more than Pym and Eliot changed theirs. He remained the same clear-eyed practical man—only he found a different task and different duties.

We are apt to simplify unduly the problems which confronted the seventeenth-century statesmen. The whole organisation of the State was fluid, both in theory and in practice. Coleridge has acutely observed of that age that "the thinner the realm was (the less both in wealth and in influence and the less they were diffused) the greater was the division of power." There was no clear determination of function between the executive, the judiciary and the legislature. The theorists were busy with the question where sovereignty resided. Some were feeling their way to the notion of the legislative sovereignty of Parliament; others believed in a "law fundamental" as the ultimate power, and thought of the constitution as a thing of delicate balances, and of authority as a commodity scrupulously weighed out and studiously limited. Strafford was not greatly interested in these matters, but he foresaw—what was the truth—that the delicate adjustment, in which many of his own party believed, must end in stagnation, and that it was necessary to emphasise the power of one part in order to make the machine work. To him this part was naturally the monarchy. The Tudors, by aggrandising monarchical power, had saved the land from anarchy; there was a risk of a new anarchy, and where else lay salvation? Therefore, though he gave the Crown no autocracy, he placed the emphasis on it. It was the central point of national unity, and, if it failed, the country would be delivered up to the strife of selfish factions. There was a sound democratic instinct in him, for he was always concerned with the welfare of the "meaner people"—Montrose's very phrase. He would have cordially agreed with Montrose's famous appeal to the commonalty:

Do you not know, when the monarchical government is shaken, the great ones strive for the garlands with *your* blood and *your* fortune? Whereby you gain nothing . . . but shall purchase to yourselves vultures and tigers to reign over your posterity.

So this most practical man, who had already shown his cool realism in his attitude to foreign affairs, set out to contend with indisputable vultures and tigers. He had no interest in abstract rights, but he had a passion for concrete justice.

Strafford was very far from being the melodramatic devotee of blood and iron of the old history books. Lady Burghclere has shown the strength of his family affections and his devotion to his friends and his home. He would have been very happy as a plain

country gentleman, busy about his gardens and stables and kennels. No one ever wrote more endearing letters to his children. In Ireland, when he could escape from his duties, he was off to fish for trout, or to hawk—he complains of the absence of partridges around Dublin which compelled him to fly his falcons only at blackbirds—or to oversee the erection of his little shooting lodge. Here is an extract from a letter to Laud which shows the pro-consul in undress:

I am playing the Robin Hood, and here in the country of Mountains and Woods hunting and chasing all the out-lying deer I can light of; but to confess truly, I met with a very shrewd rebuke the other day: for standing to get a Shoot at a Buck I was so abominably bitten with midges as my face is all mezzled over ever since, itches still as if it were mad; the Marks they set will not go off again, I will warrant you, this week. I never felt or saw such in England. Surely they are younger brothers to the Muskitoes the Indies brag of so much.

But his business was with the vultures and tigers, and there was no lack of them. His first task was, as President of the Council of the North, to see that the King's law was enforced north of Trent, to protect every man in his own belongings, and to raise money for the Crown—that is to say, for the service of the State.

"I do here offer myself," he declared, "an instrument for good in every man's hand; he that thus useth me most hath the most of my heart, even to the meanest man within the whole jurisdiction."

As a Privy Councillor he was a member of what was the equivalent of a Cabinet. He had to administer the Poor Law, supervise the draining of the Yorkshire fens, keep the militia up to strength, and wrestle with obstructive nobles and stupid gentry. His methods often lacked tact, for he did not suffer fools gladly, and his fiery honesty made him intolerant of rogues. He could be harsh and hasty, but he put the North into some kind of order, and, though he made many enemies, these enemies could substantiate no single charge against him at his trial.

Then came the appointment as Lord Deputy of Ireland. If England was disturbed, Ireland was ancient chaos. Strafford succeeded the incompetent elder Falkland; the land was poverty-stricken, and the "Great Earl" of Cork was making a fortune out of money-lending; the coasts were harried by pirates, and he himself had great difficulty in getting across the narrow seas; the plantation system was breaking down; and the rule of the Lord Justices in Dublin was a farce. No more seemingly hopeless task ever confronted a man with a passion for decent order. It is on his eight years of Irish government that Strafford's chief title to

fame must rest, and Lady Burghclere has expounded very fully and clearly his miraculous achievements. It may fairly be said that no British pro-consul ever undertook a severer labour, or in a short time produced more solid results.

There was first the problem of the alien Protestant Church and its establishment, as well as its relation to the ancient Church of the country, and on this Lady Burghclere has an admirable chapter. Strafford saw that the Church could only succeed if the best type of "learned painful minister" was attracted to it, and to this end the clergy must be made secure in their livelihood. There was also the difficult problem of Ulster, where the Presbyterian clergy were inclined to pursue the same course as their brethren in Scotland. Strafford did not attempt to press the Laudian policy of conformity, and he disbelieved in penal measures. He must first put the Church on a sound economic basis and get a better type of parson. "It is most certain," he told Laud, "that the to-be-wished Reformation must first work from ourselves." So he made war upon simony and corruption and told refractory bishops that he would have their rochets pulled over their ears. It was Elizabeth come to life again. He revised the endowments, so that Jeremy Taylor could declare that the Church was twice as well provided for at the end than at the beginning of his government. He induced scholars and saints to cross St. George's Channel. Most of his work was done single-handed, for Ussher, the Primate, was old and timid, and Bramhall was vehemently unpopular. He refused to bear hardly on the Roman Catholics, postponing any attempt at their conversion till he had provided a Church worth being converted to, while Pym across the water was declaring that he "would have all Papists used like madmen." In Ulster he tried mild measures to bring the high-fliers to reason, though he detested "the vanity and lightness of their fantastic doctrine," and it was only in the interests of public peace that he was compelled in the end to make the life of men like Robert Blair so uncomfortable that they retired to Scotland. Strafford's method with the ministers had much of the initial patience and the ultimate firmness of Cromwell's.

Next came the economic problem. He believed that for the sake of peace Ireland should be economically dependent upon England, but he did not interpret this maxim harshly. In many ways his views were ahead of his time; he was a pioneer, for example, in proposing a duty on beer, as a step towards an excise. He has been accused of ruining the Irish cloth manufacture, but there was very little manufacture to ruin. What he did was to make Ireland moderately prosperous. He succeeded to a revenue far below the expenditure and to a heavy debt, and he left the country solvent,

largely by checking speculation. He had to struggle against the vested interests of monopolists and land-grabbers and corrupt officials, and especially against the indefatigable Lord Cork; these men had great purchase in England, both at Court and in Parliament, and he had to fight, like most servants of the Stuarts, with his flanks turned and his rear threatened. But he succeeded by sheer resolution, energy and invincible courage, and the vultures had their claws cut, and the tigers were muzzled. He had the same trouble over the plantation question, and the same kind of opposition, but he carried his point that Ireland should not be the milch cow of "that Nation of people, or rather vermin, which are ever to be found at the Court of Great Princes."

He ended with an annual surplus of £8,500, instead of a deficit of £24,000, and a large reserve fund. He put the plantations in order, and, though he had no military experience, provided an efficient defence force, much of which he trained himself; he cleansed the foul stable of officialdom, set the Church on a sound basis of temporalities, and vastly improved its quality; he so enlarged the export trade that it was nearly double the value of the imports; above all, he put into the land a new spirit of ease and hopefulness. Ireland, as he told the King, was now "a growing People in their first Spring." He did all this by an amazing expenditure of mind and body. He had never been strong, and all his life he was plagued with gout and the stone. His letters are full of complaints about his crazy body, and he was only kept from a breakdown by his sporting expeditions and short spells of rural peace. Ireland made him an old man in his early forties. "I grow extremely old and full of Grey hairs since I came into this Kingdom," he wrote, "and should wax exceeding melancholy were it not for two little girls that come now and then to play by me. Remember, I tell you, I am of no long life." He was always oppressed by the thought that his time on earth would be too short for the work he had to do. But he consoled himself with the reflection that "he lives more that virtuously and generously spends one month, than some other that may chance to dream out some years and bury himself alive all the while."

His reward was to be broken not for his faults, but for his virtues. His vigour and honesty had raised up a host of enemies against him, and his natural defender, the King, proved a reed. He was, in Lady Burghclere's phrase, the "vice-regent of an ineffectual autocrat" and must suffer for the defects of his master. The outbreak of the troubles in Scotland brought him back to that world of religious and constitutional dogmas which he had forsaken for the more practical duty of making crooked things straight. It was not a world in which he moved happily, and

characteristically he tried to reduce the strife of imponderables to practical terms. He gave the King sound advice as to how to treat the Scots, on the assumption that their revolt was the same kind of difficulty with which he had already been faced in Ireland. He was handicapped by imbecile colleagues—the light-headed Antrim, for example, against whose scheme of raising an army of Irish Papists he protested to Charles—the very scheme for the supposed advocacy of which he was destined to lose his own head.

He returned to England shattered in health and full of forebodings, was created an Earl and became virtually Prime Minister. A Parliament was summoned at his instance, and he realised that what he had discarded as matters “purely and simply indifferent” now dominated the popular mind. He was alleged to have declared in Council, “You have an army in Ireland you might employ here to reduce this Kingdom.” Vane said that by this Kingdom was meant England; Strafford declared that he intended Scotland; the phrase was Pym’s chief support in the last indictment. Thereafter he felt the tools breaking in his hand. The defeat of the royal army at Newburn, which London celebrated with rejoicings, convinced him that he could not repeat his Irish triumphs in England. “Pitty me,” he wrote to a friend, “for never came any man to so bad a businesse.” The treaty made with the Scots at Ripon was final proof of the King’s impotence, and Strafford was now confronted not only with the implacable place-hunters whom he had foiled, and the parliamentary theorists like Pym, but with the grim Scots whom he had known and disliked in Ulster, and who made a god of things “purely and simply indifferent.” He was doomed and he knew it. The enemies of monarchy and of Charles would never forgive one who had shown that monarchical power might be made an efficient and beneficent thing. “Stone dead,” said Essex, “hath no fellow.”

He faced the dangers with his old courage, though his body had become very frail. “My heart is good,” he wrote, “and I find nothing cold within me.” Lady Burghclere tells with commendable restraint the tragic story of his arrest, impeachment and attainder. His trial was not, perhaps, a worse travesty of justice than the other treason trials of that century. But a travesty it was, for the dice were clogged against him from the start. His very efficiency proved his ruin, for his aims were identified with Charles’s attempt at autocratic rule, and some of his Irish methods, defensible enough in the circumstances, were read as an effort to establish an arbitrary and illegal government. He was condemned, principally on the single testimony of Vane, his bitter personal enemy. So this man, who believed in Parliaments, who had a “fear for the laws,” who held that “the King and his People

could never be happy till the Prerogative of the Crown and the Liberty of the Subject were so bounded and known that they might go hand in hand together,” suffered for his supposed adherence to a creed which he never held.

In the last scenes Strafford rose to a grave magnificence. During the long, agonising trial, though in the extreme of bodily pain and weakness, he made a superb defence. When the issue was clear, he urged the King to pass the bill of attainder in the interests of peace, and Charles renounced his plighted word and accepted the sacrifice. He met death with calm eyes; it was all one to him whether he laid his head on the block or was torn to pieces by the mob; his race was accomplished. Ussher, who accompanied him to Tower Hill, said that he had “never known a whiter soul,” and that, be it remembered, was the verdict of one who differed widely from him in doctrine and temperament. Another judgment was that of Richelieu—“the English were so foolish that they killed their wisest man”; and the great Cardinal’s words were tragically justified. Less than half a year after Strafford’s death the Irish Rebellion broke out, and his work disappeared in blood and fire. That is what happens when a nation turns its mind away from the instant need of things to the cloudy world of dogma. The idealogues had to have their say for a time, and from their contentions no doubt something emerged of value for the future; but there was to come a day when another practical man, Oliver Cromwell, who had once been Pym’s lieutenant, was forced, after Strafford’s fashion, to turn his eyes from the dream to the reality.

JOHN BUCHAN.

THE CASE FOR WORKS COUNCILS.

IN the years of the nineteenth century, and right up to the Great War when our commercial supremacy in the world was acknowledged, though not unchallenged, the slowly built-up structure of our industrial machinery was a valuable and stable asset. It was far from perfect, but it worked and, on the whole, well. Unfortunately in the widely changed conditions that supervened on the war it has not been found to be well adapted for bringing about the readjustments and alterations in existing practice that are essential if we are to regain our ascendancy. The two sides in industry are powerfully organised in employers' associations and in trade unions, but there is lacking the essential element of direct contact and joint consultation as a regular and normal feature. Our system for these days is much too rigid and conservative, well suited to maintain and support things as they are, but most unhelpful in providing things as they should be. The modern policy of rationalisation, essential yet revolutionary, requires an organisation for carrying it through, supple, elastic and humane.

I feel that the time has come for approaching the question on the lines of the National Industrial Conference of 1919, when representative employers and employed met and agreed on numerous important changes in industry. Owing to the slump that shortly afterwards arrived no action was then taken. The situation now is grave in the extreme and I believe the moment would be well chosen for drawing up a new Charter for Industry, involving so-called sacrifices and surrenders on both sides. Changes in methods of working and systems of payment should be facilitated through joint consultation and need not result in any ultimate decrease in earnings. On the other hand employers should be willing to share with their workers to a far greater extent than they do now the conduct of industry and its proceeds. No part of the problem to-day is more important than the human one, and this is being recognised in international as in internal affairs. The invaluable contacts established at Geneva between foreign ministers at the regular meetings of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations are well known, and the recent Indian Round Table Conference is a classic example of the triumph of goodwill and confidence over suspicion and misunderstanding. The same results would seem to be capable of arising from the Mond-Turner negotiations now being carried forward on a fully representative basis.

The new structure should envisage, to my mind, at the top a National Industrial Council, in each industry a Joint Industrial Council or Trade Board, and in each factory a Works Council.

It is most desirable to give to the trade unions the opportunity to play a constructive part inside industry, with knowledge and responsibility of which I am convinced they are fully capable, and not to continue to confine them to the narrow and combative sphere of wages alone.

The particular purpose of this article is to deal with one aspect only of the new order, the necessity of the setting up on the widest possible scale of Joint Works Councils or Committees. Here I am able to speak with some ten years' experience as Chairman of such a body within my own firm of Mander Brothers Ltd., Wolverhampton. There are a number of very successful and well-known examples in this country, but it will naturally be most effective if I write from direct knowledge. Our Joint Works Committee, as it is called, exists with the object of "bringing the employees into increasingly closer touch with the wider interests and prospects of the business as a whole, and of obtaining the co-operation of all in the carrying on to the best purpose the industry which is the joint concern of both employer and employee." It consists on the management side of the four Managing Directors, a Manager, and one representative each elected by the Office Staff and the Foremen's Council. On the workers' side there are twelve representatives elected from different departments, eleven being from members of the Transport and General Workers Union and one from a number of miscellaneous unions with small memberships on the works lumped together to form one constituency. The Committee is constituted in January of each year and meets in the firm's time. Each side has the right to introduce in an advisory capacity an official of its trade organisation. Thus a trade union representative regularly attends and plays a valuable and helpful part in the discussions. He is able to speak with greater freedom and from wider experience than most of his immediate colleagues, and the introduction of this element has been well justified.

In setting up such a committee it is highly desirable as a first step to consult the trade union concerned, explain frankly what is proposed, and invite friendly co-operation which under such circumstances will generally be given. It should, of course, be made plain that the project is not being put forward with the object of in any way interfering with trade union activities. Any employer who started a scheme with such an intention would meet and deserve to meet with failure and friction. The movement is complementary, and not antagonistic to trade union work. Our Committee discusses in a frank and open way any question which is at all relevant to the conduct of the business or to its industrial conditions, though wages and hours are settled for the whole industry by a Joint Industrial Council. The minutes are published regularly

in the Works Magazine for the information of all concerned. A director is Chairman, a workman Vice-Chairman, and there are Joint Secretaries. The result has been to create a feeling of mutual trust and confidence which has proved of great value to all in dealing with the various problems that are brought forward. Typical items appearing on the agenda are the trade situation, reports on benevolent fund, employees' shares, suggestion scheme, night watchman's report, time-keeping report, pensions scheme, works' annual excursion. I propose to give later examples of the practical working of the Committee.

It has been the usual method of progress in this country to leave people in the first instance full freedom to experiment and try out plans in any particular social field. When individual effort has proved the value of specific schemes by testing them thoroughly and over a sufficient length of time, it has been the practice of the State to step in and by legislative sanction to make the best known private experience into the common rule. Examples that occur readily are the work of the friendly societies and the whole ground covered by social insurance for health, pensions, etc. I am inclined to think that the time has come to consider seriously extending the benefits of Works Councils to industry as a whole, and it was with this object that I introduced into the House of Commons last session and again this session the Works Councils Bill. This Bill would make such Councils compulsory in every factory employing more than fifty workpeople.

Now I well know that there are many who, while whole-heartedly in favour of the extension of the movement on voluntary lines, will feel unable to support any element of compulsion, and I agree that it is far preferable to develop by consent on a voluntary basis. On the other hand it must be remembered that if we are to wait until every employer is persuaded, generations will go by before Works Councils become anything like universal, as the percentage of the population covered now is extremely small. If they are of proved value to master and man alike, then I think we ought to be turning over in our minds the best way of "getting a move on." With this intention I introduced my Bill, which is based on the proposals set forth in Chapter 18 of *Britain's Industrial Future*, more popularly known as the Liberal Yellow Book. I realise that its chances of progress on to the Statute Book at the moment are small; none the less I am convinced that this is the natural path of evolution and that some measure of the kind will some day be in force in this country, just as it is at present the law in Germany, Sweden, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Compulsion would in no way interfere with the excellent Councils now functioning, and it may well be pointed out that if it is desired to avoid the necessity of any

degree of State pressure it is incumbent on all who believe in the enormous services that the movement can render to industry to do everything in their power to extend and develop it by personal example, public testimony and private persuasion.

The proposals of the Bill are as follows, and are based on successful practice at the present time within my own experience. The responsibility of setting up Works Councils in all factories on the appointed day is to rest on the proprietors of the concern. As a guide and help to them the Minister of Labour will prepare draft schemes appropriate to the requirements of varying types of businesses, and to assist the Minister with these there shall be appointed a Works Councils Advisory Committee formed in co-operation with the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, the National Confederation of Employers' Organisations and the Association of Joint Industrial Councils and other similar bodies. No doubt in most cases during the twelve months available a suitable scheme will, given goodwill, be adopted, but in a case of deliberate obstruction the Minister retains the right to devise a scheme himself.

There are certain things every scheme must include, such as (1) the effective representation of the several grades of persons participating in the undertaking, (2) voting rights to all over eighteen years of age, (3) the exercise of certain functions by the Council, as the formulation of agreed works rules and the periodic discussion of subjects enumerated in a schedule, (4) the submission by the management at least once a year of a general statement relative to the commercial and financial position of the concern. With regard to works rules, the advantages in framing these after consultation and in accord with those who will have to obey them are obvious. It is a step towards government by consent in the factory, and the rules will clearly carry a far greater authority with them if they bear upon them the stamp of approval of the workers' representatives in addition to that of the management. We have certainly found it so.

The second schedule giving statutory rights of discussion over various subjects is as follows: Works organisation; conditions of employment; meals, canteen; organisation of short time; method of selection of personnel; apprenticeship and training; welfare; organised recreation; engagement and dismissal of employees; holidays; profit-sharing and co-partnership schemes; pension and benevolent schemes, sickness, unemployment, etc.; continuation schools; suggestion schemes; time-keeping and night-watchmen's reports; medical and other health arrangements; trading prospects, plans of development, changes of policy; works magazine. As regards the financial statement, some information of this kind

is manifestly due to men who are giving their labour year after year as their contribution to the success of the business, and anything given in confidence will be most strictly respected.

One of the most important provisions of the Bill is that which gives to an employee a right of appeal against dismissal. It is laid down that no one shall be dismissed for any moral or disciplinary offence or on the ground of inefficiency until he has been afforded an opportunity of hearing whatever allegations may be made against him, and of stating his case before some responsible person or body approved by the Works Council. Our own practice is that on every occasion when a workman is interviewed for such reasons, even when dismissal is not contemplated, he is accompanied by his shop steward, not necessarily as an advocate or intervener, but to see fair play and to be able to report back that the case was dealt with on its merits, and for no reason of prejudice. He is not expected to concur in the decision taken. An appeal lies to the Works Committee if it is thought that the circumstances warrant it. Nothing does more harm in industry at the present time than the sense of grievance and injustice created by the fact or suspicion that a man has been discharged for some cause other than industrial, perhaps dislike of his views, personality or trade union activities, and the knowledge that a manager or foreman may be called upon to justify his action before a sort of jury of his fellow-employees will make him very careful to have an unassailable defence. In this as in other matters there is no intention of interfering in any way with the ultimate responsibility of the management for taking decisions. That power cannot be delegated to any committee, but it does mean that the power is exercised in full knowledge of the views and wishes of the workpeople, and a wise and successful manager will desire to frame his decisions as far as possible in accord with the constitutionally expressed public opinion of the works.

In this connection a most relevant instance occurs in the provision that no employee shall be dismissed on the ground of shortage of work until the situation has been discussed through the Works Council. It often does not matter much to the employer which individuals are to be discharged, but it reacts most directly on the homes of the individuals, and the alternatives of short time, latest comers to go first or single men first, should be decided according to the wishes of the employees so far as practicable.

Among the items in the Second Schedule are time-keeping and night-watchmen's reports. These are regularly and in detail gone through by us. The workers' side are quick to appreciate the danger caused by combustible material being left about, and to co-operate in preventing it, as well as in such comparatively small

affairs as lights left on, doors and safes left unlocked, casks leaking, etc. The names of persistently bad timekeepers are, in due course, when the management can do nothing further, reported, and the shop stewards use their influence, often most effectively, by pointing out that the conduct of the slackers reflects on their mates and that dismissal is certain and justified unless reform takes place. At one of our meetings some years ago the workers' side asked us to consider the possibility of instituting, through the Benevolent Fund that had been started, pensions at sixty-five of 35s. per week. This ambitious proposal seemed incapable of attainment, but as it was strongly pressed as being most ardently desired by the men, we went into it. After prolonged consideration with experts, a scheme was evolved attaining the result required on a payment of 1s. per week by the men, and a considerable sum spread over forty years by the firm. This has been for some years in operation, taking the place of a smaller non-contributory pension. It is entirely due to the spirit and method of the Works Committee.

I was present on one occasion at a meeting of a Works Council in a large factory where food is dealt with. The firm had recently rescinded an order by which Haig poppies were not to be worn at work on Armistice Day, but a resolution was submitted by the employees asking the Board to adhere to its original decision owing to the danger of particles falling off into the food. Thus the workers exceeded the directors in their zeal for efficiency.

During the troublous post-war years when strikes were frequent there arose the probability of our electric power supply being cut off at short notice owing to lack of coal, and we felt it advisable to put our employees on daily notice. Immediately a meeting of the Works Committee was asked for and summoned, and we were requested not to depart from the standard week's contract. A promise was made that if circumstances warranted a sudden cessation of work, notice would be waived. We accepted this offer and the promise was most honourably kept by the men. Innumerable further examples could be given of beneficial work accomplished, and I mean beneficial to all. I am convinced that the motto, "Honesty is the best policy," is right, and that the generous, humane, broad view inside industry brings with it commercial success, too; indeed, no business can in these days expect to make profits unless it is looked upon as a joint endeavour on the part of all those engaged in it from Chairman to office-boy or unskilled labourer. The key to progress is partnership, and the test of success is, in addition to dividends of cash, dividends of contentment and happiness to every employee. To this result I am convinced Works Councils have a vital contribution to make.

GEORGE MANDER.

SIDELIGHTS ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

THERE are two ways of looking at the new Czechoslovak Republic, first, as a territory forming part of the Central European situation, and secondly, as a progressive national state with its own destiny to fulfil. For the purposes of this article I have chosen the latter viewpoint, and shall endeavour to show that, although the Czechoslovaks have still much to learn in the conduct of their internal affairs, many of their achievements are of the highest order and might well be the objects of study by some of the older nations of Europe.

Czechoslovakia is not one of those countries which can be sized up at a glance. It has to be visited and then subjected to a considerable amount of thought at a safe distance from the propaganda and counter-propaganda factories of Prague, Vienna and Budapest. Few visitors to Bohemia, Moravia or Silesia fail to be impressed by what they see and hear, but in a country with so mixed a population, with so many different forms of religion and such a diversity of language, a correct impression is only possible after a large number of historical and other factors have been made to take their places in proper perspective. The difficulties which the Czechs have overcome in the past have been formidable, the obstacles confronting them to-day are great, and the problems of the future are likely to be of a somewhat complex nature. It is in the light of these difficulties that the Czechoslovak nation should be judged. If during the struggle for independence methods were employed which may be open to criticism, it should be remembered that opportunities usually present themselves once and that, if not taken advantage of in whatever circumstances they arise, they vanish never to return. Opportunity came to the Czechs in the war of 1914-18, and they seized their opportunity although it meant abandoning in time of war their allegiance to the Hapsburg Monarchy. As a soldier I do not feel qualified to express an impartial opinion on this point, and prefer to leave it to the historians; but I think I am qualified to say that, whatever may have been the means employed to attain the object in view, the Czechs have gone far in the last twelve years to prove that the end may sometimes justify the means.

While the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was maintained by means of a balance between Magyar domination in Hungary and German domination in Austria, the Czechs forming a more or less subservient nationality, this system has now been reversed in the Republic of Czechoslovakia. To-day the Czechs are the dominant race in this land of many peoples, while the Germans and Hungarians form national minorities. Yet the Czechoslovak nation

represents only 65 per cent. of the whole, the Czechs alone composing less than half the population. The Germans, nearly a quarter of the population, occupy an area in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia amounting to over one-fifth of the entire country; and the Hungarians, numbering about 750,000, inhabit the southern boundaries of Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia. Out of a total population of fifteen millions it is important to note that eleven millions are concentrated in the western provinces of Bohemia and Moravia which are as advanced and progressive as any agricultural or industrial areas elsewhere, while parts of Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia contain samples of backwardness which can scarcely be surpassed anywhere in Europe. Most people think of Czechoslovakia as essentially an industrial country from which immense quantities of hardware goods are exported to all parts of the world. Up to a certain point this is true, but agriculture plays so important a part in the economic development of this state that it must be described as an agricultural country possessing a convenient equilibrium between agriculture and industry. To a certain extent industrial output exceeds agricultural output, especially in the western districts, but in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia agriculture is predominant. It is impossible to visit the agricultural districts without fully appreciating the scientific development of agricultural processes and the strenuous efforts of the Government to educate the peasants in the best and most profitable methods of farming. Up-to-dateness characterises the large number of agricultural schools dotted about the country, and it is remarkable to see the length to which organisation and method have been carried in order to ensure the greatest output with the minimum amount of labour. The peasants are even fitted with tools to suit the length of their arms and shape of their hands, much in the same way as a man is fitted with a gun. Whether this is carrying things too far it is difficult to say, but the result is that the peasants take full advantage of the Government's educational facilities in order to improve their position, and are most enthusiastic about every new invention and method of work. The system is an intensive one and agriculture is industrialised to a considerable extent. The country does not grow sufficient grain to meet domestic requirements, but agriculture supplies large quantities of raw material for agricultural industries the output of which is exported abroad. Indeed, in some districts the growing of grain has been abandoned altogether in favour of the production of crops necessary for the agricultural industries.

Of the many European states which have since 1918 carried out a policy of agrarian reform Czechoslovakia stands out as one where that policy has met with a measure of success considerably above

the average, partly owing to the circumstances prevailing in the country and partly because of the efficient methods of the Czech people. The execution of this reform has been in the hands of the State Land Department which aims, not at the total abolition of large agricultural properties, but at their reduction according to the demands of scientific cultivation and intensive production. Large estates have been legally defined as land with an area of not less than 250 hectares, and they are permitted to extend to an area not exceeding 500 hectares on the understanding that this area may be increased in order to preserve localities of natural beauty or historical interest. Hence the former landowning class has on the whole been left an adequate amount of land—considerable areas in some individual cases—and, as compensation on a sound basis has been made for land expropriated, it cannot be said that the agrarian reform has been the cause of undue hardship, although it has naturally disturbed the personal and financial tranquillity of the former landlords. On the other hand there are now about half-a-million families closely connected with the soil where formerly there were no more than a few hundred large landowners. Moreover, these peasant proprietors are amply supplied with housing accommodation and the means of obtaining the necessary credits for carrying on and increasing their cultivation. In this scheme internal colonisation has played an important part, especially in Slovakia, where my visit to settlements of landless peasants near Bratislava convinced me of the efficiency with which every detail of the system is carried out, sometimes under considerable difficulties. It is not easy for us in this country to realise the social benefits of this agrarian measure in territories such as Bohemia or Slovakia, but the fact remains that the twofold scourge of depopulation and poverty, which hitherto prevailed in these districts, has thereby given place to a system of private ownership conducive to the industry, prosperity and contentment of these peasant people.

The western part of Czechoslovakia is one of the most industrialised areas of western Europe, as the Republic inherited a large proportion of the industries of former Austria; but with the break-up of the Monarchy the Czechoslovak industries lost more than two-thirds of their markets, and now have to contend with a setting up of tariff barriers within the area which they formerly served, as well as the development of new industries in the other succession states. Hence Czechoslovak industry has had to adapt itself to changed conditions and to find new markets. In this the Czechs have been most successful, and their goods are now to be found all over the world. The conversion of the great Skoda munition factories at Pilsen to the needs of the metallurgical and engineer-

ing industries has shown the remarkable energy and resource of this Slav people, while the mass production of the Bata shoe factory at Zlín has proved that it is possible for the Czechs to equal the Americans at their own game. Bata's shoes adorn the shop windows of almost every European country as well as the European shops of the East, but Bata is responsible for converting a large number of Czech peasants into human machines and of transforming their private lives into a mechanical existence. If he has improved their standard of living he has obliterated their individuality. As far as industrial ownership is concerned, the Czechs and Germans run each other fairly close, but the majority of industrial workers are Czechs, and the two races get along well enough as far as business is concerned. But it is difficult to avoid a strong racial feeling between Teuton and Slav which is stimulated by the natural persistence with which the Czechs push forward their language.

At the same time there is no doubt that the Czechs are making very genuine efforts to occupy first place in the treatment of national minorities, and my experience in other countries makes me think that they have every chance of success. This is largely due to the wise policy of President Masaryk, one of the few statesmen in Europe to-day who realises that liberality is the best policy where minorities are concerned. On numerous occasions the President has curbed the ultra-nationalistic enthusiasm of local officials to enforce the use of the Czech language on ceremonial occasions, insisting that the minorities should be free to use their own tongues; and just recently he allocated twenty million crowns (£121,840), presented to him by the nation on his eightieth birthday, to educational and social projects in which there is no distinction of race. But in Prague Czech is officially encouraged at the expense of German. In the cinemas Czech is the principal language used, and it is with reluctance that Czechs speak German to foreigners. In railway stations and public places, where it is necessary to display several foreign languages, the German language always foots the list, and I could quote many other instances showing a natural desire of the Czechs to "get their own back." It is unfortunate that they have chosen language as their chief way of expressing their nationalism, as it is most inconvenient to anyone who does not happen to be a Czech; but it is noticeable that in the popular German tourist resorts of Mariánské Lázně (Marienbad) and Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad) the German language is almost universal and there is little attempt even to couple it with Czech. Having gone so far in their liberal policy towards minorities, the Czechs have a valuable opportunity of rising to a high moral eminence in Europe by going a few steps further in sinking their nationalistic tendencies, and in extending to their

German and Hungarian fellow-citizens such courtesies as are most appreciated by any stranger in a strange land. If a policy on these lines might temporarily incur some sacrifice of their sense of national pride, that loss would be repaid many times over by favourable reactions among the minorities themselves and by the enhanced prestige of the Czechoslovak State among the nations of Europe. The following words of President Masaryk should be hung in every government office and over the mantelpiece of every Czech household: "Chauvinism, that is to say political, religious, racial or class intolerance has, as history proves, wrought the downfall of all States. We shall solve our own problem aright if we comprehend that the more humane we are the more national we shall be." I only press this point because I believe that the Czechs have, by means of relatively small sacrifices, a chance of establishing for themselves a reputation for generosity, and of setting an example of toleration to a Europe in which the demand for these qualities greatly exceeds the supply.

Education is on a high plane and one is struck by the general knowledge and intelligence of people in quite humble positions of life. When travelling by night from Bratislava to Prague I had a long talk in English with the guard of the train who was extremely well read and showed a considerable knowledge of general European affairs. The high standard of general education in Czechoslovakia is due to the insatiable desire of the Czechs of all classes for knowledge and to the determined efforts of the Government to satisfy this demand. Not only is the country well supplied with the ordinary schools and universities, but elaborate provision has been made for technical teaching and popular education generally. Professional instruction has been highly developed, and since the war has made great progress in the productive branches of Czechoslovak industry, commerce and agriculture. The number of professional schools doubled after the war, and since 1919 the budget for this department has increased sevenfold. Popular education has been so completely organised that it permeates the entire country and has become a most important factor in village life, thereby stimulating the less educated people to extend what knowledge they have step by step to the higher branches. Public community libraries, cinemas, lectures, and broadcasting are organised and maintained by district educational committees, and a regular system of adult education has been supported by legislation since 1919. In more backward Slovakia, where community libraries only began to develop a few years ago, there are now over 3,000 of these institutions, while in Carpathian Ruthenia, which is the most backward area in the whole Republic, there are nearly one hundred libraries and over two hundred reading halls. The same principle

applies throughout the army, where the education of the soldiers is most complete and every facility is given for courses in agricultural and technical work as a preparation for civilian employment. It is impossible in a small space to give an adequate account of the remarkable educational results achieved in the last twelve years, but investigation has shown that no efforts are spared to provide both the present and rising generation of Czechs with the best mental equipment obtainable. The question of minority schools is a vexed one upon which opinions are found fundamentally to differ, the Czechs contending that they maintain sufficient schools where instruction is carried out in the minority languages together with a certain proportion of mixed schools, and the minorities (chiefly the Hungarians) complaining that this is not the case. As there is a good deal of misrepresentation and of political subterfuge in this connection, it is exceedingly difficult to come to any accurate conclusion without the most thorough and prolonged investigation of each individual case. In much the same way the Czechoslovak Government have devoted great attention to social questions, and large sums of money have been spent throughout the country in providing for the poorer classes every possible amenity for their health and welfare. Most conspicuous is the work carried out by the city of Prague, which has undergone great changes since the formation of the Republic. I recently had occasion to visit the social welfare institutes at Krč, near Prague, usually known as "the Masaryk Homes," and there found a most up-to-date and efficient institution supplying the needs of men, women and children of all ages suffering from ill-health or poor development. Even here education plays an important part. While it is a debatable point whether the provision of social amenities on this scale is altogether wise for so small a country, it is quite evident that nothing short of a revolutionary policy has achieved the present high standard of living enjoyed by the poorer classes of the Czechoslovak people.

The most remarkable feature, however, of Czechoslovakia lies in the personality of President Masaryk who is in every sense the father of the nation and is regarded by all as the great mainstay of the country. His name is given to every manner of building and institution from hospitals to railway stations, and his portrait hangs in nearly every home. Masaryk is a philosopher and an idealist, but he always has one foot well planted on the ground. He is a staunch believer in democracy according to his own definition of that term, but he has never regarded democracy as a means of justifying measures devised to obtain popularity with the masses. Although I hold no brief for democracy, which has been defined as "that system which brings the greatest amount of

personal benefit to the individual defining it," I do believe in Masaryk's capacity to squeeze out of democracy all the good that it contains. There is good to be found in every political system, no doubt even in Communism although it needs a high-power microscope to detect it, and Masaryk is too big a man to shut his eyes to the benefits of principles derived from other political teachings. I cannot, therefore, see him favouring any plan of action on the mere pretext that it is democratic. He thinks along the lines of his own high conception of democracy, and acts purely on motives of wisdom and sound judgment. He does what he in his heart believes to be right.

Masaryk's personality is one of bold strength blended with a delightful simplicity. His friendliness is the outcome of a life of struggle and adversity; his understanding is such as is only to be found among those who have rubbed shoulders with all manner of men, and have come to see life in its true perspective. Yet, politically, Masaryk is a fighting man, and there are occasions when he chafes under the severe limitations which his high office places upon his opportunities for political combat. There are some who think that Masaryk is tinged with sloppy idealism and pacifist notions of a doctrinaire description, but those who know him realise the fallacy of this impression. When I had the honour of being his guest at the Castle of Topolčanky, in Slovakia, last summer, I took occasion to ask the President whether he considered patriotism or pacifism to be the more necessary in Europe to-day. His reply was as follows:

Some time ago I used to have discussions on this subject with Tolstoy and we never agreed. Tolstoy, who took the view that patriotism must be aggressive, argued that when attacked one should not resist. Resistance, he said, only gave encouragement to the aggressor, while submission discouraged him. He proposed that the Russians should quietly submit to being murdered by hordes of Mongols and Tartars on the ground that resistance would spur on the aggressors to further slaughter. I, on the other hand, believe in the right of self-preservation and maintain that defence is justified. I, therefore, make every endeavour to ensure that my army is as efficient as it can be made, but only for defensive purposes. Every nation should be prepared to defend itself against an aggressor, although it is sometimes difficult to define aggression. Aggression is chiefly a question of motive. It is not necessarily an aggressive act such as an open military attack that constitutes aggression, but rather the motive that sets the ball rolling. It is quite possible for a man to be a good patriot in that he is prepared to sacrifice everything in the defence of his own country, and yet to be an enthusiastic worker in the interests of peace. The term "pacifist" needs some definition, but if it is taken to imply a follower of Tolstoy who maintains that all resistance is unjustified, I do not agree at all

with that attitude. But if, on the other hand, a pacifist is taken to imply a worker for peace, who is also ready to defend his country in case of aggression, then I see no reason why patriotism and pacifism should not exist side by side. The idea that patriotism must be aggressive is a fallacy. Since the Great War the term "pacifism" is often applied to a form of sentimentalism which is a natural result of that world catastrophe and, although little in keeping with reality, this sentimental pacifism has to be taken into account as a force to be reckoned with. It has already been proved that it is possible for the very best patriots to think internationally; and the Czechoslovaks, who are a most nationally minded and patriotic race, are among the strongest supporters of peace. The League of Nations, the Kellogg Pact, and M. Briand's scheme for federalising Europe are only first steps on the ladder, but the fact that there are already over six hundred international societies representing every kind of world activity in the arts, sciences and industry, shows that progress is being made in the direction of international co-operation as opposed to international antagonism. Among the leaders of international thought there are to be found some of the staunchest patriots, who would be the first to defend their own country in case of aggression. In order to work energetically for peace, it is neither necessary nor desirable to throw away all one's weapons of defence.

I have quoted in full this reply in order to give my readers some insight into the lines of thought of one whom I consider to be an outstanding figure in the age in which we live; for whatever may be the opinion of men now, the day will assuredly come when mankind, friend and foe alike, will regard Thomas Garrigue Masaryk as one of the greatest men of his time in the best sense of the term.

E. W. POLSON NEWMAN.

EDUCATION IN EGYPT.

IN two countries, India and Egypt, much in the public eye at the moment, there are problems and difficulties even more fundamental than politics. In each case Great Britain and the West have gravely affected the education of the country with an older indigenous system on the ground. In India the mediæval university and the village school were largely a matter of memory when we arrived, but in Egypt they were and are discordant facts. El Azhar, the Moslem university, still flourishes in Cairo, and collects its groups of students round their professors on the floor of the mosque, and the village school under its sheikh still provides nine-tenths of the elementary education. The type of instruction in all these places is traditional, linguistic, grammatical and religious. It treats the Koran as the basis and goal both of knowledge and of conduct. But this ideal, though still professed officially by all Moslems and enforced by law, is by no means the actual belief or principle of action of those who direct the government and fill the ministries. To them Western ideas and methods are superior, and Egypt properly a part of Europe. Hence the discordance and a divided mind, the source of most of our troubles in this age of revolution. Egypt is a capital case.

For the turn towards the West in Egypt England is not primarily responsible. It begins years before the British occupation and is connected with the Khedive Ismail, and with Napoleon and the French. What we did in the régime of Cromer and his immediate successors was to organise secondary schools and fasten upon the country one of the most complete and unescapable systems of public examination which the world, outside China, has ever known. This system is the dominating factor in Egyptian official education. The fête begins in May and extends well into June, and as the day approaches an army of nimble workmen erect tents for examination at town centres all over the country. There are three stages in the examination, one at the end of what is called the "primary school" course, a second two-thirds of the way through the secondary school, and the grand, culminating bout at the end of the secondary course, qualifying for the university, the training college and secretarial and official employment. It is all very promptly and thoroughly done, but the deadening effect on the work of the schools may be dimly imagined, but hardly exaggerated. In England, though we are probably over-examined and certainly under-taught, there is an ample choice of examining bodies and alternative courses, and none are conducted by the Board of Education itself. But in Egypt the whole thing is in the hands of one body, the Ministry of Education, which appoints

the teachers, details the courses, supplies the books and examines the scholars. The rigidity of such a system can be conceived by those who knew the old annual examination of elementary schools in England. But the analogy would still fall far short of the Egyptian reality, for in England at the worst the schools had managers who appointed the teachers, there was a free choice of books and the inspectors differed, from the man who came in from following the hounds to the idealist who gave lectures on self-expression by handwork. But Egypt has none of these; no government school has any body of managers, no teacher can choose any book for his own scholars, and the inspectors are all specialists, employed to see that the teachers are faithfully treading the round prescribed by the Ministry.

The "primary" school and the "primary" examination were mentioned above; but these expressions may be misleading. The "primary" school in Egypt is simply the junior department of the "secondary" school, and the two together make up the European or Westernising section of the whole system, consisting in its larger part of Arabic-speaking schools with their own training colleges and inspectors. These schools are the "Kuttab," a system entirely separate from the primary and secondary schools and under a separate department of the ministry. In the primary and secondary schools, though Arabic is now the general medium of instruction, great stress is laid on English and French, especially the former; for a European language is a class distinction. If a man knows no French or English, he is either a countryman or a manual worker, or a very old-world person. The townsman or "effendi" speaks French or English, and in spite of the schools rather French than English for reasons to be mentioned later.

In setting up these secondary schools the English of Cromer's time were acting as other English had acted in India before. Subordinates were wanted for the Government service and this was the first concern in education—quite another story from the England of 1832, when the State first assisted schools set up for the poorer classes. In England the first motive was humanitarian or democratic, raising the under-dog. In each case the grain of mustard seed soon outgrew its original object. In Egypt the Westernising schools have divided and disturbed the national life as they have done still more seriously in India. In none of the cases—at home or abroad—was there any attempt to think out the problem as a whole beforehand. If this had been done we should not now have the overgrown secondary schools of Egypt or the intellectual proletariat of India, with the masses in both countries not only illiterate but superstitious, liable to all the evils of insistent

poverty, disease and mob-passion. In Egypt the secondary system has expanded steadily, while until quite recent times little or nothing has been done for the mass of the people, the proportion of the money spent in England and in Egypt on elementary and higher education being exactly reversed. These favoured secondary schools have produced a stream of competition for clerical and official employment, swollen beyond all reason. Few, if any, scholars are turned out with a turn for business or any taste for cultivating the soil.

But there is another evil of a serious educational kind. The secondary schools having become huge forcing establishments for passing examinations rather than places for training intellect and character, the elements essential from the latter and higher point of view have been neglected. One is amazed to learn that a large proportion of the scholars in any such school—say of 1,000 or 1,200 boys—are allowed to live in unrecognised and unsupervised lodgings, several crowded into one small room. The point, important as it is, seems to have escaped the notice of those recently reporting on the education of Egypt. It is important because it links up with other aspects of Egyptian education and illustrates in a striking light the attitude of the Ministry of Education. In the same way the students of the newly created University of Egypt have been neglected in their real interests in favour of showy buildings, well laid out in an ornamental garden and with a large concourse of distinguished professors gathered from abroad, while they live uncared for, like the boys in the secondary schools, without hostels, without personal supervision or tutors, without proper provision for meals, games or social intercourse. In one of the large provincial towns the newly appointed headmaster of the secondary school—an able and public-spirited Egyptian—noticing recently the lack of boarding accommodation for his boys, began to raise money by public subscription to provide a hostel. He was ordered to desist by the Ministry of Education and to return the money collected for a purpose for which there was no precedent and no authority. Little wonder that progressive teachers of both sexes often feel that nothing less than a bomb at headquarters would suit their purpose.

The right function for the central educational authority in any country is a large and difficult question and will evidently depend upon several factors, differing more or less in every case. There is first the size of the country; obviously the central bureau of education in the United States could not, if it wished, carry out the work done by the Ministry of Education in Egypt. The previous local provision for education will also make a vast difference to what the central authority can command. If, as in Egypt,

the government itself finds nearly all the funds for the schools, it is to be expected that it will be more dominant than in such a case as England where the public schools, the most characteristic feature of the system, are all of independent foundation and for the most part live on their own resources. And, lastly, there are differences in the character and traditions of the people, the degree to which education has already developed in the country. This is the sphere in which change and progress are most possible and arguments are drawn to justify strong action from the centre. For instance, if one urges, in Egypt or elsewhere, that it is better for teachers to have some voice in the plans for the teaching which they have themselves to carry out, or to choose books which they prefer rather than those sent to them from headquarters, it is always replied, first, that on such a system of variety and free choice it would be impossible to conduct a general examination; second, that those at headquarters must from their wide experience know best, and that the mass of the teachers need guidance.

Unfortunately in Egypt in this matter we are faced by the strongest and most inveterate centralising tradition in the world. The educational tradition of Islam rests on memory, linguistic accuracy and unquestioned authority.* No doubt there is now a new spirit abroad not only in revolutionary Turkey but in all parts of the Mohammedan world. But Egypt is in many ways the most conservative element and, though she contains some of the most enlightened and best educated of the younger Moslems, we have between us—Egyptians, French and English alike—managed to set up a new centre of authoritative education which bears more resemblance to old Koranic institutions than it does to the modern educational institutions of the West. In modernising this and introducing more freedom, a spirit of independent study and the training of character rather than the passing of examinations, young Englishmen, who still find employment in Egypt in considerable numbers, might well find a congenial and useful sphere. Of course, in future, any such work must be done with the good will and with the full consent and authority of the Egyptian Government. Let us take as an example the question of boarding-houses or hostels referred to above. No one will question the desirability, nay the absolute necessity from the moral and physical point of view, of some supervised domestic arrangement for boys living for months away from their homes. The brilliant success of the Victoria College for boys at Alexandria shows that such provision is keenly appreciated by Egyptian parents. Why should not an approach be made to such a system in the schools under purely Egyptian management? There are

* See Bryce, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, Vol. II.

now plenty of young men of Egyptian birth and English education who might act as house-masters in such schools, and many of the young Englishmen who go out at present to teach English in the secondary schools would find interesting work, well within their powers and experience, in organising such houses, encouraging the games, supervising the home-work, getting to know the boys, and introducing into these schools something of the public school spirit at its best.

Another point would occur to anyone. The headmasters in Egypt are treated rather as puppets than as the important and responsible people they need to be if the boys are to be properly trained and to find in their schools the inspiration for an active and public-spirited life. They are constantly shifted by official order and strike one rather as secretaries of a sub-section of the Ministry than as chiefs of important organisations with a life of their own. To change this you need to find competent men—and there are plenty such in the country—guarantee them support, a reasonable measure of freedom and fixity of tenure and then, in time and with manageable numbers, they would build up schools worthy of the name. It is true that such a step would involve a break from the system of perfectly uniform schools, all working out an identical code of regulations. But this is essential if a really living system is ever to arise, and the precedents are happily to be found, especially among the smaller number of girls' schools, all of less size than the boys' and most of them working with a keener sense of their responsibility and future. In one case, the Girls' College, though still hampered by obsolete ideas of official control and harem, sufficient liberty has been allowed to enable the staff to model their own curriculum and choose their own books. Something of the same sort should be done elsewhere and even more reasonable freedom granted to the teachers. It would not be difficult, in an atmosphere of general good will and with the co-operation of emancipated teachers, to draw up on broad lines a scheme of instruction which would enable State examinations to be held and at the same time preserve to the responsible headmasters and mistresses the indispensable initiative in their own establishments. No doubt all schools must teach the mother tongue and one or two European languages, the elements of mathematics and nature knowledge and outlines of history and geography. The State is quite entitled, it is in fact a primary duty, to see that the schools which it supports are doing these things with reasonable efficiency. But within those limits the staff of each school should act freely and the more variety of method the better. Interference with the details of time-table or syllabus, of the prescription of a few authorised or officially prepared text-

books, must hamper the activity of the teachers and is open to every kind of abuse. Help to the less competent teachers and a veto on plainly unsuitable books—these are the lines on which a wise directing authority will proceed.

There are two subjects, History and English, which illustrate especially well the drawbacks of the present system. In history it is generally agreed that something of the outlines of world history should be taught and something of the history of the country itself. The desideratum is a blend of the two, aiming above all at creating an interest in the subject among the scholars and a desire to learn more after leaving school. Nothing could be more wildly diverted from these aims than the present procedure. In the primary stage it is thought desirable to confine the syllabus to the history of Egypt itself, and you will find children of twelve or thirteen learning "What the Khedive Ismail did for secondary education," and memorising the answers. In the higher stages it was customary in Cromerian days to allow the use of English books and the teaching by Englishmen in their own language. Many Egyptians will testify that, though imperfect, they derived great profit from this method. With the substitution of Arabic for English as the medium of instruction this has been completely changed. No Englishman teaches history—or indeed anything except English—in the schools, and the English books have been replaced by compilations in Arabic, mostly translations, and with all the appearance and savour of official documents. No doubt it is highly desirable that good books of all sorts should be produced as soon as possible in the vernacular but, pending this which will be a lengthy process, everything points to making use of the many interesting and suitable works which are available in French or English. If English, as is still the case, is the main subject of instruction after Arabic, it should be possible, and would be most advantageous, from the linguistic as well as the historical point of view, to use simple English books for historical instruction in the higher classes and allow any well-qualified Englishman on the staff to give at least occasional lessons. It would be a refreshing change and an intelligent anticipation of what awaits the student when he proceeds to the university.

Still more important, however, would be the acquisition of new and more educational methods of treating a book, whether it is in English, French or Arabic. The superstitious habit of learning the very words of every printed or dictated utterance is deeply ingrained in the Egyptian youth; it is part of his Koranic inheritance. It would be lessened by multiplying the books he had to use and making him compare the view advocated by different authors. At present the ample provision of school libraries which

the Government has granted is largely useless. Home-work under supervision, and with free access to books, is the proper remedy.

The teaching of English is perhaps even more important, especially at the present time. There is still no sign of altering the official regulation by which English is begun in the primary school and secures next to Arabic most time in the secondary. Seven hours a week should qualify young people to read with fair ease an ordinary book. But on leaving school they find themselves among a population in which, next to Arabic, French is unquestionably the predominant language. For the French are spreading their language and culture far more vigorously than we. Quite recently the French Government opened a full-blown Lycée in Cairo, and there are numerous other French schools under Jesuit fathers and others. To the French the spread of a Franco-Arab culture in the Near East is an avowed object of national propaganda; and we do not even take the necessary steps at home to secure the well-qualified teachers of English who are needed both for Egypt, India, China, and elsewhere.

What are we doing, in view of the rapid and inevitable spread of English as a world-language, to secure its purity or at least its intelligibility? India is a still greater case, but here we are concerned with Egyptian secondary schools, where hundreds of English men and women are engaged in teaching their own language, with practically no qualification for doing it, except their possession of it and the native common sense and tenacity of their race. Surely it is not outside the competence of the Board of Education and of the universities and training colleges of Great Britain to set up some organisation for preparing young men and women for so obvious a piece of national service, and to get in touch with bodies abroad, like the Egyptian Government, who need the teachers. On the Egyptian side much might be done to improve the service. The short contract, the absence either of a pension or of any adequate ultimate promotion, the amount of salary compared both with that in England and with the cost of living in Egypt, all these points need careful reconsideration. But looking at the matter primarily from the educational standpoint, it would seem that greater scope, more variety and responsibility in the work, would count for even more. Now these are precisely the qualities most wanting in the Egyptian schools. The foundation of boarding-houses or hostels would offer this: equally important would be the improvement of the internal organisation of the schools and the creation of posts of special opportunity and responsibility. A "Chief Modern Language" or "English Master," with general supervision and authority jointly with the Head over syllabus and choice of books, would be still more useful

in Egypt than in England. Similarly, a "Chief History Master" could introduce greater freedom in the use of books, the giving of lectures and the framing of better syllabuses. Less direction from above, more organisation within the schools, are the two first counsels for the improvement of the secondary school.

The schools for the masses—the elementary and purely Arabic-speaking schools—have been omitted from these notes, but they are so largely separate that no falsification is involved. Recent nationalist ministries have undertaken to make more complete provision for the education of the poor, and this must come, though it will probably come slowly. What is most to be hoped for is that such schools, the popular schools of the future, will be practical rather than linguistic, teach more handwork than grammar, and pride themselves rather on the good eyes of their scholars and the cleanliness of their homes than on the number of those who have got on to a newspaper or obtained a post in the ministries. For of the former and not of the latter a healthy democracy will be built.

F. S. MARVIN.

THE RUSSIAN PEASANT AND HIS MASTERS.

THE Russian peasant has become and is to remain for five years, unexpectedly and unwittingly, a special centre of interest for those in charge of the world's security, prosperity, and peace. Why it is so we may learn from a leading article in *The Times* (February 5th, 1930) treating of "The Russian Peasant." "There can be no doubt," we read, "that Stalin, the Georgian Dictator of the Soviet Union, has committed his party to what its organs describe as a 'final' offensive against the vast non-communistic majority of the Russian people" by "the substitution of mechanised for individual agriculture, that is, by the creation of collective farms. . . . The political consequences of this attempt, which is in fact the first step in the conversion of the peasants into serfs, may be disastrous. . . ." and "will be awaited everywhere with the keenest interest and apprehension." For this measure means "imposing a ruthless tyranny on 120,000,000 peasants." And five years (*pyatiletka* 1929-33) have been fixed for this grim experiment because a group of Bolshevik Communists had resolved to achieve, in that lapse of time, among the inhabitants of the Soviet Union a new industrial, cultural, and agricultural revolution: the productive powers of Russian industry are to be immensely increased as per schedule; illiteracy is to be done away with and intellectual culture to be widely spread; all the residents of the Union are to be delivered from religion; and all individual ownership and tilling of land is to cease, being superseded by the collective organisations of *Kolhoz* and *Sovhoz*, while all power over arable and other land devolves on the Soviet State.

This ambitious and far-reaching programme has been since, presumably under the pressure of peasant opposition and many other difficulties, tampered with by the Bolsheviks themselves. In spite, however, of all recent mitigations, the *pyatiletka* remains at bottom a crucial experiment of militant communism aimed at vivisectioning Russia and eradicating some of her fundamental national and historical principles and beliefs. Speaking here only of land, the question arises: Is this attempt to convert the Russian peasant to communism likely to succeed, although the one made in 1921 failed? To answer this question let us recollect what the Russian peasant has always hoped and longed for before and after being emancipated from serfdom in 1861.

I can speak of this because I happen to be one of the few surviving Russians who actually owned serfs, and am acquainted through the family archives of my hereditary estate of Bogdanowka, near the city of Samara and the river Volga, and through my own

reminiscences, with the way the peasants fared on that estate since 1746, and after 1861, up to the revolution of 1917. I know also what were the political hopes and illusions of the liberal-minded Russians of my father's and my own generation, and have kept in close touch for fifty years, in spite of my diplomatic work, with our Provincial Assembly of Nobility (*Dvorianstvo*) and County Councils (*Zemstvo*). The latter elected me Honorary Justice of the Peace and appointed me, after my coming of age, Curator of the Bogdanowka primary school, which my father founded when he was Marshal of the Samara Nobility. I shall now say very briefly what I have to tell, adding a small new "human document" to the story of Russian hopes and disappointments.

In the course of the last three centuries the Russian peasant has invariably wanted and hoped for two things: land and liberty. Land in Russia was to be had in plenty. But Russia was overrun and conquered in 1225 by the Mongols and Tartars of Jenghiz Khan, and it took her princes and citizens more than two centuries to loosen and throw off that insufferable yoke. To achieve this patriotic task and also to defend Russia against her powerful neighbours, the Poles, Swedes, and Turks, while unifying at the same time into one State her various semi-independent principalities and republics, the Tzars of Moscow first enrolled all their nobles into their knight service, allotting them certain plots of arable land (*pomestye*) to be tilled originally by free peasant labour. When, however, the peasants became restive and wanted too often to change masters, they were allowed to do so only once a year, on November 26th, till lastly, in 1601, they were deprived even of this right, and became definitely serfs.

When Peter III became Emperor, the international situation of Russia and her political unity were so far assured that it was possible for the Tzar to begin lightening the universal burden of compulsory state-service which had so long oppressed all her citizens. The first to have this service imposed upon them had been the nobles. They were also the first to be liberated. This was done by the Emperor's manifesto of February 18th, 1762. From that day "the nobles became free to continue their service where and in so far as they wished." Their tenure of land and their ownership of the serfs on it was made permanent, depending no longer on their continuing their knight-service. In fact, their conditional landed holdings (*pomestye*) were turned into "*votchina*" or manors (as in England). The right to possess land in this way, free of all service obligations, had belonged previously only to the Princes of the Russian ruling House of Rurik, and used to be granted only exceptionally to officers of the Tzar's forces for distinguished service in the field. Thus, my ancestor Stephen

Tcharykow received such a grant from the father of Peter the Great by letters-patent of February 9th, 1675, for distinguishing himself during the long war with Poland. But, remaining on duty all his life, he took part also, later, in the campaign of 1677 against the Turks who had invaded Southern Russia. He was at that time lieutenant in one of the newly-formed (in the Western fashion) cavalry regiments, under the command of a Scotsman, Colonel Paul Menzies of Pittfodels. The Russian nobility, on being free, used their means and leisure to assimilate more fully and rapidly Western, and principally French, learning and customs. In my Bogdanowka library, which was changed after the revolution of 1917 into a public one, are hundreds of French books of the best eighteenth-century authors and many contemporary Russian translations of French and English philosophical works and fashionable novels. Among the books I brought away from Russia is my grandfather's French-Russian primer, with curious illustrations, printed in Moscow in 1797 and still imbued with the spirit and principles of pre-revolutionary France. Two years later, in defence of these principles, Russian troops drove the French revolutionary forces out of Corfu, Naples, and Rome, and began, in conjunction with Austria and Great Britain, the long series of Napoleonic wars which ultimately brought the brilliant and victorious Guardsmen of Alexander I from Moscow to Paris. There they felt at home, but began to aspire to political liberty and constitutional rights, like those of their French and British friends. In the meanwhile their serfs remained unenlightened, in a state of segregated bondage, and chafed under it.

On seeing their masters set free, the Russian serfs began to hope and expect that soon their turn would also come. In this they were disappointed. However, after they had waited twelve years, a persistent rumour spread among them that Tzar Peter III had not died, but was marching beyond the Volga with his faithful Ural Cossacks to win back his throne. It was also reported that, as he advanced towards Moscow, he liberated all the serfs on his way, gave them, for nothing, all the land they tilled and freed them from their masters by hanging these at sight. Then thousands of serfs flocked round the bold Cossack, Emelian Pougatcheff, who was impersonating so successfully the deceased Emperor. His forces were so much increased that he nearly took the important fortresses of Orenburg and Kazan, and held the field against the Empress Catherine II's regular armies for about two years. Pougatcheff's emissaries raided Bogdanowka, and killed a Poutiloff and his wife (my mother's relatives) on their Samara estate. Finally, Pougatcheff was caught, brought in an iron cage to Moscow, and executed there in 1773. The revolt was quelled and the

peasant insurgents were reduced again for a hundred years to serfdom. But the great injustice perpetrated in regard to the peasants by leaving them in bondage remained unatoned. And this upset the inner equilibrium of the Russian State, making it consist thenceforth of a small, free, rich, intellectually cultured minority, and an immense, impoverished, illiterate, dissatisfied, and enslaved majority. Only by giving back liberty to all could the requisite equilibrium be re-established. And the best sons of Russia directed their efforts to achieve this during the whole of the nineteenth century.

The Russian guardsmen and army officers who came home from abroad after the defeat of Napoleon brought with them the then fashionable liberal ideas, when charters and constitutions were being granted or promised in France, Germany, and Poland, and the great constitutional reform movement was being prepared in Great Britain. Being in fear of the autocratic and reactionary régime prevalent in Russia during the closing years of Alexander I's reign, these men founded several secret societies and took advantage of a misunderstanding concerning the successor of Alexander I to start a mutiny in St. Petersburg in December, 1825, whence their name, "Decembrists." They wanted the Grand Duke Constantine to reign, to grant Russia a constitution and to free the serfs. This revolt was rapidly suppressed by Emperor Nicholas I. The ringleaders, belonging to the best Russian families, were hung, and the rest of the conspirators degraded to the class of peasants and exiled for life to Siberia. Then Russia came to be ruled for thirty years by a system of unmitigated bureaucratic absolutism based on the refusal of political rights to the upper classes and the maintenance of serfdom among the peasants.

At last, after Russia had been defeated by France and England in the Crimea, and had to own the rottenness of her system of Government, Emperor Alexander II undertook, with the assistance of the Russian nobility and intelligentsia, the huge task of emancipating 47,000,000 of Russian serfs. I remember the joyful Sunday of March, 1861, when our Moscow domestic serfs (*dvorovyé*) asked my father's permission to go to our parish church and hear the Tzar Liberator's manifesto declaring them free. Thenceforth, no man or woman in Russia could be bought or sold like a chattel; they could marry whom and when they liked; and work where and how they found best. The liberated domestic serfs obtained no land or housing. But all had learned some handicraft or trade, and could expect to earn a living with employers they had become free to choose. My maternal grandfather, Poutiloff, had educated several Bogdanowka serfs to form his private string orchestra, which was the best in the province. Other youths were trained as

sculptors and plasterers, and decorated the new manor-house he built in 1855. Many years later two of these artists could still be employed by me for repairs in the reception-room. Some serfs became skilled huntsmen, or knew how to tend horses or dogs, or were brought up as gardeners. When I came of age some of these former serfs were still with us. I allotted to them, at a nominal rent, a sufficient plot of land to build their houses on, and pensioned those in need. Not far from there and from my manor-house were also the *zemstvo* school and hospital and our telephone station. Domestic serfs, who numbered in 1861 only 1,500,000, mostly migrated to the big cities, and formed the nucleus of Russian factory hands, of whom even now there are not more than 7,000,000.

Domestic serfs were, on the whole, satisfied with what the Tzar had given them. It was otherwise with the 21,000,000 of agricultural serfs who belonged to 120,000 nobles. It took five years of strenuous thought and work under the personal and persistent guidance of Alexander II to draw up the general law of emancipation. The Tzar himself feared that "the peasants will not be satisfied with the freedom (*volia*) I give them." The fact is that the agricultural serfs were disappointed, and their masters also. The fundamental reason of this miscarriage lay in the circumstance that this law had to be a *compromise* between the essentially irreconcilable but vital interests of the serfs and of their owners. And by this compromise both sides were losers. The peasants would have wished to obtain, for nothing, all the land they had been tilling so long for their owners, and to live happily ever after without any masters (*bez gospod*). For, according to their idea, the right of property in land is acquired not by the sword but by the plough. The land ought to belong not to the one who conquers it, but to the one who tills it. This theory differs from that of Roman Law, and is somewhat akin to the teachings of Islamic Law. Instead, they got only a relatively small part of their owners' estates, in my case about one fifth, and had to pay even for that. Besides, this land was to belong not to the individual peasant but to the village community. Each male member of the community had right to an equal share of the whole land belonging to the village. Consequently, periodical redistribution of the communal land became unavoidable, and each individual part grew smaller and smaller. Thus the agricultural proletariat which the communal system was meant to preclude began to make its appearance in Russia. As to liberty the outlook was not much brighter. It is true that all peasants had become personally free, and that the perennial self-governing body of all the householders of a village community, the *mir*, was maintained and even reinforced and developed under the laws of emancipation, instituting elective

peasant police officers, judges, and mayors. But all these local organs were put under the direct, very arbitrary, and often dishonest, control of the district and state police which was principally interested in the due and unmerciful collection of taxes, the village community being held conjointly responsible for these. Under Alexander III that control was placed in the hands of the local hereditary nobles, appointed by the Government with powers imitated from but far exceeding those of English Justices of the Peace (*Zemsky Natchalnik*). Such a functionary could imprison any peasant at will for three days, while all decisions of the *mir* required his formal or implied approval. At the same time the peasants, as a class, remained outside the common civil law of the Empire (the tenth tome of the Russian Law-Codes). The peasants resented all these limitations and deprivations of rights. And when they saw that, as years went by, the bureaucratic Imperial Government proved powerless to remedy by new laws the harmful deficiencies of the legislation of 1861, the disappointed peasantry began, as I myself came to observe, to pay more and more attention to the persistent secret propaganda of Russian revolutionaries who had ably adopted as their catchword the old peasant slogan: "Land and Liberty" (*Zemlia-i-Volia*).

Only on the question of land had the Government been able seriously to help the peasant class. When, in 1876, I first visited Tally, a distant part of my Samara estate where my former serfs had, under the Land Act of 1861 and in spite of my father's advice, chosen not to buy any land outside their homesteads, I found these peasants sorely embarrassed for land. They had to farm some from me and pay a gradually though moderately increasing rent, without coming to own even a portion of that land. They said to me then: "If our situation becomes too difficult, the Tzar will give us land in the Khan's territory," meaning somewhere in Central Asia or Siberia. These peasants, however, managed to get on without applying to the Tzar, and continued paying me a reasonable rent till 1917 when they were prevented from doing so any longer by the local Soviet. But for millions of other peasants the State-aided migration to Turkestan or Western Siberia was admirably organised, especially under the premiership of Stolypin,* but maintaining in the new settlements the antiquated system of communal land-tenure. Parallel with this a great Peasant-State-Land Bank was founded which enabled individual peasants, peasant associations (*tovaristchestvo*), and village communities to buy complementary plots of land principally from the former serf-owners,

* See *Zemleustroistvo* (1907-10), the fine White Book published by the Imperial Department of Land Organisation and Agriculture, St. Petersburg, 1911.

without migrating. I remember presenting, as a Samara landowner, a memorandum to Senator Shamshin, who headed in 1880 an inquiry into the operation in Samara of the Land Act of 1861, suggesting the institution of a State Bank for that purpose. And when it was opened I sold, in 1887, with its assistance to an association of Bogdanowka peasants nearly 3,000 acres of land for only two pounds five shillings an acre. This land lay just next their houses, and my father had advised them to take it for their *nadel* (communal property). Having in 1861 preferred another plot, they had to rent this land from me. This acquisition stopped them from migrating east as they were inclined to do. In 1906, when Stolypin's land reform allowed each member of a village community to leave it and become, individually, full proprietor of his portion of communal land, I sold through this Bank another piece of particularly well-watered land of more than 2,000 acres, and saw in the following years cheerful peasant homesteads, *khoutors*, spring up on it. By 1914, one third of the Bogdanowka peasants had acquired such *khoutors*. Had two thirds of the peasants of Russia done this, there would have been no social revolution of 1917 or later. To frustrate this effort of securing inner, legitimate peace, the revolutionary enemies of Russia assassinated Stolypin in 1911.

Because they saw, like the peasants, that these reforms did not go far enough, the nobles also were dissatisfied, not so much at the loss of an unique but unjust privilege, nor at being mostly ruined in consequence of the emancipation of their serfs, but at not receiving from the Tzar, in compensation, political rights and a "Constitution" for which some of their Assemblies had openly petitioned His Majesty. I remember how the constitutional aspirations of the Russian nobility were noticed with sympathy in Germany, but were not allowed even to be openly discussed within Russia. My father, who was a *Zapadnik* or friend of Western ideas,* and many Slavophiles, like Samarin and Koshelev, hoped and believed that the time had come for introducing a "Constitution" for which the "Decembrists" had fought and which was to be more or less like that of England. But Alexander II hesitated till the last days of his long reign, and gave the order to publish the rudiments of a constitution, ably drawn up by Count Boris Melikoff, a few hours only before being killed by Russian terrorists on March 1-13th, 1881. The need of such a reform was so evident that his son and successor Alexander III began his reign by experimenting with the so-called "Baranoff Constitution." I was then Secretary in Prince Gortchakoff's Diplomatic Chancery and Gentleman-in-Waiting at the Imperial Court, and took part in the elections for a kind of

* See his biography in the *Russian Biographical Dictionary*, published by the Imperial Russian Historical Society, St. Petersburg, 1905.

Legislative Assembly in St. Petersburg placed under the direction of General Baranoff, a widely popular naval officer and a confidant of the new Emperor. Unhappily, this Liberal initiative was soon thwarted by Professor Pobedonostzeff, one of the Emperor's teachers in Civil Law, who advised His Majesty first to secure order in Russia, and then to proceed to reforms. Thus began twenty-five years (1881-1906) of political reaction during the reigns of Alexander III and Nicholas II. In the course of this period of bureaucratic repression the revolutionary propaganda against absolutism and in favour of "Land and Liberty" (*Zemlia-i-Volia*) for the peasants grew stronger and more virulent. And at last, under the shock of the unnecessary, unpopular, and unfortunate war of Russia with Japan in 1904-5, the intelligentsia and the peasantry joined hands for the first time against the Imperial Government and, by "illuminations" or setting fire to manor-houses and by a general strike, forced Nicholas II to grant Russia the Constitution of 1906.

I was in those days Minister Plenipotentiary at The Hague, and was busy preparing there for the Second Peace Conference. The granting of a Constitution was great and happy news for all liberal-minded Russians. And this is what was written to me about the prospects of that reform by my old schoolfellow, friend, and colleague, Alexander Isvolsky, who had become, in 1906, first Constitutional Minister of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg. He had already offered me the difficult position of post-war ambassador to Japan, which I had accepted. But on November 21st, 1907, he asked me to accept the more arduous post of Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, and added: "... besides, I see in you a person belonging to the traditional set of the nobility and *zemstvo* which dominated and, I hope, will continue to dominate in our government institutions." This hope proved an illusion because the Constitution came too late. Even under it the nobility could not do much, having lost by that time almost all its land, power, and prestige, while the intelligentsia, represented by several liberal groups, wished for greater Parliamentary advantages, and refused from the outset to enter a Constitutional Cabinet. These parliamentarians had, moreover, no backing in the provinces which they were supposed to represent. So that although Samara sent twelve members to the Douma, the elections were so manipulated by government and party influences that I knew none of these men even by name in the third Douma, except Mr. Klioujeff, a peasant by descent, who had been an excellent *zemstvo* inspector of our primary schools.

As to the peasants, the bureaucratic framers of the first Russian parliamentary electoral law had relied on the traditional fidelity

and devotion of the peasants to the Tzar and had assigned to them a considerable though not commanding number of seats in the Douma. But from the very beginning these men showed themselves imbued with novel oppositional ideas and still full of revolutionary fervour for land and liberty as in 1905. The Government then dissolved the first Douma and changed the electoral law so as to reduce the number of peasant members to an innocuous minority. The peasants inside the Douma, and outside, soon understood that they had not much to expect from a Constitution meant to serve the influence and interests of the upper classes. This discovery induced the peasants to pay more and more attention to the unceasing propaganda of the newest generation of revolutionaries among whom Lenin or Oulianoff (of the Simbirsk nobility) was already a luminary. A foretaste of the power and favour of that movement was given the Russian masses by the institution in St. Petersburg in 1905 of the first "Soviet" (literally Council) of the "Deputies of Workmen and Peasants." But, significantly enough, the peasants as such were at that time ignored by the Bolsheviks. And later, when peasants were admitted to membership in the higher soviets, an artful electoral law lessened their number in such a way that power and influence remained vested in the class of industrial workers and their Marxist leaders. This undemocratic régime is maintained even now although there are in Russia less than 7,000,000 of factory hands and more than 120,000,000 of peasant agriculturists. The peasantry saw in Lenin a second Pougatcheff, a national hero and a liberator who would be as free-handed and sympathetic towards them as his Cossack predecessor. They willingly obeyed Lenin's call to quit war and hasten home to divide among themselves the broad acres of the neighbouring landed proprietors. They did all this with a will, and, following their historical instinct, rapidly took possession, free, of all the land which had belonged to their former serf-owners and which their fathers had tilled as serfs. But a year later, in 1918, just when the new agricultural *bourgeoisie* had settled down and begun to prosper on its enlarged holdings, a campaign of militant communism was launched from Moscow against these peasants. They were dubbed *Koulaki*,* and the Bolshevik Government took away from them not only the plots of land they had newly seized, but also those they had legitimately acquired under the Tzars. Then the Russian peasant learnt, what Western public opinion had known all along, that the Moscow Communist Government is precisely the one which really cannot on principle, and without losing its international face, grant them

* Or "fists," i.e. peasant exploiters of peasants.

what they want: private, hereditary property in land, and the right to work, trade and live in perfect freedom.

In conclusion I will describe briefly the situation, which is well known to me, of the Bogdanowka peasants before the Bolshevik revolution. Some Russian peasants were better off, some worse. But I believe that these specific facts can give one an approximate idea of the general situation. I have a painting of my Bogdanowka manor when the peasants were still our serfs. Their village lay then, as it does now, at the foot of the hill on which stands the manor-house, the big church built by my great-grandmother, and our out-houses and hot-houses. The village formed at that time a long, narrow row of small straw-thatched log-shanties, huddled squalidly together, with no attempt at comfort or ornament. When I saw Bogdanowka last, in 1916, it mustered several long and broad streets, with houses built according to the *zemstvo* plan in series of two, with intervals filled mostly by trees and shrubs. This was done to prevent the customary and baneful general conflagration of the whole village when any house took fire. Besides, all peasants' houses were now obligatorily insured by the *zemstvo* at a moderate rate, those houses paying less which were built not of wood but of brick—as some were—and roofed, as could often be seen, not with straw but with boards or sheet-iron, usually painted red or green. The houses had become roomier. The gables, windows, and gates were almost all decorated with plain or painted fretwork. The window-panes of glass were larger, and had in many cases curtains to them, a sign of inner content and privacy. On some window-sills flower-pots, generally with geraniums, marked an incipient æsthetic disposition. Within the peasants' cabins only a kind of rush-light (*loutchina*) was used in days gone by. Now in all of them are kerosene lamps. My powerful water-mill on the Kinel River, two miles away, had, after 1900, electric lighting, and I intended conducting the current to the Bogdanowka streets and dwellings and the Cantonal (*Volost*) Court-house. When the latter was accidentally burnt down in 1905, the Bogdanowka Cantonal Assembly wrote to me to The Hague, through my manager, asking me to sell them several thousands of bricks from my kiln which they needed for the foundations of the new Court-house they were about to build. This petition impressed me greatly; for, while I myself was uncertain whether the revolution of that year would still leave me master of my estate, the local peasants were evidently sure that nothing would or could happen to them and their institutions, not foreseeing the Bolshevik *quinquennium* of 1929. Their letter reached me after a delay of three months caused by the general revolutionary strike on Russian railroads and post and telegraph offices. I learnt also

by that time that the Bogdanowka peasants had voluntarily and without pay, during that period of wholesale incendiarism, mounted guard round my manor to protect it against "strangers." Even after 1917 the manor-house remained uninjured. I answered that the *volost* was welcome, gratis, to all the bricks they needed, with my best wishes. The new Court-house turned out even finer than the old one. And in the beginning of the Great War I had there the unwonted experience of presiding at meetings of peasants, delegated from several neighbouring villages, to discuss and decide in committee, without any class or party feeling, the difficult problem of housing and feeding several hundreds of refugees from the invaded parts of Western Russia, transferred and assigned by the Government to our portion of the Samara Province. I found these men remarkably clever, practical, patriotic, and agreeable to deal with. I am convinced that the Russian peasant, if left free and given a fair chance, will be as apt to govern as he has been so long ready to obey.

The financial and economic position of the Bogdanowka peasants in 1917 was as follows: Their communal land (*nadel*) including their *khoutors* or individual holdings under Stolypin's law gave the peasants, thanks to the excellence of the black soil needing no manure, enough agricultural produce to pay all their taxes to the Government, the *zemstvo*, the canton, and the village community, and to secure for the household enough food for the year. The land which the Bogdanowka Peasant Association bought from me in 1887 gave them enough room for their steadily increasing progeny. In addition to all the land the Bogdanowka peasants thus owned, they farmed from me, at a moderate rent, as much more arable land as they wanted, out of the 12,000 acres I still possessed. What they did not want was farmed individually by other neighbouring peasants, mostly descendants of my grandfather's serfs, with the exception of fifty acres I kept as a home-farm, surrounding the manor-house. Since 1900 I had stipulated in my six-year farming contracts certain new agronomic improvements to increase the market value of what the farmers gathered from their fields. The peasants always sold their produce freely in the open market, and grain could be stored in elevators at many of the railway stations and Volga wharves. With the supplementary money thus earned the peasants bettered their home life, bought good leather boots and shoes for themselves, their wives, and children in place of the primitive birch-bark sandals (*lapti*) I remember. The women also made extra money for themselves and their finery by poultry-breeding, with which the men never meddled. I also saw the peasants gradually acquire, with the help, advice, and credit of our *zemstvo*, good iron ploughs instead of the antiquated wooden

soha, and various other modern agricultural implements and machines. Being personally acquainted with the Governor of Samara, Prince Golitzin, I obtained in 1912 for the peasants of Bogdanowka permission to open there a co-operative shop which, during the War, kept prices down and proved generally helpful. Co-operation was looked at with disfavour by the Government and suspected of revolutionary leanings, although very successful co-operative associations (*artel*) for milk produce had flourished for years in Tver. Well, a natural, progressive and non-communist form of agricultural *artel* co-operation was beginning in Bogdanowka just before the War, but in a shape which best suits the peasant, where partnerships are voluntary and are made up of the owners of the land the productivity of which is to be heightened. There are well-known normal, technical limits of acreage within which an agricultural machine may be worked with most profit. Thus one medium tractor for ploughing, or a steam threshing-machine may be too much for a small peasant holding, and not enough for a big estate. So peasant proprietors have to combine and group their fields in such a way that the machinery they use can bring them at a given cost a maximum of advantage and profit. As to tractors, I saw some old-fashioned ones of British make used as far back as the eighteen-eighties on the estate of my English neighbour, Mr. Johnston, M.P. They proved, however, unsatisfactory. Nor was the experiment successful I saw in 1912 in the *zemstvo* agricultural school near Bogdanowka, where three different American tractors were tried for ploughing but could not grip the wet humus. I believe the newest American and German "caterpillar" tractors can.

Thus, through many experiences in the course of many years I have come to know practically how much land the Bogdanowka peasants really need to make them happy and prosperous. I would be glad if they, and all the Russian peasants, could keep the land they took possession of in 1918 and become legally its full proprietors. The examples of France, Germany, Sweden, Ireland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Bulgaria show that where the tillers of the soil have become its owners they are the mainstay of the country's inner order, security, and peace. And I believe that the rent the Bogdanowka peasants used to pay me might, if capitalised, serve to indemnify in a moderate way my descendants for the loss of their two-centuries-old rights of property. Perhaps the Russian land question, as between the present peasant occupiers and the former owners, might one day be equitably solved on some such lines.

I do not know how the Bolsheviks came to the idea of the

quinquennium they are now imposing on the Russian people, nor whether they were aware of the famous *quinquennium Neronis* of Roman History. This was the five-years' portion of the Emperor Nero's reign during which he applied himself to bettering the inner administration of his Empire, and actually alleviated slavery. But even within this period Nero murdered his mother, Agrippina, and his relative and political rival, Britannicus. He then staged his persecution of the Christians and began killing and exiling his opponents. Perhaps these unsavoury precedents and the ultimate fate of Nero might have deterred the Bolsheviks from coupling their name with that of such an Imperialist. They did so, however, when they set about wreaking vengeance on their political and social adversaries and extirpating Christianity, in this case out-Heroding Nero because they attack all Theistic religions. However that may be, the Bolsheviks, on becoming masters of the Russian peasant, are about to confront in their turn disappointment. For it is not probable that three centuries of Russia's labour, thought, and progress are to result in 120,000,000 of her citizens remaining deprived for ever both of land and of liberty.

N. V. TCHARYKOW.

April 1930.

SWEDEN'S SECRET.

ON the shores of one of Stockholm's forest-ringed lagoons an exhibition of arts and crafts drew many thousands of foreign visitors to the Swedish capital last summer. Here by the water's edge where steamers from the city, motor launches, racing eights, catamarans and even Thames punts speed to and fro or dip an occasional paddle according to their habits, the best that Swedish artists can produce in glass, pottery, textiles, wood and metal work could be examined in a setting of rose gardens, coloured fountains and pillars of light. These pillars of light were more prosaically glass columns containing electric bulbs. In modern architecture the column which contains light within itself and is ready to become luminous at dusk has all the advantages over the old-fashioned stone pillar dependent on reflected light from chandeliers. And the Stockholm Exhibition was nothing if not modern. The "buildings" which housed the exhibits were not really buildings at all but cardboard boxes, in which one imagines the exhibits were brought and in which they were to be packed up and taken away. But they were so constructed as to throw the maximum of light and attention on the exhibits, and this was after all their purpose. In a word they were, as the authorities constantly murmured, "functionalist." If the visitor declared that the extraordinary curved roof which projected in apparently random fashion above the others could not be "functionalist" he would be dumbfounded by being shown that it was thus built to cover the mast of a yacht.

Thought and ideas went to the planning and erection of these sheds as well as to the making of the beautiful pieces of workmanship which they housed. The application of thought and ideas to industry was evidenced not only among arts and crafts but among the more purely mechanical exhibits, such as a model of the latest form of margarine factory and the flashing rows of guiding lights for waterways. One learned without surprise that the Swedish export of dairying machinery is large, and that a Swedish firm had just received a contract for the coastal lighting of Cuba.

The visitor may be tempted to make some investigations into the general economic conditions of a country in which everyone in the capital appears to be well dressed and reasonably prosperous. He will learn that wages are at least as high as in England, if not higher; that workmen are the best customers for the smaller luxury articles manufactured there—even the smart motor launches moored along the quays are, many of them, owned by workmen. A little higher in the social scale the Stockholm business man maintains his summer villa on one or other of the thousands of

islets in the archipelago between Stockholm and the Baltic. Rents are high, but the newer flats are fitted with all the latest devices—even refrigerators, which might be thought hardly essential in a city so far north. Many such homes, fully furnished, were to be seen at the exhibition. In some cases their modernity is almost alarming, though apparently articles of furniture which certainly do not look like chairs can be sat in with some degree of comfort and safety. The inhabitant of Stockholm is anxious to possess everything up to date and can usually afford to pay for it. There is no unemployment problem; foreign trade is booming and industry (though not agriculture) prosperous.* In May last the volume of exports was 77 per cent. above the average for 1913, and 17 per cent. above the figure for May 1929.

The figures of foreign trade over the past decade are striking. Since 1919 both exports and imports have more than doubled in volume. Exports, which in 1919 totalled 8,779,000 tons, had risen by 1929 to 21,955,000 tons; imports from 4,490,000 tons to 10,845,000 tons. The rise during the decade was almost continuous, with setbacks in 1921 and 1928. Values during the same period, of course, declined enormously so that the figures show an actual fall in total value with both exports and imports from 1919 to 1929. The total value of exports in 1929 was 1,813,000 kronor; imports 1,771,000 kronor. The total value of the foreign trade for 1929 was therefore 3,584,000 kronor, a rise of 10 per cent. over the value for 1928, and the highest figure for any year since the collapse of the post-war boom. The favourable balance of trade was the largest since the war. An examination of the 1929 export figures shows that the volume of iron ore, wood pulp and paper exported was in each case a record and the shipments of wood manufactures for the first time approached the level of 1913. Machinery also did well in 1929 and the following figure largely among the exports: electric motors and generators, internal combustion motors, separators, roller and ball bearings, telephone and telegraph apparatus, harvesters and agricultural machinery. The shipyards were so busy that they could not accept all the orders offered and had to send some of them to England!

Other indices of the remarkable business activity in Sweden during 1929 are the record tonnages entered and cleared at Swedish ports, and the rail consignments, which were a record for any post-war year. The Riksbank clearings and the number of bills discounted further show the increase in business activity and the favourable balance of trade, especially towards the end of the year. Between September and December the total reserves of

* Written in 1930. The general world depression has since made its presence increasingly felt in Sweden.

the Swedish banks abroad in foreign exchanges and securities exceeded 550,000,000 kronor, which has not occurred since 1919. The value of the net assets of the banks in foreign exchange was in excess of the entire Swedish note issue. In spite of the world-wide trade depression Swedish industry seemed last year to be more than holding its own.

Great Britain is far and away Sweden's best customer, having purchased in 1929 goods to the value of 446,000,000 kronor. Germany came next with 275,000,000 kronor's worth, and the United States third with 198,000,000. German exports to Sweden were, however, much larger than British in the same period, being of the value of 546,000,000 kronor against 308,000,000. The United States was again third with 261,000,000 kronor's worth. It will be noticed that while both Germany and the United States export to Sweden much more than they import from her, the case is reversed with Great Britain. This country's predominant position as a market for Swedish produce was the cause of comment in Sweden as well as in Great Britain when last year a large State Railway coal contract was transferred from Britain to Poland. It was felt that Sweden's best customer deserved first consideration.

The national debt of Sweden only amounts to about £17 per head. This is considerably less than the State capital assets in the form of forests, mines, waterfalls, water-power plant and railways, the income from which is sufficient to pay the interest on the national debt. The State-managed services, railways, water-power stations, posts and telegraphs, are known as "profit-earning departments," and indeed do make handsome profits. No Government borrowing is allowed except for these profit-making departments, and there seems no necessity for it. The budget is always made to balance. Any actual deficit is made good from the "Treasury Reserve Fund." Since the war Swedish banks have begun to advance loans to foreign States and municipalities, foreign railways, and even foreign industrial concerns. The export of Swedish capital through the purchase of foreign bonds has steadily increased during the past decade, and during the same period Swedish shares have for the first time been introduced on the stock exchanges of London, Paris, Berlin and New York. By the end of 1928 the market value of Swedish shares quoted on the London Stock Exchange had risen to over £100,000,000. At the same time Swedish manufacturing enterprises were extending their influence in foreign countries, in some cases by combination and absorption, obtaining a dominant position in English and Continental markets. The most famous of these Swedish international concerns are the Swedish Match Trust and the S.K.F. The Swedish Match Trust, under Mr. Ivan Kreuger, now controls the manufac-

ture and sale of matches in practically all parts of the world. The manufacture of ball bearings in the principal European countries is largely controlled by the S.K.F. One of the best-known makers of vacuum cleaners and refrigerators, with factories in England, France, Germany and the United States, is a Swedish firm. The world-wide interests of the Ericsson Telephone Company need no emphasis.

Such facts as these, showing how a country with indifferent natural resources, long winters and short summers, can establish a leading position in modern industry, cause one to ponder whether there is here some lesson for larger and naturally richer countries such as ours whose methods, successful in the past, seem to be less so under modern conditions. I think such a lesson may be found in the way Sweden has faced the problem of making the greatest use of such resources as she has. The country seems to have been the subject of continual expert examination as a whole, the object being to discover what the land was worth for agriculture, forestry, mining, and so on, what was being done with these various resources, and what could be done with them. Economic writers on Sweden treat the country as one estate from which the owner desires the most profitable return; and it is evident from the available statistics that national stocktaking is considered an essential preliminary to the striking of a satisfactory national balance sheet.

About 60 per cent. of the total area of Sweden is covered by forests, mostly spruce and pine; and according to any system of national economy timber products must form the chief asset. Nearly four hundred years ago Gustavus I. decreed that all remote forests were Crown property, and for the last century the Swedish College of Forestry has promoted the scientific care and development of this important source of national wealth. Recently a nation-wide inventory of all Swedish forests was carried out, with the result that the wealth of timber was found to be one-third greater than supposed. The canals for floating the timber to the coast are now 20,000 miles in length, twice the mileage of the Swedish railways; 40 per cent. of the world's supply of cellulose comes from Sweden, and newspapers in about fifty different countries are printed on Swedish newsprint. Until comparatively modern times the full value of timber as a source of national wealth was not realised, but by the policy of making timber the raw material for industry a great number of export trades, apart from wood pulp and paper, have sprung up, specialising in wood products. Finally, in modern Swedish furniture we have art brought in to the aid of industry in order to enhance the value of the natural product.

The manufacture of wood products necessitates the use of high-quality steel machinery, and here we strike the second largest source of national wealth in Sweden—iron ore. Swedish iron has been known for more than 2,000 years, and was much prized by the Romans and in mediæval England. The fact that the bulk of the ore, though rich in iron content, is phosphoriferous, prevents it from being converted into steel by means of charcoal. Coal must be employed, and as there is no local coal the ore has to be exported to the coal-producing countries. Thus Sweden has not been able to take so much advantage of the Bessemer and Thomas processes as England, although the Bessemer process was actually first applied commercially at the Sandviken steel-works in Sweden. The way in which Sweden has adapted herself to the nineteenth-century methods of iron and steel manufacture is characteristic. Realising that they could not compete against England and other coal countries in the use of phosphoriferous ores, Swedish manufacturers concentrated on the working of the smaller deposits of non-phosphoriferous ore which could be reduced with charcoal and made into the highest-quality steel. The forests supply abundant charcoal, and the skill and inventiveness of Swedish engineers ensured rapid adaptability to changing conditions. The result of this policy is that these high-grade Swedish steels are in demand all over the world for special purposes. The recent Assouan dam contract is an example. The fact that Swedish steel and steel products are demanded in preference to pig iron, which is subject to much lower import duties than steel, shows the success of the Swedish policy of specialising in lines in which natural resources give an initial advantage. Indeed, in this case the specialisation on the high-quality local ore has more than counteracted the disadvantages which Sweden has to meet in the manufacture of steel from pig iron in the absence of fuel. The development of water power is now lessening this handicap to some extent, and during the past few years many Swedish steelworks have been remodelled and in some cases rebuilt on sites more convenient for transport facilities and layout of the works. Previously iron works were usually situated close to waterfalls.

Rustproof surgical steel instruments were first introduced by Sweden, and these are in great demand in the leading countries, being largely exported to America and England. Those who have followed the skating revival in London will have noted how many of the rustless steel skates come from Sweden. Among other specialised steel products are saws, axes and hatchets, lathes, machine knives, planing and saw-mill machinery, pressed steel milk cans, rock drills, springs (including a large trade in watch springs). Examples of the widespread market for Swedish

machinery and engineering products are recent contracts for locomotives for the Turkish and Argentine railways, and the supply of motor engines for the lifeboats on the *Bremen*.

The forest wealth of Sweden involves a corresponding restriction in agriculture. Only a very small proportion of the total land area is suitable for cultivation, this being mainly in the south. It is indeed surprising that such a small area is able to support so large a percentage of the population as it does and to supply about 80 per cent. of the food of the people. The chief interest for us lies in the way in which the available resources have been dealt with so as to make the country as self-supporting agriculturally as possible. The people cannot be fed entirely on Swedish wheat; on the other hand fodder crops for cattle grow well and enable a large head of stock to be carried. Here industry has been called in to help transform livestock products into a non-perishable form. Over a thousand butter, cheese and canned meat factories take the surplus from the stock farms. In return the dairies, distilleries and sugar factories place an enormous quantity of feed at the disposal of pig and cattle raisers. In this way the total production has been increased on economical lines without creating an unsaleable surplus. Large quantities of butter are, in fact, exported every week to England. In 1878 Gustaf de Laval invented his cream separator, and since that date the factory which was formed to put his invention on the market has become one of the leading concerns in Sweden. In addition to its Swedish works it now controls large factories in Germany, Austria, the United States and Canada. Milking machines, churns, and dairy utensils of all kinds are articles for export; other industrial products for the use of agriculture largely made in Sweden are threshing machines, tractors, forks, hoes and spades. The world-wide depression in agriculture is having its repercussion in Sweden, and the farmers there have had their troubles as in other countries; but at least it may be said that the problem of agricultural solvency would be greater if every man were fighting his own battle without the help of a national economic policy.

Industry has been assisted greatly during recent years by the development of energy from water power. The natural resources in this respect are superabundant; it has been calculated that there are from four to five million horse power continuously available in the falls throughout the country. The majority of these, however, lie in the north, and the problem of transmission of power on a large scale from the north to the industrial parts of the country in the centre and south has not yet been solved. Meanwhile nearly all the more valuable falls in the centre and south are already harnessed to full capacity, and a network of power lines enables an

equalisation of the supply. At the present time Swedish industry uses nearly three times as much water power as fuel power. Since coal has to be all imported the economy which this represents in the national balance sheet need not be emphasised. Coal is still imported, however, to the extent of about five million tons per annum. About 40 per cent. of this is required for the heating of dwelling-houses. It is generally agreed that for the present water power cannot be expected to supersede coal much more than at present for the production of heat.

In addition to her resources in timber, iron and water power Sweden also possesses others of importance in the natural inventiveness and skill in design and craftsmanship among her people. The inventiveness is illustrated by such homely examples as the primus stove which has penetrated households throughout the world; and the resource in design coupled with excellence of craftsmanship have made Swedish glass, silver, pottery and cabinet work renowned throughout Europe and America. In every branch of activity Sweden seems to be aware of the sum total of her natural resources more precisely than Great Britain is of hers. This is no doubt partly due to the fact that Sweden is a smaller country and her resources are fewer. But some credit must be given for organisation and planning on big lines. In this country individual effort has been the basis of our success, but it may be argued that under modern conditions a greater degree of co-operation is called for. A farmer stocks his land according to its acreage and quality in general, not field by field. So it seems that a country which carries out a periodic Domesday survey and can estimate its aggregate resources has an advantage over another which keeps no such record. In this country the Forestry Commission is an example of a national effort to take stock of our resources and develop them to the fullest extent. The Food Canning Council seems to be inspired by the same principle, but in general we appear to be averse from regarding the country as one estate whose resources should be husbanded to the best advantage. The adoption of this latter principle as the guiding rule, to which all departments of national life, including education, are to be subject, is the key in great measure to Swedish economic prosperity.

ANTHONY DELL.

Autumn, 1930.

EASTER IN THE ABRUZZI.

LEAVING behind the domes of the Eternal City, the levels of the Campagna—broken by long lines of aqueducts—and the heights of Tivoli, the traveller enters a country little known to the ordinary tourist. He gradually ascends the range of the Apennines and reaches the district of the Abruzzi. This region, remote though it now seems, is illumined at intervals by the search-light of history. Here at Sulmona was the birthplace of Ovid—the Sulma bewailed by him during his exile on the shores of the Euxine Sea. Here above this same city of Sulmona stands the lonely hermitage of St. Onofrio, the dwelling-place of Peter Morrone, afterwards Pope Celestine V. Up the steep path in the year 1292 rode three prelates commissioned by the Conclave of Cardinals to offer the papal crown to a recluse and a saint. He yielded to their entreaties and rode down to Aquila, a king on either side holding his bridle; but soon, overwhelmed by his unaccustomed greatness, he abdicated, making the "great refusal" which earned the scorn of Dante. Aquila, where he was crowned Pope, had been made by Frederic II into the capital of the whole district. Not far off, at Tagliacozzo, the last hope of the house of Frederic, the youthful Conradin, had been defeated by Charles of Anjou, a defeat followed by his unjust and cruel death at Naples.

The Abruzzi consists of the central part of the Apennines and of the country along the Adriatic to the south of Ancona. It contains several high peaks including the Gran Sasso, the loftiest summit of peninsular Italy, and a series of low ridges intersected by narrow valleys which descend to the Adriatic. These lower hills are highly cultivated with olives, figs, vines and corn, and the upper slopes provide grass for the sheep, which in winter are brought down to the pastures of Apulia. The open commons where they rest and the grassy roads along which they are driven can be traced for many miles. Little towns, many of which retain their mediæval walls, crown the summits of the lower hills and in one of these, Ari, it was my privilege to spend Easter in an old Palazzo belonging to the baron Nolli di Tollo. In the changing conditions of to-day, when the possession of land is a burden rather than a privilege, the baron and his family use their old home as an Anglo-Italian Pension. Thus the traveller may have the advantage of staying in a part of Italy little frequented by the foreigner, where the natural courtesy of the people is unspoilt by the thoughtless bestowal of "tips." The children offer flowers with no expectation of any further reward beyond a gracious "thank you." The peasants like to enter into conversation with the stranger and we were often invited into their houses.

The bare stone floor is clean, and rows of shining copper pots and jugs of local pottery, with charming designs of flowers, stand on the shelves. In one such house the woman offered us wine, and she carefully rinsed the glasses with fresh water before pouring out the wine from a quaintly-shaped jug. Still more hospitable I felt was the woman who insisted on giving me an orange, for wine is plentiful but oranges here are scarce. Ari is about fifteen miles from Pescara on the Adriatic, whose blue waters can be seen beyond the tender green of the young oaks and the silver-grey of the olives. The atmosphere is peculiarly clear and the sea and mountains assume colours of ever-changing brilliance. To the west rise the majestic heights of Monte Maiella, the summits covered with snow. On one of the spurs of this mountain lies the picturesque town of Guardiagrele, where an hotel, which fortunately is built in harmony with the architectural outline of the town, will be opened in the summer. Guardiagrele, originally a Roman colony of the plain, was transferred to the heights in order to be safe from Saracen attack. It was noted in the Middle Ages for a school of enamel and metal workers of whom the most famous was Niccola di Guardiagrele, born in 1370. A silver processional cross with his signature is treasured in the Church of St. Maria Maggiore. The figure of the Christ is almost Greek in its dignity and simplicity, and the four small plaques of enamel, with scenes from the New Testament, are of exquisite colour and workmanship. The church which contains this treasure was originally built in A.D. 400 on the site of a pagan temple of which a few columns can be traced. In 1100 it was rebuilt and there are interesting fragments of sculpture of this date, especially a fine coronation of the Virgin over the west door in the tower. The construction of this tower is unusual. It stands to the west of the church and a broad flight of steps leads up to the nave. Outside the church on the south side is a portico supported on columns built in the fifteenth century and a fine renaissance doorway. The town itself with its steep streets is attractive: one catches glimpses of courtyards and outside staircases; bunches of wallflowers grow from many an ancient building.

A few miles further on the side of Monte Maiella is a striking war memorial. It consists of a cave cut out of the mountain side, and above is the inscription carved in the living rock. In the centre of the cave stands a sarcophagus and on the rocky wall at each side is a picture formed of tiles of majolica which is one of the industries of Abruzzi. An angel bears aloft the figure of a young soldier, while below Abruzzi women in national dress, of which each district has its own variety, are weaving crowns of laurel—the leaves are handed to them by children. The centre of

the majolica industry is at Rapino, not many miles from Guardiareale. The greatest artist, Cappelletti, died a few years ago without revealing his secret to anyone, but the majolica now made, though not equal to Cappelletti's work, is still very fine. The pottery also is of good design and colour. Cappelletti is one of the three great artists of the Abruzzi; the others are the painter Michetti and the poet Gabriele d'Annunzio who was born at Pescara.

Even more picturesque than Guardiareale is the town of Pretoro which stands higher on the slopes of Monte Maiella. So steep is it that the streets consist of staircases and it is interesting to see the donkeys and ponies carrying their burdens up the steps; some of the houses are actually cut out of the rock. Many hand industries are carried on here, weaving and carpentry and wrought ironwork. Inside the cottages one sees quaintly-shaped wooden cradles.

Holy Week at Ari was marked by many ceremonies in which not only the people of the town but those from the surrounding districts took part. On Wednesday a beautiful sepulchre was prepared at the west end of the church. This was lined with branches of box and of Mediterranean heath and all round at intervals were bowls of young wheat which had been grown in the dark and was therefore almost white—symbolical of the Resurrection. On the evening of Maundy Thursday, when the church was in darkness save for the dim light of candles carried by the women who were all dressed in black, a figure of the dead Christ was brought in solemn procession down the nave and placed in the sepulchre. The church was filled with a dense crowd, reverent and wonderfully quiet, in spite of the continuous movement as each in turn came up to kiss the Saviour's feet. The organ meanwhile was playing softly a curiously monotonous and impressive tune. On Thursday and Good Friday the church bells and the Sanctus bell are not rung, instead a wooden clapper is used. The Church bell is usually rung three times before a service, so on these days the children go through the streets with a clapper and say in turn, "The bell has rung once, the bell has rung twice, the bell has rung three times."

On Good Friday morning the figure of the Christ is taken from the sepulchre and borne through the streets. The procession is headed by a boy carrying a cross; then comes the band of trumpets, flutes, a drum and cymbals playing an old Abruzzi melody, solemn and monotonous. In the centre of the cortège the body of the Christ, covered with a white veil, is carried on a bier. On either side walk two men with spears crossed over the bier: they represent the Roman soldiers. Behind walks a woman in a black dress and veil, St. Veronica, holding aloft a handkerchief on which is painted the face of the Saviour. An image of the Madonna, life-

size and veiled in black, is next borne aloft; it is well modelled and the face is full of sorrow and dignity. Then follow two women who represent the other two Marys. The procession winds through the narrow, cobbled streets, and across the hill to the Church of the Madonna delle Grazie, where an equally beautiful sepulchre has been prepared. Here the altar was draped with a cover of hand-woven linen, embroidered in brightly-coloured wools, and the women had brought their gaily-coloured counterpanes to hang on the walls surrounding the sepulchre. In the evening when the body was brought back to the church at Ari the procession was more impressive as the light from candles and torches shone through the trees and the solemn music floated up to the little hill town. Those who cannot take part place lights in their windows and balconies and as each little town has its own procession the whole countryside sparkles with lights. One can see in the far distance the moving flame of the torches winding up the steep ascent to the church. The reserved northerner may regard all this ceremony as superstition, but here, at any rate, the story of Good Friday is indeed something to all who pass by and everyone makes the sacrifice of giving up long hours to religious devotion, often at the expense of severe physical strain. Veronica, for example, holds her arms straight above her head during the whole time of both processions.

Besides the Easter ceremonies there are many interesting customs. On the festival of St. Dominic, snakes are collected and hung round the image of the Saint, which may be a survival of an old pagan rite. Many are the reminders of the Saracen invasions. At Tollo a wooden castle is erected and the fight ensues between two forces, one representing the citizens of Tollo, dressed as mediæval knights, and the other the Saracens in eastern garb. The inhabitants of Tollo always win the fight and then victors and vanquished partake of a feast of macaroni. Some of the old songs are curious. One afternoon in Holy Week I passed by a house where a boy was playing a strange melody on a concertina. I was told it was an old Abruzzi song about the Madonna seeking for her lost Son and inquiring of St. Peter and of all His friends, where she could find Him. Music in the Abruzzi is not merely a matter of traditional melodies handed down from distant ages: it is still alive. There are musical competitions for which songs are composed, and the one chosen for the prize usually becomes a popular favourite.

The country is now prosperous, but until about 1860 it was terrorised by brigands some of whom were encouraged by the Bourbons in opposition to Victor Emmanuel. An old woman in Ari remembers seeing five brigands hung outside the walls of the

town. The spot is marked by a cross. One house at Ari, now belonging to the doctor, was seized by brigands who flung out all the stores of corn and oil and the oil flowed down the street. There were three young girls in the house who hid in the cellar and managed to escape across the country to the sea aided by faithful peasants. One of them was lame and when her strength began to fail a peasant carried her on his back.

Although, strictly speaking, the national costume is no longer worn, the dress of the women is picturesque. A full skirt of hand-woven red and blue linen, a loose jacket, large, round earrings, and always a handkerchief over their heads. The colour of this varies from year to year; this year the favourite colour seems to be green; one never sees a woman wearing a hat. The women and children are extremely beautiful, a result perhaps of their mixed blood in which Greek and Saracen are mingled. Their hair and eyes are usually dark. Their clear, olive skins are reddened by the sun and their fine teeth gleam from between smiling lips. From early years they carry heavy weights on their heads—a large copper pot, known as a *conca*—a basket of loaves or a bundle of firewood, and they always walk with bare feet, the result being a fine carriage and dignity.

Although the roads in the Abruzzi are good and quite suitable for motors the traveller will only realise the charm of the country if he walks. There are endless charming paths around Ari, over hills and through woods, where the wild flowers abound and the nightingales sing. In early spring there are primroses and grape hyacinths and later masses of pink cyclamen. The woods are as pink with these as English woods are blue with wild hyacinths. In the gardens are quantities of iris, purple and white, and great bunches of purple stock grow out of the walls and hang over the balconies. It is a paradise for the artist who would find a picture at every turn—the distant blue of the mountains and the sea, the fresh green of oak and acacia, the white oxen drawing their painted carts, the donkeys with their panniers, the picturesque old towns, and above all the beautiful women.

E. LUCY BROADBENT.

SHEEP OR GOATS?

CERTAIN religious folk to-day seem to be much concerned with the thought that "religion," as they say, fails to attract the ordinary man. In evidence for this melancholy conclusion they bring the increasing emptiness of the churches, the lack of attendance at Sunday worship, and the decreasing prestige of the ministry in the national life. The argument seems to be, "Those who do not come to church are losing hold of the vital truths of religion. They are trying to conduct their lives upon ethical principles devoid of that God-consciousness which is the essential element in religion. In short, however moral they may be, they are becoming increasingly godless men and women."

If, in an attempt to console such pessimists, one ventures to point to the truly extraordinary advance of humanitarianism during the past half-century, an advance which is perhaps unparalleled in the previous history of mankind, and to suggest that those who clothe the naked, feed the hungry, and visit the sick and in prison, cannot be far from the kingdom of God though conscious of no religious purpose in their ministrations—in other words, that factory acts, housing and unemployment schemes, education, medical inspection, old-age pensions and prison reform are fruits which bear witness to an essentially good tree—one is met by the retort, truly amazing in the mouth of earnest Christians: "But are you not confusing ethics with religion? Is not this humanitarianism merely a sign of the softness of a degenerate age which puts comfort before God?" adding with a touch of bitterness, "I can imagine the humanitarian heaven would be something very like my own idea of hell!"

Now the present writer ventures to think that there is a profound fallacy at the back of all such undisguised contempt for "mere good works," such half-veiled hostility to the ethical and humanitarian in the fancied interests of religious orthodoxy, a fallacy which goes far to explain the breach in the past between the social reformer and the Christianity of his day and the present increasing indifference of mankind as a whole to organised religion. Such a result seems indeed to be a healthy and truly Christian reaction against what is essentially a pagan view of God. What else did the gospels teach in the face of the religious people of their day (who seem indeed to have been extraordinarily akin to certain types in our own)? Was it not (if Matthew's gospel can be trusted) that those who performed works of mercy for mere love of mankind, without any thought of serving God thereby, would be welcomed at the last day, much to their own surprise, with the words, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you

from the foundation of the world"? Whereas the godly who cried, "Lord, Lord!" (in our day perhaps the constant attenders at Holy Communion, the devout and orthodox who have no interest in social reform, but a great interest in "the vital truths of religion,") will find themselves (again greatly to their surprise) greeted with the dreadful words, "Depart from me, ye cursed, . . . for inasmuch as ye did it not to the least of these my brethren, ye did it not unto me." Surely it was Christianity and not godless humanitarianism which taught that a man's religion is revealed solely by his fruits!

This being so, the fact that men and women in Christian countries everywhere should be becoming less "religious" in proportion as they are becoming more humane in thought and practice is surely, if it could be true, the most serious indictment possible not of the men and women concerned, but of the religion of those with whom they come in contact. What then is this "God-consciousness" worth which despises ethics and considers the works of humanitarianism signs of the softness of a degenerate age? To begin with, let it be remarked that these men and women who talk of the softness of the age are nearly all persons who themselves live and have always lived in refined homes where the bodily needs of food and drink, clothing, warmth, and privacy have all their lives been unstintingly supplied. Moreover, they are charging with softness a proletariat which has just creditably emerged from the inconceivable hell of the greatest and most cruel war in history, a war from the physical torments of which those who complain of softness have themselves been spared either by their sex or their profession. Those who stood side by side with privates in the trenches do not usually talk much about the softness of the average man.

But the pastor doubtless deplores the lack of "God-consciousness" in people not from personal pique, because he and his religion are not valued at what he conceives to be their true worth, but for the people's own sake and for the honour of his God. The people, he says, disregard the Christian God of love and lose immeasurably thereby. Indeed, they sin against the highest ideal of mankind. Yet, if greater kindness to one another and strenuous efforts after better social conditions all round be pleaded in extenuation, he may still complain that humanitarianism and ethics are not religion and might even produce his idea of a kingdom of hell.

Now what does this philosophy really amount to, and how far can it be called a Christian attitude towards life at all? Let us begin with the idea that the reformer's heaven might be the religious person's hell. The social reformer is out to find some means of providing better houses, better wages, better food, and less danger of ill-health and unemployment for the vast majority

of the people of his country. Have any of those who call his view of heaven a hell contemplated what their own view of heaven might be if called upon to live, eat, and sleep in the same room with all the other members of their family? What sermons would be written under these conditions? Would not "merely material" questions find a larger, if not even the chief, place in them? And would this really be a mere indication of godless materialism, unable to create its own inner, spiritual peace irrespective of environment altogether? Indeed, the majority of Christian folk have obviously no conception of the lives led by a vast proportion of their fellow countrymen. Whether this is due to the wanton blindness of indifference to what does not affect themselves, or to a total lack of imagination, either is equally strange in people of education who profess to have a hold on "the vital truths of the Christian religion."

Now what are these vital truths? Christianity has sprung from Judaism. Christ Himself was a Jew, and the Old Testament, which was His Bible, is saturated with the ideas of the prophets of Israel, whose teaching He Himself declared He had not come to destroy, but to fulfil. And what was their message? In their own day they were confronted by the usual phenomena of industrial life, the superabundant wealth and luxury of the few, and the oppression, want, and misery of the many. They were also confronted by a widely-prevalent religion, a "God-consciousness" which permeated life in a way it cannot be said to do to-day when the scientific view of nature has largely supplied what used to be the sphere of natural religion. In every village some local shrine represented the visible dwelling-place of God where His blessing could be sought on all enterprises whatsoever and where sins could be confessed and atoned for by proper offerings prescribed by the local priest or priests. At stated times each year the larger sanctuaries would be crowded with worshippers, pilgrims from all parts of the country, bringing the best of their produce in sacrifice to God. At times of crisis even the nearest and dearest, the first-born, or even only son, might actually be slain and offered up as a burnt-sacrifice to God. Surely there was nothing lacking in the religious devotion of such a people as this? God must have been to parents who dedicated their first-born in this way a very terrible reality, an awful presence like the goddess Kali whose picture Professor Otto rightly gives in his now famous book on "The Holy" as the most perfect pictorial expression of "the numinous" which he wishes to describe.

The most frightful crimes were committed by the devout even against their will in the name of religion. Herodotus, who was by no means a Puritan, notes the repugnance with which the Baby-

Ionian women sacrificed their chastity to Ishtar, compelled by the necessities of their religion, and the traditional sacrifice of Isaac gives us an insight into the father's heart even of a Moloch worshipper. As a matter of fact, the purely "numinous" in history seems often to have been a keen-edged sword sharply sundering the spheres of ethics and religion beyond any possibility of confusion. So it is often to this day in India. No wonder that in revolution the highest moral natures of mankind have often reacted against religion altogether. No wonder that Gautama Buddha, one of the most compassionate souls who ever breathed, in face of Hinduism, with its religious exploitation of half the human race in women, and its utter degradation in the outcastes of the most primitive and helpless men, was led to a system as purely ethical and atheistic as the mind of man has been able to conceive. No wonder that the old Roman sage, Lucretius, endeavoured to abolish religion altogether by the help of reason in the very interests of morality, and that his famous dictum has found an echo in so many hearts in every age "*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*"

If religion and the highest ethical ideal of man are indeed so utterly distinct "then," say some of the finest souls in history, "in the name of all that is highest, let us choose ethics and throw overboard religion." This is indeed the only answer that can be made by a rational man, for after all what is ethics but reason in its sublimest exercise? But are religion and the ethical ideal really distinct at all? Is not the history of religious progress just the progressive rationalisation of the idea of God, that is, the progressive humanisation of the divine ideal? In Judaism and its development, Christianity, this is exactly what has occurred. From the time of Amos, nearly 800 years B.C., the God of the whole earth, that is, the Ruler and Creator of the universe, was a righteous God; and from that time to this whatever righteousness may have come to mean to the Christian or to the Jew, that conception must be true of God. The will of God is wholly good and His worshippers in striving to obey that will must become wholly good themselves. This is what is meant by the great saying: "Man is made in the image of God"—that is, godlikeness is possible to, indeed natural to man. In other words, the highest moral ideal conceived is essential to the perfect self-expression of every being that can truly be called a man at all. The order of the universe is a moral order; ethics and religion are inseparably one.

Throughout the Old Testament the moral law speaks in the accents of deity rejecting all religious acts and aspirations which have no connection with social morality. With all the power of their eloquence, in burning torrents of words, the prophets of Israel, the mouthpieces of the moral law, or God, launch their thunderbolts

against the merely "numinous"—the God-consciousness, however intense, which has no connection with humanitarianism, which cares more for prayer and sacrifice than for the poor, the orphan, and the widow.

"Sacrifice and incense are an abomination unto me, saith the Lord. When ye spread forth your hands unto me and make many prayers I will not hear. Your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean. Put away your iniquity from before my eyes. Plead for the fatherless, protect the widow." "Ye that sell the righteous for a pair of shoes, and give false measures in balances of deceit—" "Let judgment roll down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream." "What mean ye that say, 'the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord is ours'? Forsooth that ye may trample my courts to lie and steal and forswear. Behold, I will send you away captive beyond Samaria." "One thing will I require of thee, O man, to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

It is the vision of righteousness and the identification of this vision with God which is the permanent contribution of the Jewish race to mankind. Despised, downtrodden, and persecuted, a martyr race above all others, this people has always maintained its hold on one vital truth of religion, the identification of the moral law with the will of God, and of the will of God with the highest ethical ideal. This is what made Judaism, with all its faults, capable of development into Christianity, the strongest moral and spiritual force that the world has known. But whence has Christianity derived its amazing moral power? Directly from the person and life of its Founder. It is the life of Christ that has transformed and is transfiguring the world. What the prophets of Israel saw in visionary ideal and proclaimed in a fire of wrath and love, that Christ lived out in the humble language of everyday life. Hence it has been able to become the commonplace of the average man. This is a humanisation of religion which has no parallel elsewhere. The highest ethical ideal (which is the will of God) has been given concrete expression in an earthly life in a definite time and place. The essence of the doctrine of Incarnation is just this. And this is where it differs by whole worlds from all other Incarnation theories which exalt the purely "numinous" sphere of mainly emotional values, but have no necessarily moral content. The Incarnation essentially means the perfect self-expression of the Divine in the material. "In Him is no darkness at all." Therefore the slum, the mine, the prison, the workhouse, the factory, the shop, the home, the palace, must and may be filled with light and cleanliness, purity, love, and peace before these things could become an outward expression of the kingdom of God. All these things are material

things, are outward and visible things, and it is therefore in these and not only in churches and cathedrals, that the life of God, God immanent as well as transcendent, can and must be revealed. The incarnation of the divine in the human, the redemption of matter which has been and therefore can be made to serve the supreme revelation of God, these are the vital truths of the Christian religion. Perhaps it is professors of Christianity and not the man in the street who have lost hold of them to-day. Certainly something of the kind seems to be suggested when one hears organised Christianity lamenting the "godlessness" of the most humanitarian age that has ever been. "By their fruits ye shall know them," says their Master, Christ.

And the ideal of the ordinary man and woman in buses, trams, and trains, to those who meet and mix with them every day, seems certainly to be unconsciously and increasingly "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance." Certainly church-going is not conspicuous on their list of virtues, but it may be that the people, as a whole, are truer to the spirit of early Christianity than many would have us believe, and that the Master's verdict is not that of empty churches which cry out on the godlessness of the age. It may be that Christianity is even now coming out of buildings into the open air and is insisting upon finding God and Christ in the social order and the common ways of men rather than in the ministrations of a priestly caste—in democratic ways of kindness, rather than in the aristocratic and monarchic institutions of mediævalism, well as they may have served the world in their own day.

If God and Righteousness are truly identical, then a love of righteousness is in itself a love of God. Those who both do and love the works of righteousness must be essentially godly (as they are God-like) men and women, whether they know it or not. This seems also to be the teaching of Jesus Christ. Certain it is that when one surveys the extraordinary progress in social reform during the last half-century, the growing desire for international friendship, the increasing equality of opportunity given to labour as to capital in the State, the increased respect for and opportunities given to women—for whom the Church alone now still maintains inequality of sex—the growing interest taken in child-welfare and in the education of the whole community, both young and old, the advance of sanitation and laws of health and cleanliness, which is next to godliness alone, it is hard to resist the conviction that never in the history of mankind has humanity come nearer to the ideal of Christ, in whom is neither Jew nor Gentile, male nor female, bond nor free. Surely it is hard not at least to say of the modern world, in spite of all shortcomings and whatever sacrifices must be

required of it in the future in its progress to a more spiritual ideal: "Truly, these people are not far from the kingdom of God."

But the writer wishes to guard against a possible misunderstanding. In all that has been said there is no intended advocacy of what are sometimes known as "atheistical developments of Christianity," nor is it suggested that in social morality there is no necessary place for personal communion with God. This is the very opposite of what the argument is intended to convey. All depends upon what is meant by the word "God" and the word "religion." If a man's ideal, whether money, social position, comfort or ease can be truly called his God in proportion as these are the things he truly worships and strives after in his own life, if prayer is "the soul's sincere desire, uttered or unexpressed," then a sincere desire for and service of social righteousness can truly be called a religion. The only question that could arise would be whether such an impersonal God is at a high or a low level of religious thought. To the prophets of Israel social righteousness was the only possible expression in man of the will of a personal righteous God. Where social righteousness was not done there all other types of religious expression were even abominations in the sight of the God of righteousness. Can such a position be held to be true in Christianity? In other words, is a non-humanitarian Christianity possible at all?

In the Gospels Christ declares that He has not come to destroy but to fulfil the religion of Israel. But the high-water mark of this religion is the vision of the suffering Servant who gives his life "a ransom for many." To suffer and die for man is therefore the highest ideal of Israel as it is also of the Christian saint. But is there nothing else besides? Is there no need of a personal relationship between such a suffering servant and a personal God? Can social ethics do without dependence upon any supreme power which may be recognised as divine? Is it really possible for the social reformer to be an atheist in religion and a mere materialist in philosophy? Surely not. If, as Christianity and Judaism emphasise, God and Righteousness are identical, then any love and service of the one are in essence a love and service of the other. The worship of the ideal of righteousness is in itself the implicit worship of Christ as divine, for few social reformers would deny that the life of Christ is the most divine ideal that mankind has known or has been able to conceive. The question is no longer, can Christ be accepted as the perfect revelation of God, but can the highest idea of God be conceived at all apart from Christ? As Pheidias, by his statue of the Olympian Zeus, was said to have "added something to the received religion," so to-day Christ does not stand or fall by comparison with God, but quite the reverse—the

ideal of God stands or falls by comparison with Christ. Now it is on the whole true that social reforms have been originated by sincere, if not necessarily orthodox, Christians. The vision of Christ has been the inspiration of their efforts and of their lives. Is this vision growing faint to-day? Can it be truly said that the man in the street who is drifting away from organised religion has no use for Christ? Is not rather the reverse the case, that the measure of the fulness of the stature of Christ is the only standard by which the man in the street quite definitely and consciously measures the organised Christianity of to-day and often finds it wanting? What he seeks is a Christianity which goes about doing good, which heals the sick and loves the sinner, and though it may spend its nights in prayer does not expect such prayer to be accepted in lieu of the works of mercy which distinguished the life of the Founder of Christianity and of His first followers. Christ taught a kingdom of heaven in which God should reign, and the kind of God this was He said could be seen in His own personality and life. There is nothing to show that this kind of God is farther from the heart of our humanitarian age than it has ever been. The contention of the present writer is that it is much nearer. This is the only God that this age will recognise at all. It is the only God the modern man has any use for. The God of the modern man is not the transcendent God of sectarian shibboleths and divisions, but an immanent God of fatherhood and love, and wherever true love is found there God is as truly apprehended and adored by the social reformer as by the so-called orthodox Christian in his sacraments and churches and creeds. Is not this in essence a more truly Christian because a more entirely ethical religion? The present writer would contend that what is specific to Christianity as to the Judaism from which it sprang, as against all other religions of the world, is the thorough and entire identification of ethics with religion, that is of the highest ideal of righteousness with the highest ideal of God. What Christianity adds to this is the outward and visible expression of that divine ideal in the personality and life of Christ.

If this is the standard by which the average man is judging the religion of to-day there is no cause for dismay. Nay, rather, the conversion of so-called Christendom has at last really begun. Surely the Christian Church in its many organised forms has no need for discouragement, but rather for rejoicing that its faithful service in the past has succeeded in putting before the present an ideal which is at last beginning to bear fruit in the average man. "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." It is therefore not unreasonable to hope that from an age of humanitarianism a great religious revival may yet be born.

SPES.

MODERN ETCHING.

"MODERN etching"—almost a contradiction in the adjective. Etching is an eminently traditional art, and herein lies its strength and also to a certain extent its weakness, namely the danger of slipping into routine and repetition. On the other hand the extraordinary amount of tradition which plays such a vital part in etching is surely one of its great charms and adds to that curious fascination which will make it a lasting passion with many of those who have once acquired the taste for it. Perhaps not many modern etchers read the delightful little handbook on the art of etching written in the seventeenth century by the French etcher, Abraham Bosse of Paris, but if they do they will find very useful and up-to-date instruction in it, besides a peculiar charm, the charm of *vieille France*. And anyone who is both an etcher and a lover of that traditionally-polished and graceful manner which is the heritage of the Latin races, will find a double delight in reading this little volume which thus embodies tradition in a twofold way. His delight will be mingled with amusement by the fact that old Bosse evidently was a typical artisan, a man without sufficient education to avoid innumerable grave sins against spelling (this makes the essential correctness of his explanations even more striking) and also an artisan in the sense that he was no real personality as an artist, being in fact little more than a follower of Jaques Callot—"feu Monsieur Callot" to whom he refers in his book with deepest reverence and affection.

There are, to-day, besides the large group of those who insist on a complete revolution in art, the partisans of tendencies labelled under many different names: futurists, dadaists, surrealists, cubists, expressionists—arbitrary and sometimes even silly denominations (why, indeed, the pretence to monopolise expression?), terms all meant to design floating and more or less chaotic aspirations similar at one point, namely the desire to abolish and rebuild from the foundations, a desire for radical destruction and return, an artistic "good-bye to all that"—there are, besides these, also others who, like the Russian writer, Ilia Ehrenburg, maintain or at any rate discuss the idea that art has altogether outlived its day, that under the immensely changed and changing conditions following the world catastrophe of the Great War, art belongs to the things definitely past and done, so much so that every effort to prolong its existence must be put down as extreme reactionary shortsightedness. Have the advocates of this theory ever seized on etching as a particularly striking instance? If they have not they ought to. Etching is the typical example, indeed the classic instance, of the fascination of the once useful and now useless

in art. Maybe after all we artists are a brake on human progress. A problem, this, and another is whether, if art is a bridle, how far the bridle should be unbridled?

What enormous clefts there are in the art of our times! and how amusing the thought that, not very long ago, in our lifetime and within our recollection, the tolerant scepticism with which we—most of us, including even scholars and art officials—now view the immense differences in the various ranges of art production would have been a thing unthinkable! For one, the enormous contradictions in artistic aspiration are an extremely characteristic feature of our epoch, but perhaps even more striking is the way everybody seems to have got used to them. I remember vividly how appalled, puzzled, and almost horrified I felt when, as a boy, I saw Cézanne's *Mardi Gras*. And I was raised in an atmosphere distinctly of the minority as regards art; I never learned to feel anything but contempt for academism. But here was the negation of every belief I had learned to hold. And who stops now to pause and think over the *Mardi Gras*? Now, surely there are people who would cast away Cézanne and the *Mardi Gras* as academic and thus no more worthy of attention, settled, *erledigt* as the most amusing Dutchman says to everything in that great masterpiece of the literary art of our day, the *Magic Mountain* by Thomas Mann. Yes, we have grown up in a curious way; we puzzle no more; the most enormous contradictions in artistic creed seem to co-exist peacefully. Settled, all the differences; *laissez faire, laissez aller*; after the war of creeds a period of peaceful mercantilism. The articles are all nicely labelled; the markets are open for speculation, not in the sense of abstract speculation to be sure, but that very different one which pertains to the stock exchange.

The differences in style and method of artistic expression are surely quite as marked in etching as in the other arts, and even more so because the process in itself is so definitely characteristic. Etching is an exacting medium, or rather a group of exacting media closely associated; line-etching, soft varnish, dry point, aquatint and the long-neglected primary process of line-engraving which many etchers have recently taken up with characteristic fervour. In line-engraving, instead of using a steel point as in line-etching and dry point, a sharp pencil as in soft varnish, or the brush as in aquatint, the copper plate is handled with a very peculiar instrument, the graver or burin which was used by the old engravers chiefly in the time before etching was invented; from Finiguerra and the early Italian engravers or the early German artists of the playing cards, on to Robetta, to Schongauer and then to Marcantonio Raimondi, Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden, everybody used the graver. It is extremely characteristic that this method,

primitive and clumsy in comparison with the others, should have had such a marked revival lately; it is most obviously a reaction against all that has been cultivated, a voluntary return to the primitive, like the revival of wood engraving. Both force the artist to use a greater economy in the means of expression—an extreme economy, in fact. It is as if he were afraid of indulging in the luxury of etching, afraid of losing his style and personality, to succumb to unwholesome temptations of routine. In this sense asceticism is perhaps in some cases a sign of weakness, a powerful girdle of chastity is needed to resist temptation. To a large extent, of course, this fad for line-engraving is mere fashion, plainly the wish to do something unusual, as illustrated by the example of the *doyen* of the revival, Laboureur. It is surprising and instructive to visit the *Cabinet des Estampes* at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris and go through the portfolio of Laboureur's work. He started as a very good etcher but with little, if any, personality, a man belonging to the class of eminent French etchers of the pre-war days like Heyman, Beurdeley or Villon, but not as good as these. He then, like Villon who had produced the most beautiful etchings (aquatints) in colours and dry points in black-and-white, began to flirt with cubism; finally he settled down to his present manner which has been labelled "rococo cubism." And while this made a hit and attracted many followers, what is poor Jaques Villon doing now? He makes reproductions in colour from all sorts of modern paintings including those of the latest fashion such as Marie Laurencin's. Some of these reproductions are far from good—not the Laurencins. Marie Laurencin is quite amusing. "*C'est un grand cuisinier*" (a great alchemist of the craft) the charming Monsieur Lemoisne, director of the *Cabinet d'Estampes*, said of Villon. But some of the results of his virtuosity in coloured reproduction of the paintings of others seemed as poor as his own etchings in colours of women in the characteristic garb of the 'nineties are delightful. Another artist of this generation whose etchings in colour are admirable is Bernard Boutet de Monvel. There was quite a class of French etchers in colour at that period and Lee Hankey may, in spite of difference of nationality, be safely counted in the group. It is curious that their work has found practically no followers; etching in colour seems to have fallen into complete disuse in France and the little that is done in England now can hardly be called a revival.

To come back to the investigation of etching generally, I think two extreme types may be stated as characteristic of what is being done to-day. One is the skilled craftsman who has the delicate technique at his fingertips but has no personality whatever, the other the artist who cares not at all how a copper plate should be

handled but chooses to make etchings although he is not an etcher. It is depressing to see that the first type is legion; one often asks oneself whether the reason of finding so many etchers who have nothing to say but say it well, is that etching is such a difficult craft that the mere fact that someone can practise it assures him of notice and more or less of appreciation—or is it only that the great value one sets on etching makes one over-susceptible to any sin committed in this wonderful field? Of course sins against technique are more pardonable than sins against the spirit. It sometimes therefore gives one grim pleasure to turn from the first type to the second, to those who do not know how to say it and thereby raise hope that they may have something to say. And although these types are extremes stated theoretically for the sake of easier illustration, it is curious how nearly they are approached in reality. On the one hand, just as in life generally we meet countless people so uncannily one like the other, so we are bound to meet this type of the individual devoid of individuality in the realm of art; here as well as there, he is the pure product of standardisation. The second type is the artist who simply buys a copper plate and works away on it; it is fairly true, especially of "very modern" etchers.

On taking up etching in Paris, I learned the elements of the various processes from a delightful young American artist who regularly gave instruction in etching and on whom I had chanced through an advertisement he had in the shop of one of the artists' colourmen on the Boulevard Montparnasse. He was a first-rate technician and during the five lessons of which his course consisted and which he gave for a fixed price adapted to the average purse of the Montparnasse student, I learned a great deal. On enthusiastically mentioning him to another artist friend, this friend, a painter of the extreme *avant-garde*, was evidently appalled by my extravagance and said in friendly reproach: "Why didn't you tell me that you wanted to etch and let me show you how it's done?" This was said in a tone conveying the notion that it is quite simple. I had not seen any of this man's etchings and I do not know which his "simple" process was; probably it may have been either a very simplified method of line-etching or, even more likely, dry point, which, in a way, would in fact seem to be the simplest of all. You take a copper plate and scratch the lines on it with a steel point, and when this is done you take your etching to the printer: it is ready for printing. With many of the very modern etchers it actually amounts to no more; there is just an outline as, say, in some of Picasso's dry points—later works of his, where he does not even trouble to make the amount of the "burr" correspond with the sense of the line, although he is, on the whole, an

MODERN ETCHING.

etcher in the real sense of the word and made very beautiful line-etchings in his earlier period. The burr, that is the rough ridge of copper raised by the needle in scratching the plate, is the difficulty and also the beauty of dry point work; just the least bit of additional pressure in drawing the needle point on the plate will cause the lines to take a surprisingly blacker shade in the print, which can be augmented to the deepest velvety black as, say, in that beautiful dry point by Whistler of a woman in a dark dress standing at a window, which was placed among the "Select Prints" in the Print Room of the British Museum. Dry point is in fact the freest method within the range of etching; it imposes less limitation on the artist than any of the other processes and can be made to suit an infinite variety of purposes. Slight, wilfully careless suggestions as in the dry point work of that brilliant Roumanian or rather International-Montparnassian draughtsman, Pascin; curiously like the bitter line-etching in many of the nineteenth-century French etchings, and also in Lee Hankey's dry points—beautiful mixtures of these, of everyday realism and that mild beauty characteristic of English nineteenth-century. Blompied, who always does dry points, has used the dry point needle to do the most surprising thing: some of his etchings remind one of lithographs!

The expression "dry point" is perhaps not a very lucky one as it may convey the entirely mistaken idea that dry points have something of dryness in their appearance. On the contrary, dry point can be made to give extreme softness, delicacy as well as depth of tone so far as to submerge the line in an effect of monochrome painting with infinite subtleties of modelling. The term implies merely that while in line-etching, soft ground etching and aquatint an acid, a liquid mordant, is used to get the lines (or, in the case of aquatint, the painted gradations of tone value) bitten into the plate, in dry point no such liquid is necessary. In this sense the already-mentioned line engraving with the burin is also a "dry" process, like mezzotint engraving, the method of scraping out the lights and half shades from a plate previously made with a uniformly rough surface which prints a very deep black—thus, a method where the light is worked in, as in aquatint. Mezzotint was used extensively in the past and is still used now and then for the reproduction of oil paintings, as well as in some cases original work such as that of Sir Frank Short, the virtuoso of original mezzotint engraving. But generally speaking this process seems to have fallen into almost complete disuse as a method of original creation. As a method of reproducing paintings, mezzotint engraving had its bloom in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and was obviously doomed to lose its importance with the

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invention of photographic reproduction. And as far as my knowledge goes, England is the only country where the practice of reproducing paintings in mezzotint has not been abandoned completely—a fact easily explained by the much greater amount of traditionalism existing here than elsewhere. This is also manifest in the production of modern etching generally. In Paris, as well as in Berlin, being very “modern” is almost *de rigueur*, while in England an artist of the type of Jaques Villon or (the early) Laboureur would probably never have dreamed of giving up what he used to do in the eighties or nineties, and would have run no risk of losing his position by adhering to it. Even young artists of a plainly eclectic type seem to have been able to attain to some sort of position here—a thing beyond the range of the wildest imagination in either Paris or Berlin. It is true, though, that beside that type of the plainly conservative etcher, we may discover even among the seemingly most advanced artists more than one showing distinct traces of eclecticism, that is, of repeating existing formulas in an uncreative way. There will be those who, like Gromaire for instance, strike us and seem rather unexpected and curious when we see the first half-dozen of their etchings, but will not fail to bore us when we see portfolios of them. “Modern academism” is a good expression as applied to an etcher of this type in dispraise, or rather by way of defining his limitations; used first of a highly-talented Hungarian artist it can be applied with even greater justice to this Frenchman who is more monotonous in his manner and therefore far less interesting. Yet on seeing the first Gromaire, one of those line-etchings of his representing a weird, cave-mannish, almost uncanny-looking figure of a peasant leaning on his spade, whose disproportionately massive, rough-hewn head and limbs made him look like some very primitive Millet of the South Sea savages (!)—a sort of Bolshevik-Millet, if one may say so—it was definitely impressive. With this etcher we are evidently in presence of one of those sad and too frequent cases where an artist cannot help imitating in the way of routine what he did at first with inspiration. After all an artist must live and in many cases support a family, and he may fall victim to that unfortunate demand for doing always the same thing, which is a most unfortunate, or rather the one really unfortunate feature of modern art, and in particular of modern etching. The demand comes from the art dealers and publishers of etchings, who are plainly business men and maintain that they cannot hope to impress the uneducated public unless the artist keeps definitely to one line and has something in his manner or, even more important, in his choice of subjects which even the meanest intelligence will grasp as his characteristic. There is an etcher whose work a

publisher refused to deal with on this ground, although he obviously thought highly of it. He particularly insisted on one definite choice of subject. The artist, who was naturally reluctant to discuss the merits of his own work, quoted Whistler as an instance of an etcher who was surely versatile enough in his subjects and unwilling to subject himself to any such restriction, and yet had attained the highest possible eminence in fame as well as in market value. “The difference between you and Whistler,” said the publisher, “is that you are still alive while Whistler is dead.” “But surely Whistler’s Venice etchings had an enormous success in his lifetime?” “No, they were the greatest failure. They were put up at a nominal price, the press ridiculed them, and scarcely did a few prints get sold.” The artist thought—and said—that this was very sad, while the publisher saw it in a different light; to him it did not seem sad at all, only amusing, as it showed how stupid the world is. But this little instance would engage us more deeply in another subject, that of the relation between art and economic existence, and although this is inevitably interwoven with the manifestations of art itself, it is as repulsive and, theoretically, as unworthy of a man’s interest as the problems of art are for ever delightful and fascinating.

VALER FERENCZY.

FRENCH PROGRESS IN INDO-CHINA.

PORTUGAL, the original pioneer of European penetration into India, now possesses little more than her early foothold at Goa.

The Dutch were the first rivals of Portugal for the trade of the East, and for a while they held Ceylon and several ports on the Indian mainland. Their lasting gain has been a rich island empire extending from Sumatra and Java over a thousand miles from west to east in the far-eastern seas. During the eighteenth century England and France were rivals for dominion and commerce in India. England remains in possession, and to France has been left only a few memorials of a dream of Indian empire that ended in disappointment. But further east, and largely in our own time, French enterprise under the Second Empire and the Third Republic has built up a wide dominion along the peninsula of Indo-China. Within a few brief years, however, it was claimed from the Quai d'Orsay, where M. Challemel-Lacour then presided, that Annam had violated this treaty of 1874 by admitting the suzerainty of China, and in 1883 credits were demanded and granted for an expedition to Indo-China. In the previous year Commander Rivière had reoccupied Hanoi, where he had been so severely harassed by the piratical bands yclept the Black Flags that he risked a sortie in which he lost his life.

The immediate sequel was the despatch of French naval and military reinforcements, the reduction of the Annamese capital, and the conclusion of a treaty with the new ruler of that region (King Heiphma) accepting French control over Annam and Tonking. This led to an inevitable clash with China, where Li-Hung-Chang was then in power. He pointed out that the Protectorate in question belonged to China beyond doubt, and elaborate preparations for hostilities were begun. At Paris the Chamber confirmed by more than two to one the policy of aggression and acquisition in Indo-China, and Jules Ferry declared that "we must think for the future positions of the sons of honest Frenchmen." Under the able direction of Admiral Courbet considerable progress was made with the suppression of the Black Flags, who were compelled to evacuate Son-tay and other places of strength. The date of the Franco-Annamese treaty was August 25th, 1884. It was followed, on June 9th ensuing, by the treaty of Tien-Tsin between France and China, whereby the latter Power conceded French "rights" in Annam and Tonking—a noteworthy victory for Gallic diplomacy and a formal recognition of the new status and conditions.

Next in sequence as well as in importance may be placed the clash between French and Siamese interests in 1893. The writer happened to be resident in Bangkok during the blockade of the

Siamese seaboard by the French Far-Eastern fleet in 1893, an experience which necessarily enhanced his interest in the problem of European expansion in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. That particular adventure terminated, it may be recalled, in the acquisition by France of a substantial and valuable slice of Siamese territory, after a crisis during which the British Foreign Office had intimated its reluctance to consent to a French occupation of King Chulalongkorn's capital—and such occupation did not take place.

Originally conquered by the Chinese considerably more than two thousand years ago, Annam and Tonking gradually reasserted their independence until, in the first half of the fifteenth century, China maintained a merely nominal authority. There ensued a series of "visitations" from several European nationalities—Portuguese, Dutch, French, the latter in 1789 bringing about a union of Tonking and Cochin-China under the Emperor of Annam. Events moved more rapidly in the nineteenth century, when in 1858 France showed her hand. In 1860-1 French penetration eventuated in the submission of the territory of Saigon, and by the treaty of that name inaugurated "French Cochin-China." In 1863 the King of Cambodia became similarly "protected." Less than a decade thereafter the celebrated Dupuis navigated the Sang-koi, and he had only a hundred white troops with him when he entered Hanoi. In spite of protests from China, France concluded a treaty with Annam which gave her the valuable delta of the Sang-koi. As it happened, my arrival in the Siamese capital, nearly synchronised with a French ultimatum to that country, demanding, "on behalf of the Kingdom of Annam," the cession of the whole *rive gauche* of the River Mekong. That demand being rejected, the French China squadron was ordered to Siamese waters, and on the night of July 13th, 1893, the French gunboats *Inconstant* and *Comète* successfully ran the gauntlet of the Siamese batteries, ships, and torpedoes at Bangkok. I had been dining with the United States Consul-General, Mr. Boyd, and we had barely reached the coffee and cigarette stage when the distant booming of artillery up-river apprised us that the expected attempt to force the passage of the forts at Paknâm was taking place. It seemed hardly credible that precisely one week ago we of the small British community had been dining together in honour of the nuptials of His Majesty King George—then Duke of York—and Princess May of Teck. One week ago! And here we were face to face with the stern realities of war.

On July 16th the Siamese authorities issued the following statement:

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As the result of communications between His Majesty's Government and Commander Borrey of the *Inconstant*—senior officer of the three French gun-boats now lying in the river—no act of hostility will be committed on either side. The French have agreed to abstain from all attack upon the city or the population, while the Siamese, on their side, have engaged to treat the newly-arrived French vessels in the same way as the gun-boats of other Powers now lying in Bangkok waters. Commander Borrey has emphatically repudiated any intention of opening fire upon an undefended city, as being contrary to the usages both of civilisation and warfare.

Up to the present moment, it is not intended to block the entrance to the Meinam. The French cruiser *Forfait* and the English cruiser *Pallas* are both at anchor below the bar. We would urge the population to pay no attention to the irresponsible rumours promulgated in the bazaars, of this class being the mischievous statement published as to the sinking at Bangkok of H.S.M.S. *Monkut Raja Kumar*, now anchored in a practically uninjured condition opposite the arsenal.

On the 20th a rigid blockade of the Siamese seaboard was proclaimed by the Government of the French Republic. Oh, what a scramble there was among the shipping to clear from Bangkok within the prescribed twenty-four hours! What farewells we said! The French Minister hauled down his flag, went away in a cruiser, and established himself in the King of Siam's summer palace at Koh-si-Chang ("Island of Chang") which the blockading fleet seized. So, after all, we missed the added excitement of a bombardment. The blockade lasted less than ten days, when the Siamese authorities, having exhausted the "resources of civilisation" in their frantic efforts to induce some one of the Powers to intervene in their favour, threw up the sponge. As for us civilians, we had escaped with our lives and property intact. That, for the moment, was all that mattered. Who cared that the *royaume* of Siam had been despoiled?

The territory so added to France's possessions in the Far East amounted, I believe, to upwards of eighty thousand square miles, rich in rice, cotton, tobacco, gold, and other minerals. The native nominal ruler of the protected State of Luang-Prabang had his headquarters in the town of that name. Seven years later the small but fertile colony of Kwang-chau-Wan on the Chinese coast, acquired by lease from China, was formally placed under French protection. And in 1907 Siam further ceded to France the territory surrounding Battambang.

Under the general description of French Indo-China, these various dependencies amount to some 280,000 square miles, with a population of about twenty millions. A very excellent Governor-General was appointed in 1925, in the person of M. Alexandre Varenne. In Cochin-China the administration of justice is in the

hands of French officials, but in the Protectorates there are both European and native courts. Commercially this region has had its own Customs Union since 1887. The recognised financial institution is the Bank of Indo-China, which is essentially a bank of issue. Of the country's three leading commercial regions, the area having Saigon for its centre holds rank as one of the world's greatest rice-producing places; Tonking and North Annam are largely farming and mining districts; and Central Annam produces tea and sugar in great quantities.

French Cochin-China proper is subdivided into a score of provinces and boasts a colonial council of twenty-four members. Apart from rice and other cereals and a big fishing industry, rubber is a steadily increasing product. In Annam, where at the end of 1925 the young King Vinh-Thuy began to reign with the aid of a council of regency and a French Resident, Hué is not the largest centre though it is the capital, and Binh-Dinh now boasts a population approaching 100,000. Coal is a steadily growing export in the Tourane district, and there is a promising output of raw silk, etc. Under direct French control for the last decade, education in the schools is making rapid progress. In Tonking, where at the beginning of 1902 Hanoi superseded Saigon as the capital of Indo-China, education is also making way in no uncertain fashion. Since 1917 Hanoi has boasted its "University of Indo-China," to which has been added a European college, while it has had its school of medicine for nearly thirty years. The chief port, Haiphong, has long been a very busy centre, and upwards of a thousand vessels of all nationalities now enter and clear from it annually.

Another great rice-producing country is Cambodia, whence increasing quantities of cattle, salt fish, and tobacco are also exported. The land is only partially cultivated, however, thanks to the annual overflow of the mighty Mekong River into the Great Lake. This is another area in which French initiative and enterprise have worked and are working wonders in the matter of education. But Cambodia is, of course, principally remarkable for its natural wonders. There exists a considerable literature concerning the marvellous ruined temples and palaces of Angkor. These have been "dated" approximately as from the beginning of the Christian Era down to the sixteenth century, and when French exploring expeditions visited the spot in 1866-73 "the great piles explored numbered over fifty, while the small isolated structures were counted by hundreds. The temple of Angkor-Vaht occupies a larger area than that of Karnak in Egypt. . . . More remarkable than their magnitude and number is their artistic value, the finest productions deserving to be ranked with the mas-

terpieces of the West. The Khmer structures are characterised by grandeur and unity of design, and are moreover for the most part entirely overlaid, profusely but unconfusedly, with delicate ornamentation. In a single temple of Angkor are 1,532 columns, and the mountain yielding the stone is thirty-two miles distant. Among the ruins are massive stone bridges, so solidly constructed as to have almost all resisted the periodical inundations and shock of huge tree-trunks hurled against them." One such bridge has thirty-four arches and a length of 470 feet. Reproductions of portions of these unique remains, and notably a model of one of the huge pagodas, were included in the French colonial exhibition held at Paris in 1929 and will be features of this year's exhibition at Vincennes—a fitting tribute to and memorial of the blood and tears that went to the making of France's Empire of the Far East.

This French colony continues to be ably and humanely administered, and there have been few recent happenings to disturb the even tenor of French governance, if we except a sporadic mutiny of native soldiery in Annam, supposed to have had its origin in Bolshevik propaganda. Meanwhile, it is a sufficiently significant and illuminating circumstance that the kingdom of Siam is the solitary independent State that survives in the Indo-Chinese peninsula to-day.*

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

* There is a considerable French literature dealing with this region, and it has been much increased since the opening of the present century. This more recent output has included two works by Captain Gosselin, one about the Laos country (1900) and *L'Empire d'Annam* (1904), F. Bernard's *Indo-Chine* (1901), E. Aymonier's *Le Cambodge* (1900, three vols.), L. de Reinach's *Le Laos* (1901, two vols.), H. Maitre's *Les régions Moï du Sud Indo-Chinois* (1909), Russier and Brenier's *L'Indo-Chine Française* (1910), Captain Magnabal's book with the same title, Rondet-Saint's *Choses de l'Indo-Chine Contemporaine* (1916), and A. Maybon's *Histoire d'Annam* (1920). In England during the corresponding period, Colonel Malletson's admirable *The French in India* has been supplemented by A. Cunningham's *The French in Tonkin and South China* (1902), A. Ireland's *Far Eastern Tropics* (1905), H. Baudeason's *Indo-China and its Primitive Peoples*, and H. C. Candee's *Angkor the Magnificent*.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE ALTERNATIVE TO WAR.

CERTAIN events that took place in the first three months of 1931 gave a better turn to the general trend of European feeling and improved the chance of success in the preliminary diplomacy to the 1932 disarmament conference. The first event was the January meeting of the League Council, which, to the surprise and pleasure of most people, allayed much of the German disquiet both about the disarmament conference and about the minority difficulties in Poland. No sooner was the Council meeting over than the businesslike people in European diplomacy, such as Dr. Brüning, M. Briand, Signor Grandi and Mr. Henderson, took to improving the opportunity. Dr. Brüning had no difficulty in discomfiting the Nazis, although it would probably be a mistake to imagine that the Nazis are yet at the end of their tether. There is at any rate a probability that the Nazis will be unable to do much harm between now and the meeting of the disarmament conference in February of next year. Concurrently, the British Foreign Office, by good judgment, enabled Paris and Rome to reach a measure of agreement about naval armaments such as may pilot them through 1931 without their engaging each other in the fearful absurdity of an armaments race.

In January of this year the diplomatic outlook was bad. France and Italy had not agreed about naval limitation, France continuing to insist on a substantial superiority in strength over Italy, Italy remaining adamant for equality. There loomed ahead not only the particular danger of an Italo-French competition in armaments, but the greater danger that the London Naval Treaty of last year might be defeated in its purpose; for the refusal of France (and therefore of Italy) to sign that part of the treaty which prescribed the limitation of ships had persuaded the three Powers, Japan, the United States and Great Britain, which did sign it, to "safeguard" themselves by a clause which in effect would enable them to repudiate the treaty in the event of unbalanced French building. Both dangers seemed to be, at least temporarily, averted by the agreement reached at the end of February. It then became possible for constructive diplomacy to think ahead to the work of the disarmament conference and of its implications.

Those implications are almost boundless in extent. The established arrangement that the nations of the world will meet next year at Geneva or elsewhere and the possibility that they may agree on an instrument for limiting and then reducing and ultimately abolishing armaments are an occasion for cheerful anticipation such as the world has seldom been given. No comparable

thing has happened before. The League of Nations disarmament conference will be attended by all the nations of the world that matter, whether members of the League or not. The United States on the one hand and Russia on the other will be represented. The scope of the conference will be complete, embracing sea, land and air forces. Perhaps the best thing in it is the likelihood that when so great a conference actually meets, and the mass of people in all countries train their attention upon it, it may be difficult for the trustees of those people to do anything so silly as to let slip an historic opportunity. They may be forced by the weight of simple sense to do something magnificent. Nobody in his heart any longer imagines that the best way to avoid war is to prepare for war. The difficulty is to believe that anybody ever held so quaint a notion. It is therefore common ground that the way to peace is the abolition of the means of war. Those means never could be abolished except as the result of a world-wide synchronised impulse. That the League of Nations has started and synchronised such an impulse is a big thing for the League to have done. Geneva has given the opportunity, but the taking of the opportunity lies outside Geneva's power.

It appears to be the biggest misfortunes in life that make the least impression on people's minds. One sees little evidence among educated people not professionally interested in the matter, of any keen sense of the part that war plays in their lives. Great Britain is the only country in the world that has made any serious attempt in the post-war years to reduce her expenditure on armaments. Yet Great Britain is still spending more on armaments than she spent before the war. Even so big a thing as the last war to end war, though it made a deep impression on people's hearts, made little impression on their heads. How many people in Great Britain even know what they are spending on armaments? A British subject who earns say £500 a year and pays, say, £50 a year in income tax, pays £6 of that tax on account of present armaments, and £25 of it to pay for past armaments. Every time the clock ticks a second we spend £4 on armaments. We spend more than £200 a minute, nearly £300,000 a day on armaments. That is the situation in the only country in the world that has tried to limit its expenditure on preparing for the next war. Concurrently, Great Britain pays more than any other country towards the expenses of the League of Nations, towards the organisation, that is, which in theory is the alternative to the next war. The League costs us, not £4, but less than ½d. a second.

The financial aspect of armaments, though not the most important, is such that, if armaments were abolished, every man and

woman in the world would be appreciably less poor. The more important aspect of the matter is that if the nations go on preparing for the next war, they will get the next war. Until they stop the process of making that war inevitable the difficult research work into the means of arranging an alternative method of international quarrelling cannot even be seriously begun. At the present time the vast and intricate body of international agreements about arbitration is an interesting but unpractical subject of study. Nobody imagines that nations, any more than other human societies or individuals, will ever stop quarrelling. The problem is to abolish war as a method of quarrelling. When individuals within a nation quarrel, they make themselves less fatuous and do less harm to others by refraining from killing each other; when absent-minded Christians forget their business, when, for instance, Roman Catholics give way to something like hatred of English Catholics, or in a still narrower sphere, when the Anglo-Catholics, the "Protestants" and the Modernists of the English Church do not even try to conceal their hatred of each other, it is a merciful thing that the daggers they draw are metaphorical in quality. It would be equally merciful if the quarrelling nations could be given exercise other than that of war.

The only alternative exercise so far imagined is that of arbitration. If the 1932 disarmament conference succeeds in arresting the competition in armaments, a practical interest will at once attach to the work already in progress of fashioning a reliable machinery for international arbitration.

EXISTING PLANS FOR ARBITRATION.

What is known as the "General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes" is the most detailed attempt so far made by the League of Nations to prepare an arbitral machinery. It became known on February 26th last (White Paper, Cmd. 3803) that the British Government had decided to invite Parliament's approval of a British accession to that Act. On March 9th, when the debate took place in the House, the Government was supported by the Liberal Party and Mr. Henderson's motion was carried. In the White Paper Mr. Henderson had already explained the Government's reason for such a course. Not unfairly that reason may be described as an impulse, a gesture in a cause: "a clear lead by His Majesty's Government will encourage many other Governments to follow their example." So wrote Mr. Henderson, using the confident dogmatic future tense.

Yet is it an example worth following? Arbitration, by its essence, is a juridical process. It must be based on established

forms and principles; but also (if it is to become an alternative to war) it must be universal in competence. It will probably be the most difficult thing in the world to fashion a system of arbitration, to which the nations of the world will be content to subscribe. Success at next year's disarmament conference would make it easier; but in the meantime there are those who regret that the General Act at this stage should have been advertised by the British Government. As a pattern to be used when the serious work of organising arbitration can be started, it is excellent. As a pretension to actual value as an arbitral instrument it is hopeless from the start. The League of Nations itself cannot implement any arbitral scheme, any more than it could itself organise peace through disarmament. There could not be any such thing as a disarmament treaty concluded by the League of Nations, for the reason that (deplorable as it is) the League is a league of some, not all, the nations. The United States is not a member of the League. It was the world's worst misfortune after 1918 that the United States threw over the League she had helped to create: but the fact, and not the vain regret, decides what is possible and what impossible. Geneva can organise, and has organised, a world-wide conference to aim at disarmament. Geneva can organise a like conference to aim at arbitration as the alternative to war. But Geneva cannot profitably enunciate such a scheme as the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, for the reason, if for none other, that the United States is not a member of the League.

There clearly can be no system of arbitration which shall take the place of war as the climax of international controversy, unless the United States be a party to it; for an effective system of arbitration, such as *ex hypothesi* shall be capable of abolishing war, must be competent to deal with any international issue, big or small, localised or general. The sort of issues that in the past have produced war are potentially, if not immediately, general in their implications. The last war was an illustration of that truth; and the tendency of international relations, as distances contract before the advance of science, is all towards a closer texture of international interests. How could even a major European issue, which indirectly must affect the United States, be submitted to an arbitral tribunal not recognised by the United States? Still less could such an issue be submitted to an arbitral tribunal deriving from Geneva, which itself derives from the Treaty of Versailles, of which the United States is not a signatory.

This matter of arbitration deserves to be considered in a severely businesslike way. It is businesslike to recognise essential difficulties rather than to trust to the luck of a good motive. The

inherent defects of the General Act are similar to those of the 1924 Protocol. Reduced to their simplest essentials they result from nothing more than the non-participation of the United States in the League of Nations. The 1919 Covenant of the League, framed with the help of the United States, would itself have constituted an excellent means to universal arbitration, if only the United States had been a member of the League. The subsequent attempts to improve upon the Covenant in its arbitral aspect have all resulted, although the authors of the various schemes have not always recognised the fact, from the defective competence of a League of Nations not embracing the United States. Logically it would appear that the first step to a solution of the problem would be to engage the United States in a general treatment of it. It is not easy to understand why the British Labour Government of 1924 bade boldly for the Protocol, or why the British Labour Government of 1931 bids boldly for the General Act. In 1924, it is true, there was no Kellogg Pact to afford the connecting link between the two sides of the Atlantic. In 1931 not only is there that connecting link, but a prospective strengthening of it as a result of next year's disarmament conference. It seems to follow clearly from the lessons of the past twelve years that the most effective way to build soundly on arbitral lines would be to concentrate in 1931 on ensuring success in 1932 at the disarmament conference, and to follow up that success by convening an arbitration conference, organised by the League of Nations, but specifically based upon the Kellogg Pact. The matter seems clear. In the Kellogg Pact we have a commitment which binds the whole world to accept arbitration as an alternative to war: and that is the condition of success. In the General Act we have a sectional commitment which not only does not bind the United States, but which everybody knows never will bind the United States. It looks as if the British Government in March 1931, helped by the misguided zeal of the Liberal Party, made a tactical mistake in pushing the General Act into prominence at the stage then reached in the biggest adventure of human history: the attempt to abolish war.

The precise circumstances of the present activities in the matter of arbitration ought to be marshalled in their true perspective. A simple truth emerges from what has already been done in that field. Why is it that the two hundred arbitration treaties signed in the past by the British Government, ostensibly for the purpose of settling disputes by arbitration instead of by war, have in effect been so much waste paper? By excluding from their competence the two categories of dispute which affect either "national honour" or "vital interests" they have excluded precisely those

types of dispute which most often lead to war. While it may be argued that it is better to arbitrate on small matters than not to arbitrate at all, the argument suffers in the altogether new conditions of 1931, when an impending world-wide conference on disarmament and an existing world-wide undertaking never to resort to war as a method of national policy do afford, for the first time in history, an opportunity of achieving the big thing. On the surface, the General Act aims at the big thing. On closer examination it lacks the necessary qualities for success.

Inasmuch as the opportunity now presents itself for realistic work on arbitration, something is perhaps to be gained from a recapitulation of the troubled courses through which the previous work has had to pass. The six main results of that work since the war have been the 1919 Covenant, the 1924 Protocol, the 1925 Treaties of Locarno, the 1928 Kellogg Pact, the Optional Clause of the Hague Statute, and the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

It emerges that no advance was made between the 1919 Covenant and the 1928 Kellogg Pact, and that no further advance has been made since 1928. The Covenant (Articles 12, 13, 14, 15), in addition to setting up the Permanent Court of International Justice, made some vague provision for the submission to arbitration of disputes which the States members "recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy"; but it left open the famous "gap" whereby war was reserved in the ultimate extreme. In the event of no agreement being reached "the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice." The 1924 Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes purported to close that gap, but it was clear to realistic people that the Geneva States could never renounce their "right" to make war when other States, among them the United States, retained it. The impractical nature of the attempt was further illustrated when the Protocol went on to provide for a system of mutual assistance in the case of "aggression" and to define what precisely was meant by the obligations of Article 16 of the Covenant: the article which could never be defined without being exposed as a potential absurdity, for it logically might imply war with the United States as the result of a theoretic method of maintaining universal peace. The Locarno Treaties did formally abolish the national right to make war in the narrow localised field of a few nations and of a specific contingency; but did not thereby touch the general problem, and moreover did not proscribe war itself. They transformed war from a national "right" into an international "sanction."

Then came, in 1928, the Kellogg Pact, which for the first time gave the world a comprehensive formula, binding all the nations equally to "condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another" and to "agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means." The Kellogg Pact, therefore, on the negative side did proscribe war. On the positive side it did not provide an arbitral machinery as the alternative. The historic difference it made in the world's diplomacy was that it gave to the nations of the world the exact opportunity that was wanted for a universal and therefore practical instrument for solving international problems by other means than by war. If the politicians of the world had been supremely wise they would have taken that tide at the flood. Oddly enough, although two and a half years have passed since the Pact was signed, no attempt has been made to carry it to its logical conclusion. All that has been done is that an attempt has been made to harmonise the Covenant with it, to the end that the renunciation of war contained in the one shall be as categorical as that contained in the other. The elimination of inconsistency between two instruments having common signatories was a necessary and an excellent measure, but the regrettable thing was that the further cultivation of the arbitral principle was conducted on Covenant rather than on Kellogg lines.

The first important step in that cultivation was taken during the tenth session of the League Assembly (1929) when fifteen members of the League, including Great Britain and five British Dominion members of the League, signed the so-called Optional Clause of the Statute of the World Court, whereby under certain conditions, and with certain reservations, the Court's jurisdiction was accepted as compulsory. The House of Commons gave its ratification to that step on January 27th, 1930. The second step was taken on March 9th, 1931, when the British Government obtained Parliament's approval of a British accession to the General Act.

In his speech on March 9th Mr. Henderson sought to justify the new step proposed to be taken by the Government on the ground that it logically completed what had been started when the Optional Clause was signed. The signing of the Optional Clause, he said, "meant acceptance of the principle of compulsory arbitration so far as justiciable disputes were concerned." Accession to the General Act "would complete this country's acceptance of arbitration for international disputes of every class." In both cases accession had been made subject to certain conditions, the chief of

which were that the relationship of the constituent countries of the British Empire was to be excluded from the scope of the Court's jurisdiction and that the British Government reserved the right to bring any dispute before the Council of the League.

The British Government is therefore moving in a definite direction. Its policy is based on what for short may be called Geneva's competence in arbitration rather than on what may be called the Kellogg competence. Yet the Kellogg would include the Geneva competence as the greater includes the less. The question that arises is one of tactical expediency. What Mr. Henderson said on that point on March 9th was this: "... Important though the Optional Clause may be, it of itself is not enough; it is only a first step towards a complete and organised system of peaceful settlement. In our view, if the purpose of the Pact of Paris is to be adequately fulfilled, that system must cover, not some classes only of international disputes, but international disputes of every class. The Optional Clause deals with justiciable disputes and disputes legal in their character, suitable for decision by the Permanent Court of International Justice. The General Act provides arbitration for non-justiciable disputes, for disputes in which the Permanent Court might not be able to found a solution on grounds of law alone. We believe, therefore, that in seeking thus to extend arbitration, we are acting in the spirit of the Pact of Paris and taking the steps required if that pact is to become a living reality. In taking this new step we are also acting in the spirit of an important resolution taken by the Assembly of the League of Nations on September 24th, 1927, which speaks of the measures capable of giving all States the guarantees of arbitration and security necessary to enable them to fix the level of armaments at the lowest possible figure in an international disarmament agreement. The resolution also goes on to say that the Assembly considers that these matters should be taken in action by the League of Nations with a view to remedying, generalising, and co-ordinating special or collective agreements of arbitration. In our view, the General Act is a collective agreement such as is hinted at in the resolution, designed to generalise guarantees of arbitration. We think, therefore, that we are simply carrying into practice a policy to which our predecessors in office were committed by the Assembly of 1927 when the party opposite formed the United Kingdom delegation."

The curious thing in Mr. Henderson's argument was that he not only showed himself alive to the postulate of generality in an arbitral machinery, but himself made that postulate the basis of his argument. Yet the system of arbitration he was driving at was precisely not general. It was confined to the members of the

League, and in its essence was founded on a juridical mentality which is Latin rather than Anglo-Saxon and to which there is no imaginable prospect of America's conforming. Sir Austen Chamberlain in the same debate put the criticism fairly when he said: "The United States had not joined the League of Nations and they were not going to. At any rate, though everything was possible if enough time was given, it was quite sufficient to say that no party in the United States had any idea of joining the League of Nations at the present time or of making that a feature of their present policy. They had not signed the Optional Clause, and were not parties to it. They would not sign this agreement."

While there is an arguable and even a strong case against the General Act on the ground of its lack of universality in application, nobody will imagine that the alternative is an easy matter in its constructive aspect. It would be a hard thing to induce the United States to commit herself in advance to any precise arbitral system, whether deriving from the Kellogg Pact or not. Perhaps the most serious argument against the General Act is that its effect may be to harden American aloofness and to render even more difficult than it is the work of drawing the United States into an arbitral plan. Yet that work will have to be done before any real prospect of arbitration as a practical method of solving international disputes can arise.

THE FRANCO-ITALIAN NAVAL AGREEMENT.

The fact that a naval agreement "on all points" had been reached by the French, Italian and British Governments was announced on March 1st last. The text of the agreement was issued as a British White Paper (Cmd. 3812) on March 12th. Good work is so rare in international affairs that it seldom fails to win all the applause it deserves, sometimes a little more. In the present instance the work done was good, up to a point, although its value is mainly psychological, and is limited to the year 1931. What chiefly has been gained is that France has undertaken not to start any bigger building programme before the 1932 disarmament conference is held. That is a fine achievement, for the fear of France and of her armaments has for many years been the chief stumbling-block in the way of all good diplomatic causes.

To appreciate the new agreement one has to remember that a cloud has hovered over the London Treaty of last year ever since it was signed. France refused to sign Part III of that treaty. France therefore proclaimed her intention of building to any extent she chose to build. Italy, claiming parity with France, was therefore constrained in her turn not to sign. During the

following summer and winter intermittent negotiations were conducted between Rome and Paris with the object of arriving at an agreement. France would have been content to stabilise her building programme, if she were assured of the margin of superiority she wanted over Italy and of the vast strength she wanted in submarines. Italy would have been content if she were assured of parity with France. Therefore no progress was made. Suddenly, in January of this year, a change was seen in the atmosphere of Franco-Italian relations. Certain officials of the British Foreign Office crossed the Channel and discussed a possible basis of accommodation between the two countries. The discussion went so well that Mr. Henderson towards the end of February made rapid visits to Paris and to Rome and the agreement was duly announced.

What had happened to make the change? The January meeting of the League Council did something, even much, to improve tempers, but even that factor could hardly have been decisive, had not another factor been at work. The uses of adversity were well illustrated in this episode of European history. The Italian Government, faced with a deficit of something like 1,000,000,000 lire, had been engaged during the winter in a drastic attempt to make the two ends meet by the exclusive method of cutting down expenditure. Although the Italian financial problem was not so serious as the British, and the deficit nowhere near as large, it was taken as a basic principle in Rome that taxation, much smaller as it is than the British taxation, could not be increased.

Nearly half the Italian deficit was wiped out by the drastic reduction of the salaries of all public servants. On December 18th last, speaking in the Senate on the Bill for the cutting down of State salaries, Signor Mussolini declared that those salaries were the only then available field of economy in view of the impossibility of increasing taxation, or reducing the interest on the public debt, or reducing military expenditure. The only category he mentioned in which events might arise to make possible further economy, was that of military expenditure. That possibility depended on France.

Now France, although unembarrassed by financial difficulty, and therefore able on the purely financial criterion to set the pace in armament expenditure, was herself subject to a different kind of influence which drove her in the same direction. After the January meeting of the Council it became a certainty that the disarmament conference would meet twelve months later. At that conference France will have to submit her case for a big army and a big navy to the tribunal of the whole world's judgment. It happens that the skeleton convention on which the disarmament

conference will base its work embodies a French formula about land disarmament, made possible by the British support resulting from the Chamberlain commitment of 1928. Some importance is attached in Paris to the effect on France and on the French conception of "security" of that particular formula. The omission of trained reserves is as cardinal a consideration in the nature of French armaments on land as submarines are in the nature of French armaments at sea. The budgetary crisis in Rome conspired with French "disarmament" strategy to enable Mr. Henderson to act as honest broker in a matter that had proved intransigent to the dictates of objective good.

The agreement was drawn up. Its main points are these: (1) France and Italy agree on a defined building programme up to December 31st, 1936 (that is, for the period of currency of the London Treaty), subject to whatever alternative arrangements may be agreed to at the 1932 disarmament conference. The importance of this part of the agreement is that it clears the way to the 1932 conference and obviates danger in the meantime. The figures of the two programmes reveal the fact that France has been given what she wanted in superiority over Italy. (2) On the strength of agreement No. 1 Great Britain undertakes not to make use of the "escalator" clause of the London Treaty (Article 21), during the intervening period before the meeting of the 1932 disarmament conference; that is, Great Britain undertakes in 1931 not to exercise her right to exceed the 1930 limits, on the ground that the contingency which would give her that right will not now arise. (3) France and Italy "recognise" the provisions of Part III of the London Treaty in so far as those provisions apply to Japan, the United States and the British Empire, and "accept" those provisions of Part III which are of general application and which do not conflict with the terms of the present agreement. (This latter is an example of diplomatic frumpery. What it amounts to is that France and Italy, although they do not sign Part III of the London Treaty, are prepared to recognise that the other three countries have signed it: a recognition which makes no difference to anything. And, secondly, it means that France and Italy accept for themselves as much of Part III aforesaid as they may happen now to be committed to under the terms of the new agreement: which is another, and equally unnecessary, way of saying that France and Italy have done what they have done.) (4) Finally, there is the all-important matter of submarines. In the material, as distinct from the psychological, value of the agreement, the pre-eminently important thing is the difference it makes to the strength of the French submarine fleet.

It has been one of the remarkable features of all post-war diplo-

macy that France has consistently specialised in the building of submarines. At the Washington Conference of 1920 French submarines were the surprise and the despair of all who wanted to bring the world back to common sense. For what purpose does France want a vast submarine fleet? That question was asked, by Lord Balfour and by others, at the Washington Conference, and was not answered. It has been asked, and not answered, ever since. The submarine is the only naval contrivance that is useless except for war. Its only quality is offensive. In 1920, 1930, 1931 it was found equally impossible to induce France to abandon her ambition to build the biggest submarine fleet in the world, or to say what she wanted it for. By the new agreement concluded this year the 1936 figure of tonnage in French submarines is fixed at 81,989, whereas the British, American, Japanese and Italian total will be 52,700 each. France was adamant against any reduction in her figure. So important is this fact, that Mr. Henderson was constrained to enter in the text of the agreement a formal expression of discontent: "The members of the British Commonwealth of Nations maintain that this figure of 81,989 tons is too high in relation to their destroyer figure of 150,000 tons under the London Naval Treaty, but they agree to notify the other signatories of Part III of the Treaty of London that they will not have recourse to Article 21 of the London Treaty pending the general revision of the naval question mentioned above. Should it not be possible at the 1932 conference to arrive at a satisfactory equilibrium between French submarine tonnage and British Commonwealth destroyer tonnage, the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations will retain their right to make such increase as they may judge necessary in their destroyer figure of 150,000 tons."

The "escalator" is therefore put out of action only till February 1932. It is something to be relieved of a definite danger during the current year; but the French submarines, with their mysterious purpose, will remain a merely dormant bogey till the disarmament conference is held.

KING ALFONSO AND HIS PEOPLE.

A summary of what took place in Spain during 1930 was given in this section of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for February (pp. 245-52). The situation at the end of 1930 was that martial law had been proclaimed by General Berenguer after the Franco revolt had been suppressed as a result of the Artillery Corps' loyalty to the Government. On December 26th General Berenguer gave a confident Press interview in which he described the prevailing unrest as social rather than political in character, being due to

what he called anarchist and extremist labour agitation. There followed a period of four or five weeks in which the various political leaders seemed unable to make up their minds about the policy they would adopt in the election campaign, or about the submerged issue between the King and the people. The elections had been fixed for March 1st (Chamber of Deputies) and March 15th (Senate); but nobody regarded the prospect with enthusiasm, because it was generally recognised that something more important was afoot than the election of a *Cortes*. When, on December 31st, General Berenguer, by means of a statement to the Press, issued an appeal to the people at large that they should not fail to cast their votes, promising that the voting would be "free," he merely drew attention to the hollowness of his own matter. What people were discussing was the fundamental question of the constitution. It was a commonplace of political discussion that what was wanted in Spain was not the election of an ordinary *Cortes*, but of a *Cortes Constituyentes* such as might at once decide the issue between monarchy and republicanism.

On December 31st the Conservative leader, Count Bugallal, speaking in Madrid, dissociated himself from the demand for a constituent *Cortes* on the ground that such a *Cortes* could be convened only by a vote of the ordinary *Cortes*. On January 6th, the Liberal leader, Count Romanones, spoke at Seville and announced his agreement with Count Bugallal, explaining that a direct convening of a constituent *Cortes* by Royal decree would be illegal, and that the only competent authority to take such a step was the ordinary *Cortes*. During January the university students of Madrid, Seville, Granada, Salamanca, Santiago and Barcelona indulged in their now recognised pastime of going on strike in various political causes, with the result that on February 4th a Government decree was issued to close all the universities in the country for thirty days. When there's a lock-out there cannot be a strike. Concurrently the Left parties pursued their anti-monarchist propaganda in familiar forms. Certain Republican leaders published for secret circulation an angry attack on the Monarchy (January 19th) and the Madrid Socialists (January 24th) decided to boycott the impending election.

During the first four weeks of the year the situation was one of unnatural calm. The first rumbling of trouble was heard on January 28th when an important group, including the Left Conservative leader, Señor Sanchez Guerra, issued a manifesto announcing their decision to boycott the elections and demanding the immediate convocation of a constituent *Cortes*. Señor Guerra for twelve months past has consistently attacked the King on the ground that he had violated the constitution. On the following

day one branch of the Liberal Party announced that it would boycott the elections. After another twenty-four hours the leaders of the two branches of the Liberal Party, Count Romanones (Right) and the Marquis Alhucemas (Left), issued a joint manifesto to correct the work of the day before by announcing that they would take part in the elections if the Government would give certain electoral guarantees they demanded. On February 1st the Government publicly gave the undertaking thus demanded, and added in a note to the Press the spontaneous but somewhat cryptic assurance that the elections would be a decisive date in the "renovation" of the constitution. A week later (February 8th) the Government illustrated its good intentions by conferring full liberty of electoral propaganda and by removing the censorship of the Press (February 9th).

An electoral campaign of sorts was promptly launched. Count Romanones made the first platform speech by announcing (February 10th) that as soon as the new *Cortes* was elected he would demand the convocation of a constituent *Cortes*, reaffirming his view that it would be unfair as well as illegal to force the King himself to convene an assembly which might begin by deposing him. Count Romanones had the effect of precipitating the issue. On February 12th he was interviewed by General Berenguer and told him that he himself, his colleague the Marquis Alhucemas, and the Catalan leader, Señor Cambo, were firmly determined to demand the convocation of a constituent assembly the moment the new Parliament met. That intimation brought down the Government. On February 14th the Cabinet resigned and the elections were cancelled by Royal decree.

In a statement to the Press General Berenguer explained that he had resigned because the Government would serve no purpose in facing Parliament if it could not rely on the support of the monarchist elements in the three parties above alluded to. The following three days were spent in an attempt on the part of the King to find a successor to General Berenguer. He first (February 16th) invited Señor Guerra to form a Government, giving him *carte blanche* to convene a constituent assembly without any limitation. Señor Guerra tried and failed to form a national Government, the Republicans and Socialists announcing their refusal to collaborate with him, and preferring instead to retain their solidarity as a frankly revolutionary *bloc*. The King then tried Count Romanones and the Marquis Alhucemas and failed again. He tried the Reformist leader, Señor Alvarez, but could not agree to the extremist condition laid down by Señor Alvarez that the constituent assembly should be competent to decide the future relations between the King and the people. On February 18th,

it being then established that the King could not induce any political leader to form a Government, a move was made by the various political leaders who remained loyal to the Monarchy to solve the deadlock. They formed themselves into a coalition party, and offered themselves to the King as a Cabinet willing to serve under any Prime Minister he might name. Thereupon a Government was constituted. The King invited a Captain-General of the fleet, Admiral Bautista Aznar, to form a Government with the material thus made available. The portfolio of Foreign Affairs went to Count Romanones; the Marquis Alhucemas became Minister of Justice; General Berenguer came back as Minister for War. The portfolios of the Interior and of Finance went to the Marquis de Hoyos and Señor Ventosa.

In one sense the new Cabinet seemed to symbolise the return to pre-directorate days, for the Marquis Alhucemas was the Prime Minister who had been ousted by the Primo coup in 1923, and Admiral Aznar was the Minister of Marine in the Alhucemas Ministry. Thereafter no doubt remained that the new Parliament would be constituent in character. Indeed on the very morrow of the formation of the Cabinet Count Romanones sent a round-robin to all Spanish diplomatists abroad informing them that the Government's first policy was to convene a Parliament of a constituent competence for the frank purpose of revising the 1876 constitution, and to try thereby to placate all sections of Spanish opinion, including the Catalan. On February 20th Admiral Aznar repeated the substance of what his Foreign Minister had circulated, and attempted to give it the widest currency by broadcasting his message in Spanish, English and French.

It followed that King Alfonso had given his approval to the course now no longer avoidable of facing the full music of Spanish discontent. There are few more interesting subjects of anticipation in contemporary affairs than that of the probable fate of the Spanish monarchy. The betting, as it were, is about equal. It is a long and deeply ingrained tradition in Spain that the three bulwarks of national stability are the Throne, the Army and the Church. Parliamentary government has been traditionally corrupt and has not won the respect of the Spanish people. It was the quality of Spanish parliamentary practice and its bad reputation in Spain that no doubt enabled King Alfonso for seven years with impunity to dispense with Parliament. He did it indirectly through the means of the puppet Dictators, supported by the Army. He did not hesitate in January, 1930, to throw over General Primo as soon as the Dictator lost the Army's support, and was beginning to reap the harvest of his dictatorial acts in the minds of the Spanish people.

It now seems clear that a new constitution is to be drawn up for Spain, or more probably the old constitution will be amended. The main difficulty about the 1876 constitution is that it has never in practice been carried out. It is true that it contains provisions in conflict with, for instance, the British and Belgian practice in constitutional monarchy, but even the partial establishment in 1876 of constitutional monarchy in Spain has had little or no effect on the actual state of affairs there for the last half-century. It is inevitable, therefore, that if and when the 1931 *Cortes* meets the constitutional problem will fall into the two categories of, first, amending the constitution, and second, making provision (if that be possible in Spain) that the constitution shall be carried out. The instrument of 1876 guaranteed the personal freedom of all Spaniards from arbitrary arrest, and provided that no tax should be levied and no law enacted without the consent of the *Cortes*. Those guarantees have never been effective. The King's personal power, which now presumably is to be curtailed, has rested on an actual authority vested in him by the constitution, but still more on the virtual dominance exercised by the Army, the Church, and the *Grandees*, working through the system of "*caciques*" or "bosses." The strictly constitutional aspect of the King's power rests upon that part of the constitution of June 30th, 1876, which makes of Throne and Parliament a dual legislative authority, merely limiting the King's authority by the need of the "consent" of the *Cortes*.

As, however, the *Cortes* was divided into two Chambers (a Senate and a House of Representatives) of equal authority; and as one of those Chambers, the Senate, was so constituted that the democratic principle could be defeated at any time, the King and his friends could mostly do what they liked without violating the constitution. Their main object in consistently ignoring the constitution was to save time and trouble to themselves. Only one half of the Senators were elected, and even their election was confined within a narrow field of choice. The other half consisted of: (1) male members of the Royal family, Spanish "*Grandees*" with a minimum income of 60,000 pesetas (£2,400), and leaders of the Church, the Army and the Navy; and (2) Senators simply nominated by the King. The real interest of the longer future in Spain will be whether the traditional corruption of "*El Caciquismo*" can be eliminated.

March 15th, 1931.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

No. 355.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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SCIENTIFIC DISARMAMENT.*

Major Lefebure has written a book of the very first importance that raises the whole question of disarmament from the realms of vague idealism and generalities, friendly gestures, the benign investigations and blessings of the League of Nations and its committees, and of international treaties, into the region of practical facts. His is a scientific investigation into the possibilities of disarmament, the importance of which is recognised in the many introductions; a treatise which deals with disarmament as a great problem, the solution of which is dependent not upon words but upon facts. When the facts are really ascertained then idealism can get down to realism, the League of Nations can operate its great powers with certain effect, and treaties which have as their object world-peace cannot be broken like pie-crusts.

The whole of the peace movement which preceded the War of 1914 was swept away in three days; the labour of years was ended, and when, after the War, the international jurists were getting to work again and the League of Nations was an established fact, common people and other people began to say, in their millions, "This is all very well; but we have seen one great peace

* *Scientific Disarmament*. By Victor Lefebure, with Introductions by the Archbishop of York, Miss Jane Addams, Count Bernstorff, Senator L. de Brouckere, Viscount Cecil, Professor F. G. Donnan, the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, Sir Alfred Hopkinson, Dr. Herbert Levinstein, Professor Gilbert Murray, Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, Lord Riddell, Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, General the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, and H. G. Wells. Mundamus Ltd., Victor Gollancz. 5s. net.

movement backed by the Great Powers of Europe vanish like smoke after almost half a century of work, and who will guarantee that words are more than words in the new movement?" In the twelve years that have elapsed since the War it has not been a peaceful world. Armaments, new and terrible, are slowly appearing, and though the exhaustion caused by the War made and makes another great world-war impossible now, who shall say that it will be impossible twenty years hence? Such a war, if it came, might well wipe our civilisation away almost entirely. It would not be a war between armies but between nations as a whole, and every horror of the active imagination of the scientific thinker would be brought to bear in order to secure the wholesale destruction of the great cities of the world. Everybody recognises the fact. Mr. Victor Gollancz, in his preface, speaks not only as a publisher who has made this essential book cheap in order to make the facts of the case known to everyone, but as a thinker. He recognises that total disarmament is at present a mere dream, but he thinks with Major Lefebure that it is possible to make it almost impossible for a nation to embark on war.

It has always seemed to me certain that only the most radical and uncompromising change in the economic structure of the world will give our children's children, after perhaps centuries of misery, the kind of civilisation in which war will be for ever impossible. Now Major Lefebure shows the one chance in a hundred of preventing war within the present system: if it were one chance in ten million we should be contemptible did we not give it the most anxious consideration.

Major Lefebure has a most attractive style and puts his points very clearly in a treatise which deals patiently and with overwhelming logic with the difficulties which have to be faced in the solution of the great scientific problem of disarmament. His fundamental idea is that

if we can so organise armaments that large-scale hostilities cannot occur without extensive preparations over long periods, the purpose of disarmament will have been served. . . . It is safe to say that had all the nations been in the same armament position as the U.S.A., or even as Great Britain in 1914, there would have been no World-War, or in any case we should have had a period of twelve months or more during which the forces of peaceful settlement could have been active.

The author classifies his subject under (1) normal armament and (2) new agencies of war. In each case he tries "to establish the development and production characteristics of the main forms of armament, in order to allow us to conclude their bearing on disarmament." "War potential" is a current term meaning the peace energy that could be unloosed to aid in the carrying on

of war. It would be quite impossible to destroy their peace industries. Grotius was aware three centuries ago of the "war potential," his things *ancipitis usus*. Major Lefebure does not propose to do anything but so to arrange international affairs as to prevent "the rapid outbreak of large-scale hostilities. . . . The method of approach is to concentrate on armament and the near factors which foster and revive it . . . the crux of the matter is time."

"Conversion lag" is the term which Major Lefebure has coined to express the time which is necessary to convert a peace instrument (such as a factory) into a war weapon (such as a munition factory). If we know the "lags" in each case then a scientific method of approach is possible. Thus aircraft have very little "lag." They apparently can be converted into war weapons very simply, but their "lag" is governed by the weapons they employ. These must be made and supplied, so that even in this case the "lag" is greater than we should naturally suppose. "Over-night conversion" from peace to war purposes is not a reality. Broadly speaking, before the Allies [in the late War] "acquired sufficient impetus to overwhelm the enemy there was a production lag of about four years. From the point of view of armament this was amazingly short, but for disarmament it would have been critically long." Krupp's firm were preparing for the next war for forty years, from 1870. Consequently the view is put forward that "even to-day production is of such a nature that armament limitation, if framed on rational lines, can be effective." Major Lefebure goes through the list of modern armaments in detail, with full notes on the methods of production, and comes to the conclusion that the "lag" throughout the phases of normal armament is rarely less than six months. The expansion of armament into new horrific forms, including war gases, is subject to the same principle of lag. "We have no reason to believe that the new agencies of war have such production characteristics that they remove from a disarmament scheme any security which the delays involved in normal armament would give it."

The next question deals with the type of armament before the Great War, and long before: "national armament types were more or less equivalent, and it was quantity which varied so grossly." In future we must take account "of the problem of type as well as of quantity." A scientific surprise would upset the whole armament solution when it came about. The type of armament is vitally important. Keeping this in mind,

can disarmament carried to the necessary stage make it a practical physical impossibility, or in any case render it exceedingly difficult for nations to rush at each other on the colossal scale of 1914? . . . The lag in production is such that under conditions

of adequate limitation of armament which deal with the means of manufacture, a situation could unquestionably be created rendering it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for any nation to impose its will upon another by outlawed hostilities, in the face of other international methods of peaceful settlement and sanction.

The problem of the private manufacture of and trade in armaments is next approached. The nations cannot honour their treaty bonds as to disarmament if such manufacture is uncontrolled. Countries which are entitled to some measure of armaments and which are unable and disinclined to set up works of their own might and would complain at not being allowed to give their orders to private firms and perhaps submit their secret processes to them. But after all the world interests in peace are more important than national interests in war. The private manufacturers must be dealt with in economic fairness, but they must not interfere with a general settlement on the question of disarmament.

But, in fact, the private manufacturers will be ultimately doomed, since the world is faced with a new problem. These manufacturers sold to the whole world and their goods were well known, but to-day the State is taking over the task of arms development, and we have to face "national secrecy in the place of international disclosure." The weapons of the future (if there are weapons at all on a vast scale) will be secret: type as well as quantity must be faced if international agreement to disarm in a fair way is not reached. The horrors of war will be deepened by the new fact of scientific secrecy about the national weapons of war. The new agencies of war which Major Lefebure sees before us are fearful in the extreme, agencies that will wipe out of existence whole armies or cities at a touch of a chemist's hand. "Chemical warfare is nothing less than poison warfare . . . the future of chemical warfare, therefore, takes shape as the development of mass poisoning . . . chemical warfare is the one new agency of war which possesses more immediate development possibilities than any other." The only way out is prohibition of preparation.

Nations agreeing to cease the evolution of new armament types would have to agree on certain measures for dealing with the usual processes by which such evolution occurs. . . . It could be made illegal to offer any war invention to any Government department or servant, just as it is illegal to offer a bribe. . . . The problem of evolution of armament type should logically be dealt with now, and not allowed to increase in magnitude and complexity so as to neutralise the value of present disarmament efforts which ignore it.

Good faith is, of course, a factor of the whole problem, but Major Lefebure carefully guards against the possibilities of bad faith. The League of Nations must study the subject of disarmament as though it were a technical matter, and completely excluding all political bias. With the new outlook and facts that the present work supplies that will be made more easy. The League has a terribly difficult task before it, but the lessons of the last War appeal to it, though those lessons are not thoroughly appreciated by the rising generation. Those lessons prove that another war on the scale of the War of 1914 must mean the disintegration of society. If disarmament can be combined with national safety no sane man or woman can be against it. Major Lefebure shows that it can be so combined. This book should be read very widely, but a summary of it for use of schools at the cost of sixpence or less would bring its truths to the hearths of all the nations.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

THE HISTORY OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.*

This book, by Mr. F. A. Kirkpatrick, gives a useful and very interesting history of the foundation and growth of the Argentine Republic, which is fittingly dedicated to the Prince of Wales, the guest of the Republic on the occasion of the centenary of its birth.

Professor Temperley contributes a vivid introduction. He relates how twenty years ago he was talking at Cambridge with a Latin-American leader of thought and literature, Dr. Ricardo Rojas, as to the desirability of getting Englishmen and Argentines together with full understanding of each other. Each felt that the lack of knowledge on both sides must be overcome, and that it could only be accomplished by wider intercourse, and by historians and writers of both countries setting themselves to study one another with the object of promoting and sustaining cultural exchange. The author of this book certainly fulfils the ideals of these historians. Mr. Fitzpatrick is the author of two chapters in Vol. X of *The Cambridge Modern History*, in which he deals with the wars of independence of Spanish America, and these two friends of twenty years ago felt that he, with his special knowledge, was the man to write the history of the Argentine Republic. Thus it came about that this book has been written and published in time for the centenary celebrations of to-day. Twenty years of continuous study of the Spanish language and literature—without

* *The History of the Argentine Republic*. By F. A. Kirkpatrick, with an Introduction by Harold Temperley. Cambridge University Press. 15s. net.

which this book could not have been written—a full knowledge of works that reveal Argentine historical scholarship, and extensive travel in South America, all fitted Mr. Fitzpatrick for a task which must appeal to Argentines and English alike.

The name of George Canning looms large in the history of Argentina. Professor Temperley hails him as the political godfather of the Latin-American Continent, since he introduced and sponsored the new nation into the comity of nations. Canning was laying down principles for posterity by recognising young States—it is remarkable how little that doctrine has changed since his day—it concerned him little if the revolting State were a monarchy or a republic. The form of government mattered little; its stability mattered much. Portugal had already recognised the independence of the Argentine Republic in 1821, the United States in 1822. Lord Castlereagh relaxed the Navigation Acts and allowed ships flying the Argentine flag to enter British ports. This was a recognition of her commercial flag, but not fully, since no Consuls were appointed till 1823. Canning, our Foreign Minister, was a man of vision, and writing to Wellington in 1822, declared that "American questions are out of all proportion more important to us than the European, and if we do not seize them and turn them to our advantage, we shall rue the loss of an opportunity never, never, to be recovered." George Canning has been said to have "called the New World into existence," for on the opening of Parliament in 1824 the intention of recognising "the New World" was proclaimed in the King's speech. In importance, as well as in point of time, the Argentine Republic was placed first by Canning. The deep interest which this great Foreign Minister took in South American affairs endeared him to the Continent, which it might almost be said he had brought into being.

It will be seen from Professor Temperley's Introduction the value which he attaches to the work of Mr. Kirkpatrick as a linking up of two nationalities by the comity of knowledge, without which there can be no mutual understanding, and which could only have been engendered by such men as George Canning on the one side and the two great contemporary figures on the other, San Martín and Rivadavia, and, may one add, the Prince of Wales, who is to-day, by his presence at the centenary exhibition, fostering that spirit of combination which may mean so much in the life and well-being of both nations. This book will give delight in the reading. Argentina will no longer be a land of far distances, which we only know commercially and financially, but a region marked out "by nature to be the seat of a great civilisation mainly European in character." Mr. Kirkpatrick knows the land and its

history, dating from 1526 when Sebastian Cabot took service with Spain and for three years explored "the immense water-ways which led to the central recesses of an unknown continent." For three centuries Argentina worked its way through bloodshed and revolution to a place in the sun. In 1824 the Republic was a recognised State among the nations. It is a wonderful story surpassing fiction—as history often does. "Argentina still faces Europe, as she has always done: but she welcomes every wholesome and progressive outside influence." The almost complete elimination of Negro blood is remarkable. The population of Argentina, as has been seen, was from the beginning and is now mainly European in origin. Negro slavery prevailed in 1824, and was only gradually extinguished. Many Negroes, however, perished in the War of Independence. Education and scientific thought are reaching a very high standard in the Argentine, and this is mainly in its origin due to the foresight and efforts of the universities of the United States. Argentina has a great future.

S. DE M.

* * *

AFRICA VIEW.*

Africa View, by Professor Julian Huxley, is an extraordinarily fascinating book of travel. The travel is that of a highly-trained, imaginative and broad-sympathied observer, whose object was to discover the cultural needs of a growing and important but very mixed community or series of communities, and to give his opinion thereon. And the countries described in the book are the three for which "closer union" is being advocated, the more backward mandated territory of Tanganyika, the protected country of Uganda, and Kenya. After the varied incidents of a steamer journey and of entertainments at Government House and brief experiences at Zanzibar and on the coast, of crabs and mud-hopper fishes, and a visit to a mangrove swamp, all of which are entertaining reading, a boat was taken to Tanga, and from there the plunge inland in Tanganyika territory was made by car. Through sandy plains, up steep hills, through primeval forest and then in cultivated pasture land a notable visit was paid to the remote biological research station at Amani, whose use to African agriculture is discussed. At Moshi the native coffee plantations are noted and the arguments for native undertakings and trade as against the reservation of such plantations to the White settler are put with comprehensive understanding. In 1929 there were "over 12,000 native coffee-growers on Kilimanjaro and about 200

* Chatto and Windus. 15s.

White planters," and the accusations of bad planting and other faults on the part of the natives as compared with the Whites are simply not proved. Further on come descriptions of different tribes and their ways, movements of African workers from one tract to another, primitive habits, mixed up with observations of birds, animals, trees, flowers, country, and with many personal incidents, in a chapter on "The Real Africa." Indirect rule is discussed with its possible development:

No one can deny that we are putting into practice and carrying out, with a thoroughness and rapidity which has surprised even the warmest partisans of the system, one important duty laid upon a Mandatory Power—the development of the native inhabitants along lines fitting them to take over more and more of the government of their own country.

In this connection the control of the growth of and the housing in African towns is strongly advocated. "Existing tribal institutions are dumb when confronted with a town." Passing on to a White estate near Victoria Nyanza the contrast between native conditions there and in Tanganyika is significant. "In the Wanyamwezi and Wasukuma country every Government official whom I saw gave good-day to every native he passed; and the natives would come running to the roadside and get their greetings in, not because they were forced to, but with gusto and smiles. Here we walked through groups of labourers without there being any recognition from either party that the other existed."

In Kenya the question of education begins to be discussed. At Nairobi the Jeanes School is visited. In Uganda missionary schools of all kinds and Government institutions where there are any, come in for criticism, approval and suggestion. Professor Huxley's thoughts and ideals are developed in the chapter on "The Education of the African." He stresses strongly that the very best people are wanted to pioneer as teachers. Not an academic or an *ad hoc* system, nor a purely technical one, but a scheme aimed at native development.

With regard to the details of the curriculum, everyone would agree, I think, that in addition to the three Rs you need in Africa a good deal of agriculture and hygiene, practical as well as theoretical, you need some further language beyond the local vernacular, some acquaintance with geography and history, some games and drill, and something in the nature of skilled handwork.

These subjects are then treated paragraph by paragraph. The chapter on Missions is particularly searching and should be read by all the Societies. A great deal of it applies equally to other countries. Though Mr. Huxley is not in full sympathy with missionary teaching, he yet appreciates very cordially the

value and importance of much of the work and accepts fully that the missionary societies have come to stay. The question as to religious education in Government schools in Africa and the choice between "educated paganism, Christianity and Islam" is decided on the whole in favour of a gradual "Christianising progress . . . tempered with that combination of science and humanism which is the new spirit of the post-war age." Indeed, the discussion of educational work in these chapters deserves the closest study from our Church people of all denominations. An amusing account is given of the showing of educational films prepared by the Empire Marketing Board to an audience of several hundred boys and girls collected from various schools round Kampala, in "The Heart of Uganda." The young people had never seen a film before and were uproariously delighted. Samples of some of the essays written in English after seeing the films are printed.

The tendency of the average White settler to neglect his wonderful chance of natural history studies in favour of golf, tennis and bridge is deplored. The book closes with serious discussion of racial and political questions, land owning, native labour, native administration, taxation, education, colour prejudice, and the warring interests.

Which is more important: the profitable investment of outside capital or the development of a prosperous native population with its own economic basis and its own stable social system?

At the close of this admirable and thought-provoking survey of the ground, Professor Huxley further expresses his "Africa View":

I see Central Africa as the one continental bulk where the step from barbarism to civilisation has not yet been taken; the one major region of the world still free to achieve a new civilisation without destroying an old. And I see England as the country which has the greatest opportunity of helping Africa towards such a future.

E. M. B.

* * *

THE ISLAND OF PENGUINS.*

Zoology has become a popular science in the best sense of the term, and although pure zoologists may deplore the advent of non-technical knowledge, it is a step in the right direction. There are thousands of people who are interested in the habits of the lower orders of creation but do not care about zoological anatomy. Mr. Cherry Kearton, the well-known naturalist and explorer, is

* Longmans. 10s. 6d.

the pioneer of natural history photography, and has the gift of describing the course of wild life to non-scientists. In his book *The Island of Penguins* he gives an account of the result of many months of close observation of these curious birds, which in various ways seem to resemble human beings. Somewhere off the Cape Coast of Africa lies a rocky island about four miles square, and here live at certain times of the year millions of penguins, in addition to darters, cormorants, oyster-catchers, and other birds. The penguins appear to be friendly creatures and have no objection to prying human eyes. In fact on at least two occasions Mr. Kearton was of real service to them; once when he loosened the soil to help a couple dig their nest, and when, second, he carried a wounded penguin to its destination, the sea.

It is difficult to realise the enormous importance of the sea in penguin life; penguins spend more than six months of the year on land and yet they are definitely birds of the sea. They cannot fly, but instead they always swim below the surface like fish and almost as swiftly as their enemy the shark, and for food they live on small fish which they swallow whole. When they are not on land for breeding or some other purpose they live "far out at sea, somewhere in that huge stretch of water which is marked on the map as the Southern Ocean." During the day they hunt for the small fish they live on, coming to the top to breathe for a second almost every hundred yards; and then at night they sleep floating on the surface like ducks. The sea is at once their solace, their recreation and their larder.

The months they spend on land are for some special purpose, breeding or moulting; and out of the sea they cease to be creatures of beautiful movement and become a nation of little waddling people. Among land creatures the monkey is the creature most allied to human habits; penguins seem to hold that place among birds. Their childhood, their loves, their homes, their roads and their bathing parades, and even their personalities appear to have their prototypes in human life. The nests are burrowed in the open ground or under a ledge of rock, and are furnished with a carpet of sticks or straw or occasionally stones, in this matter apparently imitating their polar brethren. The penguins never use feathers for nest-lining and evidently look upon loose feathers as untidy encumbrances. Mrs. Penguin lays two to four eggs, but two seems to be the usual number; the parents sit for about twelve hours in turn, and the one who is off duty pays a visit to the feeding grounds. The eggs and later the new-born chicks want constant guarding from the gulls and the ibis; these raiders and other enemies keep down the numbers of the Blackfooted Penguins, and although Mr. Kearton does not suggest that they

are dying out, he says that they are not increasing, and believes that they are declining in numbers. These penguins breed twice a year, producing at least two eggs each season during a lifetime of ten to twelve years, so that they must produce a considerable amount of food for their enemies.

The most miserable time of the penguin year is the moulting season; this is a period of complete starvation, for moulting birds are buoyed up in the water by their loose feathers and so cannot dive for fish. It is true that they have had some secret warning of what will happen, and have stuffed themselves with food for days beforehand and so can exist on this reserve, but in spite of that life becomes almost unbearable.

Mr. Kearton says that it is "odd that though moulting penguins frequently appeared to reach death's door," he "never saw one that had died from this cause. Perhaps some latent hope that the misery must end some day just succeeds in keeping them alive." At last after about six weeks or so they recover and "find themselves resplendent in an entirely new outfit"; but a little sooner than that when they feel that the end of their illness is in sight they go down to the sea. If, however, they are not yet well enough to dive they swallow a few carefully-chosen stones for ballast, and as soon as they find the latter sufficient and they can dive and swim properly they set out for the fishing grounds.

The moulting season starts in December and ends in February, so avoiding the breeding season, but unfortunately the laws of nature do not always hold good. Many thousands of penguins moult at the wrong time, that is during the breeding season, with the result that they cannot feed their chicks, who die a miserable death. If only one parent is moulting, the other will look after them as well as possible, but if both parents moult, the chicks are doomed. Mr. Kearton's book makes fascinating reading, and his photographs add to the interest of the joys and trials of penguin life.

* * *

THE JUTLAND SAGA.*

In *Jutland: a Fragment of Epic* Mr. Shane Leslie endeavours, with a measure of success that it is impossible yet to estimate, to tell the tale, almost minute by minute, of "the greatest and perhaps last of sea-battles," to use the phrase of Commander Augustus Agar, V.C., who writes the perfectly fair and balanced preface. It was an indecisive battle in the sense that both the German and

* Ernest Benn. 10s. 6d. net.

the British fleets survived as entities. It was decisive in the sense that the British fleet remained in possession, that the German fleet never again emerged from port, and that the strangle-hold which Admiral Jellicoe had established was continued till the end of the War, two years and six months later. Yet certainly Commander Agar rightly says of the German Admirals that "they were worthy of their opponents," and that "this battle was fought by both sides with the seaman's traditional honour of humanity for saving life at sea." It is a fit subject for a saga. "To the Dimensions of Space and Time under which the battle was fought must be added that of Speed. Critics and historians are inclined to forget this relativity in high speeds, and also that the minds of Admirals had to work under conditions of harrowing and harassing stress." Of Admiral Jellicoe, Commander Agar says, "His was the responsibility, not only for success or failure in battle, but for the whole of the Allied cause, involving the fate of seven nations and four Dominions. It is difficult to find in history an instance where such a colossal task was thrust on to one man."

It is indeed a saga or a Homeric theme, and Mr. Leslie has written it in rhyming ten-feet couplets, varied by triplets, that give an amazing sense of speed and of responsibility in a most remarkable and yet simple way. He uses names, the names of seamen and ships, in a way that recalls both Milton and Homer, and yet through it all it is the saga spirit, simple but splendid, with the deliberate use of commonplace parallels, which prevails. The whole poem is as technically accurate as the best technical documents and advice could make it, and it would not be a matter for surprise if, after the passage of contemporary criticism, it is regarded as one of the great English poems. Certainly it is a departure from any current work in poetry. It is absolutely alive and reflects the dreadfulness and heroism of war in a way hitherto unknown to English poetry.

* * *

WILLIAM BLAKE.*

William Blake was born in 1757 and died in 1828. He lived to see the romanticism and the outbursting from the material to the spiritual, of which he was in a sense the begetter, soar into the perfect poetry of Shelley. Mr. Saintsbury, in an endeavour to place Blake, declares that he "is one of the eccentrics of poetry; it was never his chief business, which was that of a painter, or his

* *Poems of Blake*. Chosen and edited by Laurence Binyon. Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net.

chief hobby, which was that of a seer"; but he admits that in the later *Songs*

there are pieces which, for a certain combination of extreme simplicity with unearthly music, no contemporary nor any follower, except Thomas Beddoes, was to equal. . . . Blake really belongs to, and is almost, if not quite, the chief of, that small but very precious band of poets who are even more under the influence of Queen Mab than under that of the Muses. He is elf-ridden, but his tyrants have more than compensated him for the tricks they play, by touching his lips with the gift of elfin music.

This criticism was written more than thirty years ago and contains, as all Professor Saintsbury's work contains, essential literary truths. It is the truth but not the whole truth, and the intensive study of Blake's poetry which has taken place in the past thirty years has given him a new place among the great English poets. Blake was an untrained philosopher who was an idealist after the very heart of Bishop Berkeley; he was an artist, and especially an etcher, who was able literally to transfer his idealism on to a permanent medium (and fortunately modern processes have made his creations immune to destruction); he was a poet who endeavoured with varying success to link Philosophy, Art and Music—deliberately planned verbal music, as Mr. Binyon shows—into an inseparable whole. A poet of our own time, Mr. Laurence Binyon realises, perhaps for the first time, the trinity of God-given faculties which pervaded the personality of William Blake, and he has given to the public an edition of chosen poems in a form which makes understandable many things that seemed to be dark because of the poet's excess of ideal or spiritual light.

Mr. Binyon's Introduction is a model of what an introduction should be: judicial, critical and intensely appreciative. It begins with a picture of the poet and his wonderful wife—Catharine Bouchier.

We see him in his working room all the week, year in and year out, his Catharine busy beside him, writing, painting, engraving, printing with enormous energy and boundless application, and, on Sundays, with Catharine on his arm, walking from morning till sunset far into the Surrey fields and hills, and in the then enchanting rural neighbourhood of London. . . . What is it that most astonishes in this life of unremitted, arduous, miserably rewarded industry, with the scantiest recognition, with almost no success; a life of decent poverty, uncoloured by events? It is its extraordinary happiness. No dull contentment of resignation, but a happiness that breaks out into sudden radiances that will not be denied. Blake dies singing. . . . Blake was happy for the only reason that ever makes man happy in a sense worthy of the word: it was from a power and a sustenance within himself. He was gifted with a productive power that few

have matched. . . . Blake was inexhaustible. The wells of imaginative energy flowed full and never failed him. Whether in writing or designing, he could hardly keep pace with the torrential pressure of his ideas. We must always keep this in mind when we are irritated with the sense of haste and incompleteness in Blake's work. A radiant activity of imaginative power kept Blake immersed in the joys of creation. But behind this power was an interior sustenance which nourished it and was itself a power. Mrs. Blake's one complaint of her married life was that her husband had been so often away from her "in Paradise." He lived in the spirit. The eternal was for him no hoped hereafter, but here and now and always.

Professor Saintsbury, somehow or another, despite his strictly judicial mind, gives the idea of a disorderly type of personality in his picture of Blake, an "elf-ridden" man. But that seems to be not true at all. He was a most orderly man, a creative man who worked in mediums that did not admit of disorder, a homely man with a homely, happy wife. A printer, an etcher, a worker in complicated and elaborated verse cannot have a disorderly mind though, of course, he can be a disorderly or even a wicked man. But Professor Saintsbury acquits him of all moral faults, and indeed such faults have never been laid to Blake's charge. But the artist and the artistic temperament could by no possibility be separated from the poetic temperament, and that very fact gives the critic great difficulties. In many of his poems it is impossible to separate the poetry from the marvellous illustrations that Blake attached to them. His obscure poems to the artist's eye, at any rate, cease to be obscure, or to be so obscure when we see the illustrations. Mr. Binyon fully realises this fact. He says:

The ideas that inspire *Jerusalem* and the other epics are living and fruitful ideas that sow seeds in the mind, the poems only fitfully come to life in the world of poetry. They are sacrificed to an ulterior aim. Yet we must not forget that in reading the text of these books we are not reading them in the form in which Blake meant them to be read, because they are divorced from the designs which accompanied them and which to Blake were an essential part of the poetry. As we turn the pages of *Jerusalem*, we are often baffled and discomfited by the text; but in the designs we find a great poet's imagination.

Who can forget, for instance, the sublime design, traced in white on darkness, of Albion—Man—gazing with outstretched arms on Jesus crucified on the Tree of Mystery, the Tree of False Religion? Anyone who is familiar with *Jerusalem* in Blake's original edition of it, with its strange and grand designs, can never think of it as a negligible poem, for the poetry which has fled from so much of the text has flowed over into them.

Indeed, during the later years of his life, it seems as if Blake meant more and more to let his poetry find expression through his other gift of painting and design. The engravings to *Job*,

when we understand Blake's re-interpretation of the Biblical drama, as Mr. Wicksteed has enabled us to understand it, form an epic in themselves.

We are not here concerned with Blake as an artist; but I will say that to my mind Blake is yet greater as an artist than as a poet. As a poet he is but one voice in the great choir of English singers; but as an imaginative artist he is the greatest that England has produced. Not that we ought to separate his gifts. To him, indeed, painting was but another kind of poetry.

This is undoubtedly true, though there are mediæval mystics who came close to Blake in the matter of coloured illustration on a small scale.

For the general public the lesser poems, if the phrase be permitted, will always appeal more strongly than the Epics, though Mr. Binyon's beautifully printed selections make available a wider range than has hitherto been possible. It should always be remembered that the popular

And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon England's mountains green?
And was the holy lamb of God
On England's pleasant pastures seen?

was the introduction to *Milton*; that the *Tyger* ("Did he who made the Lamb make thee?") is comparatively early, yet contains Blake's essential mysticism. In the *Songs of Experience* (1794) Blake has a bold claim and a true one:

Hear the voice of the Bard!
Who Present, Past and Future sees;
Whose ears have heard
The Holy Word
That walk'd among the ancient trees.

There is a continuity of inspiration from the first to the last, and the poet gradually evolves a doctrine of Space and Time that seems to forecast in a prophetic vision the doctrines of Einstein. Blake's physical universe, like Einstein's, is a limited one. The Soul is the only eternal entity: "Yon sun shall wax old and decay, but thou shalt ever flourish." Blake seeks to put into illustrated words the whole range of the idealist philosophy of his age and the new mathematics of our age, things of thought of which he had no student's knowledge, but had intuitive perception. The poet has the power to write it all down:

My hands are labour'd day and night,
And Ease comes never in my sight.
My wife has no indulgence given
Except what comes to her from heaven.
We eat little, we drink less;
This Earth breeds not our happiness.

Blake and his Catharine literally lived in spirit and worked in the spirit, knowing full well that Time and Space are mere functions of a greater reality. In them realism and idealism were (and are) one.

J. E. G. DE M.

CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.*

In the pause between one great poetic epoch and another there is necessarily a taking stock of poets, and not necessarily the greatest, who adorned the period when Browning and Tennyson reigned supreme, that Victorian epoch which so many writers decry but which no writers can replace. Christina Rossetti was in her way a poet of the first rank, though she never produced sustained and lengthy work of the first importance. She was born in 1830 of mingled Italian and English stock, the Italian stock predominating. She had two brothers: Dante Gabriel, born in 1828, and William Michael in 1829, and one elder sister, Maria Francesca, born in 1827. Miss Stuart gives interesting details of their ancestry. Dante Gabriel became famous in the sphere of both art and poetry. William Michael entered the English Civil Service and supplemented his stipend by literature; as late as 1889 he edited a famous edition of Shelley's poetical works, and in 1896 Christina's *New Poems*. Christina was a somewhat sickly child, but she was always a writer, and when she was seventeen in 1847 she managed to print privately a volume of verse. Her *Juvenalia* gives some foretaste of her maturer work. In 1848, the year of revolutions, a revolution in English art came with the formation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, consisting of Millais, Hunt, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown, and others. Christina was in close touch with the group and fell in love with its least member, James Collinson. There was a difference of religion and the affair came to nothing, but it gave rise to a number of somewhat morbid but wonderful poems in 1848 and 1849, poems which demonstrated that a new sonnet-writer of exceptional power had come into being, as well as a maker of exquisite songs. It is remarkable that a young girl, not yet nineteen, should have written:

When I am dead, my dearest,
Sing no sad songs for me;
Plant thou no roses at my head,
Nor shady cypress tree:
Be the green grass above me
With shower and dew-drops wet:
And if thou wilt, remember,
And if thou wilt, forget.

* *Christina Rossetti*. By Dorothy Margaret Stuart. *English Men of Letters*. New Series. Edited by J. C. Squire. Macmillan. 5s. net.

I shall not see the shadow,
I shall not feel the rain;
I shall not hear the nightingale
Sing on, as if in pain:
And dreaming through the twilight
That doth not rise nor set,
Haply I may remember,
And haply may forget.

Miss Stuart says truly of this poem that it "need only have been written in Greek to fit perfectly into the posy of Meleager."

The Pre-Raphaelite movement affected all current poetry; it may even have affected Browning, and certainly Browning affected Christina Rossetti. Miss Stuart compares her to Mrs. Browning as a sonnet writer:

Mrs. Browning's poetic pulses beat harder and quicker. . . . But she does not excel Christina in poignant and yet restrained beauty of utterance, in low-toned tenderness, in effortless music of form and phrase. . . . Among English sonneteers, the first place having been bespoken for Shakespeare, some critics might be inclined to rank these two Victorian women poets as high as any. They do not hold their station as he holds his, by pure poetic pre-eminence. If it were so Milton and Keats would stand above them. But neither of these two most glorious Johns tried to do what both Christina Rossetti and Elizabeth Barrett Browning succeeded in doing, and that was to compose a cycle of sonnets recording a cycle of emotional experience. . . . The cadence of *Monna Innominata* is at times almost startlingly Shakespearean. Nowhere else has Christina Rossetti used her gift of unstilted poetic diction with more magnificent effect. She achieves in these fourteen sonnets the perfect fusion of emotion and language, the soul and the body of poetry. She was not often influenced by Shakespeare. It may be doubted whether she knew his sonnets well, or, if she had known them well, would have approved them much.

It is impossible not to agree with every word Miss Stuart says except (in a passage not quoted) perhaps when she doubts the poetic soundness of Mrs. Browning's Platonic and Christian belief that the flower of love, blown here, dwells immortal in Heaven. Christina Rossetti says the same thing in these very sonnets several times:

A little while, and age and sorrow cease;
A little while, and life reborn annuls
Loss and decay and death, and all is love.

I charge you at the Judgment make it plain
My love of you was life and not a breath.

Both Christina Rossetti and Elizabeth Barrett Browning face the memory of the rosebuds and the snows of last year in their bold

denials of the ultimate reality of space and time. Who shall say that they were not intuitively right when the mind dwells upon the latest ventures of science and philosophy?

Miss Stuart tells excellently well the story of Christina's life, and it is in some way, though certainly not in all ways, a sad story. The dreadful illness of 1871-3 laid its mark upon her, but she lived to near the end of the century (1896), and probably her best work was written after her illness—*Monna Innominata* was published in 1881. Charles Bagot Cayley, to whom these sonnets refer, died in the winter of 1883. The famous *Goblin Market* appeared ten years before the illness and perhaps it is, in its perfection of phrase and idea, the crown of her first stage, before and after what has been called the morbid element in her work appears. Was it morbidness in the sentimental sense, or was it something higher and nobler? Miss Stuart says that Christina "regards death, as she regards life, with a subjective vision." This may account for every phase of morbidness. Christina Rossetti belongs to the long line of mystics, and inasmuch as she was a poet she inevitably sings songs that look on the earth as a place of passage. But she had also the faith of a mystic and that gives her poems, apart altogether from their technical excellence and their amazing and almost biblical restraint in the use of adjectives, an immortal quality.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The Emperor Karl,* by Count Polzer-Hoditz, should find as many readers in English-speaking countries as the German original has found in central Europe; for it is at once a personal narrative of poignant interest and a weighty contribution to history. In no other work do we draw so close to the luckless young ruler who inherited a war which he detested and a political system which he was powerless to change. A chapter on the author's relations with the Archduke Karl before he became Emperor portrays a very lovable personality. "I took pleasure in his sunny nature, his gay and frank temper, and his kindness which found a friendly word or act for everybody. He was absolutely genuine, sincere and healthy-minded." So he remained when the death of Francis Joseph at the end of 1916 called him to the throne. As his political private secretary Count Polzer did his best to support the generous ideas of the last of the Hapsburgs, who yearned to restore peace to his sorely tried subjects and to content the various races which composed his polyglot empire by further extensions of autonomy. For two years he struggled manfully for the compromise peace which alone could have averted the doom of the Central Powers and the dissolution of his own realm; but he was very

* Putnam. 21s.

far from being a superman, and the forces within and beyond the frontier were too strong for him. His approach to France and England through his brother-in-law, Prince Sixtus of Bourbon, ended in humiliating failure, a breach with his Foreign Minister, Czernin, and increased dependence on Berlin. At home his amnesty to political prisoners, his summoning of the Reichsrat, and his dismissal of Tisza came too late to win back the confidence that had been forfeited by the mistakes of his predecessor. "The Kaiser, like myself," observed Karl in September, 1917, "is a poor prisoner in his own realm." The figure of the last of the Hapsburgs is far more tragic than that of the last of the Hohenzollerns; for he had no responsibility whatever for the coming of the world war or for the constitutional arrangements which enabled Tisza and the Magyar Magnates to bid defiance to the rising tide of nationalism in the Hungarian half of the Dual Empire. No more fascinating work has appeared in recent years on the decline and fall of the Hapsburg Empire.

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Professor Arnold Toynbee's latest book, *A Journey to China*,* is as readable as it is instructive. Students of his massive annual surveys of international affairs do not need to be reminded that he has taken the whole world for his province, and he is one of our few publicists who has given close attention to the problems of Asia without being a professional Orientalist. The immediate object of his visit to the Far East was to attend the International Conference at Kyoto in 1929, but he turned the journey into a much larger and more enriching experience. Motoring across Europe to Constantinople, he revisited Angora, crossed the Syrian desert to Bagdad by motor, emerged at the Persian Gulf, and had a glimpse of India. The hard work of the Conference was followed by a visit to Korea and China, and the return journey through Siberia and Russia was not the least eventful chapter of his Odyssey. Professor Toynbee combines the light touch of the practised journalist with wide historical learning and a philosophic mind. His story is thus not merely the record of an individual adventure but a study of conditions and ideas in large portions of Europe and Asia in 1929. In a spirited and humorous narrative, which carries the reader without weariness to the end, it is difficult to pick out sections for special praise. But the picture of the new Turkey, the snapshots of China, and the realistic record of the hardships of travel in the Bolshevik dominions linger in the memory. Perhaps the most valuable chapter is that entitled "Ancient and Modern in China and Japan," in which the author's talent for analysis and generalisation has full scope.

* * *

The Hakluyt Society has issued the first volume of *Select Documents Illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*† in style and type worthy of the great theme. The volume contains as a frontispiece the de Orchi portrait of the great navigator, reputed to be the original, once in the Jovian Gallery at Como. The edition includes the documents contained in R. H. Major's *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus*. The documents are translated and edited with additional material, an introduction, and notes by Mr. Cecil Jane. This first volume

* Constable. 15s.

† Bernard Quaritch Ltd. £1 11s. 6d.

deals with the first and second voyages. Mr. Jane says in his introduction that "It was the achievement of Columbus to convert conjecture into certainty, to substitute knowledge for hypothesis, and to open a way across the Atlantic which has never since been closed. He thereby gave a new world, not so much to Castile and Leon, as the oft-quoted phrase declares him to have done, as to Europe and to European civilisation." This able essay on the objective of Columbus shows that despite the lawsuit of the sixteenth century and the queries of the nineteenth, "the reputation of Columbus as having been in the fullest sense the author of his discovery was not really assailed." But in the twentieth century there has been a re-examination of the evidence, and there is a debate proceeding as to the degree of credit justly attributable to Columbus. Was his explicit design to reach "the Indies"? If so what were "the Indies"? It was a wide term and he was a very reticent and untutored man, though possessed of uncommon ability. When all is said, "there is some justification for the view that it was in the south that the true objective of Columbus lay." That is, indeed, very probable. The documents now published and analysed may throw more light on this substantial mystery.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

"The Life of Madame Roland,"* by Madame Madeleine Clemen-
ceau-Jacquemaire and translated by Mr. Laurence Vail, is a living
account of a great woman whose name will always be connected with
the French Revolution. Madame Roland was not only a clever and
ardent disciple of Liberty, but she was a woman who could combine
politics with love and friendship. Her death was a tragedy, for, like
so many of her contemporaries, she was murdered by the Liberty she
hoped to establish.

* * *

Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons' "Craft for All Series"† calls for some
note in a time when the recreation of domestic crafts has gained a
foothold in technical education and apprenticeship. The series deals
with Basketry, Beadcraft, Beaten Metalwork, Bookbinding, China
Decoration, Constructive and Decorative Woodwork, Design as
applied to Arts and Crafts, Flower-making, Gesso, Glove-making,
Handloom Weaving, Home Upholstery, Lace-making, and many
other subjects. The two recent volumes on Patchwork and Appliqué
by Miss Vera C. Alexander, and Painted Fabrics by Miss Idalia B.
Littlejohns, are excellent. Miss Littlejohns says "the history of
painted fabrics may be said to embody the history of all known forms
of ornamentation by which interior decorations and clothing are
enriched." It is a very old art, dating from the most ancient times.
"The fifteenth-century hangings at the Hotel Dieu at Rheims are
excellent examples of this work. They are often mistakenly thought
to be woven tapestries, but are actually large sheets of painted linen."
It is a fascinating subject.

* Longmans. 18s. net.

† Each volume 2s. 6d. net.

THE AUSTRO-GERMAN "BOMBSHELL."

I

MARCH 20th, 1931, the date on which the news that Austria
and Germany had decided to pull up the economic frontier
posts between their two countries and form a customs union,
will rank in contemporary history as one of the turning points in
Europe's endeavours to find a way out of the confusion left by the
earthquake of 1914, and of the efforts of the defeated nations to free
themselves of the chains with which they were loaded in 1919.
It may be regarded as Germany's second big attempt to regain the
position of a sovereign power on an equality with those who fought
and defeated her in the world war, the first being the conclusion of
the Treaty of Rapallo with Soviet Russia. As on that occasion,
the Entente Powers are rubbing their eyes, not quite able to realise
that while they were sunk in dreams of secure supremacy, the
chained giant has managed to loosen another of his bonds.

To regard the new Austro-German Pact, as in the writer's view
it must be regarded, as designed primarily to be the first step towards
the complete union of the two countries, is not necessarily to
impugn the good faith of Dr. Schober and Dr. Curtius, the two
Foreign Ministers, when they invite other countries to join them
later on in a "regional agreement." However ill-timed the Austro-
German move may have been—and anything which jeopardises as
this does the success of the Disarmament Congress by its revival
of national animosities certainly lays itself open to this reproach—
one cannot but admire the diplomatic skill with which M. Briand
has been made to appear as the father of the child whose entry
into this world he would have done anything to prevent. There is
no reason to think, however, that there is nothing but cynical
diplomacy in the presentation in this form of the decision of Austria
and Germany to effect an economic *Anschluss*: no doubt they would
sincerely welcome a move by other countries to join them in a new
economic system involving the breaking down of tariff walls which
might conceivably result one day in an economic Pan-Europe. But
if Germany and Austria contemplated the possibility of killing this
second bird with one stone, it was clearly aimed to make certain
of bringing down the bird of economic *Anschluss* first.

The way in which the *dénouement* of March 20th was brought
about is sufficient evidence on this point. Neither Foreign Minister
had any mandate to revolutionise in this way the relationship
between the two countries. Commerce and industry in general were
not consulted in either country and it is quite possibly correct that
the diplomats knew very little about it. In Austria the arrange-
ments were certainly kept secret by Dr. Schober from his Clerical
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colleagues who form the majority in the Cabinet, with the result that when he first revealed in a Cabinet meeting (a few days before the final announcement) what had been done, Dr. Seipel, still the great force behind the Austrian Clerical Party, broke off his cure at Davos and rushed hot-foot to Vienna to confront Dr. Schober with the stern inquiry: "*Herr Kanzler, was machen Sie?*" The schoolmaster's challenge came too late. The Austrian Foreign Minister may have had to face an uncomfortable quarter of an hour, but the secret of his activities had been so well preserved that the most powerful though unconfessed opponent of a German orientation for Austria found himself for once outwitted. Unable to upset what had been done, Dr. Seipel accepted the situation with the best possible grace and became outwardly a firm supporter of the Pact. The men who in Austria were really responsible for bringing the Pact about—a group who had devoted themselves with singular unity of purpose ever since 1918 to the ideal of ranging Austria alongside the other German States already in the *Reich*—expect, however, that the prelate-statesman, through his influence in industrial circles, will do his best to see that the limited tariff which is to be drawn up to protect certain delicate industries in either country during the period of adjustment, which it is not intended should exceed two to three years, shall be made as hostile to Germany and of as permanent a nature as possible.

Pro-*Anschluss* circles in Austria congratulate themselves so openly on the success with which the secret was preserved that the official air of injured innocence whenever the word "secrecy" is mentioned becomes amusing. But if the project is justifiable at all, secrecy must be admitted to have been essential. The storm which has been raised in Europe over the so-called *fait accompli* would have been twice as great had Austria and Germany merely proposed to make such an agreement as they have actually made, for the indignation even of Dr. Benes has been held in check by the realisation that it was too late to prevent the signature of the agreement and that it might prove impossible to prevent it from culminating in a customs union. Dr. Schober put Austria's case very convincingly before English and American journalists on March 30th, pointing out that ever since 1918 Austria had enjoyed the good will of the League and all its members, who had been ready on frequent occasions to express with the utmost piety the hope that somebody else would soon do something to arrest the process of economic atrophy in Austria. He acknowledged, of course, the valuable help afforded by the League Loan which saved Austria from anarchy (and probably from disappearing from the map of Europe) in 1922, but he added that he preferred not to

dwell on the point whether this help should not have been accorded much earlier. Subsequently Austria had received advice and other countries had been advised to help her. Nothing practical had been effected.

Since the battle as to the legality of the Austro-German step which is to be waged before the Council of the League (and probably also before The Hague Court) will turn, not on the Treaties of Versailles and Saint Germain, which clearly contain nothing to prevent a customs union, but on the "Geneva Protocols," it is worth while to consider how they came to be signed. On August 7th, 1922, the State of Austria, the unhappy country which was created not by the will of its inhabitants but because the victors, having satisfied the claims of every other race of the former Austrian Empire, could find nothing better to do with the German-Austrians than to force on them an undesired independence and such territory as their neighbours had no use for, was so desperate that the Government threw in its hand. It addressed a note to Mr. Lloyd George asking whether the Powers were prepared to guarantee a loan for Austria, as the Austrian Government would otherwise be unable to continue to conduct the affairs of the country. They would hold the Powers responsible for the country's complete collapse, "and laid in the hands of these Powers the future fate of Austria." When Mr. Lloyd George replied declining this responsibility and promising merely an investigation of the condition of Austria by the League, Dr. Seipel turned to Germany, Czechoslovakia and Italy for help. As a result, on October 4th the Geneva Agreement was signed between England, France, Italy and Czechoslovakia on the one side and Austria on the other, in which the Powers guaranteed to Austria 84 per cent. of a loan of 650 million gold crowns. For thus saving from the worst the unfortunate country which they had created without consulting its inhabitants, the Powers exacted Austria's signature to a new bond which should close a loophole in the merciless Treaty of Saint Germain. This bond was the Geneva Protocols, whereby Austria promised never to surrender her sovereign independence and to refrain from every action and economic or financial obligation calculated directly or indirectly to impair it. Her economic and financial independence and sovereignty were recognised by the Protocols, but on condition that she did not arrange with any State a special régime or grant of exclusive privileges calculated to endanger her independence. This was a second dictated document to which Austria's signature was forced, precisely as the signatures of the various defeated Powers were forced to the Peace Treaties which have proved such a burden to Europe. The alternative was anarchy and dissolution. Austria signed.

Such are the circumstances in which the only instrument which can be used to challenge the legality of an Austro-German customs union was created. As to the course which events are likely to take, it appears probable at the moment of writing that each side will produce from its jurists diametrically opposed opinions on the legal questions, and that the matter will be referred to The Hague Court unless Germany exercises her powers as member of the League Council to prevent such a decision. During the intervening period before this is received both the Germans and Austrians are going to push ahead with the details of the negotiations, drawing up a general tariff and the protective Austrian *Zwischenzölle*, and it is unlikely that they will allow the publication of their result or the date of signature of a further instrument to depend on a decision from The Hague. The new move was very carefully thought out, and I understand that the two Governments have exchanged assurances that they will stand or fall by the customs union, though this would not preclude them from accepting recommendations for slight formal modifications from The Hague or elsewhere. One of the men behind the Austrian "unionists" assured me that they would yield only in face of a threat of physical force. "If Germany were to be threatened with a second Ruhr invasion, both Governments would resign, to be succeeded, no doubt, in the case of the Germans by Hitlerites, in the case of Austria by Seipel-Vaugoin extremists. Only at this price can the customs union project be killed." This is, of course, an *ex-parte* statement, but in any event it should be realised that a defeat in Austria of the customs union project to which the moderate Vice-Chancellor Dr. Schober is pledged means his overthrow, and probably the triumph of the extremist Clerical-Fascist wing which has been keeping very quiet since its depressing experiences in the Austrian General Elections of November last. It would be difficult to find any impartial observer on the spot who believes that the Utopia of Paris and Prague—a political and economic "independent," that is to say enforcedly isolated, mountain republic of German-Austria—can be maintained indefinitely. The German-Austrians are bound to seek economic and political salvation by association either with the other Germans in the *Reich*, or with their former fellow subjects of the polyglot Monarchy of the Habsburgs. The latter course would mean the creation of a great Catholic state-bloc pledged to re-draw the map of Europe—the famous "revisionist bloc"—in alliance with Fascism and other reactionary forces. It would be a deadly blow to democratic hopes throughout Europe and, owing especially to the insatiable Hungarian *irridenta*, might evoke a dozen possible dangers of conflict to any one to which Austro-German union, economic or political,

might give rise. Yet France, obsessed still with the German bogey, would clearly prefer to run the risk of its realisation rather than see the Germans of Austria and the Germans of the *Reich* united. Immediately on the announcement of the Austro-German project, Prince Sixtus of Bourbon-Parma, who has always been indefatigable in seeking French support (even in the World War) for his sister, the ex-Empress Zita, came hastily to Vienna (where he was the guest of the French Minister) and Budapest, where he sought contact with official circles. Ostensibly his business was air-traffic organisation: its urgency coincided remarkably with that of the Legitimists of the old Monarchy, to whom any sort of union between Austria and Germany is, of course, anathema.

The safeguards contained in the Austro-German Pact to Austrian independence are evidently complete—for the moment. But it would be foolish not to face the obvious fact that its fulfilment will pave the way to full *Anschluss* at some much later date. It seems a pity that those political ostriches in Europe who keep their heads concealed in the sand of permanent Austrian independence cannot be induced to raise them to glance at the pursuing dangers of Austrian economic distress. "The cemetery of factory chimneys" (as one Austrian economist has just called it) between Vienna and Linz grows ever larger. The number of those still smoking is already almost less than those standing permanently bleak and lifeless. The number of bankruptcies and compositions with creditors increases steadily as the tariff walls of the Succession States rise higher and higher to exclude the goods which Austria and other neighbours formerly supplied but which each is now determined to manufacture for itself. The spending power of the wage-earners steadily decreases and diminishes the capacity of the limited home markets. From 1929 to 1930 Austrian imports fell from 3,318 to 2,734, and her exports from 2,220 to 1,883 million *schillings*.

The imports and exports of her neighbours, the Succession States, also fell considerably, but while they had either an export surplus or an almost equal balance of imports and exports, Austria was able to cover only two-thirds of her imports by exports. An analysis of the Austrian figures and comparison with those of Czechoslovakia shows that the latter country, with double the population of Austria, required to import foodstuffs to the value of only 805 million *schillings* in 1929 in comparison to barren, mountainous Austria's imports of 976 million *schillings* worth. While Czechoslovakia covered half this import by exporting 494 million *schillings* worth of foodstuffs, Austria sent abroad foodstuffs to the insignificant figure of 63 million *schillings* only. Czechoslovakia's

flourishing industry, utilising far more coal, raw and half-manufactured material, imported these in 1929 to the value of 2,033 million *schillings*, exporting 3,036 million *schillingsworth* of finished articles: she imported only 1,294 million *schillingsworth*. Austria imported 992 million *schillingsworth* of fuel and industrial material and exported finished goods to the value of 1,624 million *schillings*. But she imported 1,294 million *schillingsworth* of finished goods—nearly 40 per cent. of her total imports. Her export surplus in manufactured articles will be seen to be only 25 per cent.; Czechoslovakia's surplus of manufactured articles exported over those imported was nearly 150 per cent. Fifty per cent. of Austria's production is exported, and if it be assumed that this pays for the import surplus in foodstuffs and raw materials, then 75 per cent. of the Austrian import of manufactured goods is uncovered by exports.

How is it covered year after year? By foreign loans ("League Loan," Vienna Municipal Loan, International Federal Loan of 1930 and others), by the gradual selling-off of Austrian-owned shares in industrial undertakings which at the collapse of the Monarchy became foreign undertakings because they were situated on the soil of various Succession States, and by constantly renewed short-term loans. In Austrian economic statistics, though all else falls, the figure for interest on loans remitted abroad is always growing. Need Paris, need Prague be surprised—should they, indeed, be anything but relieved—to see Austria for once, if only under the spur of German energy, overcoming the *Gemütlichkeit* which is at once her charm and her curse, and instead of sighing mournfully: "How long?" and ordering another cup of coffee, pulling herself together and taking practical measures to ensure wider markets in the hope of healing this economic sore in the European economic system?

To those who characterise the Austro-German move as nothing more than a political plot, its Austrian supporters retort that the offer of a species of customs union was actually made to and declined by Czechoslovakia, and declare that they can produce evidence of a private and unofficial effort made by France to bring such Austro-Czech economic co-operation into effect. Dr. Heinrich Mataja has revealed how in 1925, as Foreign Minister, he asked Italy and Czechoslovakia simultaneously to make a special customs arrangement with Austria, granting her for a limited period preferential tariffs in respect of certain articles to be agreed upon. Although both States declared their readiness to negotiate, Dr. Benes subsequently declined to go any further in the matter unless there were also a preference system set up between Czechoslovakia

and Italy, a demand which at once killed the whole project. The Austrians produce the official *communiqué* of August 1st, 1930, issued by the Economic Conference at Sinaia between Roumanian and Yugoslavian delegations, declaring that they had decided "that the formation of a customs union" between the two States was "desirable and possible." Czechoslovakia was represented by the presence of her Minister in Bucharest as an "observer" throughout the Conference, yet, say the Austrians, neither Dr. Benes nor M. Briand raised voices of protest against this open decision of the two States to "sacrifice their sovereignty" and "compromise their independence." Nor did this earlier effort to effect a regional agreement strike Berlin, Vienna or Budapest as an "assault on the peace of Europe." But Prague, through the organ of the Foreign Office, the *Prager Presse*, officially blessed the efforts of Yugoslavia and Roumania, her partners of the Little Entente, to bring about the very thing which she considers it an international crime for Austria and Germany to attempt.

Nothing has done more to aid the cause of the Austro-German customs union in Austria than the storm of exaggerated protest from Paris and Prague, which has helped to transfer the issue from the economic to the "patriotic" sphere. No doubt Dr. Benes had sufficient wisdom to foresee the possibility of this, but like most statesmen he is compelled at times to act against his better judgment in the international sphere in order to placate excited national sentiment at home. He is pursued by the not unnatural fear on the part of the Czech industrialists of German competition and encirclement. How many important Austrian firms and industrial bodies, fearing the German competition (which, despite the granting by Germany of non-reciprocal temporary tariffs for Austrian protection, will certainly force a few of them to the wall while the greater part of Austrian industry finds salvation in Germany's wider markets) were ready to oppose the new project which had been sprung upon them! But the threatening tone of Prague and Paris, with the talk of withdrawing credits and impeachment before an international forum, made it almost impossible to oppose the project without risking a charge of unpatriotic conduct, if not of treachery. "The whole project might yet have broken down over the resistance of German industrialists to Austrian proposals calculated to affect their pockets; now both sides will have to 'go the limit' in concessions and the whole economic project will be carried through on the crest of a wave of patriotic fervour," one cynical Austrian said to me. "What 'brother Germany's' love for us could never secure us during years of commercial negotiations in the way of tariff concessions

will be conferred upon us readily through the hostility of Paris and Prague." The threats to denounce the Franco-German Commercial Treaty and to withdraw credits from Germany seem even more unwise when one remembers to what extent France's whole economic programme is based on the expectation that Germany will be able to earn and pay Reparations.

What exactly can Austria hope to gain from the proposed union? It is difficult to make any precise calculation, as the protagonists themselves are compelled to admit. But that it is a leap in the dark they deny, pointing to the United States and to Germany after the formation of the *Zollverein* as examples of the prosperity afforded to all partners in a combination securing wider markets. Austria professes to set great hopes on the exchange of her surplus water power for the coal in which she is so deficient and Germany rich. Fodder and cattle for slaughter from Germany she hopes to be able to repay with young beasts which would otherwise be slaughtered as calves and sucking-pigs, owing to the scarcity of good pasture arising out of the alpine character of her territory and climate. She hopes that the sentimental side of the economic union will increase rapidly the number of German tourists in search of the unequalled but still neglected scenic beauties and winter sport facilities which her mountains afford, but here in particular she is likely to be undeceived. If the Swiss are a nation of hotelkeepers, the Austrians, although equally cast for that rôle to-day, have so far failed badly to fill it. They rely far too much on charm of manner and a facile tongue—qualities which will not for long satisfy the economical German as substitutes for organisation, hard work and efficiency. While the German hotelkeeper to-day manages to keep going by strictest application of the principle of small profits and quick returns, the Austrian tendency from the owner of the highest to the lowest grade of hotel is to catch the individual in generous holiday mood and as imperceptibly as possible to extract sufficient from him to compensate for the rarity of his kind. Vienna, dreaming of becoming "the Hamburg of the East," hopes as the centre for the exchange of wares between Germany and the Balkans to arrest the decline of its influence as a great financial and commercial market, to recover lost ground, and eventually to become of greater importance in this sphere through its centuries-old knowledge of the Eastern European States and their methods of business, of which the less adaptable German will be likely to take advantage gladly. Generally, the artistic and luxury trades in Austria welcome the new scheme, while mass production firms very rightly foresee very hard times when faced with the competition of the German masters of this branch. But, of course, the biggest asset of

the customs union protagonists is the sentimental one—the widespread satisfaction among Austrians, for so long members of a great and respected Empire, at being raised from the new and hated position of one of the "beggar States" of Europe to that of an influential factor again through association with their brothers in the *Reich*.

It seems evident that at the moment violent hostility is felt and expressed only by France and Czechoslovakia. The only question which Great Britain can seriously wish to raise is whether Austria and Germany chose an opportune moment. There is no reason to imagine that the customs union would make the new common tariff any more hostile to our manufactures than a new German tariff would normally be. The Austrian market is not of great importance, nor would Austrian competition in Germany affect us greatly; we are faced with a possible decline in exports to Austria owing to German competition, but the impoverishment and waste consequent on the "Balkanisation" of Europe justify this country, like individual Austrian manufacturers, in taking the longer view. We may well expect that any immediate slight decline in certain exports to Austria will soon be made good in a general increased demand due to reviving prosperity.

Italy, although she made a *démarche* in Vienna concurrently with those of France and Czechoslovakia, put hers in a far milder form. Since then she has "sat on the fence," waiting to see whether the proposed union is likely to go through before naming a price for her approval. Signor Mussolini has even subsequently declared that the move might be regarded "in a favourable sense." Yugoslavia and Roumania are bound to adopt with Czechoslovakia a common policy owing to their existing alliance, but it does not necessarily follow that they will allow the Czechoslovak tail to wag the Little Entente dog. Yugoslavia at least would never on her own account oppose Austro-German economic (or even political) union. If the threat of German economic penetration be an evil, it is an infinitely less one in her eyes than the alternative to Austrian union with Germany—the re-creation of a Habsburg Catholic Monarchy in the guise of a "Danube Federation." This would ultimately threaten her with the loss of Catholic Croatia and Slavonia, as it would Czechoslovakia with the loss of Catholic Slovakia, though the German bogey so dominates Czech minds for the moment that the greater if more remote danger is left out of account. Roumania has also no intrinsic reason to oppose the project, although the apparent desire of King Carol to rid himself of the National Peasant (Tsaranist) Party may lead to a revival of the francophile Liberals shortly. Hungary is reserved but not hostile, hesitating whether

it will pay her best to join an opposition bloc or to come eventually into the Austro-German system. Although Count Bethlen resents the failure of his hope to base a "revisionist bloc" on an economic foundation, he is too much of a *Realpolitiker* to let this divert his eye from the main chance.

To regard Germany as an angel of light in the matter would be foolish. She has, as a matter of fact, cleverly taken advantage of a combination of circumstances to regain some freedom of movement. Until the liberation of the Rhineland, all *Anschluss* talk was taboo. Italy dashed to the ground German hopes of making her the patron of an anti-peace-treaty campaign by signing the Naval Pact with France. Herr Brüning and the moderates were being hard pressed by the Hitlerite fascists for their inaction, and by the new move with its attempt—probably legal—to circumvent the Peace Treaties, he has been able to steal some of their thunder. The world crisis is so serious that the right moment for the economic union seemed to have arrived; things can hardly get worse, and if they get better the union will receive much of the credit in Austria. Then came M. Briand's talk of Pan-Europe and regional agreements, unwittingly blessing in advance a scheme he is bound to curse.

There seems to be little short of another Ruhr adventure for France to attempt, to upset the well-laid "plot"—if one chooses thus to regard this cleverly-planned move on the European chess-board. Great Britain could not do France a worse service than to allow herself to be dragged at her heels in hostility to this scheme. The present writer has recently endeavoured to set forth in book form the story of the ghastly muddle of the Ruhr occupation and the "Revolver Republic," which Great Britain refused to condemn in spite of the adverse (but secret) verdict of the Law Officers of the Crown, and to show how French intransigence brought about the very thing which it desired to prevent—the rebirth of German nationalism. France's veto on an Austro-German *Anschluss* is another side of the same shortsighted policy which led her to create the sham "Revolver Republic" on the Rhine—that of separating one block of Germans from the main body of the race. This country seems once again to be cast for her traditional rôle of mediator, which can probably best be played by supplying the traditional lack of German diplomacy—by making the Austro-German scheme *suaviter in modo* while persuading France to accept with a good grace the *fortiter in re*. Europe to-day cannot afford to lose either M. Briand or Herr Brüning.

G. E. R. GEDYE.

II

The discussion on the Austro-German plan of a customs union has shown once more the unsettled and unsafe relations between European nations, the deep distrust and animosity behind all the assertions of good will and peaceful intentions by the statesmen speaking in Parliament or in Geneva. The mere resolution of the two German States to negotiate about the plan of a customs union, which any other State may also join, has aroused a storm of indignation and protest in Paris and Prague. Austria and Germany are being accused of perfidiously trying to evade the obligations imposed upon them by the Peace Treaties and the Pact of Geneva. Their scheme is interpreted as an important step towards a complete political fusion of both States, the dreadful *Anschluss*, and as an outcome of Pan-Germanism and imperialism, constituting a serious danger for the peace of the world. Moreover, sharp words have been uttered by responsible statesmen on the discourtesy of Germany and Austria in concluding such a pact without previous discussion with the other Powers.

In Germany and Austria the news has been received in a much more sober way, though, of course, with sympathy. The press has, on the whole, refrained from exuberant hopes. Many Liberal and Socialist papers have even uttered doubts whether the moment was the right one for such a scheme. Most papers have emphasised the desirability of other States joining the union. The agrarians are afraid that the union might lead to a lowering of the tariffs. Keen advocates of a political fusion complain that the proposed economic agreement would rather take the wind out of their sails. Very remarkable is also the fact that the radical nationalists have made a very sour face. The *Voelkische Beobachter*, edited by Hitler, wrote on March 28th that it is a mistake to consider the plan as a move in the right Pan-German spirit. On the contrary, it adds, the German Foreign Minister wished nothing more fervently than to prepare an economic Pan-European union in conformity with his francophile policy. Nevertheless, the French attacks were eagerly reported by the nationalist press, as a symptom of the implacable hostility of the hereditary enemy. Nothing is more welcome to the German nationalists than the prospect of France defeating the German Government in this question, and the Hitler press is already rejoicing in the hope that the scheme will fail and that the republican system in Germany will then break down. Never before has it become so evident that France is playing the game of nationalism and reaction in Germany.

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informing the other States previously about their designs. The Austrian Government denies this and states that the other side was informed officially before the preliminary pact was signed. What is really meant, however, by those who now criticise German and Austrian discourtesy is much more than the observance of diplomatic forms. They think that the two Governments should have discussed the whole affair with the other side in order to find a compromise. This seems at least to be the English view. But the highly-excited temper of France makes it very doubtful whether such a step could have brought about a compromise. Unfortunately France seems to believe that she has an absolute right to veto every sort of closer co-operation between Germany and Austria. Some people may ask how this claim is compatible with the principle of self-determination, nay even with the doctrines of sovereignty, independence and equality of all States which form the groundwork of the League of Nations. It may also be questioned whether certain strong words used by French politicians and newspapers do not constitute a worse breach of international comity than that attributed to Dr. Curtius and Dr. Schober. We should also like to know whether France and the *Little Entente* States have ever submitted the numerous agreements among themselves, which certainly affect the interests of their neighbours, to a previous friendly discussion with Germany and Austria. Of course France will assert that this is quite a different matter, Germany and Austria being bound by certain clauses of the Peace Treaties. If it is a question of international law it ought to be decided by the High Court at The Hague. Nobody will doubt that such a tribunal would decide with impartiality. The Council of the League of Nations is not a judicial court. The Covenant itself (Article 13) provides that questions of international law are to be decided by a court of arbitration, not by the Council of the League.

France asserts that Austria has bound herself by the Pact of Geneva to acknowledge the decision of the League on the question whether an economic agreement constitutes an infringement of her independence. Yet the text of the Pact of Geneva does not contain any such obligation for Austria, except in Protocols II and III containing purely financial matters. No such obligation has been imposed upon her as regards the question of independence, neither does the Peace Treaty contain such a clause. Therefore, only the general rules of international law hold good. Of course, there are other possibilities of bringing the case before the League, but the Council cannot give a binding decision. We even think it would be better in the interests of all nations concerned not to haggle too much about strict law but to try to arrive at a reasonable

compromise. However, a compromise presupposes a compromising spirit, a readiness to treat the partner as an equal. To our very great regret we cannot find up to now a trace of such a spirit in the declarations of French and Czech statesmen, who seem to be convinced that the other parties are guilty of an unpardonable breach of international law, attribute their action to nationalist and imperialist motives, and consider them disturbers of the peace. These are very grave charges.

It is difficult to see how a compromise is possible so long as this spirit prevails. France has good reason to denounce the aggressive Pan-Germans and the militarists of the old régime, and this spirit has not yet died out in Germany. Yet it is a tragic error that France does not adequately realise that her continued distrust towards the new Germany is largely responsible for the resurgence of nationalism in that country. The German Socialists, Catholics and Liberals are fighting most vigorously against the barbarism of Hitler and the spirit of revenge. Yet their campaign is seriously hampered by the fact that France sticks tenaciously to the system incorporated in the Peace Treaties, which denies full equality and fair treatment to the German nation. What a difference between the generous and far-seeing treatment of France in 1814-15 after the downfall of Napoleon and the Treaty of Versailles. Even the concessions made in regard to the occupation of the Rhineland have been reached so slowly and after so much petty bartering that the psychological effect has been largely lost. On the other side German nationalism is hardly less to blame for its blindness and for the total lack of recognition of its own terrible sins. As regards Austria the policy of France and her allies has been more lenient in recent years, with the result that hardly a trace of hostility against the former enemies has survived.

German diplomats and politicians have often been justly criticised for their lack of understanding of the psychology of other nations; but the general attitude of France and the special case before us show that this lack of understanding is not solely to be found on the German side. It is deplorable to see France furnishing arms to the furious nationalists in Germany by her psychological blindness. The greatest psychological blunder was, of course, the dictated peace. We do not mean by this to say that France can be expected to go far in abandoning the Peace Treaty, as many optimists believe. We do not believe in the possibility of far-reaching alterations in the Peace Treaties. The most essential parts cannot be altered, even if France were to change her mind. But at least the legal status of Germany and Austria must not be impaired by further encroachments. The League must not

be used as an instrument of a French dictatorship in Europe in order to keep down every effort of the German nation towards equality and independence. Such a policy or even its mere likelihood would inevitably lead to a repudiation of the idea of the League.

As regards the special problem before us the great psychological blunder of France is that every wish of Germany and Austria for a closer union is denounced as the outcome of an aggressive and imperialist mentality: even a merely economic co-operation is interpreted in this sense. This is a colossal mistake and it is also felt as an insult by millions of German and Austrian pacifists who are cherishing this idea and working for it because they consider it a most efficient means for a real pacification of Europe. The obstinate refusal to consider all arguments brought forward in this sense is destroying every hope of securing European peace by mutual understanding. If even French statesmen who certainly wish an international understanding are so unable to understand the mentality of the great majority of sincere pacifists in Germany, and if they continue to hurl the accusation of veiled imperialism at their heads, we must despair of the possibility of arriving at better relations between nations. The real motives of the present scheme are predominantly economic, though, of course, cultural affinity and national sympathy are fostering influences. The agreement aims at alleviating some of the consequences of the economic "war of all against all," brought about by the breaking up of great economic units into small fragments. The new States in Central and Eastern Europe were foremost in following a policy of extreme protectionism, and in consequence Austria has been almost strangled to death. Careful calculations of the Vienna Chamber of Commerce show that in 1927 the average tariff was 19.2 per cent. in Austria, 36.4 in Czechoslovakia, 31.1 in Hungary, 34.8 in Yugoslavia, 43.3 in Poland, 98.4 in Rumania. This shows the economic pressure to which Austria has been exposed by her neighbours. The result has been a terribly low standard of life. The national income per head is 70 per cent. higher in Germany than in Austria, and in England the average income is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times larger. In the Treaty of St. Germain (Articles 51 and 57) the Allies reserved the right to lay down rules for fair trade conditions between some of the new States, but no use has been made of these clauses for securing a fair treatment of Austrian commerce. The international negotiations for bringing down excessive tariffs and organising larger economic units have come to nothing. Austria cannot, therefore, be reproached for seeking a way out of her distress by gaining admittance to the large market of Germany.

France herself has certainly no interest in keeping Austria in economic fetters. But, unfortunately, Czechoslovakia still believes in this policy, though even there some doubts have been uttered as to whether it is wise. The main reason of the protest of France against the Austro-German agreement is the wish of Czechoslovakia to continue the economic exploitation of Austria by means of excessive tariffs and to keep her economically defenceless. France and Czechoslovakia maintain that a customs union between Austria and Germany would infringe the independence of Austria and therefore violate a clause of the Pact of Geneva of 1922; but this pact only prohibits economic agreements which might impair her independence. It has never been admitted by international law that a customs union possesses this character. Has Luxemburg lost its independence by the customs union with Belgium? France herself was trying to induce Austria to conclude a customs union with Czechoslovakia; and if an economic union could be interpreted as an encroachment on political sovereignty, this, too, would have been a breach of the Peace Treaty and the Pact of Geneva. In constantly advocating a Danubian customs union France has admitted that such a scheme does not impair the political independence of any State.

The Austro-German agreement takes great care not to restrict the economic independence of the participants. Every State may join the pact, everyone retains a free hand to conclude treaties for himself, there is to be no common council, the agreement is for a short term, and any member may give notice to cancel it. Moreover, Czechoslovakia has expressly been invited to join. If France considers this an infringement of the independence of Austria, why not submit the question to an impartial court of arbitration? Is not the condition under which Austria is forced to live at present the negation of real independence?

The Peace Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain also contained clauses prohibiting Germany and Austria from giving preferential tariffs to the disadvantage of the Allies; but this prohibition was restricted to five years and has already expired. This very clause shows that even the makers of the Peace Treaty did not intend to withhold from Germany and Austria the right to grant preferential treatment. Neither is there any clause which could be interpreted in the sense that preferential treatment could only be introduced as regards third States, but not between Germany and Austria themselves.

Summing up, it seems undeniable that:

(1) The refusal of France to put a clear case for legal interpretation before a judicial court of arbitration is incompatible with international law and the equality of nations.

(2) The charge brought against Germany and Austria of trying to promote imperialist aims behind the screen of a commercial agreement is untrue and an offence against the great majority of peace-loving Germans and Austrians who support the plan.

(3) The real motive of the protest is the wish of certain States to withhold from Austria her economic independence under the mask of defending this independence.

(4) The attitude of France is a source of the greatest hope and joy to the extreme nationalists in Germany who eagerly desire that the scheme shall fail and who see therein their chance to overthrow the German Republic.

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GERMAN POLICY AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS.

THERE is a widespread view that German policy is primarily inspired by memories of the past, by the bitterness of defeat and by the desire for revenge, that is to say, by considerations essentially sentimental. According to this view such considerations are at the bottom of the great success obtained at the elections of September 14th last by the Extremist Parties, and are the cause of the obvious acceleration in recent months in the general tempo of German foreign policy. In our view this opinion is a mistaken one. It is undeniable that the German people is to some extent influenced by sentiment, and that such sentiment may possibly determine the foreign policy of the country; but material preoccupations, the simple fear for to-morrow, and the necessity of earning his daily bread, are so overmastering in the case of each individual that not much time is left for theory or emotion. Germany's policy, both at home and abroad, is at the moment dominated by the economic crisis and its consequences, and any attempt to judge German policy apart from this essential consideration would be foredoomed to failure.

I

The economic crisis is universal; but in Germany it is more serious than in most other European countries as a result both of its dimensions and of its possible consequences. There are five million unemployed in Germany, more than in any other European country. This is because Germany is the most industrialised country in Europe and depends to a greater extent than any other country on her exports. Even before the War export requirements, the necessity of periodically finding fresh markets to absorb the continual increase in industrial production, formed the main preoccupation of the Imperial Government. One of the causes of the War was the fear of the German manufacturers that when the Russo-German treaty of commerce, which was due to expire in 1917, came to be renewed, they would lose the Russian market. This situation has inevitably grown worse in recent years, since the capacity of the home market has diminished and Reparation payments have rendered more necessary than ever in the past a surplus of exports over imports. Germany, which is thus strictly dependent on foreign markets, has been hit in the first place by the loss of markets resulting from the growing industrialisation of oversea countries, from the establishment of new customs fron-

tiers, from the birth of communism in Russia, and from the general impoverishment of a large number of countries.

German industry endeavoured to find a remedy for its difficulties in the shape of an intensive rationalisation. It profited by the conditions resultant from inflation to renew its industrial equipment, and this made it possible for it to produce more with a smaller number of workers. The result is unemployment due to rationalisation, which has helped to swell the unemployment due to the economic crisis which is at the moment affecting the whole world. This crisis, more serious in Germany than in the other countries of the Continent, is also of a peculiarly dangerous nature.

During the War and its succeeding crises a profound social transformation took place in Germany. The currency inflation made away with all the capital resources of the middle class and thoroughly transformed the general mentality of this class on which, as in all other countries, the maintenance of social order depends. Impoverished by inflation, morally sapped by defeat and the suffering consequent upon defeat, Germany has neither material nor moral resources of strength, and a crisis such as the present one is calculated to undermine her stability more rapidly and more profoundly than it would undermine a more healthy or wealthy community. At the moment, no country in Europe is altogether free from the threat to social order. Revolutions know no frontiers, and if serious trouble were to break out in Germany it is impossible to say where it would stop. These assertions: (a) that Germany's social situation is serious, and (b) that in this connection international solidarity is complete, go to show that it is in Europe's interest to facilitate the German Government's efforts to find some solution of its difficulties; but it is upon the German Government that in the first place the responsibility for the future lies, and its task in this connection is twofold. At home it must maintain order, and abroad it must find the markets necessary to re-establish the German national economy.

II

The results of the elections of September 14th last were disquieting, not only as a symptom of the social situation, but also as a cause of political instability. The elections have shown that there exists in Germany a whole mass of anti-capitalist and revolutionary voters who are represented by three different parties. All three parties are anti-capitalist, but they are anti-capitalist in different degrees, since the doctrine of the National Socialists is not absolutely definitive on this point. Their programme denounces capitalism but their practice allows for its existence. All

three parties are revolutionary, but not to the same extent, since the Socialists, as we shall see, are more and more inclined to the preservation of the social order. It is none the less true that 57 per cent. of the members of the Reichstag have been elected to support a political theory opposed to that which underlies society as it exists to-day.

All three parties appeal to a different section of the electorate. The National Socialists are the representatives of the victims of inflation, that vast mass of German citizens who had previously a collective "*bourgeois*" consciousness and definitive interests to defend, a mass of persons whom the troubles which succeeded the War deprived of their capital resources and who are naturally more concerned to change than to maintain the existing situation. The sons of this *bourgeois* generation, whether officers of the army or members of the intellectual classes, have found it almost impossible to earn a living. The German Universities are overcrowded and each year unload upon life a large number of graduates, discontented and without resources, though well-educated and to a great extent accustomed to positions of command; and these are they who form the main body of the National Socialist Party.

The Communists find their main support among the unemployed, in particular among the unskilled workers affected by unemployment, and more particularly still among the young workers. There are hundreds of thousands of persons in Germany who have never been in work, who do not know what work is, and who in existing circumstances have almost no prospect of finding work since they are utterly unskilled. Such form the natural recruiting ground of the Communist Party.

The Social Democrats, on the other hand, represent generally speaking the workers in work. The trade unions are well-established and powerful, and ensure their members all kinds of advantages. There is a strict discipline in force among them, so that the trade unions are enabled to keep their adherents in hand. It is possible that among the members of unions which are affected by the unemployment crisis a certain number escape, politically speaking, from the Socialist Party; but the great majority remain faithful to the Party. It should be remembered, however, that this majority represents a decreasing number of persons, who are themselves rapidly ageing, and that it is in the main the older workers in work who remain faithful to the Socialist Party. The younger workers are tending more and more to detach themselves from it. German social legislation, which was to a large extent created under the Imperial régime, constitutes in time of crisis a heavy charge upon the budget. But although it may possibly lay an excessive burden upon industry and thus contribute indirectly

to the aggravation of the economic crisis, it nevertheless presents the advantage of creating a mass of workers who are interested in the maintenance of the existing order. If Germany has hitherto succeeded in weathering the economic crisis and its resultant unemployment, it is because the trade unions, and the Socialist Party which represents them, are imbued with a conservative spirit.

The parliamentary situation is such that the Government can nowhere find any solid majority. The National Socialists and the German Nationalists having seceded from the Reichstag, the Socialists and Communists together can reckon upon 220 seats, as against a *bourgeois* minority of 209 deputies. It would be enough for them to vote together once on a serious question for the Government to be compelled to resign. It is difficult to say what would happen then. In all probability either the existing Government would maintain itself as a dictatorship, or a *coup d'état* would throw power into the hands of the National Socialists. In either of these two eventualities the Socialists would lose more than they would gain. Thus the Brüning Government is able to maintain itself without making serious concessions to the Socialists, and consistently obtains their votes, even on questions so difficult to reconcile with Socialist doctrine as the vote for the second cruiser.

A mere analysis of the parliamentary situation, however, does not go deep enough. Germany's good fortune does not spring only from the fact that the Socialist Party is reasonable for fear of worse to come. It does not spring only from the fact—although the fact is an important one—of the certainty that any sort of *coup d'état* would meet with the determined resistance of the trade unions, which have already broken the Kapp *Putsch*. In the hands of the trade unions, which have become more and more loyal to the State, the General Strike is being transformed into an instrument for the maintenance of social conservatism and the preservation of public order. But over and above these two factors the real good fortune of this country, which has not in the past been given often to producing great men, is that at this decisive moment of its history it has found three men capable both of serving and of leading it. The first is an old Prussian marshal, a Protestant, brought up in an atmosphere of feudalism and fidelity to the Imperial dynasty, whom the blind chance of an unparalleled historical disaster has placed at the head of a Republic of which he is the loyal servant. The second, Herr Brüning, is a Catholic intellectual who has passed from the service of the Christian trade unions to the service of the State, and who brings to that service the combination of a subtle dialectic and a will of iron. The third, Herr Braun, is a former journeyman-printer, a Socialist of the moderate type, who is the representative in the Government of that mass of trade union

opinion upon which depends the future safety of public order in Germany.

So long as President Hindenburg lives the *Reichswehr* will remain loyal to him. The National Socialists themselves admit that even if some of the officers have been affected by their propaganda, not one of them would be willing to break his oath of allegiance. So long as the Government rests on a constitutional basis it will have under it the forces of the State and behind it the trade unions, and consequently no one will be able to do anything against it. The situation would be different were the Government to abandon constitutional methods. In such an event no one can predict what would be the attitude of the *Reichswehr*. With the providential help of a mild winter, Germany has succeeded in weathering a most difficult period of her history. But it must not be expected that she can weather a second winter of the same kind. A few months—even perhaps a year—have been gained. But it is essential that between now and the autumn the Government should succeed in restoring a certain elasticity to industry. Such is the main pre-occupation of Germany's foreign policy.

III

The task is a twofold one, at once financial and economic. In the financial sphere the main problem is that concerned with Reparations. It is well known that the Germans maintain that lack of capital is the fundamental cause of their economic crisis. The extremely high rate of interest lays a crushing burden upon both industry and agriculture. To restore financial elasticity is for them the only method of restoring Germany's productive capacity. The question of Reparations is also an important source of internal unrest. People are only too ready to think that they are too highly taxed, and they are led to believe that this is the fault of France. There is much talk in Germany of the gold-crammed vaults of the Bank of France, and of the almost complete absence of unemployment in France. It is not added that unemployment appears to be low in France mainly because French unemployment statistics are not accurate. The Germans judge by appearances, and they cannot reconcile themselves to the idea that they are compelled yearly to pay nearly two milliards of their savings to a country which does not need it.

For all those persons in Germany who have no stake in the country the agitation for the revision of the Young Plan is a convenient form of demagoguery and a necessary postulate of patriotism. For the Government the question is more complicated. The Government well knows that a moratorium would apply only to the con-

ditional part of the annual payments, which are almost or completely absorbed during the earlier years by deliveries in kind. Thus the application of the clauses of the moratorium would have the effect for Germany of reducing her export of goods and not her export of capital. It is for this reason that Germany turns to her creditors and says: "Help us. Never mind how. If you consent to revise the Young Plan, well and good. If you do not consent, give us credits. We will pay you with your own money, but at least we shall not deprive our own national economy of the little capital it has succeeded in accumulating, which is indispensable to its existence." As a matter of fact, this is what has been happening for several years. The international credits granted to Germany have been hitherto considerably in excess of Reparation payments. This is a proof that the German line of thought which attributes the economic crisis to the payment of Reparations is incorrect; but it is a proof also that the Reparations system will not work in practice.

The question of Reparations is secondary to the problem of markets. Apart from any considerations of sentiment or politics, Germany's need to come to an agreement with Russia springs from the necessity of securing orders for German industry. The Germans have not entered voluntarily upon this path. They well know that in the disturbed social situation of their country Bolshevik propaganda might be dangerous. They know, moreover, that their deliveries of machinery to Russia may well allow Russia to set on foot an industry which within a few years might become Germany's chief competitor in the markets of the world. If the Five-Year Scheme is a success it is Germany that will have to bear the consequences in the form of competition. If the Scheme fails there is a danger that Germany's long-credit deliveries to Russia will not be paid for. But the problem before Germany is how to free herself from the bonds of Russian friendship at the risk of throwing out of work hundreds of thousands of workers, who would then be added to the ranks of the five million unemployed.

At the present moment the German Government is on the lookout for other markets, and this is why it has given such an enthusiastic response to the request for a preferential system for the agrarian States of south-eastern Europe. While the other Powers were lukewarm in their reception of the demands of Rumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary, Germany accepted those demands in general, and when the demands appeared to be already dead and buried, on the eve of the last session of the Conference on European Union, Herr Curtius caused it to be known in the Capitals of the States concerned that if the demands were renewed he would be ready to support them. In return for a customs preference in

favour of European cereals Germany would demand advantages for her industrial products. The German Government has already promised vaguely to content itself with advantages of a general nature, such as might be included under the most-favoured-nation clause. But the products to which the concessions made by the agrarian States would apply would be so chosen as to benefit primarily German industry.

The condition of Austria is altogether analogous to that of Germany. Austria needs markets. Austria, too, is in a position easily to enter into relations with the Danubian States which have always been accustomed to transact their business through Vienna. Thus the German Government found itself in competition with Austria, a situation which for reasons of sentiment was obviously unwelcome to it. The two Governments, therefore, conferred on the subject and after careful consideration came to the conclusion that the only means of linking their interests was a customs union which excluded the most-favoured-nation clause so far as third parties were concerned. It may be that this policy is not altogether in accordance with the international agreements entered into by Austria and Germany. The final decision on this point will have to be taken by the Council of the League of Nations or by the Permanent Court of International Justice. In any case the policy is not in accordance with the methods of European collaboration as practised at Geneva, and it is probable that Germany herself will feel the adverse effects of it in the subsequent development of her foreign policy. Germany cannot at one and the same time ask her creditors to defer debts or credits, and also conclude without their knowledge economic arrangements which might show the way to profound modifications in the map of Europe.

IV

Policy is always a mixture of interest and sentiment. Some of Germany's international actions are of an essentially economic character. Their object is to protect the standard of life of the country and to reduce unemployment. Others are inspired by sentimental motives. This is especially the case with the *Anschluss*, which cannot conceivably bring Germany or Austria any great material advantages. It is, above all, the reason of German policy in respect of Poland, where the German Government is sacrificing important economic interests to political rancour. A commercial agreement with Poland might well be the salvation of East Prussia, the economic decline of which Province springs less from the existence of the Polish Corridor than from the hermetical sealing of the Germano-Polish frontier. But the

Germans hold to the policy of showing that their existing frontiers are impossible and untenable. This does not mean that they intend to make the question a *casus belli*. A large section of the nation is against war, and even those who wish for war know well that they cannot wage it. But to help Poland in any positive fashion, to facilitate any solution of purely Polish problems, or to strengthen Poland economically in any way—this is beyond the power of Germany at the moment.

In disarmament also the springs of German policy must be looked for in the domain of sentiment. The Germans know full well that as a people they have lost the habit of compulsory military service and would in no case agree to its reimposition. In the purely military sphere their economic and financial situation would render it impossible for them to make any greater effort than that which they are now making. A legal increase of their forces, made with the authorisation of the Signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, could be only of the smallest, and would in no way affect the position of Germany *vis-à-vis* Europe. It would need more than an increase in her artillery or a few additional regiments to make Germany once again a great military Power. As to any clandestine increase, the financial and social conditions of the country forbid it absolutely. The best guarantee of disarmament is the presence in the factories of a majority of trade union workers.

Supposing then that Germany puts the question of disarmament in the form of the following dilemma: Either you will disarm, as we are disarming, or we will rearm, as you are arming. Germany knows well that both terms of the dilemma are false. Germany cannot arm herself afresh as her adversaries are arming, nor can she in the existing state of Europe wish in her heart of hearts that other countries should disarm to a point where there would be a danger of leaving Russia in sole possession of overwhelming military forces. But naturally enough, when they have been deprived by the Treaty of Peace of a great number of rights, the Germans cling to the few rights which the Treaty confers on them. In other words Germany is hesitating between two policies: the one, dictated by material interests, leads her to come to an agreement with the richest Powers, that is to say with the most conservative Powers of Europe; the other, which is based on sentiment, inclines her to use all the means at her disposal, either in the Treaties or in the discontent of other peoples, to undermine the existing situation in Europe.

Are these two policies reconcilable? Is it possible to conciliate movement and immobility? Can Germany at one and the same time spring surprises on Europe and demand concessions? The answer in theory is in the negative; in practice, however, the drift

towards Russia satisfies certain interests and certain sentiments, just as the drift towards France may satisfy certain sentiments and certain interests. So complex a thing is international life! One policy works for the re-establishment of the internal situation, which depends on the prosperity of Europe as a whole; that is to say the policy tends towards the establishment of the European *status quo*. The other policy tends to the overthrow of the existing state of affairs. The former may be described as the French, the latter as the Russian orientation of German policy. The prestige of France is great in Germany. It is both the prestige of her victory in the War and the prestige exercised by a rich nation upon a poor nation; and yet the poor nation exaggerates the wealth of the rich nation. The urge towards an agreement with France is of long standing in Germany. It was in existence during the reign of William II, who lost no opportunity of speaking of it in conversations with Frenchmen. It is to-day alive among certain Germans, even in the highest spheres of the *Reichswehr*, who see in an *entente* with France the means of regaining for their country some fraction of its political authority on the European Continent.

What the Germans want from France is concessions in the sphere of Reparations and disarmament, and mediation between themselves and Poland. Their great difficulty in any negotiation is that they have much to ask and little to offer. It is possible that France may find the proposed conditions too unfavourable; but it cannot be denied that among the majority of Germans the desire for an *entente* exists. It is this which has prevented the Wilhelmstrasse from yielding to Italy's tempting offers of political collaboration; and although at the present moment the general atmosphere of Franco-German relations is somewhat troubled by the Customs Union incident, it is more than probable that the policy of collaboration will be revived, since that policy is profoundly rooted in the spirit of those who are directing German policy.

The interests of Germany and Europe are identical. It is in the interest of Europe to assist a country the economic predominance of which might be a danger to the social institutions of the whole Continent, and it is in the interest of Germany not to abandon herself to a sentimental policy which can in the long run only complicate her diplomatic situation in Europe and, as a result of this, her own internal situation.

WILLIAM MARTIN,
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THE RULE OF LAW IN PRESENT CONSTITUTIONAL PRACTICE.*

*"The Rule of Law is the condition of liberty."—
Lord Sankey, at the Guildhall, Nov., 1929.*

1. *Essentials of the Rule of Law.*

THE Rule of Law goes to the very root of our social well-being, and its observance by both Parliament and administrative authorities ought to be the first canon of our political life. By "constitutional practice" I mean the practice of all those departments of State which operate the British Constitution; it includes within its ambit not merely our domestic affairs, but the conduct of all those relations internal and external which concern the Empire within and without. Let us begin with a clear understanding of the phrase "The Rule of Law." "Rule" is a word with at least two meanings. A principle or general proposition is one. We speak of a rule in science; for instance, in physics the rule that in a perfect liquid pressure is equal in all directions. But we speak also of a rule of law, meaning a standard by which to measure conduct in terms of rights and obligations. But this is not the sense in which the word "rule" is used in the phrase "rule of law." There it means government. We speak of a despotic rule; a rule of the proletariat; a benevolent rule; a democratic rule. And when we boast in Great Britain that we live under the Rule of Law, we mean that our kind of government is one in which law prevails continuously, as its dominant characteristic. In ultimate analysis the Rule of Law is thus a political ideal—a régime of government, in which the State by legislation, administration, and justice ensures that every citizen shall enjoy all the rights which are his, and obtain redress when a wrong is done him. In its attainment the State performs two separate and dissimilar functions. As sovereign it is legislator, administrator, and judge; but whenever it is itself party to a legal dispute, it submits voluntarily to the jurisdiction of its own Courts, so as to ensure equality of justice to all.

The first function is political. The second imports a moral duty. The conception of the Rule of Law is thus political and moral, as well as legal. It follows that it is a progressive conception and that if and when rights of imperfect legal obligation, such as those of international law, are brought more nearly within the category of true legal rights, e.g. by a sovereign act of assent to their binding character (as by the Covenant of the Treaty of Versailles), so the

* A Presidential Address to the Social and Political Education League, March 9th, 1931.

Rule of Law may by such a deliberate act of state be extended beyond law proper, i.e. to relations outside of the domestic affairs of its citizens which are regulated by the municipal Courts of the State.

In its perfect operation the Rule of Law presupposes a society governed by a sovereign, whether monarchical or democratic is immaterial, possessing, like our Legislature, which consists of King, Lords, and Commons, absolute sovereignty. For simplicity I speak of the King and say the Rule of Law obtains when:

- (a) the King so governs his subjects, that they never fail in their obligations, owed either to each other or to the State, and
- (b) the King so governs himself that his subjects enjoy their rights without let or hindrance from the State;

and in the word "subjects" I include corporations, companies, and local authorities. There is thus both a private and a public aspect of the Rule of Law. In its private aspect the social system inspired by the Rule of Law calls for (a) the ascertainment of the rights of each subject; (b) the observance by all and sundry of those rights; and (c) the accessibility of an effective remedy to prevent transgression, or to obtain compensation. In its public aspect the political system inspired by the Rule of Law in its complete sense calls for the existence of a definite political society or State, with sovereign machinery for the administration of justice, and executive power to enforce judgments; otherwise "Law" cannot rule all the time and in every case. Two other duties rest on the State: it must keep the executive within the bounds of the law, and it must abstain from legislation contrary to the spirit of the Rule of Law.

There is a general impression amongst Englishmen that we live under the Rule of Law, and that no community is well-governed which does not; and the ordinary Englishman thinks of the Rule of Law solely in terms of remedy; he pictures himself vindicating his rights in the Law Courts, or being tried and punished if he were to commit a crime. As a historical fact the development of legal principle has in England followed and not preceded the invention of remedies. That grand old man of the English Common Law, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who is still, at the age of ninety, sitting as Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, delivering terse judgments illumined by his grasp of legal principle, was the first to realise that an understanding of English law was only possible through a historical investigation into the forms of remedy which our ancestors invented one by one to meet the practical needs of the day as they arose. And some legal writers go so far as to insist that law is not law

unless there is machinery of Justice to enforce it; and for that reason deny to International Law the full title to the name of Law. But in my view law means principles, and is independent of sanctions; and there is in the history of International Law an illustration which demonstrates this truth.

2. *International Law: and the constitutional practice of the Foreign Office.*

International jurists have for centuries been engaged in formulating a series of general rules founded on the more civilised usages of nations, and giving to them the name of international law. By this expression they have meant that their rules constitute a coherent body of legal principles, capable of regulating international relations in every-day practice, and that all nations ought to regard themselves as bound by them. By the end of the nineteenth century many of these rules had reached such a degree of customary acceptance as to justify the belief that the chief nations of the world regarded them as binding, and would, on any future occasion to which they applied, conform to them. It is true that the weakness of International Law has lain in the absence of any international court of justice. It was for this reason that throughout history nations have sought to strengthen the bond of international opinion by adding to it the bond of contract, by means of treaties and conventions; thus as it were lifting the moral bond out of the general into the particular. Nations, like individuals, are influenced by metaphor and analogy more than they know; the *consensus ad idem* of contracting minds seems in public as in private affairs to import the conscious and deliberate assumption of obligation.

Logically it was immaterial whether the duty of international law rested on opinion alone or was also contractual. The sanction of war lay in the background for a breach in either case, but not more for one than the other. And in truth that sanction has not been the main formative source of international law. The moral opinion of the leading nations has been and is the dominating factor—reinforced perhaps to an increasing extent by the sentiment of contractual obligation. It was this sentiment, or rather the idea of using it, which led the Great Powers at The Hague in the early years of this century to make a series of multilateral treaties, to which the name was given of “conventions,” expressing agreement not to particular terms but to general principles. That word, it is worth noting, is merely the French equivalent of our word “contracts”—neither more nor less. It was thought that if public opinion could be expressed in carefully-formulated propositions, and a voluntary contract made by the chief nations of the world

to conform to those propositions in practice, even in case of war, the forces of public opinion would be intensified, and suffice to provide the sanction which there was no international justice or police to enforce. Then came the Great War and its tragic demonstration both that particular treaties provided an insufficient bond to prevent aggression, and that mere conventions such as those of The Hague were insufficient to control methods of warfare. It was this disillusionment of the international world which led successively to the Covenant and the League of Nations, the Treaties of Locarno, and the Pact, all based upon the practical view that the best way to promote the Rule of Law in the international sphere, and to prevent recourse to the arbitrament of war for the solution of disputes, was to commit the leading nations of the world as definitely as possible to a network of contracts, setting up for the investigation of the predisposing causes of disputes, and for their adjudication, an elaborate machinery in the permanent administration of which all the nations would take part, a part made continuous by recurrent periodic meetings of their representatives.

Perhaps it is the purely human factors in the new international machinery of the League of Nations and all its ramifications, particularly into industrial life, which give the best assurance of continuous observance of the rules of international law contractually accepted by the nations. If I may venture an observation which may seem cynical but is really mere human nature, one of the best guarantees of peace the world has to-day lies in the fact that there are a very large number of able men, nationals of all the chief nations, employed on reasonable salaries by and in connection with the League of Nations in enforcing the Rule of International Law, who would lose their income and status if the vast machine ceased to operate. Vested interests are not always detrimental to the public good.

The Permanent Court of International Justice was set up, and to its jurisdiction was assigned “any question of international law” arising between States.* In this simple provision we have the implicit acknowledgment that there is such a thing as international law. The Court was created in order to elucidate and declare its principles. No attempt was made to provide for compulsory execution of the Court’s judgments; the League of Nations was content with the efficacy of mere declaratory judgments. The hopes of 1920 have been justified by the event. The Court has made a great contribution both to the elucidation of international law, and to the formation of that moral opinion of the nations which is its foundation. The analogy of international law seems to me to establish beyond controversy that the essence of the Rule of Law

* Art. 14 of the Covenant; and Art. 38 (b) of the Statute of the Court.

lies rather in the voluntary acceptance of legal principles as a guide to conduct than in sanctions for their enforcement. The Hague Court represents a conscious endeavour to make international law real law. Acts of nations, formally taken, make history in law as much as in anything else.

3. *Crown Proceedings.*

Our constitutional practice where subjects are in litigation with the Crown affords another illustration of the way in which the voluntary acceptance of legal principles may make the Rule of Law prevail without sanctions. It also supplies an instance of the converse truth, that where its principles are denied law cannot rule. By our own law, although the subject cannot bring an action in the Courts against the Crown, yet he may bring a "Petition of Right." The leave of the King, permitting his Judges to entertain it, is in theory a condition precedent; but, in fact, leave is granted whenever there is a real question for trial. But execution cannot issue against the Crown, and there is thus in theory no ultimate sanction. None the less, in practice, the Crown pays, which means that the legal principles upon which the judgment is based are accepted by the Crown. On the other hand, "the King can do no wrong"; and the legal principle of liability in tort (negligence, nuisance, trespass, etc.), which is at the basis of all civilised society, is simply not recognised. In this large field of human relations, the Rule of Law is in theory absent. But even here the practical common sense of Englishmen has invented a constitutional practice which in most cases is an effective substitute. At Common Law every person who takes part in a tort, whether he be master or whether he be servant, is equally liable. In the case of a Crown servant, the Master is not liable; but the servant is. Accordingly, for instance, in case of a collision at sea with a King's ship, the injured vessel sues the navigating officer who was in charge; judgment is given against the officer; but the Admiralty pays. The voluntary acceptance of legal principles is imposed on the Crown by the moral sense of the community, and Law Rules. But for some torts the Crown escapes altogether.

During the war D.O.R.A. invaded many private rights. The public accepted the necessity with English philosophy, but resented the Government contention that not only was it lawful for the Crown to take private property for war needs, but that it could do so without making compensation. It was the instinctive repugnance of the English mind to such a spirit of lawlessness which made the Government appoint a Royal Commission to award what would be fair for the Crown to pay for such invasions of private rights. Similarly after the war, the Royal Commission on Awards to

Inventors was appointed to assess compensation, purely as of grace, to inventors whose inventions had been used for the public service without payment. The interest of these various forms of Crown proceedings is that they show how popular insistence on the principles of law may establish the Rule of Law in constitutional practice even without sanctions.

4. *The Constitutional Practice of the India Office.*

In the last section I dealt with a compartment of constitutional practice in which the Government in theory rejects the Rule of Law, but in practice accepts and acts on it. I now come to a compartment in which the Government does precisely the opposite, that concerned with the relationship between the Crown and the so-called Feudatory States of India. Their area is nearly half India, excluding Burmah; their territory is not in law British, and their subjects are not British subjects. But they have ceded all their external and certain internal rights to the Crown as Paramount Power, in return for a guarantee of external and internal security. They have thus become part of the British Empire; and the permanent relationship so created is just as much a part of the British Constitution as the relationships between the United Kingdom and the Dominions, or between England and Scotland. The India Office conducts the resultant relations direct or through the Viceroy. By an historic act of state the British Crown brought this field of constitutional practice under the Rule of Law. In 1858 Queen Victoria issued this proclamation:

While We will admit no aggression upon Our Dominions or Our rights to be attempted with impunity, We shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as Our own. . . .

The British Government took this step just after the Mutiny of 1857 in order to allay the fears of the Princes, which had been aroused by the policy followed by the Government of India in the preceding years. Similar proclamations were issued on accession by King Edward and King George; and on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit to India in 1921, another moment of unrest in India, King George said:

In My former Proclamation I repeated the assurance given on many occasions by My Royal predecessors and Myself, of My determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes of India. The Princes may rest assured that this pledge remains inviolate and inviolable.

Just as in 1920 the League of Nations solemnly accepted the Rule of International Law, so the British Government by these acts of

state became bound by the Rule of Law in its relations with the Princes.

But this action imported a corollary, without which it would have been meaningless. In the event of a complaint by a State that the Government of India was trespassing on its rights, the Crown's proclamations must have meant that justice would be done. The anomaly, however, is that the practice of the India Office and of the Government of India—which are constitutionally one—does not correspond to the theory. The Government of India has hitherto denied that the rights of the Princes rest on legal principles, and has rejected their demand for an independent judicial tribunal, to which they may have recourse as of right for the trial of any dispute between them and the Government of India, under a judicial procedure consonant with natural justice. This is not because the Princes have not asked, for they frequently have asked; nor because there are no disputes, for the Princes complain of many and grave trespasses by Government on their rights; nor because the disputes are not suitable for such adjudication, for justiciable issues are continually being raised. The constitutional practice of the India Office, which includes (since it directs) Vice-regal practice, is thus in two fundamental respects open to the criticism that it repudiates the Rule of Law laid down for its guidance by the Royal Proclamations. It refuses to allow that legal principles have any relevance to the ascertainment of the rights of the States, claiming that those rights are dependent on the discretion of the Paramount Power—in other words the British Executive. In the second place, when a dispute occurs between a State and the Government of India involving a question of the State's rights, the issue is adjudicated on by the Government of India itself, which is thus judge in its own cause; and the only appeal is to the Government of India in London—which is equally judge in its own cause. And in neither case is there any semblance of judicial procedure. If the Rule of Law is to prevail throughout the British Constitution, change is needed here: and if the Rule of Law is to remain the ideal of British India, it should not be repudiated by the Paramount Power in Indian India.

5. *The Constitutional Practice of the Administrative Departments of State.*

To most people the only field of constitutional practice which concerns the Rule of Law is that of the administrative departments of State, such as the Ministry of Health. Those of us who were brought up on Dicey's *Law of the Constitution* got into the way of thinking that if Parliament delegated to the Executive any part, however small, of its own proper function of legislating, or if it

entrusted any judicial function whatsoever to any Government department, the Rule of Law was abandoned and the British Constitution put in jeopardy. And to-day many fear that the nation is in danger of sacrificing the very essence of its freedom by passing under the arbitrary Rule of the "*Droit Administratif*," as it is called in France. What then is the truth? Where do we stand? The Lord Chief Justice of England has published his book *The New Despotism*. And the Lord Chancellor has appointed a Committee to inquire into the whole subject of legislative and judicial powers conferred on Ministers. The Committee has not yet reported, and as a member of it I cannot anticipate its views. But the subject is common property, and I can discuss it to the extent necessary for my general picture.

During the war we tolerated the unlimited powers of drastic legislation conferred by Parliament on the Executive, but we all hated it, and swore in our hearts there should be no more D.O.R.A. after the war. But when the war was ended we found that the complications of our national life had greatly increased; and that it was not easy to shake ourselves free from the habit of having our daily lives regulated by the State. And the plain truth is to-day that we are governed by a vast bureaucracy, which concerns itself with most aspects of the social life of the people. Some may doubt whether the nation's progress has always been in the right direction, or whether personal initiative and self-reliance have not sometimes been discouraged; but broadly speaking the stream of tendency has been inevitable; and it has impinged upon the Rule of Law in two ways.

Delegated legislation is the first. Parliament, as the maker of laws, has not had time, or competency to make the detailed and technical legislation necessary for working out its social reforms. It has been forced to delegate this function to administrative departments; and has often delegated it in such wide terms of discretion, that the Minister has been able to legislate beyond the limits apparently intended by Parliament. Indeed sometimes—too often in my opinion—Parliament has given the Minister a free hand deliberately, e.g. by a clause like s. 47 of The Endowed Schools Act 1869:

The Order in Council approving a scheme shall be conclusive evidence that such scheme was within the scope of and made in conformity with this Act, and the validity of such scheme and order shall not be questioned in any legal proceedings whatsoever.

Similar clauses have been inserted in recent statutes, e.g. in the Third Schedule of the Housing Act 1925. By such language the Minister is put above the law, and can snap his fingers at the Law

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Similar clauses have been inserted in recent statutes, e.g. in the Third Schedule of the Housing Act 1925. By such language the Minister is put above the law, and can snap his fingers at the Law

Courts. Indeed, in a recent case on a statute where Parliament had merely provided that the Minister's order should "have effect as if enacted in this Act," the Government contended that the Judges were deprived of their jurisdiction to inquire whether the Minister had exceeded his powers or not, although the House of Lords rejected the contention. But whenever Parliament delegates the legislative function in words which, directly or indirectly, do exclude the control of the Courts, it takes from the Rule of Law a little bit of its dominion; with the result that the ordinary citizen resents the Minister's usurpation of powers which he feels Parliament did not really intend to confer. The impression which prevails that this sort of position is commoner than it is, is one of the reasons why there is so much public fear about the dangers of "The New Despotism."

The second way in which the Rule of Law is threatened by the recent practice of Parliament is by its legislation conferring judicial functions on administrative departments to the exclusion of the Courts. But a just appreciation of what is done is not so easy as in the case of delegated legislation. In analysis the legislative, executive and judicial functions are truly distinct. But in political practice they often merge into each other, or overlap; for the exercise of the one function is often an inevitable incident of the proper performance of another. That legislation may merge into administration is obvious; many Acts of Parliament are administrative; many regulations made by Ministers are legislative. But judicial or semi-judicial functions also are involved, at least in the working out of two common types of Act of Parliament. One type is of Acts which affect the property rights and interests of subjects (in the wide sense of all legal persons), e.g. by imposing restrictions for the sake of the community, such as the compulsory acquisition of their property. Another type is of Acts which confer benefits upon defined classes and not on others, or confer benefits subject to specified conditions. A Town Planning Scheme, an Improvement Scheme to abolish a slum, and an extension of a city's boundaries, are illustrations of the former type; National Health or Unemployment Insurance, Widows' and Orphans' Pensions, a district scheme for regulating the production of coal under the Coal Mines Act, 1930, are illustrations of the latter. Innumerable occasions arise in which decisions have to be taken as a preliminary to, or in consequence of, administrative action under the former, and in order to adjudicate upon claims under the latter. Indeed in the latter type such cases are arising all the time, and the claimants are poor, and want to know their rights without delay and without expense. Parliament *could* have referred all the claims to the Courts—as it did under the Workmen's Compensation

Act, 1897. That Act embodied a novel social and industrial policy; its principles had to be worked out, and countless claims decided. It was more in accordance with precedent then, than it would be to-day, to refer this task to the Courts. Parliament did so, and the Courts—the County Courts, the Court of Appeal, and the House of Lords—have worked the Act and discovered its principles for thirty-three years. But I wonder what the total money figure would be if we could to-day add up *all* the costs of that litigation, all the lawyers' bills, all the incidental expenses, and also all the time spent in it and lost to industry, translating the time lost into money! And do we lawyers feel quite sure that the game was worth the candle—that if the whole business had been left to the Board of Trade, as the rights of claimants under the National Health Insurance Acts were left to the Ministry of Health and its departmental system of domestic tribunals, either the workmen or the employers would have been much worse off to-day? But, be that as it may, this type of dispute in point of number of cases constitutes the chief field of administrative justice.

Does then the trend of our new legislation indicate that as a nation we are insensibly abandoning our high political ideal of the Rule of Law, by devotion to which our ancestors built up our unwritten English Constitution, and the palladium of our present liberties? I think the answer is plain. No such disaster need overtake us, nor do I think it will; but it might do so, if we are not careful; and we ought to be grateful as a nation to those who, like the Lord Chief Justice, have warned us. It would be wrong for me as a member of the Ministers' Powers Committee to attempt to indicate antecedent precautions which might with advantage be taken by Parliament, in considering what legislative or judicial powers should be entrusted to administrative departments, or what subsequent safeguards should accompany such powers. But I may without impropriety confess a faith which has always been in me. I believe in two fundamental principles—first, that the control of the Courts should be retained (subject in some types of case to a time limit) for every case where usurpation or excess is alleged against a Minister in the use of his powers either legislative or judicial; secondly, that where a subject contends that the judicial decision of a Minister or any non-legal tribunal given jurisdiction by Statute, is wrong in law, he should have some form of appeal to the Courts of Justice on the questions of law. This control by the Courts is vital for the Rule of Law; for though principles of law are independent of sanctions, in this wicked world they are apt to get lost unless a remedy for their breach is always available. And let me add two general rules of the Rule of Law: all must be equal before the law; and every judgment—by which word I

mean to exclude decisions of policy—must be based solely on legal principles and not on ministerial expediency.

6. *The lawyer's apologia.*

In so far as lawyers are the critics of Parliament for passing legislation, which, as it is said, deprives the Courts of their proper functions of keeping other jurisdictions within the bounds of the law, and of trying all justiciable disputes, we lawyers should remember, that we, and our methods of procedure, and our professional etiquette have not wholly escaped from public criticism; indeed that we are accused by some of making litigation costly, dilatory, and cumbrous. The moral is pointed against us with the bitter comment that it is no wonder the public are learning to prefer administrative justice to the justice of the Courts. This very relevant topic has been discussed by Mr. Claud Mullins in his recent book entitled *In Quest of Justice*, which I commend to my *confrères* who would explore the subject further: he might almost have called his book "Physician, Heal Thyself." The profession are bound to recognise that there is fairness in the demand that reforms from within should accompany lawyers' protests against the inroads from without upon their professional territory. I for one trust that the profession will really investigate its own problem.

7. *A Contrast: Soviet Russia.*

The Soviet régime of to-day is so much the very negation of the Rule of Law, that the contrast may help to an understanding of what the four principles of the Rule of Law enunciated above really mean, and I end with one or two quotations from Soviet Law. Section 1 of the Statute of Judicature of the U.S.S.R. (1926, No. 85, Art. 624) begins:

The Principles.

1. The objects of Courts of Law are: (a) the protection of conquests of the proletarian revolution, of the power of the workmen and peasants and of the legal régime established by that power; (b) the protection of the interests and rights of labour and labour organisations.

Now let me read you one or two short extracts on the "Principles of the Organisation of the Courts of the U.S.S.R.," from *A Short Treatise of Soviet Law*, written by E. V. Krilenko under the general editorship of the People's Commissary of Justice, and published by the Law Publishing Office of the People's Commissariat of Justice at Moscow. He says:

Law Courts are organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat (p. 7). . . . Law Courts are organs for disposing of the enemies of the revolution (p. 8).

The Cheka (the political police) and Law Courts are the same and their respective aims are identical, but in certain cases and at certain times you must put forward one and under other conditions—the other (p. 9). . . . If a Court of Justice deals with two identical cases, but has before it in one case a proletarian and in the other a nepman (bourgeois), then the Court will deal with defendants differently though the facts are identical (p. 10).

In our Law Courts there is no absolute measure and no justice same for all: there always was and there is the general line of conduct for the Law Courts—the defence of the interests of the revolution (p. 11). . . . The Law Courts have to be organised in such a manner that their judgments can be *directed* in accordance with the aims of the State policy, which is being enforced by the Government (p. 14).

8. *Conclusion.*

As a nation let us hold firmly to the reality of our Rule of Law and to its true spirit; without too much anxiety about forms, or too much fear that modern tendencies are inevitably hostile to it; but never forgetting that safeguards are necessary if we would preserve what is worth keeping.

LESLIE SCOTT.

THE LIBERAL CRISIS.

PRIVATE fights are the order of the day. Epidemic internal discord having raged in both the other camps it was scarcely to be expected that Liberalism would remain immune. Even in the last ditch there are rival dug-outs. So the Caxton Hall—now the recognised theatre of internecine conflict—was duly engaged and on March 27th the Liberal Candidates' Association, reinforced by such Dukes as cared to attend, assembled in strength. It was in a mood of perplexity and some apprehension that the candidates emerged from the District Railway at St. James's Park. The past week had been thick with rumours. Sedition, it appeared, had raised its ugly head in the Shadow Cabinet. Schisms had rent asunder the Parliamentary Party. Worst of all, it had been disclosed through the mouth of a trusted oracle that they might expect to find their leader arrayed in the trappings of Lord Privy Seal. This *canard* was generally disbelieved, but it is always a trifle disconcerting for the Thousand to be told that Garibaldi is donning the uniform of the Papal States.

Sir Herbert Samuel, speaking from the chair, made it clear at the outset that there was to be no surrender. "Private bargains or personal understandings between leaders, committing a party without its knowledge or assent, pacts, sacrificing of public interest in one direction for the sake of party advantage in another, are dishonouring and would be rightly condemned by public opinion." This was the assurance that was needed. The doubters were satisfied and the air was cleared. Such an effect was of no little importance, for Liberalism depends far more than either of its antagonists upon the individual efforts of its candidates. Except in the remote fastnesses of the Celtic fringe Liberal M.P.'s are not elected simply upon the party ticket. The fifty-eight who succeeded at the last election did so because they had built up in their respective constituencies a personal following additional and complementary to the party stalwarts. Even in constituencies where Liberalism is not victorious its strength depends very largely upon the personalities of the candidates. It follows that a meeting of these divisional champions resembles less a Council of Officers than a gathering of feudal chieftains, holding their lands in fee from the leaders, but by no means dependent upon their goodwill. To satisfy them is to some extent to satisfy the local levies whom they have at their backs.

Mr. Lloyd George's handling of his troops was, as always, masterly. He has lost none of his capacity for persuading a large body of people, holding various opinions, that they all really mean the same thing. Moreover, he has an invaluable gift for sensing the

needs of an occasion, even in advance. There were no fireworks in the Caxton Hall speech. He realised that his audience had come, not to be amused, but to have its doubts set at rest. The address contained nothing for the collector of Georgics, but it admirably served its purpose. Mr. Lloyd George did not jeopardise the possibilities of co-operation by the use of threats. The question as to whether his declaration of aims was to be regarded as a final warning to the Government he purposely left open as being for the Parliamentary Party to decide. His theme was that co-operation, properly understood, involved no loss of independence; in fact the term itself presupposed the complete independence of the participants. Had it not been achieved without any suggestion of merger by the Irish and the infant Labour Party in pre-war days?

It may be observed in passing that both the Irish and the early Socialists provide models which Liberals would do well to study. Neither could look forward to a Parliamentary majority in the near future, and the task of each was to obtain from the Government of the day as large a measure of satisfaction as that Government could be cajoled or threatened into conceding. Their rôle in fact was very similar to that of the Liberal Party in 1931. They both had, however, two advantages which Liberals of to-day do not enjoy. In the first place their objectives and the reasons for their being were perfectly well known, not only to their fellow-members, but to the general public. That is where Liberalism is weak at the present time. Its programme is too diffuse. Liberals need to clarify their message and to concentrate on the advocacy of two or three simple ideas. Secondly, both the Irish and the Socialists were able to justify their existence, not as potential ministries, but as minority parties. It was not a vital matter that they could not form a government, for they were at Westminster primarily as tribunes. That is the kind of appeal which Liberals have not even tried to make, but which they must attempt if they are to retain their position. During the lean years which have followed the war they have spent their time explaining why there should be Liberals on the Treasury Bench. It is time the electorate was told why there should be Liberals below the gangway. Liberalism has been represented recently as if it were a mere assortment of disconnected legislative proposals. It needs to be advocated less as a catalogue and more as a creed.

To return to the Caxton Hall. Those well-meaning but somewhat woolly-minded "progressives" who look forward to the formation of a *bloc des gauches* must have been woefully disappointed by the attitude of the Liberal candidates. Not a single voice was raised in advocacy of affiliation to Labour. The discussion raged not on principles—for principles were never in dispute—but

on strategy. That the complete independence of the party must be preserved was unchallenged and the heads of policy enumerated in Mr. Lloyd George's memorandum met with general acceptance. The debate turned upon the question of whether threats or persuasion would have more effect upon the supine occupants of the Ministerial Front Bench. Two courses were advocated. The first, supported by the rugged forcefulness of Ernest Brown and the glittering Disraelian oratory of Major Hore-Belisha, was that of judging each issue on its merits without regard to possible consequences. This was the view of most of the seventeen Liberal M.P.'s who, two days before, had voted in the party meeting against the official resolutions. They would probably agree with Lord Randolph Churchill that "when it is unfortunately necessary for a party in opposition to support the Government of the day, that support should be given with a kick, not with a caress." Presumably they mean that the Liberal Party should act in the House of Commons like a traffic policeman, waving some measures on and holding the others back. It is to wait until each Government Bill is drafted and brought up for Second Reading and then deliver its verdict.

The official plan of campaign, expounded by Mr. Lloyd George and clearly commanding the support of the majority of the candidates, does not involve giving a blank cheque to the Government. Briefly summarised, it is this, "Let us state what we want in advance and, by inference, what we do not want. Let us assure the Ministers of a majority for certain purposes and seize every available opportunity for insisting that those purposes are achieved. Meanwhile, let us save time and avoid friction by facilitating the passage of all routine and non-controversial business." The merits of this scheme are threefold. In the first it is the most likely way to produce results. In the second, if Liberal aims in the present Parliament are clearly defined, Liberals cannot fairly be accused of capriciousness if they vote against the Government on other issues. Thirdly, it deprives the Labour apologists of the timeworn excuse that they are in office but not in power. For such purposes as national development as a means of attacking unemployment, taxation of land values, the achievement of a settlement in India upon the lines indicated by the Round Table Conference, and the pursuit of multilateral disarmament—all of which are common to the Labour and Liberal programmes—they are assured of a majority. For failure in any of these directions the Government cannot in future escape its share of responsibility. At the same time it cannot be too strongly emphasised that this offer of support does not commit the Liberals to anything which they cannot honestly accept.

Since the similar candidates' meeting of last December, when

Mr. Lloyd George derided the "toddlers" and "footlers" of the Labour administration, Liberal opinion has hardened against the idea of risking a Conservative victory. For this there are two excellent reasons—Geneva and Delhi. The possibility of Sir Austen Chamberlain "loving France as one loves a woman," representing Great Britain at the Disarmament Conference, is depressing to say the least. The second consideration is more powerful still. Here Mr. Lloyd George expressed the universal foreboding:

I know what Mr. Baldwin says, but will Mr. Baldwin carry his party? I doubt it. At any rate, if he does there is such a powerful section of the Conservative Party opposed to the policy he is supporting that the worst of things would happen—you would have a Government in power with divided aims, with an obstructive policy, and they would not be able to pursue this or that line, and there is nothing worse for India than that.

To put the matter more bluntly, Liberals are not prepared to hand over the direction of Indian affairs to an administration in which Mr. Churchill has any voice or influence. They believe that Mr. Churchill, in rallying all the most stupid and dangerous elements in the Conservative Party, is endeavouring to make up the ground lost by the tardiness of his fiscal conversion. They observe that he has the support of the *Morning Post* and they suspect that the rank and file of Toryism are more in sympathy with his die-hard philippics than with the saner utterances of their official leader. In consequence, little as they love the MacDonald administration, they are less willing than ever to enthrone this party of catastrophe. It is ironical that Mr. Churchill, who has always inclined towards *liaison* with the Liberals, and who has lamented the increasing width of the separating gangway, should be the cause of alienating still further the bulk of Liberal opinion.

These, of course, are not the only reasons for desiring to avoid an early general election. It is obvious that the electoral omens at the moment are not propitious for Liberalism. But Liberals are not basing their strategy on the mere hope that something will turn up. They have, of course, a very natural preference for a ministry which does nothing rather than a ministry which would be actively pernicious. A general election this summer would not improve the Liberal position even if their present numbers in Parliament remained unaltered. A Baldwin Government would be even less amenable than the present incumbents. But apart from this distinction between lesser and greater evils there is the impression that the Protectionist campaign in the country is definitely losing impetus. Soon it may have shot its bolt. "Protection is a good starter but a bad stayer." Our Tariff Reformers have always the initial advantage that their case is easy both to state and to

understand, especially in times of acute trade depression. The A B C of Free Trade is less simple and takes far longer to put across. Free Traders have everything to gain by the battle being prolonged. The Protectionist offensive has done its worst: the Free Trade counter-attack is only just beginning.

Of what benefit, it may be asked, will this be to Liberalism? In name at least the bulk of the Labour Party are still Free Traders. The answer is that when the fiscal question is in issue Liberalism is on its own familiar ground. Socialists may be more at home in dealing with questions of wages and hours; on tariffs the advantage is with the Liberals. Many Labour men, it is true, still pay grudging lip-service to Free Trade, but it is a cause which they neither understand nor wish to advocate. When the elector desires a certain policy he votes for its most effective protagonist. He has no use for the half-hearted. At Shipley, an election fought entirely on the Safeguarding issue, a thousand votes were added to the Liberal poll as against a marked Socialist decline. At a general election the conditions of the Shipley contest are more likely to be repeated than those of Islington. Liberalism, far more than Labour, stands to benefit from the hardening of Free Trade opinion.

This feeling, widely expressed, that time is on their side strengthens the natural instinct of the bulk of Liberal M.P.'s and the vast majority of Liberal candidates to avoid an immediate dissolution. But actually the decision does not lie with Mr. Lloyd George and his followers. It lies with the Government in general and in particular with Mr. Tom Johnstone. Broadly speaking, the Liberal members were returned in 1929 by virtue of the slogans: "We Can Conquer Unemployment" and "Work for the Workless Now." They are there like Keir Hardie as members for the unemployed. To do them justice they have lost no opportunity of exhorting the Government. In private conference and on the floor of the House of Commons they have urged their plans upon successive "Ministers of Employment." All to very little effect. In his last speech, Mr. Vernon Hartshorn totalled up the achievements of the Government in this sphere. By including all current relief and development work, much of which can scarcely be said to be due to the initiative of the present administration, and by calculating that for every man placed in work another received indirect employment, he arrived at a grand total of two hundred thousand. Such a figure would be a fair achievement in normal times but in 1931 it is pitifully inadequate.

The Government has promised in effect to reform its ways. It has accepted the Liberal resolution embodying all those schemes of national development which are intended to employ 700,000 men.

This acquiescence may mean everything or nothing. It depends entirely upon the new Lord Privy Seal who, in the days when Sir Oswald was still the rebellious henchman of Mr. Thomas, was one of the signatories to the Mosley memorandum to the Cabinet. Both the duration of the present Parliament and the salvation of his party depend, in all probability, upon Mr. Johnstone. For the personal factor is of paramount importance. It is not the policy that is in question, but the energy and ruthlessness with which it is pursued. If the new recruit to the Cabinet adopts the same line as his colleagues and predecessors, if like Messrs. Thomas and Morrison he is content to echo the "*non possumus*" of the permanent officials, not all the goodwill generated by its Indian and foreign policy will enable the Government to survive. It is obvious that for the next three or four months Liberals must continue to suspend judgment. The Government has been reprimanded and bound over, and it has promised to be of good behaviour for the future. It cannot immediately be hauled back into the dock for sentence. This does not mean general immunity. On other questions it is possible that the Government will still be in danger. On unemployment, however, the Liberals have been promised satisfaction. Even if there were no other considerations militating against a dissolution, they could scarcely support a vote of censure on this issue until they had discovered how far these professed good intentions were being translated into action.

This means that if the Government can weather the storm that will inevitably be occasioned by the report of the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance it will probably survive the year. The Liberal rank and file can reasonably count on the summer and autumn months to prepare for what has been variously described as "the fight of their lives" and "the fight for their lives." Their complete annihilation is frequently prophesied. It is a forecast which has been reiterated *ad nauseam* throughout the last decade, and Liberals are entitled to retort with some pride that "a great many hammers have been broken on that anvil." Indeed, the toughness and resilience of Liberalism, constantly displayed during a series of disasters unparalleled in the history of parties, has been a remarkable feature of British politics in the post-war era.

The massed attack of 1929 was repulsed with heavy losses and, for very material reasons, can scarcely be repeated on the same scale. In many districts, however, a fierce guerilla warfare is still being carried on. Upon its success depends the future of Liberalism as a separate political entity. If at the next election the party can retain its quota of fifty seats it will have proved that it cannot be driven off the political map. It will have secured its own base and will be able to begin encroaching on the territory of its enemies.

Can these fifty victories be achieved? With the alternative vote far more would be assured. Even under the present system it is by no means unlikely. Most of the Liberal M.P.'s have entrenched themselves by years of patient spadework in their constituencies and have a strong personal hold on their supporters. Candidates continue to come forward and the work of propaganda is carried on with remarkable persistence. The very fact that the party has been thrown on its own resources financially has been productive of effort and achievement. Huddersfield, for example, the centre of the depressed woollen industry, has raised nearly £2,000 for the next contest. Chester, inspired by a brilliant and indefatigable candidate, has collected £1,100. In Epping over £1,000 was promised within an hour of Mr. Comyns Carr's adoption. These may be only isolated instances, but they are certainly not symptomatic of decay.

Per astra ad ardua. Liberalism, triumphant and dominating only a quarter of a century ago, is engaged in a grim struggle for existence. Yet even in its darkest hour it has not lost its attraction for "men of light and leading" nor its appeal for the younger and more adventurous elements in British politics. For leadership it can look to the most dynamic figure on the public stage; for inspiration to many of the best brains in the nation; for enthusiasm to the host of young recruits that continues to pour into its ranks; for support to the magnificent loyalty of a rank-and-file which, in spite of all discouragements, has never been ashamed of "a leader, a party and a cause."

DINGLE FOOT.

THE LAST OF THE RUSSIANS.

THE influence of the Russian emigrants on the destinies of Western peoples is further-reaching than is commonly imagined. Dumped down by circumstance, so to say, in various quarters of the globe they follow with keen interest every move of those who ousted them from their homes and, little though they realise it, they have unwittingly become a living link between the Soviets and capitalist peoples. The story of their vicissitudes which has not yet been adequately treated is a sequence of grim tragedies. Many of the fugitives fled from Russia in wild terror, but they all cherished the certitude that their exile would be a mere matter of weeks, at most of months, after which they would return with flying colours to their fatherland, their possessions and their cherished privileges.

One evening in the Hotel Vendôme in Paris, where I was then staying, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Sazonoff, in the course of an interesting talk we were having on the outlook, went so far in his optimism as to fix the approximate date of their repatriation, and strove hard to get me to adopt his view and to proclaim it to the world. But despite the intense tenacity of purpose of the emigrants they seem doomed shortly to go under as an ethnic group—and we shall then have seen the last of that deep-feeling, eccentric, semi-mystical Russia which was so sincerely admired by the cultured everywhere.

Few people realise that down to the fall of the Tsardom Russia was inhabited by two distinct castes which were sundered by their respective ways of living, their outlook on the world, their aims and strivings, as well as by the different potencies of Nature inherited from long-forgotten ancestors. One of these categories whom I feel tempted to name surfacemen basked in the sunshine and enjoyed a fairly pleasant existence supported by the labour of the rough, much-enduring toilers or men of the depths. The superficial race were the builders of palaces, the founders of cities, the conquerors of realms, the writers of books, the apostles of strange religious sects and secret political societies, and the bearers of that curious culture which so fascinated the other nations of the world. The men and women of the lower layers were deemed to belong to an inferior class of humans whose bodies and souls were given them for the behoof of their luckier brethren, and for ages they accepted their lot resignedly as part of the immutable scheme of things, slumbering on until the war and Lenin roused them to consciousness and action. That action is so potent, widespread and destructive—it is also constructive in its own way—that no community can wholly escape it and all will have to adjust themselves at the cost

of enormous sacrifices to a set of startling innovations that still strike one as sheer chimerical.

The exiles having meanwhile to live somehow disposed of their jewels, furs and other valuables, and when all their movable property was gone bore the pangs of hunger and exposure heroically. In time the weak among them went under while the more robust or fortunate moved westward seeking shelter, work and food. In European countries, especially in the Slav States, they met with a humane reception but had everywhere to cope with such redoubtable difficulties that they failed to find their social level anywhere. The members of the Russian "intelligentsia" were singularly badly off because with the best will imaginable they were so seldom fitted for the kind of work that offered. Some of the men gave lessons, others wrote Memoirs, many of the ladies applied themselves to face massage, dressmaking, typewriting. A small number had recourse to travellers' tales, dubbed themselves princes, counts, excellencies, capturing the sympathies or the compassion of the newly-made rich, and thus by dint of various ingenious shifts and pathetic expedients strove to keep the wolf from the door.

Since the recent wave of economic depression most callings are forbidden to Russians everywhere and now the males are restricted to taxi-driving, work in factories and agricultural labour, while the female half are excluded from every way of earning a livelihood except as keepers of boarding houses, dressmakers or charwomen. In every occupation to which they set their hands those wanderers over the earth showed themselves on the whole painstaking, trustworthy and resourceful. They won golden opinions from their employers. The heads of some French firms were so pleased with their achievements that they would have employed a larger number had the law not fixed a limited percentage of foreigners which must on no account be exceeded. An amusing anecdote invented to illustrate the popularity of Russian workers used to be told in the French capital. A representative of the Soviets, it was alleged, visited one afternoon a well-known Paris establishment for the purpose of placing a large order, whereupon the naïve head of the department, bent on giving him a pleasant surprise, conducted him to one of the sections and, pointing out a number of busy mechanics, exclaimed: "Here you behold our very best hands. All of them your own compatriots. Ah, Monsieur! Moscow and Leningrad have reason to be proud of them!" "Compatriots, indeed!" the visitor mumbled as he brusquely took his departure. . . .

Adaptation to circumstance is one of the characteristics of this unorganised army of willing workers, four hundred thousand of whom are struggling for life in France. They entered fully into the

spirit of the new conditions, however remote from their own, and gave of their best to their employers. And when the day's work was done they were glad to relax and went to resume their former places in an imaginary Tsarist hierarchy; to rebecome professors, officers, engineers, artists, men of letters and, doffing their work-a-day garb, they would reassume the rank and titles they possessed before the sluice gates of misfortune overwhelmed them—and in their rôles as aristocratic ladies and gentlemen would discuss literature, art and political and sociological problems just as in the old times at home. But this inspiring custom has been falling into desuetude ever since hard times have made their chilling influence felt.

Fate pressed heaviest on the unskilled peasants. As they formed 85 per cent. of the population in Tsarist Russia they were proportionately numerous in exile. Mere jetsam in a strange land among a strange people whose speech was unintelligible, whose customs appeared extravagant and whose disposition towards themselves did not strike them as friendly, they were at a loss whither to turn for work, food, shelter or guidance. The occupations for which they were best fitted were already taken by Frenchmen on whose preserves they must be most careful not to poach. In order to deal with these unpropitious conditions and in particular to light upon available land, organised groups of Russian emigrants were formed in various countries. One of these, with its centre in Paris, was termed the Union of the Cities and Provinces of Russia—"Zem-bor" for short. There was also an Agricultural Union, the seat of which was Prague; a Cossack organisation with offices in Prague, Paris, New York and in various cities of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. "Zem-bor" obtained contributions from various Slav Governments and peoples, besides subsidies from the French Ministry of Agriculture and from the Supreme Commissariat of the League of Nations. In France the search for land was keen but at first almost hopeless. There was seemingly none to be had. All the soil that could be made to grow anything had long since become somebody's "inalienable property" and the remainder was of no account. In Normandy experiments were made on derelict farms but the results fell short of expectations. When hope was fast fading an open-eyed committeeman named Yurenief hit upon the south-west of France in the neighbourhood of Toulouse as a suitable place for the enterprising peasants, seeing that there were large tracts there "nor kept by Nature herself nor made by man his own." And these it was decided to reclaim.

The writer of this article to whom that part of France is familiar had often noticed those dreary wastes which were an eyesore in the scenery. For years French agricultural labourers had been turning their backs on this ungrateful soil and seeking to better their

lot in the towns so that the landowners had to hire foreign labour wherever they could get it on terms that were not wholly ruinous—that is to say, from Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Bulgaria. After a time I noticed that the district around Toulouse was brightening up. Canals were cut, shrubs were planted, the soil was drained, the desolate wastes were metamorphosed into gardens of Eden bordered with thousands of peach trees, many vines, apricots, etc., besides vast fields of maize, wheat, oats and buckwheat which last-named had never been grown there before. The whole looked to me like a bit of Russia transplanted hither by the waving of a magician's wand, and to complete the illusion large numbers of ducks, geese, turkeys, hens and pigs filled the courtyards and invaded some of the interiors of the primitive, loosely-built dwellings. One lovely afternoon we descried a human figure bending over the corn and working away as if his life depended on the outcome. Now and again the plaintive strains of a melancholy Russian song reached my ears from afar and in a few minutes I found myself face to face with an oddly-dressed workman who, in response to my queries, gave me hurriedly a few scraps of information about the place and told me where I might get more.

What I learned from official statistics and other sources* is briefly this: In that part of France the landlords apply the system of half profits, but insist on handling ready money. Happily the Slav immigrants were not all indigent. A considerable percentage of them were able and willing to pay rent for their plots out of their own little hoards. After a time it became an axiom among them that anyone who had from twenty-five to thirty thousand francs to invest in this way and who really understood the nature of husbandry could, after a sharp ordeal of uncertain duration, secure a tolerable livelihood for himself and even at a pinch for two members of his family. Every such homestead needed a woman to look after the material wants of her mate. The pair had to rough it for at least a twelvemonth, sometimes longer, before they could live decently. Candidates for farms who were penniless applied for aid to the Land Committee [*"Zembo"*] which looked very closely into their qualifications and antecedents before advancing money but contrived none the less to help materially the deserving. Those who received loans for the rent of their holdings undertook to pay back 25 per cent. of the sum advanced within four years. The budget of the Committee has kept, with slight fluctuations, within the narrow limits of five and a half million francs a year. In 1928 the spirits of the Committee members were damped by the news that the Czechoslovak Government would be unable to

* Especially from the trustworthy reports and special articles published in the *Latest News* (Russian) which appears daily in Paris.

continue its subsidy, but as supplies from the United States grew proportionately just then filling the gap, the spirits of the Russians rose again. From the League of Nations the annual subsidy amounts to one million francs.

The start thus made by the Committee was welcomed enthusiastically by all classes of Russian emigrants. It roused them all from their comatose lethargy, filled them with hope and initiated a general movement towards self-help, individual independence and a higher sense of personal dignity. The Committee received numerous applications for little farms, for loans, or for information. These it carefully sifted and dealt with according to their merits. Within a couple of years the number of Russian farmers renting their land increased 100 per cent. There was joy and jubilee everywhere. One man who rented his land said to the Committee: "If I can make six thousand francs a year I shall be happy and everything else will be plain sailing." But the stakes they played for were heavy, the alternative to a modest livelihood being the loss of their entire capital and of hope over and above. Meanwhile they were buoyed up by their appreciation of the independence they enjoyed which kept the balance on the right side. Each farmer looks forward to becoming in time an independent and thriving landowner, and with a fair chance many of them might realise their dream. Their French neighbours speak with admiration of the way in which they coped with the hard conditions that faced them, and this judgment is borne out by the economic results of their achievements. Very few failed to come up to expectation—only about 3 per cent. gave up the struggle and drifted back to the town, the factory and the abyss. For those who stood their ground the prospects were favourable until the wave of economic depression struck privileged France and darkened the outlook. The Russian strangers were the first to suffer, and many of their combinations were thwarted. The beneficent projects of the Committee were arrested, the work of reclaiming new land was slackened and many eager toilers of the soil were forced back to the factory.

Having now to accept whatever came their way the Russian strangers did so too confidingly and fell into tangles and death-traps. One of their own fellow-countrymen named Korolevitch—an artful dodger in the mask of a brother and friend—obtained an important concession in their favour from the Peruvian Government: a hundred and fifty thousand hectares of virgin soil were assigned them as well as a reasonable allowance of money. The Cossacks fell in with the tempting offer and 1,200 of them arrived at Tambo* in August 1929, and set to work with a will, felling

* Department of Arequipa in Peru.

trees and clearing the ground generally for their operations. But the financial help promised by the Government failed to reach them, and for lack of necessities the men and especially their wives and children were literally famishing. For weeks on end they held out, existing on a species of turnip and water. They soon fell victims to dysentery and malaria and were treated like refractory slaves. Through their official representative they ventured to make their grievance known to the Government, but this only made matters much worse, for one Cabinet Minister and two high officials in collusion with Korolevitch the concessionaire, openly accused them of starting a revolutionary movement and had them taken to a penal colony. The imprisoned Cossacks were kept in a tumbledown shack that was roofless and open to the cold, rain and wind. Their wives and children were at their last gasp, some actually dying, while the speculators who had pocketed thousands of dollars that belonged to the Cossacks were spending them gaily. The entire colony might have perished miserably—who cared what befell them?—had it not chanced that a revolution broke out in Peru, deposed the President, led to the arrest of the Russian vampire and to the summary dismissal of his ministerial accomplices. The Cossacks were then sent back to Europe at the expense of Korolevitch.

Another needless tragedy* was recently enacted in the little French village of Pontcharra hard by Grenoble, the victims of which are not yet definitely saved from the consequences of the treatment they met with. There in the sublime surroundings of the Alps a factory of artificial silk was founded some time ago by a group of enterprising capitalists bent on killing the competition of Lyons and Grenoble and compelling success. They wisely began by making admirable arrangements for the well-being of the workmen. Every bachelor had a well-appointed, well-lighted room, and each married couple received a cosy little house provided with running water, electricity, and in some cases even a bath. The wages, too, were considerably higher than those ruling in Lyons and Grenoble, and to crown all the climate was ideal. But neither was there any lack of drawbacks in this paradise. The manufacturing process was injurious to the lungs and the eyes. In the workshops the temperature was unwholesomely high, and the air was heavily laden with poisonous vapours. A working man taken on in the best of health would within two hours be unable to use his eyes owing to a constant flow of tears tinged with blood—a prelude to temporary blindness so sudden that he would have to be led home by a comrade or a friend. Within a fortnight or three weeks his clothing and boots would be burnt to shreds—a

* Cf. *The Latest News* (Russian).

circumstance that explains the high wages. In the spring of 1930 180 Russians were taken on who made the best of the trying conditions. Abundant well-cooked food was set before them in the common restaurant at moderate prices—full *pension* costing only twelve francs a day. The Russians inured themselves to the life there, built a little church and began to plan a Russian library; they even talked of building a school, when disaster unexpectedly overtook them. Three days before Christmas 1930 the factory was closed. "Work is suspended for three days, only for the Christmas holidays," some hinted. Others feared that the outlook might be worse than it seemed and that dark days were coming. As wages were stopped the men took alarm and talked of leaving, but on the eve of the New Year the Director sent for the Russian priest and induced him to tranquillise the men, dispel their misgivings as groundless and assure them that the machines would be revolving as usual in a very few days. The priest delivered the message, which was welcomed and believed. Then the three days lapsed, and more, and the siren sounded thrice daily by way of keeping up the flagging spirits of the hapless Russians. They again listened, believed, went on spending their savings on food, and when on the last day of January they learned that the doors of the silk works would not be opened any more their plight was truly desperate. To crown their misery their allowance of fuel was stopped just when the winter was at its worst, and at the same time the electricity was cut, so that cold and darkness were superadded to hunger and disease. The men who could sallied forth in search of occupation, promising to remit their savings to their wives and children. As it chanced the only job available just then was in a quarry situate high up in the region of perpetual snow. Even this they accepted with alacrity, huddling in primitive barracks without heating of any kind and at night looking up at the stars visible between the loosely laid boards above their heads. The wages were thirty-two francs a day, from which fourteen were deducted for the canteen. And when snowstorms raged for days on end and work had to cease the wages ceased with it, but the fourteen francs were duly deducted for the food, so that at the end of the week there was nothing to remit to the starving women and little ones. One of the men who emerged from this ordeal told his story simply* as follows: "Take my case. Kind-hearted people took charge of my wife in Grenoble. Father Nicholas Yezerski gave an asylum to my child. I myself got a job at the quarry. I was lucky, I thought, for now there will at any rate be no more hunger and soon I shall be on my feet again. I was

* To the special correspondent of the Russian press organ, *Poslednya Novostj* ("Latest News"), March 12th, 1931.

offered Frs. 2.70 for every ton I loaded on the wagon. In reality they paid me only two francs. I carried on for ten days, when I was told that 180 francs were owing to me at the rate of eighteen francs daily. But from that sum 132 francs had to be deducted for the canteen, and thirty for the journey there and back, so that clear wages coming to me for ten days' hard labour amounted to 18 francs. Then I ran away."

The sections of the Committee were as various as the needs of the struggling rank and file. One provided the wherewithal for the upkeep of soup kitchens and similar institutions, others for night refuges, baths, workshops, tools, a labour exchange, gratuitous legal consultations and various kinds of training establishments. Of the three million dollars spent during the first eight years over half went in education. The Committee, which is composed of patriotic Russians, has ramifications in eleven countries*; it has accomplished much and might have achieved more had it not been hampered by the shrinkage of funds already alluded to. At first it endowed eighty schools—afterwards reduced to thirty-five—besides 15 kindergartens, 8 elementary schools, 17 intermediate institutions, 4 orphanages and 10 educational establishments for boarders—in addition to which it founded 10 libraries in the countries just mentioned. It also created a National University and a Commercial Institute in Paris. Many Russian students in the French capital received scholarships during their university course, others were supplied with books, and most of these favoured youths afterwards entered technical High Schools, obtained their degrees and further qualified for lucrative posts by becoming French citizens. Down to 1930 approximately 4,700 Russian children were thus educated, of whom 2,200 went through the intermediate establishments. Half of them graduated at the University. And all this has been achieved on a budget which has been almost stationary at 5½ million francs.

These were encouraging results. The aim and enterprise of the leading exiles will appeal to all who understand the issues. Far from their own land and with no immediate prospect of returning to it many of them are resolved that at least their offspring shall be brought up in the national traditions, grounded in Russian history, and thoroughly acquainted with the Russian language and literature so as to be qualified when they are back in the home of their fathers to give their kindred there the benefit of the superior knowledge, political tact and economic experience which they are at present acquiring abroad. For now it is their children—no longer themselves—who will, they expect, play a leading part in

* Bulgaria, Greece, Germany, Latvia, Roumania, Poland, Finland, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia and Esthonia.

the re-casting of the Russian State which will gladly avail itself of the services of its long-lost sons. It is of this airy stuff that the day-dreams of these ill-starred exiles are woven. . . . One of the principal objects of the Committees, therefore, is to maintain and strengthen those reciprocal sympathies, ethical and racial, which alone can give a semblance of unity to the scattered wanderers and compact them into a conscious if evanescent community. But it is an amazing fact that one of the chief obstacles to this cultural aim is the sullen opposition of the children themselves. They spurn all ties with Russia, hang their heads at school and in the streets when they hear that once beloved name pronounced, and their highest ambition is to pass for French or anything but what they really are. At a lecture given some time ago on this subject by Professor Hofmann it was regretfully stated that the children of the emigrants are ceasing to be Russian. Denationalisation is taking place rapidly, at times with lightning speed. According to the calculation of I. I. Knorring, who has made a thorough study of all available statistics, hardly one-fourth of the generation now growing up in the Dispersion has preserved the inherited bonds with Russian culture, and Russian aspirations. The remaining three-fourths are being submerged in the foreign medium in which they are situate.

Incredible though it may seem, a large and increasing number of Russian children absolutely refuse to speak their native tongue to anyone but their parents in the privacy of their homes, and even there it costs them a painful effort. In public places their conversation is in French or the language of the country in which they happen to reside. On one occasion—this happened in Amsterdam—a Russian lady sitting with her thirteen-year-old son in a tram—car addressed him in their native tongue. He blushed crimson, started up, left his indiscreet parent's side, and rushed to the platform without uttering a word. All the way home he kept silence. On entering the parental abode, however, he glared at his anxious mother and said: "Mamma, how often have I besought you never to speak to me in Russian outside this house! I am ashamed to acknowledge myself a Russian! I wish to Heaven I were a foreigner. At school all my comrades tease me, saying that Russians are barbarians!" . . . The afflicted mother herself, in search of sympathy, told this doleful tale to her friends.* In Holland, however, there are only a small number of Russians, and most of them are university professors, teachers of music in the conservatory, literary readers and Government employees. In a word they are all "respectable," and they are nowise eager to proclaim their Russian parentage. Far from that, they are proud to be

* See the *Latest News* (Russian), Paris.

taken for genuine Dutch. In most of the countries where there are few or no Russian schools their native language is fast dying out.

The Committee members strive hard to stay this disintegrating process and to environ the sordid interests and petty duties of their scattered fellow-countrymen with a certain touch of mystic grandeur, to tempt their ambition with noble ideals and to keep alive the patriotic spirit. But to success in creating strong spiritual ties wherewith to bind the million emigrants together circumstance has set narrow limits which no degree of energy can transcend. In short, it is a struggle against Fate. Those who shrink from looking the facts in the face may continue for a while to make a gallant stand, but they are only putting off the day of doom. It is but fair to say that the emigrants, despite the checks and trammels they must cope with, have achieved noteworthy feats in literature, painting, the graphic arts, music and science, but then the source of their inspiration is still the country of their birth. Moreover, it is manifest that with all their brilliant qualities they lack the strength of wing to sustain a long-distance flight. Periodicals like *Fire-Bird** and *The Chimes of the Bells*† appeared like fiery meteors, challenged the admiration of art-lovers throughout the world and then fizzled out.

The hard fact is that the Soviet Union, however grievous its sins, however speculative its aims, is still the motherland and can alone provide the spiritual sustenance—meagre or abundant—which is indispensable to national life. It is still too early to expect this bitter conclusion to sink into the minds of the bulk of Russian exiles. But even now some of the far-seeing among them are aware of what awaits their efforts. One prominent Russian journalist‡ publicly gave it as his conviction and that of his friends that the emigrants are become sapless branches severed from the trunk and doomed to serve as fuel. One may add that partial recognition of the intellectual and social potentialities of Sovietdom is being tardily and grudgingly yielded by the Old World peoples among whom these outcasts are struggling for bare life. This function of intermediary will also soon cease, for the pre-revolutionary generation is now passing away and together with it the last survivors of what was once universally known and admired as the great Russian people.

E. J. DILLON.

* Published in Paris.

† Published in Riga.

‡ M. L. Slonin, in Prague.

THE REVOLT OF THE RULING CLASSES.

RULING classes are out of favour and out of fashion to-day. We have watched with awe the failure and fall of no less than four in recent years—the Russian, Austrian, Ottoman and Mandarin. Their dramatic disaster has increased the impression that a ruling class is incompatible with progress and irreconcilable with the parliamentary party government which we call democracy.

But this is not so. All States, whether their political structure is that of a despotism or a democracy, have been, are being, and will be governed by a ruling class. That ruling class may be on the throne as in the Union of Soviets, or behind it as in the United Kingdom. It may be organised as a priesthood, a privileged caste, a propertied class, a proletarian caucus. Its control may be political through the machinery of State, economic through money power, social through man-power, or religious through moral appeal, any one or all together. And countries are well-governed not according to their adherence to certain accepted institutions or ideas, but according to the representative character, conscious responsibility and regulating capacity of their ruling class. They are badly governed not because they are revolutionary, reactionary or rotative round the mulberry bush of office, but because the ruling class is incompetent, corrupt and feeble. In short, the true picture of a State is not that of a see-saw between ins and outs, haves and have-nots, money power and man power, reaction and revolution, in which the party in power bears down hard on its end of the plank so as to "bump off" the others. It is rather that of a wheel with a hub of ruling class within an inner circle of co-operating citizens, an outer circle of consenting citizens, and a brake-drum of conflicting citizens. Democracy does not mean parliaments and parties, premiers and presidents. It means a representative, responsible, reconstructive, ruling class.

If you doubt the truth of this take any country you please and look below the surface. Take the United States. Of course, if you talk to an American of his ruling class he will think you are seeing God's own country through a British monocle, or that you are referring to the group of millionaires who are sometimes said to rule America. But the American ruling class is different from this plutocracy, dominant as it may be on occasions. It is hereditary and racial, the class of the early Nordic colonists—English, Scottish, North Irish with Scandinavian and German admixtures. It is also honorific and religious, the creed of Protestantism and property. Only these born rulers reach the pinnacles of power, whether personal or political. Jews, in spite of their wealth, are relegated to a political and social ghetto from which only a Brandeis

or a Strauss emerge as exceptions to prove the rule of class. An Italian candidate for Congress at the last election, though he had every claim on his countrymen, failed to poll even their vote. A policeman may be an Irish Catholic but a president must be an English Protestant. And the rights of this ruling class, though contrary to the equalitarian ideas and utilitarian institutions of the nation, are respected even by those they exclude.

In this country of ours the ruling class is no less vital an organ of government, but it is in a later stage of growth. It has lost much of its early racial and religious characteristics. Jews and Roman Catholics, Irish and Welsh are welcomed as its leaders. But as these are generally non-conformable to the codes and creeds of the English ruling class the latter has lost some of the Puritanism of its training and of the purity of its traditions. It has been saved mainly by a recruiting system that keeps it revitalised and representative. For the first function of our educational system is not so much to raise the general level of culture by laying down a high road along which youthful citizens are marched in regiments from school to university—as in America—but rather to raise from the ranks recruits for the ruling class by putting up a ladder of which the highest rungs can only be reached by the fittest. Thus Conservatives who cut down the education estimates and put up the army vote are ill-advised. The one reinforces the ruling class, the other is the only organ capable of resisting it.

The British educational scheme for recruiting the ruling class is curiously comparable to that of the "Tribute Children" which for centuries maintained the Ottoman Empire and made it a model of good government. And the British Government will also decline into incompetence and corruption if at any time the ruling class—like the Janissaries—is no longer recruited from fresh stock and no longer represents the training and traditions of its racial and religious origins. In the one case it loses vitality, in the other virtue. For example, when I was a young diplomatist it was generally held that our diplomacy was ineffective because it was "undemocratic." Let it be recruited from the ranks and it would become more efficient individually and less institutionally effete. Subsequent removal of class restrictions proved the first to be true, the second untrue. "Careerists" were more competent, but also more concerned for the gold lace and red tape. Initiative and independence were only risked by the representatives of the old ruling class who had more to stand on and less at stake. British professional diplomats are consequently to-day more efficient than they were, and British professional diplomacy never was less effective.

Something of the same sort has happened to the British ruling

class as a whole. We should deny that there was any ruling class other than our own class whatever it is—just as we like the Royal House for having a private life much the same as that of our own household. Yet we stand in the streets to see the class above our own being married or buried and we stand up from our seats at the National Anthem, neither of which we used to do. When I was in the army I found that my fellow-rankers preferred to be commanded by a young cadet from a class above them rather than by one of themselves promoted for merit—and that, too, though their lives depended on his competence. In the Labour Party I find that the agricultural labourers prefer a Parliamentary candidate from the social class of their opponents. The allegiance to the ruling class was indeed never more absolute than to-day. But the class has changed. It is in part democratised and departmentalised. The ruling class, that was primarily patrician and secondarily professional officials and officers, is now primarily professional and secondarily patrician. This has meant a gain in professional efficiency and a loss in political effectiveness. The "Gentry" were popular and powerful in the best sense of the words. Officials and officers are neither. It is instinctively felt that they are not really "Class" and that they do not really "Rule."

There is, however, still a real ruling class, and our political system still allows it to perform its most important function. We have never had a real revolution for two reasons—because we invented an inoculation by which we gave ourselves a mild attack of it every few years in a general election, and because we had a prophylactic in the process by which our ruling class took and kept command of the movement. They carried on the King's Government, even if they had to cut off the King's head, or call in another King, or usurp the King's prerogative, to do it. Such regicides of the *ancien régime*—such renegades of the ruling class—were always ready to risk their own ruin to save the State.

Now the advent of the Labour Party might have been a revolution but for the ruling class. Like all revolutions it shifted the basis of power to a different social stratum; and the normal consequence of this is a new political structure. In our case it was not so, because the ruling class as a whole took the Labour leaders into its system, and because some of the ruling class took service under Labour leadership. The result was that we had no revolution but also no reconstruction, and further no reconstitution of the ruling class. For what is most striking about the revolutionised peoples is not the change in their national Constitution but the apparent change in their national character. The happy-go-lucky, humorous Irish, the lazy, lawless Italians, the mediævally dirty,

mentally decadent or morally dissipated Russians seem to have been born again as hard-headed, hard-working engineers of economic experiments, which is due to these previously existing elements having transformed the ruling class.

The absorption of social-democratic revolution by the ruling class in Great Britain and Germany was an immediate gain to the new parties and brought them quickly into office though not into power. Scheidemann and Noske repressed the German revolution. Haldane and MacDonald reconciled the British revolution with the *ancien régime*. We secured peace from revolution but at the cost of power for reconstruction. And that has led to a position unprecedented in the previous occasions on which the ruling class has taken command of revolution. The previous partnership in which the ruling class tempered by its experience the energies of social revolutionaries—in which the aristocrat steered and the democrat stoked—broke down. The Labour leaders, for good reasons, preferred to employ as experts the regulars of the civil and military services rather than those “renegades” of the ruling class who had served them in opposition. The ruling class intellectuals in the I.L.P., who had become a general staff of the Labour forces, broke away, and began more active offensive operations on their own as guerrilla chiefs. Finally those ruling class statesmen like Buxton, Mosley, Trevelyan, who had as Cabinet Ministers become corps commanders, found their operations on the agricultural, industrial and educational fronts failing for want of support, and resigned. There was a breach between the ruling class whose consciousness of responsibility and realisation of the crisis called for “Socialism in our time” and Labour leaders whose new recognition of the difficulties and dangers of the situation led them along lines of least resistance to “Socialism all in good time.” The historic rôles were reversed and the ruling class were boosting—the revolutionaries braking. In the new dual ruling class the hereditary rulers stressed the responsibility for “Rule”—their honorary classmates stressed the responsibility to “The Class.”

The position is unprecedented in our modern politics. For now the progressives of the ruling class have no further party source from which to raise the power for progress. Labour loyal to its Parliamentary officers and union officials covers the field to the lowest social strata. Communism with its fighting faith is not yet—and never may be with us—practical politics. Yet the whole ruling class, whether Conservative or Collectivist in politics, whether regulars or renegades in position, realises more or less that the economic crisis of the country imperatively calls for constructive collective action if we are to escape financial disaster, social disorder, national decay and imperial dissolution. Where-

fore, in default of any party tide or political stream that can be converted into driving power, the more youthful members of the ruling class are turning to a revolutionary source of power that has already been exploited abroad—the Youth Movement. The elder “renegades,” like myself, remain as Labour rank and file; but the younger, like Mosley, Strachey and Baldwin, have broken away to command a new party of “Youth.”

Parliamentary politicians of all parties have underestimated or overlooked the meaning of this move. Because revolts against an “old gang” by young gangsters are nothing new. Because a new party without a new programme or new procedure promises little. Because its only appeal is its newness and youth, and it will be normal and old before it can get power constitutionally. Because its position is unsound in attacking parliamentary party government by parliamentary party methods, and in damaging the party whose programme it preaches for defects in leadership due to its mistake in taking office without power—a mistake for which these young men were as responsible as anyone. And if the new party does nothing more than run candidates against its own policy it will not go far. On the other hand it may realise that it represents the first active revolt of the British ruling class since Runcymede; and it may have recourse to the radical strategy of German national-socialism, and Italian fascism.

For the rebellion of youth is the most promising source of power in post-war politics. It is due partly to the deprivations imposed on youth by post-war disorders, and partly to the breach between youth and age effected by the destruction in war of a whole generation. In our case the Rebellion of Youth combined with the Revolt of the Ruling Class may have either a positive result, as in Italy, in which, under the legendary leadership of a Moslini, a Co-operative State will be constructed by a Young Guard of the ruling class and a militia of Youth. Or it may have a negative result as in Germany, where a semi-constitutional, sentimental, new party will break up or break down bit by bit the old mediæval machinery of the parliamentary party “walking beam” engine, and clear the decks for a new power plant.

Two things are certain. That in a straight encounter between youth and age in the ruling class, youth will be served—and that the new ruling class will carry on the King's Government even at the cost of cutting off the head of a Crown in Parliament which can't rule, but is merely a “tyranny of the odd man.” Meanwhile, we can face without fear such a change of a young for an old ruler. The ruling class is dead, long live the ruling class.

GEORGE YOUNG.

MY ESCAPE.

ETERNALLY long, this last night in prison. . . . Confusion and filth reign everywhere. The "transient cell" is packed with more than a hundred men. Long-term convicts enjoying the break in every-day discipline; members of the "Mafia," the overflow from the brimming central sewer; prisoners who have finished their term and are stopping here on their painful journey towards freedom; incorrigibles on their way to lifelong deportation; political deportees. The general clamour is pierced now and then by a louder cry for the soup that no one brings. Sweet and sad this last sunset in prison. We can see the trees in the courtyard, the ramparts of the old castle, and a wide slice of sky. Blue sky, now red, now purple, now black, perforated with stars. How many long silent conversations have had that sky for confidant! The cell is lit by the light of a candle. A Tuscan prisoner with green eyes and the gift of the gab explains his case to me and tells me of life on the island. After a few hours this promiscuity becomes a torment. Brief quarrels break out, snores arise, low conversations are held in corners, noises of all kinds and nature—very much nature—fill the air. The prison falls slowly asleep. The last bells ring. Warders pass, dragging weary feet. Noises reach us from the outside world, from that other life that we call "normal." I was in Palermo, a tourist, seven years ago, in this same month of May. Who knows how often I passed the prison gates without thinking?

This parallel amuses me. Thoughts chase one another, faster and faster, a veritable cinema-show. I lead my imagination where I will—like a curious little girl stopping at every shop window. Let us look in a moment at home. Is my baby born yet, I wonder? "Mirtillino" . . . long ago we decided to nickname him so. Prisons of Savona, Carrara, Como, Milan, the trial. An old uncle in Rome. What will the island be like? Sleep, let's sleep. Impossible. What time is it? Goodness knows. Thoughts begin chasing again. My eyes fall on Parri. Parri! How dear he is to me. His pale, delicate face, framed in a twenty days' beard, breathes nobility. Parri is my second conscience, my elder brother. Had prison given me nothing else, his melancholy friendship would suffice me. These pure and lofty men are sad, terribly sad. They joke, laugh and love like everyone else. But at the bottom of their being there is a sense of tragic despair. A kind of world despair. For them life is duty. Until I knew Parri, the Mazzinian hero had seemed a rhetorical abstraction to me. Now I see him before me in flesh and blood, with all the sorrow of the world, but all the moral energy of the world too, stamped upon his features. Parri

cannot sleep either. Winters passed in the trenches are troubling him. To-morrow, at last, we shall arrive.

To-day, rather. It is two o'clock. The warder shouts: "Get out with all your stuff." Suit-cases and sacks are ready, blankets folded—there is an ironical savour to this scrupulous folding of the filthy rags—we are herded out. Then come the same everlasting formalities with sleepy, cross warders. Our escort of carabinieri arrives, eight of them, their steps accompanied by the jangle of chains. Boyish faces buried under huge three-cornered hats. In Indian file they count us, recount us, call and recall our names. When travelling we are mere parcels in the post, and it is wise to try to feel like one. Handcuffs and chains as usual. The carabinieri who handcuffs us is cross this morning. He screws them on very tight. Carrying one's suit-case will be a difficult business. "Forward march." At last we are off. The column drags heavily along.

We land on Ustica, a handful of tiny, low houses, dazzlingly white, scattered along a burnt-up, stony coast. Handcuffs and chains are taken off. We rub our wrists, go through the various formalities, and then scatter to explore the dirty, animated alleys. Pigs, chickens, dogs, militia, political deportees, common prisoners. Noah's Ark can hardly have been agreeable. And yet a strange ecstasy comes over me. After the long, long prison this first day of life on Ustica goes to my head. I feel born anew; free to walk, to move, master of my own movements. The intense scarlet of a geranium fills me with joy, two palm trees profiled against the sky, a white sail stuck into a blue sea, move me to rapture.

The first day of deportation, after a long period of imprisonment, is an orgy, an explosion of physical liberty. The first shopping in the little local shops gives me a childish delight. Yes, I know. In a week's time it will be different, worse perhaps than prison. But for the moment I enjoy to the full this reawakening of the senses. Our destiny is to gain in intensity what we lose in extension. In one day we win what a humdrum, ordinary life could never have given us. All our life is an effort to reach the summit, if but for a moment. What do we care if we must perforce come down again? Those who have climbed an Alpine "chimney" will understand us. We, too, climb roped together. Parri* helps me, I help others. We shall get to the top.

* Parri has gone through all the war and been decorated five times. In past years he was a teacher and a journalist as well. At the present moment he is one of those who were arrested at the end of October 1930, and is now waiting for trial before the Special Tribunal.

After Ustica, Lipari. Almost two years of deportation, after one of prison. Ustica was a brief parenthesis between two prisons; Lipari an open parenthesis. . . . Six months already on Lipari. My wife is here; "Mirtillino" is here. Our friends are many, life is not too hard; I read, study, and in secret write. But I am already sick of the island, sick to death of this restricted life, of this false appearance of liberty. Prison is almost better. In a prison cell escape is obviously impossible, the flame of sacrifice burns more clearly. Deportation is a huge cell without walls, all sea and sky. The black-shirt patrols act as walls; walls of flesh and blood, not of bricks and mortar. The longing to get beyond them becomes unbearable. Ships and boats dot the sea. The motor-boats of the police are our torment of Tantalus. Long calculations on paper. Tunis, Malta, Corsica . . . 300 miles, 250 miles, 400 miles. . . . Minute reconnoitring in the narrow streets leading to the sea, careful observation of the habits of the police.

This cooped-up life is not for me. But, incredible as it seems, everyone believes Rosselli to be thoroughly settled down. Even in the Governor's office his reputation is excellent: "peaceable, studious, will pass his five years' sentence with a good grace." I do everything possible to cultivate that reputation: only a few friends know it to be undeserved. Our hen-pen divides itself into groups and sub-groups. The communist speaks pityingly of the socialist; the socialist accuses the republican of formalism; the anarchist puts us all in the same bunch. Then there are the Trotskians, and the Stalinists, the revolutionary socialists, the evolutionary socialists, the socialist republicans, the traditionalist republicans, the individualists, the anarchic communists, the independent democrats, one member of the catholic party, lest the race should be lost.

A deportation colony is a kaleidoscope that doesn't work. The political formations of the past live on in crystallised miniature. Each man feels the desperate need of clinging to his spiritual ideals, and instinctively raises this moral dogmatic barrier between himself and Fascist coercion. It is the obstinate "And yet it moves" of Galileo. Very fine, but hardly consoling. But there are some very exceptional men here. Dolci, for instance. Dolci is the most intelligent of all. He is interested in everything, understands everything. Some deportees do Swedish gymnastics to keep fit. Dolci does intellectual gymnastics. With any kind of apparatus. He passes from wireless to philosophy, from music to biology. A "Grand seigneur," yet a self-made man. Dolci seems to find himself on this planet by pure chance, like Democritus. A sense of the relativity and precariousness of all things never leaves him. He knows he is building on sand, but is never tired of building.

He has a kind of constitutional detachment from everything that the normal man desires. Even the political struggle, for him, is a kind of moral gymnastics; a training against philistinism. He sails the seas or inhabits the air with the same nonchalance with which he adjusts a wireless set. Dolci is a Roman, languid, a dreamer, very attractive to women. But with such men, how did Cæsar conquer Gaul?

Riccardo Bauer is a different type. One of the leaders of young Italian liberalism, teacher, journalist, and man of business. He is the most austere of our group and combines absolute idealism with an exceptionally strong practical sense. After a few months Bauer leaves us, his term of deportation finished. Perhaps his heroic war-record and terrible wounds had saved him from the usual five years' penalty, so generously meted out to all those considered as "incorrigibles." As he leaves us, a calm puritan ardour shining in his eyes, we wonder how long such a man can remain free under the present régime. He, too, is very pessimistic on this point.*

I have Lipari to thank for these and other friendships. But I have had enough of it. Too much time has been lost here already. Lipari is all very well for retired politicians, not for men who mean to go on working and fighting. The "crimes" that sent us here are already things of the past, expiated and forgotten. We yearn to act, to commit more "crimes." We are no occasional criminals; we are professionals. Three years of inactivity, even though forced, is far too great a compliment to Fascism. It is high time to put a full stop, and begin a new chapter. The most exasperated of all is Lussu. The first time I went to see him we talked of the Aventine and the *Risorgimento*. The second, of escape. After that we always talked of escape, only of escape, to the final utter exasperation of us both. There were variations on the theme of escape, in all "moods" and tenses, past, present, future, and conditional. Escape by boat, motor-boat, steamer, aeroplane, airship. Escape, escape, escape, will, would, shall, can, must escape. Nitti and Dolci were in the plot. I inform my wife of our decision. She finds it perfectly natural. It is I who cannot find it natural that *she* should find it natural. Masculine pride blinded me. I imagined the spirit of adventure to be the privilege of the male. I was forgetting that in England it is the women that govern. For eighteen months we escaped every night. In our dreams we went through every possible kind of adventure, with every kind of ending. Arrested, executed, derided, drowned. Very rarely did our imagination bring us through it safe and

* Bauer went to the war as a volunteer, was decorated and came back badly wounded. He is another one of the twenty-four imprisoned at the end of October 1930, and now waiting for trial before the Special Tribunal.

sound. The actual escape was hardly interesting. After rehearsing my part so often to myself, the actual performance seemed almost dull. The only conclusion to be drawn was that no plan is so perfect, nor so scientific, as not to undergo enormous changes at the last minute, owing to unexpected elements.

On the evening of November 17th, 1929, we spent half an hour in the sea, waiting. We had spent that afternoon desperately digging up my garden, to convince both friends and enemies alike that our thoughts lay only at home. In swimming out to the appointed meeting-place we had bruised and scratched ourselves on the reefs. The waterproof bags containing our clothes were full of water. Terribly heavy work, and horribly cold. We made a pretty picture. Lussu, perched on a rock, with field-glasses, had scarcely recovered from pleurisy, and was drenching wet. With his usual imperious confidence he assured us he was not cold. "I've a jersey on, a jersey," he said. As if he had not swum in his jersey. Dolci was acting the Colossus of Rhodes between Lussu's rock and another. Nitti was hanging on somehow. Each wave would make him bump against Dolci's left leg, and Dolci in his turn would sit suddenly on my head and shove me under water. Nitti's teeth were beating an involuntary tattoo for the cold. Thirty minutes are one thousand and eight hundred seconds. To wait one thousand eight hundred seconds for a motor-boat that does not come, is like living through a lifetime. We exchange a few rapid words. "There's a black spot down there." It's a rock. "Sh-h, I can hear something." We all hold our breath. Nitti's teeth stop their tattoo. "It's an out-board."

A hundred yards away the steamer from Messina lies alongside the jetty. All is animation on board, glaring lights, shouting sailors, Fascist uniforms.

"Perhaps they don't dare approach because of the steamer."

"No, on the contrary. The lights dazzle the people on shore."

"But they'll take it for a torpedo."

Splash. The Nitti-Dolci group collapses again.

"Damnation. Can't you keep still?"

"The waves knock me down. The bags drag me down. Curse the bags."

Five minutes' silence. We look at our watches, all of them stopped except Lussu's. Time is almost up. Three minutes more, two minutes, one. . . . One more desperate gaze out to sea. Nothing. It's all up, all over. Lussu, the explosive Lussu, once in action is stony calm. Perched on his rock, he looks like an ancient warrior of his island-home. The field-glasses might be a gun. If the enemy approaches, his eye will not fail. His only comment is: "It's hard. After six months, it's hard." Lussu

is very calm. There's no choice. We must get back. But the pain of the whole world, as he would often say to us afterwards, harrowed his soul at that moment. Splash, again. The three drop back into the water. We make swiftly for the shore. The waiting is over. For thirty minutes we have been free, in forbidden waters, our whole soul bent on the free open sea, and the most forbidden of all adventures. We have broken all the regulations, violated the law, incurred six years' imprisonment. Now we must take up our rôle of deportees again, and try to save our skins. We swim swiftly, reach the shore, tear open the bags and find our clothes dripping wet. As we struggle into them, the fatal bugle blows. It is eight. Quick. We must get home. We set off like brigands who have missed their prey but do not mean to get caught. Lussu flings a pair of wet trousers round his neck. As long as I live I shall remember the majesty of that gesture. The gesture of a chief, flinging his cloak over his shoulder as he dashes to the attack.

We separate at the mouth of the first alley. My house is the furthest away. I'll cut across the fields. But I have lost my glasses, my eyes are full of salt. I can't see. I blunder on, tripping up continually; start running, and fall headlong on to a barbed-wire fence. The barbs dig into my eyebrows, or is it my eyes? My eyes are full of blood. I rub it away. I can see. That's all right then. Off again. Near home I take to the alley again. A little girl stares terrified as this great wet creature passes her. I reach home, breathless, and run to the looking-glass. My face is all smeared with blood. No wonder the little girl was scared. I feverishly efface the traces of the crime and change my clothes. A few minutes later the patrol passes. "Ross-e-e-lli!" The voice is bored, as usual. All's well then. "Present," I reply in a sleepy tone, showing myself at the window. I passed my degree in the science of hypocrisy long ago.

The second rendezvous fell through, too. Dolci alone swam out to sea, and came back drunk. To keep out the cold he had swallowed half a bottle of brandy. Failure, complete failure. The sea is always stormy, our nerves, after five months' strain, are in rags. At last we learnt what had happened. Bad weather had prevented our friends from coming, the engines had been damaged; they had been almost shipwrecked. Thy will, O Destiny, be done. Another year of deportation awaits us.

On December 4th Dolci leaves us, his two years' term completed. It is hard to say good-bye; he takes a part of our hearts with him. It has been decided between us that in March he will escape from Italy, to help us from abroad. His deep, languid eyes are very sad. Where, when shall we meet again? In the sea, we hope!

My wife returns from England, where she has lived long months of waiting. All in vain; a total failure; even hope is almost lost. Lussu shuts himself up in his gloomy old house, quite unapproachable. He comes out for an hour a day, strides furiously along the *Marina Lunga*, always alone. When we meet he breaks into groans and curses. The winter months pass slowly by. With a great effort we all set to upon some work or other. I revise my position with regard to Marxism and jot down notes for a book. New friends arrive, old ones depart. Monotony, monotony. Life is ever the same, the same. Our friends are many, but the winter is long in passing. January and February go by in storms of rain and wind. Our little house groans and trembles as the wind roars through it.

Sometimes it is almost happiness *not* to think about escaping, because *now* escape is impossible. But soon the fixed idea returns. Escape, escape, escape. The broken web is patiently rewoven, strand by strand. Lussu is beside himself with impatience; the idea of waiting till June or July drives him wild. But in the eyes of our tiny world Lussu is, as ever, sphinx-like, and keeps up his regular habits and hours with ferocious precision; to throw his guardians off the scent. At last good news arrives. The motor-boat has been bought—speed 26-30 miles an hour—swifter than the police-boats. Lussu insists on having arms on board; guns, hand-grenades. He would enjoy a naval battle. My wife leaves us with Mirtillino very ill. It is the 23rd of June. On July the 5th we, too, will leave.

July the 4th, evening. Twenty-four hours more and it is done. I picture to myself what will happen to-morrow evening. The sea quiet, the sky clear. Lying back in my deck-chair I see it all plainly. This time *he* is on board; he will not fail; he knows too well the risks of failure. Hurried steps on the terrace. A telegram (conventional, of course). Damnation! It is put off again. For two hours I walk slowly round and round the table, swearing and racking my brains for an explanation. The state of Lussu is beyond all description. More news arrives. It is fixed for the 26th.

The 26th of July is a repetition of the 17th of November. The sea is divinely calm, the militia blissfully ignorant. Past experience has taught us to provide for a fiasco. So we leave our clothes high and dry. And the return home, like three beaten dogs, is uneventful.

The 27th of July. This evening we shall succeed. In the night I dreamt of a lion chasing me up an escalator. The dream had a happy ending. Lussu interprets like lightning: lion=Africa, escalator=Paris. At last we shall succeed. But at the hour fixed

our rescuers are not there. Of if they are, no one saw their signals. The news of their arrival reaches us late. And here there is a veil that cannot be drawn. Enough to say that our group is broken up; we arrive on the spot one by one. I get there late, creep along the jetty, drop fully dressed into the water. Swimming in one's shoes, I discover, is tremendously hard work. When I reach the appointed rock I am quite done up. And I am sure they are after me. Quick, quick, the boat. "Lussu, where's the boat?" Lussu, whose face has lit up at sight of me, shouts *pianissimo*: "The boat isn't there; they're not there! But where are they?" He swears. "I was told they were here, but they're not. Where the — is Nitti?" Minutes of anguish pass. There is nothing to be done. It is all up with us.

Nine o'clock struck long ago. The rounds will be passing in a minute, the alarm given. Even if we wanted to, it is too late now to turn back. We resign ourselves to capture. After what happened on the way here, the arrival of the militia is practically a certainty. It is a question of minutes. My trousers cling round my legs and hamper my movements. Better take them off. But, no; better not; it would not be dignified to pass through the village in undress, between two Fascists. The bugle blew long ago. Theoretically we are already in prison. But we still hang on. Come what may now, we must risk all for all. Boum, boum, boum; a dull noise reaches us on the warm night air, a noise like dull hammer-blows coming from the sea-floor. A black shadow becomes visible a hundred yards away, towards the harbour. What is it? It cannot be; that is not the appointed place. And yet our hearts tell us it is they, our friends, our rescuers. The noise becomes more distinct, but still we cannot make out any shape of a boat. Clinging to the rock, we stare at that black shadow till we become almost a part of it. Lussu puts out a hand, and, *o mirabile!* he finds an electric lamp. The pocket-lamp left there last night on the rocks. He signals. The shadow seems to move, yes, really moves in our direction; it is they, our friends, come to free us, quick, quick. My God, how splendid they have been. Swimming quickly, we raise our heads every now and then to make sure we are not mistaken. But, good God! they're drifting towards the shore; the shore where the *Signor Direttore* and all the authorities are eating ices in the harbour-square. Our friends fight the current with the oars, in vain. They drift on and on. Quick, the motors, even under the nose of the militia on guard. One rope thrown out to us gets tangled in the screw. Another is thrown; we climb on board. Our friends are there, Nitti is there. "Have you arms?" asks Lussu, while still hardly over the gunwhale. "Yes." They throw him a cloak. Lussu smiles.

A few dull throbs and the motor gets into swing. The noise seems deafening, everyone must hear. The wash of the sea was soft as a murmur this evening. One more anxious glance; we are off. First, slowly and carefully, then swiftly. "Paul, how many revolutions?" "1,400." "Put on 1,800." The boat leaps, we dash off at top speed. There is no sign of alarm.

The daring pilot shoots into the midst of a fleet of fishing boats. The boats toss wildly, the fishermen turn and swear at us, the glare of their fishing-lamps lights our craft up as we dash by. We race alongside Vulcano and swing round under the lighthouse: its calm, indifferent rays light us up at intervals. We dash into the wide Mediterranean. Lipari and Vulcano are no more than great low shadows edged with twinkling lights.

After the tumultuous joy of the first moment a great sadness falls upon me. My eyes on our shining wake, on the tiny far-off lights, I think of all our less fortunate companions. We bid good-bye to Lipari in silence. By now the alarm must be given. Vulcano, too, fades away; after a while its lighthouse disappears in its turn. The moon rises: yellow, immense and mocking, it accompanies us and our pursuers all night long. The last island of the group, Alicudi, rising cone-like from the sea, remains visible for a long time behind us. Great thoughts rise one upon the other in my brain, like great sea-crests: tiny wavelet thoughts run in and out among them. The play of lights and shadows, an intensity of thought to make one giddy. The exhaust-tube is red-hot. We notice it because the wine is warm. Ugh! what filthy stuff!

A triangle of lights gleams out in front, red, white and green; the headlights of an Italian merchant ship. Our pilot means to enjoy the joke to the full and passes fifty yards to starboard. The joke served its turn; later in the night the captain advised our pursuers to give up the chase. "Useless to go on," he told them, "they're going like devils." The throb of our engines is friendly, the boat is a beauty, the sea calm. We have done it, really done it; we are living the hours so often lived in dreams. Dawn rises misty over a shimmering emerald sea. Our wake stretches out behind us, a long, glassy path which no one treads. How tiny our boat is in this measureless sea. The sun rises to give us his company. Far away to the left appears Marittimo, last glimpse of Italian soil. Behind it lies the naval base. Just as we are about to drink a toast, the profile of a warship appears on the horizon. Alarm on board! Six pairs of eyes are straining. After a few minutes of anxiety the warship slowly disappears again; the champagne bottles reappear and we drink to the freedom of our country, to our friends and dear ones.

So the race goes on across the wide, wide sea. Our immense

reserve of petrol (650 gallons at the start), gradually disappears. Every half hour a five-gallon tin, ripped up to make it sink, is thrown overboard. The abandoned tins have a pathetic air about them as they go down. At midday Africa appears. The coast draws near with exasperating slowness. It is very hot and we are impatient to touch land. The water laps and splashes round the poop. At 3 o'clock we land on a barren, deserted coast. Free soil, land of exile. Our hearts are full, we smile involuntarily. Eighteen hours ago we were on Lipari, and yet how long ago it seems. New interests and new hopes crowd our horizon. Lipari has slipped in an instant into the far past.

All our thoughts are bent on the future. We mean to work, fight, take up our post again in the struggle against Fascism. Only on such terms do we feel justified in exchanging a prison in Italy for freedom in exile.

CARLO ROSSELLI.

MARRIAGE AS AN ART.

IN the reaction of to-day against yesterday perhaps the most destructive factor is the fairly widespread revolt against the Christian conception of marriage. This may not ultimately be harmful in its net result. It does not increase the vitality of an ideal to take it for granted, and the challenge may end in revealing afresh its possibility, necessity, and the fulness of its implications. The revolt may destroy certain heavy conventional ideas which have hitherto hindered its fulfilment. But at the moment the casualties of this insurrection are tragically severe. The ideal of marriage as life-long mutual good faith involving physical fidelity and "mutual comfort"—which in the strong, original sense of the word means mutual strengthening and ministration in the vicissitudes of life—has lost its authority for many, and few of my readers need look beyond the circle of their acquaintances for examples of the sorrowful consequences.

This revolt is an insurrection of scepticism. The importance of physical fidelity is questioned. The power of a "will to faithfulness" to control the ebb and flow and the shifting incitements of desire is doubted. Because the power of this ideal of fidelity to create its own emotional dynamic of loyalty, honour and affection is challenged, the right of society to demand it is by many denied. Certain versions of Freudian theory, more respected in the drawing-room than among serious psychologists, give a pseudo-scientific justification to the repudiation of marriage as a bond. The rebels maintain, by implication if not in theory, that it is not written into human nature. It is here asserted that the Christian ideal of marriage—which has not always been maintained in its fulness by the Church—is one of humanity's genuine discoveries concerning the normal possibilities of its own nature.

That sexual passion, the original source from which develop the more complex filaments of love, is urgent and wayward in every normal man and woman ever born, and that this passion may be stimulated to fresh keenness by curiosity and novelty, is a fact noted to-day as if it were a scientific discovery made for the first time. That most faithful marriages involve from time to time resistance to the strains of incitements which this allure of curiosity and novelty offer to passion must be admitted. The case for marriage must rest on the contention that in healthy human nature there are resources at the disposal of the will which create emotional powers of their own—that honour, loyalty, trust, respect, companionship and affection are just as natural to man and woman as the fleeting impulses to fresh excitement; and these moral dispositions react upon, reinforce and continually renew

sexual desire as in marriage their most intimate, complete and natural expression. Cant is not restricted to the unco' guid. The literature and practice of revolt, by treating the equally apparent facts of fidelity as if they were "unscientific," and therefore accidental and rootless, require that society must therefore remove the obstacles which restrain that seeking after novelty and excitement in sex, which on the animal level is common to us all, from sweeping away the institution of marriage which enshrines the physical companionship of sex within the moral ideas of mutual responsibility and good faith. Philosophically considered, the ultimate question is whether there are universal principles morally valid. It is too large a question to be discussed here, but in practice every society, having as its aim the "good life," must act on the assumption that there are such principles, that they are manifest to normal morally sane people, and that allegiance to them can be required from ordinary members of society. Probably the conscious and conscientious rebels are comparatively few, but the disturbance which they have set in motion is vague and wide.

It is the novelists, taking their text from the pseudo-scientists, who are weakening the reverence for marriage in the public mind. The relations of man and woman have naturally been always the chief and most exciting topic of fiction. There are still comparatively few people who have come across any other treatment of this absorbing subject. The Victorian novelist stopped short of marriage as a rule. He was satisfied that he had solved the main problem when he got his hero and heroine betrothed. That is only the beginning of their adventures for the novelist of our time. Marriage occupies the centre of his attention. And in that the novelist of our day is right. A new adventure, full of difficulties, full of dangers, full of inevitable growth and change—but full of splendid possibilities subtly transforming themselves with the years—begins with the married life. The trouble is that, in reaction from Victorian sentiment, and perhaps because a "happy ending" is harder to manage artistically than the more emotion-compelling tragic one, these novelists usually find it necessary to bring their characters to grief. Serious social thinkers who reject the traditional conception of marriage and its sanctions realise clearly enough that this facile novelists' philosophy "won't do." It leaves out the children. Therefore Mr. Bertrand Russell, for instance, would sanction a life of sexual adventure and experiment, suddenly and radically altering its nature into one of lifelong fidelity, spiritual and economic—but not physical—as soon as the children appeared. It seems a proposal psychologically unsound. The three elements can scarcely be separated. Faithfulness is a high and exacting demand, requiring a certain moral preparation

of conviction and sentiment, the reinforcement of a disciplined habit of restraint, and above all the vitality given by an intuition of the "sacredness" of sexual companionship. A habit of seeking excitement in novelty must continue to grow by what it feeds on. But even these philosophies of compromise reach few young people, and with most the novelist has the last word.

The total result is vague and negative, but none the less destructive. Young people marry from the age-old reason. The mating impulse in its freshness is attended by affection and companionship. But when the novelty wears away, they are apt not to expect from each other confidently that loyalty and respect which could lift and hold their lives together on a higher and more deeply satisfying level. There is wanting the dogmatic conviction that could bind their changing relations into vital processes of union. There is no fresh spring of endeavour in their partnership. Into the emptiness of inspiration it is easy for the impression to slip through that the Christian ideal of marriage is impossible. And yet there are thousands of quite ordinary people who have found it quite normal. There are still many couples who can witness to the fact that marriage is perhaps the only one of life's hopes and ideals that comes true. These have discovered the power within the sacramental union of sex that works to its own perfection. They have hit upon the art of making marriage the central and unshakable fortress of happiness.

Nevertheless the Victorians, for all their strongly religious conception of marriage, were troubled with certain sub-Christian inhibitions of sentiment that called for revolt. Passion was associated with shame, it was something that marriage partly excused in the man, but the woman was even more hindered from the full joy and confidence of self-giving. It is well here to recall the actual teaching of Jesus, because that sentiment grew out of a conscientious injustice to it.

Have ye not read, that He which made them from the beginning made them male and female, and said: For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and the twain shall be one flesh? So that they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.

We find in Christ's words the idea of sex as the natural and most intimate companionship of normal man and woman, the claims of which came before other ties only less holy. This fellowship is natural because rooted in the Divine Purpose for human nature. This surely should be obvious, yet at times in her history the Church has failed to do positive justice to this teaching. Our faith owes much to Greek thought, but in this matter that thought

has poisoned it. The Greek idea that in order to rise in the spiritual life it is necessary to despise and reject physical desire rather than to approve its consecration has perverted our thinking. There has been a tendency to think of sexual union as something rather shameful in itself, a hindrance and disturbance to the spirit, if not sinful then of the "nature of sin," an evil that cannot be avoided and therefore must be confined and restrained. But the phrase "Whom God hath joined together" sweeps this away. This is not an ecclesiastical prohibition of divorce for those unequal to the moral requirements of marriage, but a consecration of the motive of faithfulness, of the mutual services of love in their beauty, variety and richness, which are sacred because they too are rooted in God's purposes for man, and therefore natural.

The desire of man for woman has always been accepted as a matter of course, even when regarded as belonging to his "lower nature," but till lately the desire of the woman for the man especially was associated with shame. That was an unhealthy state of affairs, and this notion, grafted into the minds of so many women, that the physical fellowship of marriage was a concession to the "lower nature" of man has done infinite damage. That sensible woman, Maud Royden, has written:

Again, you must not think that you are altogether spirit, and here perhaps it is the woman who is more apt to sin than the man. How often have I talked to women who speak of the physical side of love as though it were something base and unworthy! Such a conception of passion is inhuman, and therefore it is not really moral. A woman who thinks of this sacrament of love, for which perhaps the man who loves her has kept himself clean all his life, as a base thing, and who treats it as though it were a concession to something base in a man's nature instead of being the very consecration of body and soul at once, the sacrament of union, one of the loveliest things in human nature—such a woman gives as great a shock to what is sacred and lovely in her husband's nature as he when he brings with him into his marriage the associations of the street. It is as hard, it is as insulting, it makes marriage as difficult in understanding, one way as the other. For it is not true that our bodies are vile and base; they are the temples of the Holy Spirit.

Despite the disintegrating attacks of scepticism, most married couples still live together until death parts them. Even where divorce is practically free of restriction such marriages are several times more usual than the other kind. This is one of the answers of common sense to the doctrine of the necessity of the pursuit of novelty through excitement, which in doctrine and practice is peculiarly characteristic of to-day. The second answer is the necessity of this permanence, and this belief in permanence, to the

happiness of marriage and the well-being of children. It is essential usually to their material care. It is even more necessary for their normal happy and healthy moral growth. When I was a public school chaplain, I felt that I did not know a boy as well as I ought to know him until I knew his parents. And when one was trying to help boys who were unhappy, restless, rebellious, imperfectly developed morally and spiritually, it was found usually—I do not think that I exaggerate in using the word usually—that they came from a home which was unhappy owing to the unsatisfactory relations of father and mother, whether they had actually parted or not. There can be no doubt that the health of the child's personality demands an atmosphere created by the love of father and mother for each other, an atmosphere of mutual respect and courtesy, the daily sight of a thousand little acts of consideration and mutual service taken for granted, the good humour, joy and good temper that come from the untroubled faith of the man and the woman in each other. There is now no doubt whatever that the children, especially the girls, as they grow up form their own conception of marriage, and make their own approach to it, according to what they have already experienced of marriage in the daily life together of their fathers and mothers.

If a man and woman are to be quiet and contented in their union together, if married life is to be a sure and quiet source of daily strength and peace of mind, then the faith in its lifelong faithfulness must be real to both. Otherwise passion will be mingled with the strain of uncertainty and anxiety, the struggle to hold each other against the waywardness of the flesh. There cannot be free love, says Alec Waugh, one of the younger novelists not insensible to the spirit of unrest, for love is binding. Temporary unions are very cruel to one partner or the other. Sexual union seems to throw down from itself roots of permanence, roots which cannot be torn free from the other fibres of personality except at terrible cost. But the antithesis of restlessness is also a danger to the reality of married fellowship. Husband and wife may lose each other without separating by taking each other too much for granted. This is the perfectly sound doctrine in Chesterton's profound little novel *Manalive*. The companionship that is a quiet pledge of lifelong faithfulness—that must be a theme, as it were, running through the daily intercourse, but they must be alert to interest, serve and enjoy each other's fellowship in ways that change through the years if there is to be constant freshness, constant rejoicing in one another. G. K. Chesterton says that it takes a man and woman a whole lifetime to do justice to one another.

There is an art of happily marrying. Two personalities changing with the years, how shall they each contribute to a companion-

ship that will be perpetually refreshing? First, I think, each must allow the other a certain amount of "soul-room," as it were. One flesh, but two personalities, they must have interests and abilities of their own into which the other can only enter by sympathetic interest. The husband has his business, of course, he may have his own recreations too. The wife also should normally have her own interests outside the home, if mind and spirit are to keep fresh. Both need to feel free from the constraint of each other for the full expression of personality, to develop individual interests without the friction of jealousy, conscious or subconscious, from the other. Yet even in individual interests there may be "mutual comfort," helping to a sane and healthy wisdom in the day's work. An intimate, frank and sympathetic audience gives a certain solidity to one's hopes and aims, a certain objective sanity to one's private contacts with life. A solitary absorption in our own interests, our own standards, thought, ideas, feelings, isolates them into a little self-contained world. We do not know what we seem like to others, we cannot observe with the clearness of detachment how the impacts of our personality affect others. We have no objective mirror in which to see, criticise and thereby improve ourselves. In this matter, the wisdom of sympathy may help in marriage. There should be a perpetually fresh, continually renewed effort of sympathetic penetration into each other's concerns, an effort enlightened and restrained by respect for the distinctiveness of each other's personality. Our work may lead us to spend hours apart, may take us into special and expert spheres where our mates cannot work with us, but for all that the companionship of marriage may free such work from the weaknesses of loneliness.

The daily circumstances of married life confront husband and wife with the actual occasions for welding together their separate personalities in distinctive contributions to each as it arises. Those nights with the children, when the young temperature shoots up, and the hair seems to turn grey at the roots as one waits to see whether one is watching a case of desperate illness or a passing childish ailment—these are the natural things that draw together. The spending of the common stock of money, the planning of holidays, daily self-sacrifice and mutual consideration made without ever being conscious of it, these thousand things make up the underlying happiness won through life's arduousness, its difficulties, its occasions of sorrow and joy. It is perhaps easier and more natural to share the sorrow than the joy, for sorrow is more explicitly a cry for aid. Each happily married couple gives the individuality of their own peculiar union to the old pledge: "In sickness and in health, for better for worse, until death us do part."

Every daily circumstance, no matter how trifling, and the manner of meeting it, calls for a certain agreement, spoken or left unsaid, on the absolute values of life. Every common decision, no matter how small, presupposes a mutual agreement as to what are the aims and motives best worth while in life. This fellowship, religious in the deepest sense, is needed to nourish the daily companionship of detail with beauty, courage, faith, making it a real fellowship in God. The spiritual quality of the union of father and mother becomes the child's sense of quality in life, the kernel of his working religious faith. This sharing of value is apt to be stronger, more consistent, if it is specifically religious, and renewed and sustained by the habits of worship and devotion. It may not need words to assure husband and wife that they are in each other's prayers, that they really care together for what is holy, lovely and of good report. It will inspire their children all unconsciously with a sure sense of the ends worth living for. But if the young ones breathe an atmosphere of social climbing, or mere concentrated money-making, these ends too become solidly real and obvious to them, and few children will be shaken in this creed by the influence of others from outside.

To return then to our starting-point, man and woman in marriage, by conscious effort ever renewed, may make the best of each other, not in any fatalist or resigned sense, but by evoking from one another in perfectly natural response, noble and refreshing gifts of life. The conscious will can alter, shift, control and create the sources of emotional satisfaction, stabilising and maintaining them in ends that are noble and abiding. In time's changes the man and woman are changed. But if every common experience is made an occasion of good faith, a means of helping each other with the best help each can give, the union itself will grow into something progressively finer, richer and more profound. Life is a voyage of exploration, and if the greatest discovery be a commonplace it may be none the less unique, original and worth making.

KENNETH HENDERSON.

WHAT IS A SECONDARY SCHOOL?*

BEFORE the war the English secondary school, public or municipal, was rather looked down on on the Continent, especially in Germany. We were a nation of amateurs, who either bungled things or muddled through and took nothing seriously, unless it was our pleasure. Learned, bespectacled Germans came over to spy out the land, visited our schools, particularly our public schools, tramped round the classrooms, heard innumerable lessons, asked innumerable questions, made a collection of all the printed matter, copied out religiously all the time-tables, copied out everything there was to be copied out, wagged their heads solemnly over our big playing-fields, and went home to report that the English secondary certainly deserved the name "secondary," though hardly in the sense in which the English used it.

A great philosopher once said you may magnify the human skull to the size of a barn, so that you can walk about inside it; yet you would fail to discover any of the higher qualities of *homo sapiens*—generosity, love, or the like, and certainly not his soul. These Germans with their educational microscopes failed to discover the soul of the public school largely because the public school is born rather than made, and even the newer secondary schools, the county and municipal, are not "ready-made" imitations, but have taken their inspiration from the schools above them. No doubt the criticism of the Germans, as far as the standard of work was concerned, was substantially correct. Pre-war England believed rather in picking out the best brains and giving them an intensive treatment, with the result that not enough attention was given to the rank and file. The educational feeding arrangements for the more or less hungry herd were often inadequate. There no doubt the Germans had a great advantage over us. The small *élite* of scholars at the top of the various public schools were, in the opinion of competent observers like Professor Siepmann, better than the pupils in the highest classes in German schools, but they were far less numerous; while in comparison with the bulk of the pupils below them, the German boys were much better prepared, though the newer English secondary schools were beginning to learn that you can do a good deal for the average boy and girl, as the examination results indicated. This mass production, as practised by the German schools, was undoubtedly impressive, but at what a cost was it not purchased? To fail in the leaving examinations was a dire disgrace not only to the pupil but to his whole family. In fact schoolboy suicides were by no means un-

* Based on an address delivered at the opening of a new wing at the Fakenham Secondary School.

common. Even now that our examinations are more seriously taken to-day (Sir Michael Sadler says too seriously!) by all types of schools, I have never, after failure in matriculation, noticed the slightest tendency, even in the most hardworking conscientious English boy or girl, towards *felo de se*!

But the war revealed to the world there was something in English education more valuable than book-learning, and that was that elusive thing called public spirit, the making of free and responsible individuals. The secondary schools from the biggest public school down to the latest recruit among the county secondary schools all showed they could teach, according to their facilities, this difficult art—I say difficult because it involves the harmonious combination and correlation of two opposite tendencies, the spirit of liberty and the sense of order. A witty Frenchman said before the war: in France there is liberty but no order, in Germany there is order and no liberty, in Russia there is neither order nor liberty, in England there are both. This no doubt was an epigram, but it was one with a certain amount of truth in it. Of course, I am not asserting that the schools are the only agencies that inculcate public spirit. That would be absurd. What really happens is this: that any school in any country that is really doing the nation's work unconsciously picks out, focuses and fosters the dominant values in the national character of its own people. The best school is the school that is a mirror of national life at its best.

We may say, I think, allowing for a certain amount of exaggeration, that if the German schoolmaster won the war in 1870, the English schoolmaster won the war of 1914-18. Anyhow, the Germans are largely convinced that he did, for with the same thoroughness with which they previously decried the English secondary school, they are now ardently seeking to copy it. Unfortunately, as far as one can learn, some of the schools have only seen the freedom side. Classes have been run on almost Soviet lines, the teacher being treated as a mere adjunct; so far have the striving after freedom and self-determination thrown the ideas of order and discipline into the background. These people in their zeal to get rid of all traces of the old régime have thrown the baby out with the bath water. But there are signs of a healthy reaction, and I, for my part, hope much from the new orientation in German education.

Meanwhile, our standard of book-learning has certainly risen, the number of "waste products" in our public schools, though still too great, has decreased, and the general efficiency of the ever-growing municipal and county schools is rising every year. I believe, considering the violent state of experimenting that German

education has been passing through, that many of our secondary schools have reached an intellectual standard comparable with that of the German schools of to-day, though I am far from thinking we have reached the maximum possible, and I should certainly class ours below the French secondary schools except in science. But in spite of the greater stress now laid on intellectual progress in English schools, the English secondary school, day as well as boarding, still looks on *character-training*, which is really preparation for life, as its predominant aim, while naturally not neglecting the other two principal objects for which it strives, the imparting of culture and preparation for livelihood. In the trinity of aims this one is the chief of the three, though it is shared to a large degree on the religious side by the Churches.

This preparation for life implies training in the art of self-government, in loyalty and fair play. Pupils whether boys or girls who have profited by a secondary education, and as far as my experience goes the great majority do, have all learnt more or less these in and out of school lessons, as I would call them. No doubt the origins of these educational doctrines are manifold. Many were crystallised in Arnold's formula of the education of a gentleman and a Christian, being themselves derived from the older mediæval and knightly scholastic traditions, but I am not certain if they are not still wider in scope, constituting, in fact, an epitome of the national ideal of the race. In France it seems to me that the national ideal of the Frenchman is that of the *artist* (in its broadest sense); he prides himself, in fact, on being an artist in all he does, especially in that first of the fine arts, the art of living, be it speech, manners, or what not, and this ideal has embodied itself in the nation's schools. In England the national ideal (if we take in all classes) seems to me to cluster and concentrate round the central idea of a *good sportsman*. This is the main ingredient that permeates in varying degrees English education from the elementary school to the university.

But the process of inculcating this ideal is peculiarly English. We have not done so by drawing up an elaborate code of laws and by-laws, though our secondary girls' schools certainly out-did this sort of thing in the early days. But they are wiser now and, like the boys' schools, are relying more and more on the practice of creating traditions. And so we don't put up the hundred and one rules of the school on the notice board, still less insert them in the prospectus, where only the parents might possibly read them, but we print them on the hearts of the pupils, which is a far more effective method. This will explain how the foreign note-takers, who copied everything, failed to notice or decipher these inscriptions on the heart of that most cryptic individual—the English

schoolboy. The only drawback about this method of inscription is that it becomes with time almost indelible. The main difficulty is to effect alterations, because in all that concerns the routine of a school that has been long established the pupils are ferociously conservative. Sir Robert Morant told me once that in his day at Winchester the scholars went on strike (I rather gathered he was one of the ring-leaders) because ordinary china plates were substituted for the wooden platters which had been in use since the Middle Ages—I don't mean the originals!—and at another public school of more recent foundation an order by a new headmaster that the boys should no longer wear their caps with the peak over the back of their necks produced a first-class revolt. That, however, is by the way. The danger is less real in the case of the more modern secondary school, though anyone who has gone as a new master into a school knows how boys resent any change in the ritual of the form. If he hears once he hears a dozen times the indignant complaint, "Please sir, Mr. Jones (his predecessor) never did that!"

The school organisation with its prefects and monitors and the school sports and games and (let me add) societies all contribute to the working out of this ideal. A school is a little republic in which all are freemen. The practice of being judged or governed by one's *peers* is rooted deep in English history, as trial by jury shows. A boy is willing to be ruled by his fellows, knowing he may hold office some day. Doubtless the régime seems oppressive in some boarding schools to an occasional boy; in that case it will be generally found he is one of those highly-strung boys who ought never to leave home. The Headmaster of University College School, Mr. Kendall, has recently made the same point, and he has had experience of both types of schools. But the average boy, whether day pupil or boarder, finds no more difficulty in obeying a prefect than he does a cricket captain; he speedily realises that discipline is not a form of idiotic compulsion, but necessary to the smooth working of the school. The games especially teach him the lessons of self-control, fair play, and ability and willingness to accept defeat. The Englishman is probably the best loser in the world as far as games are concerned. He rarely bears a grudge against his victors, nor is he easily depressed. I was on the Continent during the opening stages of the Boer War, when we had a series of serious reverses. By all the rules of logic we ought to have been depressed if not demoralised, and some continental nations openly expressed their annoyance because we were not. There is no doubt the English people are in some ways the stupidest under the sun—they hardly ever know when they are beaten.

I pass to the second aim of the secondary school, the imparting of culture, rather a "high-brow" word, but none the less a thing of infinite value in our workaday world. How can I define it? It needs a volume, but I hope to be able to make it fairly plain. But one thing clearly it is not. You may have filled your head with a mass of disconnected facts—English people rather love facts for their own sake. You may have absorbed an immense amount of mathematical book-work, learned by heart whole pages of historical text-books. You may be able to reproduce faithfully all that you have thus acquired and yet you may have no culture in your soul. Again if you think, as some young Philistines do, these things useless or only useful for passing examinations, and if your teachers have been unable to disabuse you of these ideas, then they *will* be useless in your case, or at most serve for passing examinations.

All, in fact, depends on the spirit in which you have approached these things and on the spirit in which your teachers have imparted them. And so, if you come to them in the spirit that Tom Sawyer's friend came to the whitewashing, thinking there is something in it, then you will find toward the end of your school career, or at least when you have grown up, that you have gained something that other people who have not been to a secondary school are not so likely to possess. Thus you will realise what you owe to the opportunity of having come in contact with some of the finest literature in the world, or of having studied the unfolding of English history from, say, the fourteenth century, when she stood sixth in Europe after Portugal, to her present far-flung Empire, or of having followed up the growth of her political and social history, especially her social, because only if we are great at home can we remain great abroad. Again you will appreciate having been subjected to the drastic and exacting discipline of mathematics (specially exacting to the secondary girl pupil!) and you will be grateful for having been initiated into the wonders of science (I assume you have a master with a soul above test-tubes), and last but not least you will, I hope, value having been brought into touch with the fine arts and music, though these things, alas! are not sufficiently held in honour in many English boys' schools. And so you will find that quite apart from what you have actually learnt, be it dates, the multiplication table, chemical formulæ or the French irregular verbs, you have insensibly acquired a certain turn of mind, a more open way of looking at things, a less foggy notion of the exact meaning of words, a power of seeing the other person's point of view, or of putting yourself in his place, along with a deeper appreciation of the beautiful side of life; all which things will help you to get on better with people, and make your

life more interesting and vital than that of those who have never had this experience. Later you may forget all you have learnt—I sincerely hope you won't. Knowledge may go, but culture lingers. If I may use in an agricultural district an agricultural metaphor, you are like a field that is "in good heart," because your minds have been subjected to the right tillage.

And now for the third aim of the secondary school—training for livelihood. Huxley once stated that the function of a higher school was that of a capacity-catching machine, and this applies to the secondary school. Its business is to develop the ability of the pupils and help them to sort themselves out into the different callings and professions for which they are best fitted or in which they may at least make a job of it. Happy the boy who makes up his mind early as to what he is going to do. Even if he starts by wishing to be an engine-driver (we most of us start that way) he can always switch over to something more appropriate later. The only boy I despair of is the boy with no ambition in life. Of course, the secondary school does not give you complete preparation for livelihood, especially if you are going on to the University, but it should give you at least the appropriate general education that is basic to the specialisation, gradual or otherwise, which takes place after "matric," and I think in the future it will have to do more, as people gradually recognise that no kind of education is *complete* which has not some degree of specialisation at the top. The trade and commerce of this country cannot put up with so many misfits as it has done in the past. Pupils will still learn the technique of business outside the school, but their studies will be directed by the broad needs of their future avocations.

While paying, therefore, more attention than in the past to this side of its work, the secondary school, whatever its status, will not cease to bear in mind that it is first and foremost a school of citizenship, being the epitome of the ideals of the good sportsman: self-control, loyalty and cheerfulness to bear defeat and come up smiling. It is also the school of the gentleman or gentlewoman, not only in courtesy and consideration for others, but also in the sense that Bernard Shaw has defined a gentleman as a person who puts more in the pool than he takes out. The boy and girl who take a pride in their school, who want to put something of themselves into it, to leave it bigger and better than it was, not only get what the egotists get out of it, minus possibly a certain amount of intellectual indigestion, but also all those impalpable things in the way of self-control, loyalty, fair play and cheerfulness under difficulties which carry a man or a woman right through the greatest trials of life.

CLOUDESLEY BRERETON.

THE CHILD OF PROMISE.

WE had been discussing childhood, and my friend observed that of the guests at the small Sunday tea-party we had just quitted those who were childless had talked about themselves with eager reminiscence, whereas the two pairs of parents had talked entirely about their children. But the inference he drew of the greater unselfishness of parents was questionable; they had merely dwelt on the present rather than the past, on an immediate interest rather than a remote one. The feeling parents have for a child during its most dependent age is too possessive to be truly unselfish, and possession is soon fated to clash with developing personality.

Approach to one's own childhood is at least from the child's end of the connection, not the parent's; the relation in which one stands to the little self is more than possessive, it is identical. Parental love, of course, is also imbued with the feeling of identity; the father has a weakness for the child who is like him, a certain resentment towards the one who differs too much, but the sense of *me* goes deeper than the sense of *mine*. The sense of *me* pervades that small past self and makes wonderful its identity with a present to which it bears so little resemblance. In spite of its unlikeness to me, it is I; I know it from within, as I can never know any human being who has separate existence, though I know it only retrospectively and, as it were, too late. All self-knowledge is retrospective, and much of it is too late, but the child-self appeals by its peculiar helplessness: in all after times I have myself to rely on, an integrated self-consciousness, a developed ego. That reliance on himself the child has not. The grown people who surround him have another point of view than his. It is the pathos of his position that, not understood of himself at the time, he is never fully understood of any. Even I, his adult self, give him but a tardy and imperfect comprehension. There are years between us, the disparity in age which is the usual hindrance to parental understanding.

In each of us a child has lived, in each of us a child has died—a child of promise never quite fulfilled. The object of a lasting regret, in many a book he has his literary memorial. It is impossible that it should be accurate, for Memory, the Mother of the Muses, is not merely re-creative, it is creative. There is an element of fiction in all autobiography, as there is an element of autobiography in all fiction. Remembrance takes the secondary form Herbert Spencer speaks of in a passage quoted by André Maurois: "Of incidents in my childhood my remembrances have assumed that secondary form which I suspect they mostly do in advanced

life—I simply remember that I once remembered—there was a little sister Louisa, a year my junior, who died at two years old; and playing with her in the garden left faint pictures which have long survived.” In reflective minds such pictures may retain an amazing amount of detail and emotional colour. It is psychologically interesting that Herbert Spencer’s most vivid childish recollection was of being left alone for the first time—alone in the house. He was so young that what he felt was probably a purely physical fear of solitude, without admixture of that sense of spiritual isolation which, as long as we live, catches the heart with inrushes of loneliness and terror. The heart of the little André Gide was caught by its dark fingers when he threw himself into his mother’s arms with the cry: “I am not like other people!”

Self-compassion, and not envy of childhood, is the note of most of its biographers. Even the happy humour of *The Golden Age* has an underlying sense of orphanage; the children of that delightful classic were without their proper complement of parents. The fact saved them from bitterness, for it sufficed to recall, in any deficiency of understanding and affection, that aunts and uncles were, after all, only aunts and uncles. The more distant relationship admitted, on both sides, of being taken more casually, or at least more secularly, for we find that observance of the Sabbath, that bugbear of so many children, seems to have been enforced in the way of clothes rather than of conscience, of outer, than of inner states. Four in number, but “one in thought and purpose; linked by the necessity of combating one hostile fate, a power antagonistic ever—a power,” it is recorded, “we lived to evade,” in their solidarity those children could afford a tolerant contempt for Olympian rule, for the strange, anæmic order of beings without vital interests and intelligent pursuits who, though arrogating superiority to themselves, completely neglected their rich opportunities, never setting foot in firwood or hazel-copse, nor exploring the mysterious sources, “sources as of old Nile, that fed the duck-pond.” Unthrilled by the proximity of Indians, bisons, pirates, and buried treasure, “it was, indeed, perhaps, one of their best qualities that they spent the greater part of their time stuffily indoors.”

Two men, Samuel Butler and Edmund Gosse, whose minds were usually directed in channels of literary criticism, were moved by the sufferings of their childhood to personal expression. And the suffering of both was chiefly occasioned by the effort of their parents to impose on them the strictest views of religious orthodoxy. Butler’s reaction in *The Way Of All Flesh* is mocking and ironical; Gosse’s reaction in *Father And Son* is humorous, pitiful

and tender. He feels almost as sorry for the older victim in the grip of those grim beliefs as for the little boy whom they bereft of his childhood. The impulse that impelled Gosse to write his recollections was the artist’s desire for liberation, for escape, and only as the child was freed from those religious ideas that had penalised his every pleasure was the man delivered from their tyranny for ever. Nothing could give him back what he had been robbed of, but bitterness was converted in the justice of his narrative—justice doubly done—and the little ghost of murdered childhood was finally laid.

It is too much to say that if justice is the spirit of Gosse’s book, that of Butler’s is revenge. Resentment there certainly is. But it must be remembered that Gosse’s father in his widowerhood spent the whole of his affection on his little son: as Christina and Theobald had no such love, no such forgiveness was extended to them. For the personal piety of the elder Gosse they substituted the official religion of the parsonage and that exemplary pose so provocative of criticism. Besides, there were the dosings of calomel and James’s powder, and the whippings. “When Ernest was in his second year Theobald began to teach him to read. He began to whip him two days after he began to teach him. . . . ‘It was painful,’ he said to Christina, ‘but it was the only thing to do.’” The self-respect of a sensitive child could better have borne blows struck in the heat of human anger than those solemn chastisements administered as part of a system of theology founded on the most primitive theories of punishment—a theology which invented the hideous story of Job, the just man scourged by God to make the victim love God better. “Justice is the quality a child values above everything,” Forrest Reid says, and it is not easy to over-estimate the harm that may be done by a single undeserved punishment, when we recall how one act of injustice on the part of Monsieur Lambercier and his sister estranged Rousseau and his boy cousin irrevocably, destroying the pleasure of their life at Bossey, even to their interest in their little gardens.

Despite Stevenson’s fondness for his old nurse Cummie, and the indulgence towards her narrow Calvinism he afterwards professed, Edmund Gosse reports one illuminating utterance; in speaking of her goodness to him Stevenson prayed that God would mercifully forgive her all the evil she had done. The evil could only have been in the nature of religious prejudice, yet if the canting strain crops out in Stevenson towards the end it cannot be attributed solely to Cummie’s influence, which was milder than that of his stern Covenanting father, and probably than that of his mother, a daughter of the manse. With Cummie he was on terms of affectionate familiarity and intimacy he did not enjoy with his

parents; it was she who comforted him through the long cold nights of coughing, until the arrival of the first country carts, "with the cracking of whips, the shouts of drivers, and a hundred wholesome noises," and for her unselfish devotion to him then he never ceased to be grateful.

The proselytising intentions of Emma, the nurse to whom Forrest Reid was so much attached, were discouraged by the violent revolt in which her one attempt to take her charge with her to chapel ended, and she never took him again. Nor were her scriptural readings attended with more success: he "hated everybody mentioned in the Old Testament and the New, except perhaps the impenitent thief, Eve's snake, and a few similar characters." How much the sympathetic companionship of a nurse can mean one learns from memories of Emma, Cummie, Françoise, who in her general capacity of confidential servant looked after Marcel Proust, and from the reincarnations of Anatole France's nurse as Melanie in *Le Petit Pierre*, and Madame Matthias in *Pierre Nozière*. It is especially true in the case of sensitive, solitary, dependent children, just those children who cherish the *souvenirs d'enfance*. A delicate child's impressions have time to fix themselves, and the probability is that his memories will be more tenacious than those of a child in active health. As it is with us in later life; when we are not too ill and suffering, the quiet of the sick-room, without the usual occupations and distractions, is conducive to the outcrop of the subconscious, and letting go of responsibility for to-day and to-morrow the mind abandons itself to the inner stream of memories and images carrying it back to the beginning. Time is like a long, blind tunnel with the light concentrated there, before we entered, on childhood, the bright spot at the far end.

It was during an illness, W. H. Hudson tells us, that the idea of writing *Far Away and Long Ago* occurred to him, and the keen observer of nature directed his gaze inward. While he lay passive in a darkened room where no flutter of wing nor rustle of leaf caught the eye, Memory brought out her magic lantern and threw picture after picture on the screen: the house by the Ombu trees that he left when he was four years old; the later home set in vast pampas like a sea over which the boy of six on his unsaddled pony roamed for hours, studying their strange, various life, exploring vizcacha villages, watching the fighting of wild geese. And when the idea of God came to be instilled by his elders into a mind filled with images of that world of space and colour, its vagueness took shape as a column of blue about five feet high and three feet wide, entering his room and standing by his bed—"a pure, soft, beautiful blue, like that of the morning-

glory or the wild geranium." There have been worse personifications since the Israelites' pillar of cloud by day and fire by night. . . . The idea of death, another memorable intrusion, was brought home to him by seeing the old sheep-dog, Cæsar, put into the ground. Few of us forget our first encounter with it. Steele always remembered the profound impression made by his father's funeral when he was five years old; and for De Quincey death was ever afterwards associated with the brightness of a summer's morning when he had stood beside the body of a little dead sister and felt its mystery fall round him, a desolation in the sunlight, a blankness between the high shining masses of the sky.

Illness and confinement to his cork-lined bedroom helped Marcel Proust to concentrate on his research into the *Temps Perdu* which he summoned up at such extraordinary length, with such elaboration of sensory detail. No part of his vast sequence of recollection seems to have been more permanently impressed than the sufferings of the nervous, over-wrought little boy on nights when Swann came to dinner, and he must go to bed without the viaticum of his mother's kiss. Over and over again, in the confessions of books we read of these unforgettable agonies a child endures from solitude, darkness, and the awful spirit of night. It is a feeling from which being grown up does not deliver one, and in many an after-midnight the soul will feel itself stripped of its comfortable, daytime security, naked to the terrors of its mortal ignorance—with the known gone from beneath its feet, and the unknown a bottomless abyss. Proust's anguish had its origin in the feeling of night as a gulf of separation between day and day, in a precocious fear of the lesser death of sleep which made him value his mother's caress each night as if it might be the last. Of one evening in particular his memory was long afterward so acute that, as he says, if he listens attentively he can catch "the sound of the sobs which I had the strength to control in my father's presence and which broke out only when I found myself alone with Mamma. Actually their echo has never ceased; it is only because life is now growing more and more quiet round me that I hear them afresh." In that increasing quietness of life around him, all the routine of the household at Combray comes back; all the flowers of the garden and of Swann's park, the water-lilies on the Vivonne, the good folk of the village and their little dwellings, the parish church, and the whole countryside, to the very tone, reddish and sombre, of the tower by the side of St. Hilaire's steeple, "rising above the violet thundercloud of the vineyards, a ruin of purple, almost the colour of the wild vine." As he originally wrote it, the record of his earliest years was three times as long, and it was only by the

persuasion of his friends that Proust reduced it to the space it now occupies in the first volume of the series.

And was it not the occurrence of her mortal malady almost at the beginning of her literary life that threw Katharine Mansfield back in such wistful dependence on her past? Whatever the future might take from her, that was hers, and its precious, unmenaced, childish hours gave her *Prelude, The Voyage, At The Bay, The Doll's House, The Garden Party*. The most intensely realised of her stories are those with a New Zealand background, in which the far away is recalled together with the long ago, and distance in space as well as distance of time enhances the poignance of contrast. Even when her stories are about older people she herself retains the child's outlook: the keen observance of things, the feeling, at one and the same time, of their concreteness and their mystery, each a particular and each a symbol. And that feeling combined with her delicate craftsmanship imparts a Japanese character to Katharine Mansfield's work. She loved to dwell on the folded complexities of a child's mind in bud.

Perhaps it is because life later on requires so much more to make it eventful, and its most important events, too long anticipated, have a way of falling flat when they arrive, whereas the little things come as an unexpected revelation, that some writers give us one perfect book about childhood, such as Marguerite Audoux, the Parisian seamstress, produced in *Marie Claire*, and end there with no subsequent achievement. Others, though incidence with them does not fall so exclusively on the early years, never at any later stage see and feel with the same vividness, freshness, and degree of wonder. Forrest Reid acknowledges that several of his characters were mere pretexts for the author to live over the years of his boyhood. "It is as if one actually could get closer to truth through fiction than through fact." One gets closer for the reason that in writing fiction there is less constraint and self-consciousness. The author is a warm-blooded mammal who produces living young immediately out of himself, not by mental incubation. His only authentic material is subjective, for the inner life of children is notoriously shy, secret and withheld. Olive Schreiner's personal memories are behind her *Story of An African Farm*, and less intimately inspire certain chapters of *Man to Man*. We are told that Dickens unburdened himself of the miseries of his childhood in *David Copperfield*, the only convincing child he ever drew; that George Eliot released her childhood in *The Mill on the Floss*, while Anatole France returned to the subject in book after book: *Le Livre de Mon Ami, Le Petit Pierre, Pierre Nozière*, and only a few years before his death, again in *La Vie En Fleur*, besides scattered passages such as the description in *Le Crime de Sylvestre*

Bonnard of the view from the old house on the Quai Malaquais, where he was born—"l'Arc de Triomphe comme un dé de pierre, la Seine, fleuve de gloire et des ponts, les tilleuls de la terrasse des Tuileries, le Louvre de la Renaissance ciselé comme un joyau."

It has been said that Anatole France's first ambition, at the age of five, was for military glory, giving place later to the desire to be a saint, a hermit of the Labyrinth in the Jardin des Plantes. But it was not the profession of arms that attracted him, neither was it sanctity for sanctity's sake, it was celebrity, a short cut to fame. At six years old he had already decided to be famous, as he announced to his mother, meeting with her unexpected rebuke. The military ambition speedily died and left no trace; but is he turning upon himself and his temporary aspiration to saintship with its purely egoistic motive, in the ridicule which he afterwards visited on the saints of the whole Calendar, and his mocking explorations of hagiology? For his preoccupation, however ironical, with sacred legend has sometimes puzzled the natives of non-Catholic countries. To what extent does the later Anatole France invade these recollections to alter their tone, perhaps; or did the sceptical detachment always exist which we feel when he is writing most sympathetically, as in the charming sketch of his play-fellow, Clément Sibille? There is grace, there is pathos approaching tenderness, and still that detachment which makes a subtle difference between his attitude and that of André Gide, for instance, towards the little purblind boy whom he so touchingly recalls. Pity unconsciously disclosing itself in *Si Le Grain Ne Meurt* was an early and ruling motive with André Gide. He was attracted toward the weak, the unfortunate, the unhappy—the child who was going blind, the fragile little Russian, wistful and spiritual. The difference was innate, one feels, which gives the quality of tone to these two literary instruments, both beautifully played, but one of brass, and one of strings.

It is a surprise to learn that *Si Le Grain Ne Meurt* was written by request. But nevertheless these memories often relived must have lain waiting to come forth faithful and unforced. And when he who writes can no longer follow them with absolute sincerity they leave off, brief, as the most beautiful things are brief. They group themselves about times and places. Before time became an established order, in its blurred beginnings, the small André Gide would occasionally shift dates forward or back, or merge something he had actually experienced with that of which he had only heard; he was long persuaded that he had witnessed from a balcony the entry of the Prussian army into Rouen (where he was accustomed to spend the Easter holidays) and it was with difficulty that his mother finally convinced him of the impossibility of this, and

attributed his confused impression to the *retraites aux flambeaux* which took place every Saturday evening. From La Roque in the North, and Uzès in the South, as from two polar bodies, he drew the opposing strands of his heredity. No two families could have been more unlike than that of his northern mother and his southern father, no two parts of France more different than those from whence they came. Conscious of the duality of his own nature, Gide derives its oppositions from the two sources, not only of the ancestral life in his veins, but of the contrasting colours of his imagination: "*Souvent je me suis persuadé que j'avais été contraint à l'œuvre d'art, parceque je ne pouvais réaliser que par elle l'accord de ces éléments trop divers, que sinon fussent restés à se combattre, ou tout au moins à dialoguer, en moi.*" What magic, as he says, for a child, in living on an islet surrounded by the silver rush of waters, spring-fed cascade, and a stream spanned by an old drawbridge, long disused, and a new bridge of brick. Above and about the walls of the *château*, and its twin towers clothed, the one with jasmine, the other with wild vine, he watched the swallows turning incessantly and heard them crying there as nowhere else, cries that were like the sound of the torn azure. Memories of the place fill a few pages of *Si Le Grain Ne Meurt*, but in his novel *L'Immoraliste* he has produced not only the setting, but throughout its pages has pursued "*profondément sa ressemblance.*" Scarcely less picturesque are the impressions left by his yearly visits to his aged grandmother in the South, of a country full of colour and of scents—the hot scent of lavender, of flowering cistus, and oleanders, and "the triumphant daturas," trumpets of Jericho. Remembrance of its waste lands where he hunted the praying mantis, and discovered scorpions and centipedes hidden under stones, and felt the reflection of the sun from the bare rock, enervating like wine, long made him prefer barrenness to verdure, the desert to the sown.

Are not the most vivid, enduring memories always of the country? The best the city has to give is some poor illusion of country freedom. W. H. Hudson was one day watching a group of a dozen children playing in a small open space in London: "its openness to the sky and the green, elastic turf under their feet had suddenly made them mad with joy." And he could not help laughing when he recalled once having watched "a group of children of about the same size, on a spot of green turf in a distant region, playing the same rude game in the same way, with the same shrill, excited cries; and these were children of unadulterated savages—the nomad Tehuelches of Patagonia!"

It is true that there are some seeming exceptions to the rule: in that part of Maurice Baring's *Puppet Show Of Memory* devoted

to the nursery and the schoolroom, his recollections of London are livelier and fuller than those connected with the country; but the reasons are obvious, and the case is hardly typical of a child whose town life was passed in a house staffed with maids, nurserymaids, valets, butler, *chef*, housekeeper, and resident governess, to say nothing of visiting teachers and music-mistresses. Interest never lacked where there was constant entertaining and the coming and going of grown-up guests. The children of that establishment never knew a dull moment, what with dancing-lessons, private theatricals, concerts, pantomimes, garden-parties at Marlborough House, promenades in the park. Presents were lavished on them, amusements provided, they were always being called upon to show off. And the result is a mere enumeration of bought pleasures in which the constructive imagination of a child, which likes to work on raw materials, which likes to apply to poor and imperfect things the idealising faculty that is the root of all love—is crowded out. The dates and data of the narrative are so consecutive that one infers they have been supplied from family records, but the essential character is wanting of a child's fragmentary remembrance falling here and there in broken lights. In one significant passage the writer admits that for all his subsequent wanderings—summer nights in Central Russia, June nights in Florence thick with fireflies, lilac-scented nights by the Neckar at Heidelberg—he never in his whole life felt the same spell as in the twilight, lying in his cot in the night-nursery at Coombe, and waking later "when it was dark, half-conscious of the summer scents outside and a bird's song in the darkness." The self-same song charmed magic casements, and it was the memory of it that one day opened to him the whole meaning of Keats' poem.

Though the poverty of Forrest Reid's family after his father's death deprived him of country holidays and kept him shut up in Belfast, in those days Belfast was a different place, "a breath of rusticity sweetened its air" and, as Anatole France had the *Jardin des Plantes*, he had the Botanical Gardens, rich in exotic suggestions which prompted him to stock them, like the Eden of some early Italian painter, with strange animals. Nevertheless the earlier chapters of *Apostate* are haunted by nostalgia. His was the want that stimulates imagination to supply it; he built fabulous Greek cities, with his blocks, upon adventurous coasts; he created that country of his dream with a topography so definite that he saw its glade and wood and pool and hills—the land where it was always afternoon of a summer's day, the sun shining, the perfect boy companion to play with, and a fauna more wonderful than ever, including "great jewelled snakes coloured in fire, who would lift up their flat, watchful heads from the grass and gaze at me

through the sunlight." Only when a child's actual life is dry desert, does such mirage arise.

Education in a sense of space, form, movement—vital, rhythmical movement as distinguished from mechanical—of colour, of universal relation, is to be got only from nature. Nowhere but in the country could Proust have become aware of the relation of his sombre, reddish tower to "the violet thunder-cloud of the vineyards," or Hudson have felt that spontaneous pleasure in the pure deep blue of the morning-glory and the wild geranium which led him to identify them with God. Out of contact with nature is born the feeling of cosmic mystery and of imaginative fear. Those persons who believe in banning fairy-tales and all supernatural myth that may beget fear in children, lose sight not only of the great part fear has played and still plays, biologically speaking, in the preservation of species, but humanly and psychologically speaking, of its influence on the development of imagination, poetry and religion. In the case of the only child it was ever possible for me to know from the inside, all that part of her early life spent in a city has become a blank, while much of the time spent in the country is recoverable as far back as her fifth year, and a number of small incidents recur, bringing with them the whole aspect of her surroundings, of persons, animals, flowers, insects and birds.

The boy Martin, in Christopher Morley's *Thunder On the Left*, when confronted with his adult-self not only fails to recognise the man he has ineluctably become, but repudiates him, and the man George has not more sympathy with the boy who was once called Martin. It would never do for us to have the choice of growing up that Martin proposes; to spy on the future and then decide, or we might all decide as Peter Pan. One grows into successive selves by a process of compromise and transition usually so gradual that it is seldom that any writer who attempts to give the whole course of a life in the novel's abbreviated form, succeeds in conveying the impression of continuous growth, in educing with any consistency the man from the child. There are great gaps in all of us, caused by the subsidence of what was on the surface into the subconscious, and the greatest gap is between the grown self and the child. The wisest recollections of childhood do not try to establish too causative a connection: leaving that to the psycho-analysts, they look back to its beautiful detachment, islanded there across the flow of time, in the morning mists, in the golden light.

For what can a tired heart say.
Which the wise of the world have made dumb,
Save to the lonely dreams of a child
Return again, come.

MARTHA KINROSS.

THE FORTUNATE VOYAGE.

WITHIN the last few years much has been written on the encompassing of the world by Sir Francis Drake; much of the old material has been served up again in attractive dressings for the sake of those who love a pleasant story and ever look for confirmation of their own opinions. The newer material, which, of course, is not really new, but contemporary with the event, lay hid, because at the time there were substantial political and private reasons for its concealment; now it can be produced, for Queen Elizabeth is long since dead and there is no longer fear of Spain demanding her money again; and Mr. E. G. R. Taylor, who recently, in the *Mariner's Mirror*, laid bare certain matters, may walk openly without fear of decapitation at the instance of Crown or Treasury. There has grown up, however, in the place of the original inhibitions, an opulent Vested Interest in the story as first published, which in rolling phrases and sonorous voice pronounces all variations from the original imprints as due to a lack of patriotism or to the inspiration of a cynical and irreverent spirit. Here, again, Mr. Taylor and his like escape punishment, for the eyes of the Vested Interest have long since lost the power of accommodation, so that the small print of the scholar remains unread, and it is only when the implications are drawn and the findings are cast in the heavier type of the common writer, that the thunder of the offended Joss is produced to the great terror of the very young. The more experienced are not much perturbed, for they know that this particular Joss commands no lightning; but fear comes to them when they engage in the arithmetically simple but historically complicated problem of putting two and two together; then they know that from the scholar may come the lightning which is in his service. That is a risk which must be taken.

Plainly then it appears that on December 13th, 1577, when Drake set out from Plymouth on his renowned voyage, he had on board three separate sets of instructions: one, for Alexandria to fetch currants to make puddings withal, he held openly in his hand; another, the Admiralty orders, he kept in his pocket and produced when he was shut of the land—this set was for the Moluccas by way of the South Sea, round the world and home again; and yet another which he kept concealed up his sleeve, and none of his company knew of it save only Master Thomas Doughty. It appears that the pretence of a voyage to Alexandria, which had been broadcast for the benefit of Madrid, had been accepted by the seamen as genuine when they signed on at Plymouth. The gentlemen adventurers were not so simple, they knew there must be a second

set of sailing orders, and only wondered whither. The secret of the third set was the Queen's secret—"Her Majesty did swear by her crown, that if any within her realm did give the King of Spain hereof to understand (as she suspected but two) they should lose their heads therefore," and "Her Majesty gave me special commandment that of all men my Lord Treasurer should not know of it." When at his trial Doughty confessed that he had passed the word to Burghley, Drake, accepting his Sovereign's view of her Lord Treasurer, believed that the voyage was spoilt, for the project rested on a surprisal of a peaceful and undefended coast and an unpatrolled sea—one word of warning would therefore ruin the whole, so the axe fell.

The situation to a man of Drake's intelligence was plain, the action to a man of his determination was certain. "I have taken in hand that I know not in the world how to go through withal, it passeth my capacity, it hath even bereaved me of my wits." The moment had arrived to show his hand, but there were too many people about. No lagging consorts were of use to him. They would but slow the action and reduce the profits. They had best go home. He gave them an opportunity to take the *Marigold*, "But let them take care that they go homeward, for, if I find them in my way, I will surely sink them." The picture is of a taut-strung determined man wishing to be alone. He had not long to wait, for the *Marigold* disappeared for ever and the *Elizabeth* parted company; the *Golden Hind* waited for her awhile up the coast, then it was reckoned she was carrying out her orders—gone for the Moluccas and good luck to her. Be sure the *Golden Hind* had a fine ship's company as she stood away North, and to them was broached the secret—the sacking of the South Sea and the best way home with the plunder. Meanwhile Winter made an honest attempt to carry out Admiralty orders, but the company left to him were not the men to make a circumnavigation, and the *Elizabeth* returned sadly to England.

The story goes that some years before Drake had climbed a tree in Darien and beheld the great South Sea glittering in the far distance, and there and then had resolved that one day he would sail upon that golden ocean. There seems no reason to doubt the story, for he was an active man and could climb a tree with anyone; but the story needs amplification. There is good reason for supposing that at this time, from Indians and his Spanish prisoners, he gained a fair description of the Pacific coastline as well as information as to the habits of the Spanish colonials. His researches also led him to a knowledge of the transport arrangements of the treasure south of Panama—north of that city, of course, he had first-hand knowledge of its handling—in fact he had

himself handled it somewhat; so that when the prospectus came to be prepared for the South Sea raid, after a patriotic preamble there followed no doubt an exact statement of the annual shipments of gold and silver bar to the port of Panama, and the ease with which all might be acquired. The profits promised were enormous. Such a company was bound to have a distinguished Board—Elizabeth Tudor, the Earl of Leicester, Walsingham, Sir Christopher Hatton, with Drake as Managing Director; they took up all the shares, and there was no public issue. To whom of this brilliant company must be given the credit of having thought of hitching their wonderful concern to the Admiralty Expedition is unknown; the humour of it would certainly have appealed to that bright mind which chose the right moment for its detachment.

Drake on his arrival in Peru was immediately relieved of all anxiety, for he found the coast drowsy with the sleep of security; gold and silver made up in convenient parcels lay ready on quayside and shipboard for his collection, with not a single cannon ashore or afloat for protection. Needless to say the operation was carried through in a masterly manner and it was almost bloodless—he mourned for two seamen. It was indeed a wonderful show of rubies and emeralds, beautiful china silks and damasks, of bars of silver and cakes and ingots of gold, which lay in hold and between the guns of the *Golden Hind* as she slashed with white the deep blue of the North Pacific and stood clear beyond the limit of Spanish dominion; it was then that her company realised that they were hungry, for they had not in their excitement collected much food; they found themselves a little out of breath—for the pace had been hot. The ship herself bore no war scars, but the quick despatch had led to a not too neat stowage of cargo, so maybe she was a bit by the head and steered none too well. The immediate need was for a quiet haven where these little matters could be adjusted, where their good captain might find time for meditation; and not far from the banks of the Sacramento they found what they desired.

There was no need to draw upon the experiences of war, to read of the campaigns of Julius Cæsar or of Alexander the Great, or to think upon the doings of Hector and Lysander and such great men as these; in his youth young Francis Drake had robbed an orchard—who is there in his youth who has not robbed an orchard? When with pockets bulging he had got clear away, he had sat down secluded to count his apples, to get his wind and to think out the safest way home, what time the farmer expended his breath in fruitless search. He had decided to shun the orchard for fear of the watch-dogs; he had thought it best to wait awhile, then to make a wide detour; and in the end young Master Francis had come home safely to enjoy the fruits of the earth. Experience

is a sound teacher, and the attentive pupil is never at a loss in after life. So the boy grown up had few hesitations. The way by Magellan Straits would be rejected early; the Spaniards on the coast were wide enough awake now. The Straits of Anian were reckoned a good route for explorers and suchlike, but far too speculative for one who had become a great capitalist, whose ship was a sort of travelling branch of the Bank of England.

As the great seaman walked solitary along the Pacific beach, playing ducks and drakes with the pebbles (as maybe he did), the pebbles skipped and skimmed due west every time, seeming to show him the best way home. It is likely that his exercises and beliefs in the Occult went no further than this; true Dr. Dee, the devil, and the Ephemerides had come up as witnesses when the case was being worked up against Thomas Doughty, but that business completed we hear no more about them—they had served their turn. He remembered as he walked that a fine set of Spanish charts lay on his chart table showing the way across the Pacific—they had come to him late, after the gold and silver collection, and it were a pity not to use them. Then perhaps came remembrance of the Admiralty instructions for the voyage to the Spice Islands—he would comply with them yet, and sail into Plymouth Sound smiling and shiny, looking like a Sunday School scholar who had taken the first prize for obedience—so adding spice to the adventure. Yes, roundabout was undoubtedly the best way home, and roundabout came Francis Drake. At the Court the Lord Treasurer alone did not join in the festivities which marked the return of the wanderer. Elizabeth Tudor was so pleased with her dividend that she persuaded Elizabeth Queen to knight Francis Drake. John Hawkins stood taciturn, hoping that this firework display would not upset his preparations for a real and open war.

That seems to be the sum of it; now it is necessary to show some of the workings. The evidence of John Cooke, who was present at Doughty's trial and execution in Patagonia, is that the charge which sealed the prisoner's fate was that he had given away the secret of the voyage to Burghley. Now it is incredible that the Lord Treasurer could have been unaware of the Navy Board's plan of the voyage, which, in one form or another, had been under discussion for many years. Quite apart from his office, which would have brought him the knowledge, there was no reason why it should have been kept from him, for it was not contrary to his policy, whereas the raid was contrary, and there was therefore excellent reason for withholding the knowledge from him. Here then is proof of a secret other than the Navy Board's, and the nature of that secret is plain. In an operation which perforce was wrapped in secrecy at birth, and carried through in the swathings

of intrigue, it is idle to hope for definite documentary evidence. Drake in his account of the beginning of things told of how he was asked by Walsingham to put his hand to a plan of the raid, which he refused to do, reminding the Secretary that the Queen was mortal and might be succeeded by another who knew not Joseph, and therefore in signing he might be signing his own death warrant. Such matter then which may have been committed to paper is more likely to be deliberately misleading than otherwise; certainly such of it as has been discovered leads to confusion, and we are forced to a consideration of personalities and a study of circumstances.

Drake's position when he had loaded his ship with treasure, estimated by Spain as amounting to nine and a half millions of our money, and by a more modest English estimate as about two and a half millions, was, it must be admitted, a difficult one. It was plain he must show all his treasure to justify his proceedings; it would not have helped his case at his return to say so much had he taken from Spain, and all had been lost in the sea. Whether the treasure were well or ill gotten, it was his business to get it safely home, leaving the geographical and commercial interests to others. Can we doubt it was his one thought? There is evidence that the Spaniards expected that Drake might bolt with the treasure across the Isthmus; we know that he would not have given it a thought—he would stick to his ship. Anyone with even a nodding acquaintance with the navigation under sail of the West Coast of South America knows of the great difficulty of a south bound passage, and Drake could look for no succour from the land—that route was double-barred. Mr. Taylor brings evidence to show that before the expedition started the Court party were in touch with Dr. Dee, who besides being an astrologer was a geographer and believed in the northern passages of the world, whereby we have an explanation of Drake's movement towards the imaginary Straits of Anian which were believed to give a passage northabout America. It is obvious that had Drake pursued it, and had the Straits been a reality, there would have been no circumnavigation. The late Sir Julian Corbett did not much believe in this effort northwards, and Dr. Williamson is of a like mind, for such weather, which Drake declared forced him to desist when he came no further north than 48°, has never been met with since in that latitude; it may be that the report of the endeavour was made to gain the sympathy of those interested in discovery, in peaceful expansion rather than conquest—we do not know. But it seems likely that the deciding factor in the choice of the way home was the capture of the North Pacific charts; round the world was the longest, but these charts made it the safest way, and the master

opportunist took it. Drake's luck was proverbial; it fortune'd, in this most fortunate of voyages, that the Spice Islands lay in his way: by this happy circumstance he was able to conform to the Admiralty orders and to introduce to polite and commercial circles His Majesty the King of Ternate. Much was made afterwards of the trading agreement with this dusky potentate, in the hope of giving comfort to the City for the loss of the long-established trade with Old Spain which ensued when the news came of the great raid; the City refused to be comforted by the treaty, but it has been wonderfully efficacious since with the historians.

Here perhaps may be permitted a word on behalf of Thomas Doughty, whose name is covered with obloquy, whose figure is paraded in books and pageants as a national villain. Modern scholars begin to tell us that the great Lord Burghley was no soft pacifist; he realised that the tyranny of Spain must be crushed, but looked for an honourable way. It is likely that Doughty knew the Lord Treasurer well, and broached the secret of the raid with no treacherous intent. We do know certainly that his act had no effect. He was charged further with attempting to thwart the voyage after he had embarked. He denied it. Winter, who was an Admiralty man and his friend, never learnt the secret of the voyage from him. If Winter did not learn it, it is a fair assumption to make that none else of the company learnt the secret from Doughty. He pleaded guilty to having made, under provocation, statements about his captain—that they were true in the main was no excuse, it was most improper. But he stoutly held to his end that he had conspired with no one, nor had he harboured one treacherous thought. Drake and his friends succeeded at the time in concealing this declaration, even substituting a pretended confession of guilt—a half-truth, and their true and natural successor the Vested Interest has been fairly successful since in the concealment; but slowly it is coming clear that Thomas Doughty's death was due mainly to the fact that he knew too much, and that his present defamation is due to the misfortune that his figure casts a shadow upon one whom certain religious and political propagandists have chosen to set up as a shining national hero.

After what has appeared, the question of whether Drake held a commission seems to be of no vital importance, but it may be briefly considered. First, it is well to get clearly in the mind that in the matter of this voyage the name of Elizabeth stood for two persons, two policies. As Queen she could back the Admiralty plan without shame; nay more, it would be her duty to refrain from giving support to any other plan which might divert or confuse the issue of it. Nevertheless, as Elizabeth Tudor she considered herself free to back the raid with her private purse, and

thereby she detracted from her queenliness. As leader of the Admiralty Expedition, Drake may have held a Queen's Commission; as leader of the raid, he could have held no more than Elizabeth Tudor's private bill for a thousand crowns. At Doughty's trial, when one might expect the Commission to be produced, we get no more than "God's Will, I have left in my cabin that which I should especially have had," and people have been hunting for that commission ever since. The men who formed Drake's congregation in Patagonia when he preached his great sermon—and remember he was a preacher's son—had flashed before their eyes the bill; and if there were any doubts at the beginning, before he made an end they believed that the Queen of England was behind him wherever he might go. The distinction between a private bill and a public commission, the existence of a dual personality, went right beyond the limits of their philosophy at any time; but in his great oratorical effort he had flung at them the names of noble Lords and courtiers, he had shown them that he was on familiar terms with distinguished officers of State, he had promised them glory, he had promised them riches, he had shown them his present power by pointing to Doughty's fate and making known his clemency for the future; he had in fact brought them to such a condition that they would have believed anything and everything he might have chosen to tell them. But he did not choose to tell them very much, and he did not show them his Commission; and as we know he allowed his second-in-command to go away from the meeting with a false impression of the expedition's destination, though, for his comfort, poor John Winter took with him the beautiful text of the sermon: "Let us show ourselves to be all of a company."

Since the raid was a financial venture, here should be shown a balance-sheet, but as the managing director was allowed to take for himself and his crew what he thought was a fair share without rendering any account, the figures would hardly satisfy a chartered accountant, and the best that can be done is to make a short financial statement. The estimated gross takings have already been given. After all expenses had been paid and all claims met it appears that every £100 invested brought £4,700, and Elizabeth's little flutter of a thousand crowns brought to her £90,000, besides the jewels, which were both numerous and costly. Small wonder that the august lady was pleased.

There is another balance-sheet to be examined which will give no pleasure to the Vested Interest. The attack on the Peruvian coast, where Drake took little more risk than does a burglar at work in Bayswater, can add nothing to England's martial renown, however much may be admired the seamanship in the passage out

and home. As a circumnavigator Thomas Cavendish deserves a larger share of credit than he is usually given, for he at any rate both intended and did sail round the world, having to fight in open war for what he wanted, where his forerunner had but to take and quit. Drake chose to pander to the baser side of his Sovereign Lady, whereby he was led into deceit and worse towards the men who served with him, which is pitiable in a leader of men; and alas, Elizabeth and her more intimate friends no longer look so well as they did in the charming story-books of our childhood. But this small group of people who plotted private war, and, while they talked of patriotism lined their own pockets, were so conscious that their conduct was below the national standard, as represented by the Lord Treasurer and the Admiralty of England, that they thought it best to work in secret. Here then we show a gain which is of more worth than all the riches of the Indies and all the treasure of the South Seas. We know that the nation had a sound heart; and that then, as now, a profiteer had no honour in this, our country.

GREGORY ROBINSON.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE FRENCH PROBLEM IN EUROPE.

THE good going in European diplomacy was brought to a sudden stop at the end of March. For two months a general improvement in feeling had been experienced, as a result of the January meeting of the League Council and of the Franco-Italian naval understanding. How precarious such an improvement was, and how obstinate by contrast the basic conflict of diplomatic principle that has been the cause of Europe's main troubles since the armistice, was revealed by the rapidity with which the retrograde process set in after March 21st. On that day it was officially divulged in Berlin and in Vienna that a preliminary agreement had been reached by the German and Austrian Governments that a customs union of the two countries be negotiated. At once the French commentators worked themselves into something like a panic, and Mr. Henderson, who happened to visit Paris at the height of the panic, and was therefore perhaps made more fully acquainted than he need have been with the full force of French feeling on the subject, was led to deplore the method and the occasion of the Austro-German disclosure, although he reserved his view of its substance.

The important effect of what had taken place was the psychological. In Europe, where the problem is mainly one of nerves, the psychological is nearly always the most important aspect of whatever takes place. In the present instance the main value of the January League Council and of the Franco-Italian naval agreement was that they gave some promise that Europe might remain quiet enough during 1931 to give the 1932 Disarmament Conference a chance of success; by the like token the mischief of the Austro-German announcement had little to do with its substance, and consisted merely in the accidental result that it upset French nerves. As often happens in diplomacy, as in other fields of life, one bad turn, if it did not deserve, at any rate it was given, another. The disturbances of March 21st had not died down before other disturbances were added to them. On April 6th it became known that Dr. Brüning and Dr. Curtius had accepted an invitation from the British Government to visit Chequers for an exchange of general views. Such exchanges had been a recent commonplace between Mr. Henderson and M. Briand; and on the face of the matter it could not have occurred to a normal person, not given to hysterics, that there could be anything improper in a meeting between the representatives of two friendly powers. Yet the Paris commentators dealt with the news as a matter of scandal. The invitation had been sent to Berlin in the halcyon days that

preceded the event of March 21st, the announcement of the fact having been delayed only because a commonly convenient date for the meeting had not at once been found. Yet French nervousness, reacting solely on the accidental circumstance that the news of the invitation was made public after the announcement of the proposed Austro-German customs union, expressed itself in hymns of displeasure against Great Britain. Next (the job of those mysterious powers who create mischief being easier than that of their opposite) it was at precisely the same time that the news leaked out of a serious hitch in the "drafting" of the Franco-Italian naval agreement. That agreement, which had been reached in principle on March 1st, was left for its final drafting to a committee which subsequently met in London. The so-called "drafting" difficulties, if euphemism be rejected for realism, were due to nothing less than a French desire to interpret the agreement in a sense agreeable to the more exuberant phase of French feeling, but hardly compatible, according to the other two parties, with the original agreement itself.

The details of the events that threw European diplomacy into confusion in the last week of March and the first week of April are reserved for their separate chronicle below. It becomes increasingly clear, however, that the actual details of the recurrent disturbances of Europe derive from one central origin. It is twelve and a half years since the Great War ended, the war that, not for the first and perhaps not for the last time, gave horribly ritualistic form to a European tradition than which the African jungle has little more fearsome to disclose. During those twelve and a half years it has been difficult to discover in what practical form the war has chastened the forces of European politics. While no serious person ever expects so wholly bad a thing as war to produce any good whatsoever, yet it shortens the breath of even the most realistic person to discover that a well-known danger makes so little impression on those who have before fallen into it. Those whose business it is to try and explain what is happening in European diplomacy are driven to emphasise the clear-cut underlying cause of the whole series of post-war controversies. Before the details of the latest controversies are examined it seems well to get the background right. Continental opinion, whether cast in Berlin, in Paris or in Prague, seems to be constitutionally unable to take the detached view of European affairs that is more easily taken in London. It apparently happens that French diplomacy is the standing obstacle to peace in Europe for the same reason that German diplomacy was the obstacle before 1914. It is the fear that afflicts the victor that does the damage. Germany having defeated France in 1870 and being therefore terrified of France ever after,

could not restrain herself from establishing so marked a superiority in fighting strength that she isolated herself by driving the other Powers into a sort of league against her. By the very strength of her armaments, of which the motive was her own security, she produced a war in which she was annihilated. There is a twelve years' background to the corresponding spectacle of France, who having with British help defeated Germany in 1914-18, is now so terrified of Germany that in the like stupid name of security she is attempting to establish a similar marked superiority in armaments. M. Doumergue, speaking at Nice on his way to Tunis on April 9th last, said that France "had no right, in the absence of a strong organised international force, to allow its own material strength to be reduced below the level indicated by its need for security and the integrity of its home and oversea territory."

It is difficult, on the cumulative experience of what has taken place since the armistice, to escape the conclusion that French diplomacy tends more and more to base itself on the hypothesis of future war with Germany. The Quai d'Orsay regards Whitehall with favour or disfavour according as Whitehall supports or opposes the French policy of perpetuating German military inferiority. The Wilhelmstrasse regards Whitehall with favour or with disfavour on the precisely converse ground. Whitehall, meanwhile, is permanently afflicted with a different kind of nervousness, originating in a desire to keep everybody quiet and in the light of tranquil sweet reason to persuade them that disarmament is the shortest cut to security. The Quai d'Orsay has consistently been afraid of disarmament and has regularly answered the British argument by turning it upside down and postulating "security," that is a France ensured of military hegemony in Europe, as the indispensable precursor of disarmament. Those two principles have been in a permanent deadlock since the war, although the deadlock has from time to time in various ways been disguised. Now for twelve and a half years British policy has attempted the rôle of being friends with France while trying to win her to reason. Not an inch of progress has been made in that heroic endeavour; for the only occasions on which France has been willing to believe that Great Britain is her friend have been when Great Britain has agreed with her. To agree with her it has been necessary to pledge the active support of the British army, navy and air force to France in the event of a French war with Germany. When Great Britain rejected the Geneva Protocol of 1924 she was no friend of France; when she signed the Locarno Treaties, she was a friend of a France. From the British point of view the dilemma is that it does not much matter whether the disturber of the peace be Germany from 1871 to 1914 or France

from 1919 to ? ; what matters is that the peace be not disturbed by either. Those Germans therefore who start from the right premise, namely that present-day French diplomacy is the great menace to the peace of the world, arrive at the wrong conclusion when they expect Great Britain to cut all ties of friendship with France: for the only hope of peace in Europe is that France shall be helped to recognise that she is not in any danger unless she herself, by persisting in her present policy, creates the very danger she fears. The British Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs is a thankless job. The French outcry produced by the news that Dr. Brüning and Dr. Curtius were going to visit Chequers opened the eyes of Whitehall to the fact that the Quai d'Orsay had so far misunderstood Mr. Henderson's friendliness as to regard a correspondingly friendly meeting between Mr. Henderson and the German politicians as not only unnecessary, but deplorable. Such a misconception could not be tolerated in London. It was dangerous. The projected Chequers visit caused the liveliest satisfaction in Great Britain, for the mentality that had regarded Germany as an enemy died long ago; but while no section of British opinion would push complacency to the length of allowing France to imagine that her view of the propriety of an Anglo-German meeting could have the slightest effect on British opinion, it would be generally deplored if France should conclude that she is in any present danger of isolation.

THE AUSTRO-GERMAN CUSTOMS UNION.

On the morning of Saturday, March 21st, the Austrian Minister in London called at the Foreign Office and informed the Permanent Under-Secretary of State that the German and Austrian Governments had decided that negotiations should at once be started for the conclusion of a customs union. The Austrian Ministers in Paris and in Rome gave the corresponding information to the Foreign Offices in those capitals. A semi-official statement was issued in Berlin that same evening which explained the preceding circumstances of what had taken place. The foundation of the agreement was laid when Dr. Curtius visited Vienna at the beginning of March. The initiative was understood to have come from the Austrian Government, which had never concealed its disappointment over the Commercial Treaty signed in Berlin on April 2nd, 1930. That treaty contained little more than a mutual formula for "most-favoured-nation" treatment, and its effects were negligible. Not only were the tariffs between the two countries not reduced; in some cases they were increased. After Herr Curtius returned to Berlin the two Governments confirmed the agreement

that had been reached. It was a preliminary agreement in the sense that it was merely an agreement to conclude a treaty on lines laid down in a protocol. The negotiation of such a treaty would be likely to take some considerable time because many subsidiary technicalities would have to be adjusted. When concluded it would have to be submitted to the two Parliaments, and, if ratified, the resultant legislation would have to be enacted. It was estimated that the complete process might take as long as twelve months.

What, in effect, had been agreed was that the German and Austrian territory should be amalgamated as a customs unit. All customs receipts would be pooled and subsequently divided between the two Governments in a ratio that would have to be decided, a possible criterion being the average of the respective customs receipts over a period of, say, ten years past. Each country would retain its full independence and its own customs administration. Goods which passed the frontier from the German side would be submitted to the German customs; those passing from the Austrian side, to the Austrian customs. In administrative practice the only difference would be that the three hundred miles of common frontier between Germany and Austria would have the customs offices (e.g. at Kufstein, Salzburg and Passau) abolished. The treaty, in the first instance, would operate for three years, and would be renewable subject to a twelve months' notice on either side.

The contemplated treaty differed from the Belgian-Luxembourg customs union, in that both parties would retain complete equality and independence, and would be free to conclude commercial treaties with third parties. In practice such third party treaties would have to avoid inconsistency with the customs union, and would therefore in the first instance be negotiated jointly by Germany and Austria. A point on which emphasis was laid by the German and Austrian authorities was that the accession of any further unit to the customs union (for instance, Czechoslovakia or Hungary) would be welcomed. Those authorities, indeed, were understood to claim that this new customs union would be the first step in the cessation of tariff wars in Europe, and that it conformed with the purposes both of the Geneva customs truce conference and of the Briand plan for European harmony.

An example of the many conundrums that would inevitably arise when the details of the Treaty came to be negotiated was suggested by the circumstance that the Austrian Government holds a tobacco monopoly, and the German Government a monopoly in the manufacture of alcohol. Theoretically, Austrian cigarettes and German spirits would, in the new order, circulate in both countries. What

then would be the position of the German manufacturers of cigarettes, cigars, etc., and of the Austrian manufacturers of spirits? A joint monopoly in both products would itself create considerable difficulty. There are many comparable problems of a technical kind that will need to be settled before the Treaty can operate. It was to be provided that any existing liens on the respective customs should be fully respected. The 1923 League of Nations' liens on the Austrian customs would, for instance, be satisfied by the deflection of the necessary amount from the pool. It was, indeed, argued that such liens would be strengthened by the enlarged customs margins that would henceforth be behind them.

The text of the protocol, which was not published fully in the Press, reads (after the preamble) thus: "I. (1) Under full maintenance of the independence of the two countries concerned and with due respect for the obligations entered upon with third Powers, the treaty is destined to mark the beginning of a new order of European economic conditions on lines of regional agreements. (2) More especially both countries will in the treaty declare their willingness to enter into negotiations on similar agreements with any other country expressing such a desire.

"II. (1) Germany and Austria will agree on a tariff bill and a customs tariff which shall be put into force in both customs regions concurrently with the treaty and for the period of its validity. (2) During the validity of the treaty alterations of the tariff bill and the customs tariff can be effected only if both countries agree.

"III. (1) As long as the treaty remains in force the exchange of goods between the two countries shall not be subject to any import or export duties. (2) The two Governments will agree in the treaty as to whether provisional tariffs will be necessary and, if so, for which special categories of goods and for which period.

"IV. (1) Both Governments will agree to stipulations in the treaty concerning provisional arrangements as to the exchange of goods between both countries, as to the turnover tax and as to the exchange of such goods for which, at the time being, monopolies or excise duties are in existence in either of the two countries.

"V. (1) The customs administration of each country shall maintain its independence from that of the other country and remain under the exclusive control of the Government of its respective country. Furthermore each country shall bear the expenses of its own customs administration. (2) Both Governments, whilst fully respecting the above principle, will assure by special measures of a technical character the equal and similar administration of the tariff law, the customs tariff and the remaining tariff regulations.

"VI. (1) In the German customs territory the customs shall

be levied by the German customs authorities and vice versa in Austria. (2) After deducting the special expenses arising out of the application of the treaty the amount of the duties received shall be distributed between the two countries according to the quota arranged. (3) In the agreements to be made in this respect care will be taken not to impair the liens on customs revenues existing in either country.

"VII. (1) No import-, export- or transit-prohibitions shall exist between Germany and Austria. Such exceptions as may prove to be necessary for reasons of public order, public health or similar reasons shall be mentioned in the treaty as precisely as possible. (2) In place of the Convention on Animal Disease concluded between Germany and Austria on July 12th, 1924, the two Governments will conclude as soon as possible, and not later than one year after the coming into force of the treaty, and put into force a new agreement regulating the traffic of animals and animal produce between Germany and Austria in such a manner that under the same conditions the same regulations will be applied which govern the internal traffic in Germany and Austria.

"VIII. The rights enjoyed by individuals and companies of the one high contracting party in the territory of the other as to settlement, trade, taxation, etc. are to be arranged on the basis of the respective regulations of the existing Austro-German Commercial Treaty. On the same basis regulations shall also be agreed upon concerning the mutual railway and shipping traffic.

"IX. (1) Both Governments even after the coming into force of the treaty shall retain in principle the right to conclude commercial treaties with other Powers on their own behalf. (2) In the course of such negotiations with other Powers the German and the Austrian Governments will each see to it that the interests of the other contracting party are not violated in contradiction to the text and spirit of the treaty to be concluded. (3) As far as it seems opportune and possible with a view to effecting a simple, speedy, and uniform settlement of the commercial relations with third Powers the German and the Austrian Governments will conduct joint negotiations for the conclusion of commercial treaties with third Powers. Even in this case, Germany and Austria will each sign and ratify a special commercial treaty on their own behalf, and will only arrange for a simultaneous exchange of the documents of ratification with the third Power in question.

"X. Both Governments will take the necessary steps in due time to bring into accord with one another and with the text and spirit of the treaty, the existing commercial treaties concluded by Germany and Austria with third Powers in so far as they contain binding tariffs or in so far as they would impair the execution of

the existing import and export prohibitions and other regulations on the exchange of goods.

"XI. (1) To ensure a smooth working of the treaty an Arbitration Committee shall be provided for, constituted on the basis of complete equality, of an equal number of members of both contracting parties. This Committee will have as its object: (a) the settlement by arbitration of disputes arising between the parties as to the interpretation and application of the treaty; (b) the formulation of a compromise in such cases in which the treaty provides for a special arrangement between the contracting parties, or in which according to the text of the treaty the carrying out of the intentions of the one party depends upon the consent of the other party, if in such cases an agreement cannot be reached between the parties. (2) A decision of the Arbitration Committee in cases (a) and (b) referred to above is to be binding for both parties, a majority of votes being sufficient, the President of the Committee to have a casting vote. Complete equality in the choice of the President of the Committee will be provided for in the treaty. (3) Should either of the two Governments be of the opinion that the decision of the Arbitration Committee in any of the cases mentioned under (1) b violates its vital economic interests, then it shall be entitled to terminate the treaty any time on giving six months' notice. Such notice of termination can also be given during the first period of the treaty of three years mentioned under XII, 2.

"XII. (1) The treaty shall be ratified and come into force at the end of a period to be fixed in the treaty, after the date of the exchange of ratifications. (2) The treaty can be terminated at any time on one year's notice, but not before the end of the third year of its coming into force except in the case mentioned under XI, 3. (3) To give notice a special law will have to be enacted by the country which wishes to terminate the treaty."

The immediate diplomatic interest of what was thus foreshadowed lay in the reaction produced in the four "key" centres of Europe: Paris, London, Prague and Rome. The Paris reaction needs little elaboration. The proposed customs union was regarded in that centre as the first step to the *Anschluss*, and as a violation of all the relevant treaty provisions; for instance, of Article 38 of the Treaty of Saint-Germain, which enjoined upon Austria the maintenance of her independence, of Articles 217-222 of the same treaty, which forbade Austria to differentiate between other States, and of the whole Protocol of October 1922 by which, in return for a British, French, Italian and Czechoslovak guarantee of an international loan, Austria undertook to refrain from any negotiations or economic or financial engagements which might directly or indirectly compromise her independence (although she retained her

full liberty in the matter of customs, tariffs, and economic agreements provided her economic independence were not jeopardised by agreements with other States). The universal French view was that Germany has done what she had no right to do.

The Czechoslovak reaction was more interesting. Dr. Benesh had been informed about the matter by the Austrian Minister in Prague on March 21st, when the information was supplemented by a formal invitation to Czechoslovakia to join the customs union. Dr. Benesh reserved his view; but the view was soon formulated. While it was generally foreseen that the proposed customs union would excite some initial misgiving in Prague, where the *Anschluss* is a contingency of some concern in view of the circumstances in which the new Central Europe came into being, the particular form into which that misgiving came to be crystallised was not generally foreseen.

It has to be conceded that any disturbance that may be caused in Central Europe is a matter of general importance, because the new Central Europe is a vast improvement on the old, and in particular the steady and solid qualities of Czechoslovak statesmanship, economics, industry, finance, have been one of the few factors in European stability since the war. Czech views on the subject therefore demand close attention. They were clearly revealed in an article published in the March 27th edition of the *Central European Observer*, a semi-official Prague periodical, published in English, French and Russian. One short passage put the essential point thus: "For the Little Entente the plan is unrealisable and unacceptable. Although it appeals to the principle of regional understandings, so often emphasised by Dr. Benesh, it is fundamentally at variance with the policy of these States, which have always had in mind an economic co-operation of small States with the exclusion of any Great Power, whose presence in such a combination would condemn them to the rôle of mere satellites. If the premature plan of a German-Austrian customs union was accelerated, as was stated by some German newspapers, by the fear lest Austria should be coaxed into a Central European combination eventually directed against Germany, such apprehensions were unfounded in view of the fact that it was impossible for any Central European group to adopt an economic policy which would run against the interests of 65,000,000 people."

A practical manifestation of the effect produced in Central Europe was the sudden decision of the Yugoslav Government to sign the proposed commercial treaty with Czechoslovakia which had been held up by certain Yugoslav bargaining proposals in the interests of Yugoslav agricultural products. Mr. Demetrovich,

the Minister for Commerce, promptly left Belgrade for Prague to sign the treaty.

An indication of the seriousness with which the prospect was regarded in Prague was given by the fact that on April 2nd the *Prager Presse*, the semi-official organ of the Czechoslovak Foreign Office, which is published in German for wide circulation throughout Central Europe, printed an article by a young Czechoslovak historian, Dr. Jaroslav Papoushek, under the heading "The Austro-German Preliminary Agreement in Historical Perspective." In that article a review was made of the customs agreements made between Prussia and the other States, beginning with the customs agreement (Zollverein) between Prussia and the Grand Duchy of Hesse Darmstadt of February 14th, 1828, from which resulted the whole subsequent history of the German customs union. "If," wrote Dr. Papoushek, "we compare the present Preliminary Agreement with the agreements in question which came into existence from 1828 to 1834, it is surprising to find to what extent these agreements, separated as they are by a period of a hundred years, coincide." He goes on to compare article by article the Austro-German Protocol of 1931 with the Prussia-Hesse-Darmstadt Agreement of February 14th, 1828, and discovers a remarkable likeness even to the extent of verbal coincidence. The only substantial difference he discovers between the two instruments is that the 1931 protocol admits of the conclusion by the two parties of commercial agreements with third parties, a difference which he then goes on to rob of its substance by the qualification that whereas the 1931 formula makes the condition that such third party agreements be made "jointly," the 1828 instrument stipulated that they be made "with co-operation and consent." The author even discovers the intriguing coincidence that March 22nd, 1931, the date when Europe learnt of the new customs union from the newspapers, was the hundredth anniversary of the signature of the most important of the German Zollverein agreements, namely the agreement between Prussia and Bavaria. He concludes that as the customs agreements of a century ago were the foundation of political union, so to-day's agreement is the foundation of the *Anschluss*; and even unearths a fact which he regards as of bad omen, and which he thus describes: "The Agreement of February 14th, 1828, which served as a model for the Austro-German Preliminary Agreement, was made public. But on the same day a secret agreement was concluded, the preamble of which was as follows: 'An Agreement between the Royal Prussian and the Grand Ducal Hessian Governments with regard to a mutual customs and commercial union having this day been concluded, special articles not suitable to be publicly announced have been

agreed upon. . . . If the Agreements of 1828 to 1834 served as a model for the Preliminary Agreement of 1931, it may well be asked whether the model was not followed in all particulars, and whether in 1931 also articles were agreed upon which are not for publication."

One may concede the young historian the thrill of his discoveries without imagining that he, still less any responsible politician in Prague, suspects the existence of a secret pact in 1931. The best argument against any such suspicion is that it would be absurd and unnecessary. Everybody knows that the *Anschluss* will come sooner or later; and that the customs union will prove to have been the first step towards it. But it is a contingency of the probably distant future, of which the practical interest is now heavily discounted by the pressure of more serious business that falls for treatment in the meantime. The revival of wartime nightmares about "Mitteleuropa," "Berlin—Bagdad," "Pangermanism," may give a nasty jab to overwrought nerves, but has no practical sting.

The official Czechoslovak attitude was expressed by Dr. Benesh in the Foreign Committee of the Chamber on March 26th. *The Times* report of his statement ran thus: "He said that both from the political and economic points of view the plan could satisfy Czechoslovakia only if it were carried out so as to embrace the whole of Europe. A limited conception such as the one proposed would affect Czechoslovakia vitally, and might also create for Central Europe new difficulties dangerous to peace. Indirectly it raised the question of the *Anschluss*, in connection with which the Czechoslovak standpoint was known. The Government could not therefore accept this plan. He believed that M. Briand and Mr. Henderson had rightly decided that the whole question should be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations to be studied. In his opinion it would be decided in Geneva in a just and politically sensible manner. Czechoslovakia would gladly accept the League Council's decision."

The British reaction was fully expounded by Mr. Henderson in a statement he made to the House of Commons on March 30th. Although in his statement he made the reservation that "the attitude of His Majesty's Government must be one of complete reserve," he went on to give a preliminary view of the matter which showed that he had gone some way towards making up his mind about it. He made it known that it was himself who would raise the question at the next meeting of the League Council. Certain correspondence had already passed between London, Berlin and Vienna which showed that the British Government had already established a divergence of view with the German and

Austrian Governments. On the purely legal aspect of the matter Mr. Henderson reserved his opinion pending a report from the legal advisers of the Foreign Office.

The information about the proposed customs union reached Mr. Henderson on the eve of his departure for Paris to attend the meeting of the Briand Committee on European Federation. When he was in Paris he discussed the matter both with M. Briand and with Lord Tyrrell, and he came back to London having formulated an unfavourable view of what Germany and Austria were doing. In the House of Commons on March 30th he said: "... the method and the time chosen by the Austrian and German Governments for conveying the information to the other interested Governments have rightly provoked widespread comment. I will content myself with saying that this method is calculated to raise suspicions and to nullify the advantages for the frank exchange of ideas offered by the now frequent meetings at Geneva and elsewhere between the representatives of the various Governments." That was strong language for a Foreign Minister to use in reference to an important contemporary event. Mr. Henderson had already informed the German and Austrian Governments that in his view the matter was serious and was one which properly fell within the province of the Council of the League of Nations. In his communication to Berlin and to Vienna he even went to the length of stating frankly that if nothing were done to calm existing apprehensions, the task of those who were anxious that next year's Disarmament Conference should meet with a good chance of success, would be made extremely difficult. M. Briand expressed his approval of what Mr. Henderson had done.

The two answers received by Mr. Henderson from Berlin and Vienna were substantially the same. There is no doubt that they were drawn up in collaboration. Their substance was that although the German and Austrian Governments had no objection to submitting the matter to the Council of the League of Nations in its juridical aspect, that is to say in its bearing upon existing treaties and obligations, they could not agree to the Council of the League being asked to express an opinion on its political implications. The German and Austrian argument amounted to this, that a purely economic arrangement of that kind fell wholly within the competence of German and Austrian politics.

Mr. Henderson made it clear that he regarded both the German and the Austrian answer as unsatisfactory. He proclaimed his intention of supporting the procedure of submitting the juridical aspect of the matter to the Permanent Court of International Justice in addition to raising the question of its political aspect before the Council of the League.

On four specific points Mr. Henderson committed himself to a definite policy. In the first place he announced that he had sought the opinion of the legal advisers of the Foreign Office in support of his view that the constitution and rules of the League of Nations demanded that a matter of that kind be submitted to the Council of the League rather than to a special subsidiary committee, on the ground that the 1922 protocol was negotiated under the auspices of the League. Secondly, he announced that his policy on the legal aspect of the matter would depend upon the unfettered advice given to him by the law officers, whose report had not yet been drawn up. Thirdly, he put on record his view that the proposed customs union was not a violation of the letter of the Anglo-German Treaty of Commerce (1924) although it might modify the benefits accruing to this country from that agreement. (Article IV (2) of that treaty specifically excepted from the provisions of the treaty any benefit accrued to any country linked, or to be linked, with Germany by a customs union. That clause in the Anglo-German treaty became especially interesting at that moment because there was no corresponding clause either in the Anglo-Austrian Commercial Treaty or in the Franco-German treaty.) Fourthly, Mr. Henderson made it clear that he proposed to investigate what particular effect the proposed customs union might have on the general interests of British trade. He had submitted that question to certain expert bodies in London and was now waiting their report.

The Italian Government gave a further illustration of its latter-day wisdom and restraint by refusing at the outset to form any view whatever about the proposed customs union. Its ambassadors in Berlin and in Vienna accompanied those of Great Britain and France when more detailed information on the subject was sought from the German and Austrian Foreign Offices in the week following March 21st. No statement, however, was made in Rome, nor could the foreign journalists in Rome obtain any guidance as to what the Government was thinking. Before the veil was lifted it did become known that wheels were working within wheels. A suggestion was conveyed to Rome with the finesse for which French diplomacy is justly famous, that the difficulties that had arisen in the drafting of the Franco-Italian naval agreement might be adjusted in a sense agreeable to Italian opinion if on the Italian side a declaration were made in Rome about the Austro-German customs union in a sense agreeable to French opinion. The word *chantage* is appropriately more pleasant in its suggestions than the word blackmail, for French diplomacy adopts a more broadminded attitude towards the practice it describes than does for instance British diplomacy. In the present instance there was little scope

for its application, for Italy had already made the big concession to France and was not likely to go further in order to induce France to respect what she had already signed. Italy therefore maintained her silence on the subject of the customs union. In the second week of April the Italian Government quietly made it known that it agreed in a general sense with what Mr. Henderson had said on the subject, and left it at that.

THE NAVAL AGREEMENT.

The circumstances leading up to the conclusion of the Franco-Italian naval agreement, which was announced on March 1st, and the main substance and importance of the agreement, were chronicled in this section of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW last month (pp. 517-20).

On March 14th the British Government proposed that a conference of jurists should meet in London to draw up a document such as should give final form to the agreement reached, and that in addition to the jurists of Great Britain, France and Italy, those of the United States and Japan should be invited, so that the full relevance of the new agreement to the 1930 London Treaty should be established. The date proposed for the conference was March 19th.

The United States Government decided not to take part in the proposed conference on the two grounds that for technical reasons a redrafting of any part of the Washington Agreement was for the present impracticable, and that moreover in the opinion of the United States Government the new Franco-Italian agreement could not be made to coincide wholly with Part III of the London Treaty. It therefore followed that neither would the Japanese Government attend the conference.

The conference met at the Foreign Office in London on March 19th. In view of the absence of American and Japanese representatives the initial question arose whether the sectional nature of the new instrument would not best be met by means of an exchange of letters between the three Governments rather than by a more formal convention. From the moment the conference assembled, however, no further news became available of what was being done or by what means. The conference continued to meet day by day, but no bulletins were issued. The first herald of trouble was heard on March 24th, when the budget debate in the French Senate, dealing with the vote for the naval estimates, produced some surprising criticisms of the Franco-Italian agreement on the ground that it did not give to France an adequate superiority in fighting strength. The Minister of Marine, M. Charles Dumont,

defended the agreement on the remarkable ground that it was "only a sort of holiday in the augmentation of the fleet." That way of putting it illustrated the present-day French mentality which hampers general disarmament. On the following day, Thursday, March 26th, the first admission of "differences" at the conference was publicly made. Mr. Henderson was in Paris. Accompanied by Lord Tyrrell and by Mr. Selby and Mr. Cadogan of the Foreign Office he went to the Quai d'Orsay, where from 10.30 a.m. to 1.0 p.m. they discussed with M. Briand, M. Charles Dumont, M. Léger (Director of Political Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay) and the two experts, M. Massigli and Admiral Darlan, the mysterious business of the conference that was still theoretically sitting in London. At the end of the Quai d'Orsay palaver it was informally announced that what had been discussed were "matters of interpretation" and that "a satisfactory settlement" had been reached. What such news could mean passed the comprehension of ordinary people, for no settlement, satisfactory or not, could be reached by two parties about a matter affecting three parties, and the immediate future was to show that one of those two parties itself was engaged, not in reaching a "settlement" of anything, but in upsetting a settlement that had been reached a month before. The next news was made public on April 4th. It was then announced that the conference which had been sitting in London since March 19th had "adjourned" for the Easter holiday and would resume its business on, or about, April 14th. Meanwhile no news was given of progress made, if any. The ten days' interval was fruitful of much confusion. A French naval authority wrote an article in a French paper on the theme that henceforth the British submarine strength was to be stabilised at 52,700 tons, the French at 81,989 tons, and ended with an expression of satisfaction that the British Admiralty had responded in so friendly a manner to French wishes by agreeing to accept France as the greatest submarine Power in the world. The post-war French swagger about the greatest submarine Power in the world is as magnificent as the pre-war German swagger about the greatest military Power in the world. The unfortunate thing is that the alternating German and French aspiration to be the greatest nuisance in the world cannot spend itself without bringing innocent third parties into the disasters it provokes. By April 6th the French commentators were openly challenging the basis of the agreement that had been reached with Italy less than six weeks before. They were apparently encouraged to do so by the French Ministry of Marine itself which inspired a propaganda based on the calculation that the French superiority over Italy in 1936 would consist mainly of older ships. "Second thoughts" about the agreement with Italy

were expressed in Paris with a curious insensibility to the fact that the agreement had already in all due form been tabled. The Italian newspapers thereupon (April 7th) launched an attack on France for virtually threatening to repudiate her own signature of only six weeks ago; and the two sets of controversialists began to bandy figures at each other, such as, item, that the agreement of March 1st was perfectly clear about the inclusion of over-age vessels in the figure of 229,467 tons prescribed for the French margin over Italy in 1936; item, that, if France chose to build in the first three years all the new ships she would be entitled to build up to 1936, she could not then reasonably complain that she was not allowed to build any more new ships in the last three years. If the ships had been sweets, and the pouters children, there would have been something attractive as well as harmless in that type of controversy.

On April 6th Mr. Shaw, the Secretary of State for War, gave the following figures in a written answer to a Parliamentary question showing the difference expressed as a percentage between the estimates of military expenditure in the several countries in 1930, as compared with 1924: Great Britain -10, Japan -1.6, United States +28, Italy +36, France +110, Russia +184.

Those figures are a terrible revelation of what is taking place in the world outside of Great Britain and Japan.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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GLIMPSES OF HIGH POLITICS.*

In his illuminating foreword to this valuable book, Sir Bernard Pares tells us that the Memoirs of Tcharykow, "one of the most distinguished figures in Russian pre-war diplomacy, relate with lively interest the infinitely varied events of his long life." It is indeed the length and the variety of the story, no less than the prominent part played by the writer, which render it a welcome contribution to history. In a life of seventy-five years we pass from Russia before the emancipation of the serfs to Russia under the yoke of the Bolsheviks, and we witness vivid pictures of every phase of the changing scene. The author served his country as a soldier, an administrator and a diplomatist, and though he never rose to the highest offices of the state he saw as much of the working of the vast machine as any of his contemporaries.

Tcharykow came of a good family in the South of Russia, and his opening chapters on the old patriarchal life are among the best in the book. Serfdom was an evil which the world had outgrown; but it varied from estate to estate, and in the little world described in these pages its grimmer features are absent. After a fruitful interlude of four years in Edinburgh, where he learned not only the English language but British ideas of liberty, the young man entered the diplomatic service. His career, however, was very different from that of the ordinary diplomatist, who passes from capital to capital as one mounts the steps of a staircase. He fought

* *Glimpses of High Politics: The Autobiography of N. V. Tcharykow.* Allen & Unwin. 16s.

in the Balkan War of 1877-8, and shed his blood for the liberation of Bulgaria. During the following decade he took part in what he describes as the awakening of Central Asia, namely, the military and political subjection of the Transcaspian States. As the first Political Agent of Bokhara he played his part in the process of extending Russian civilisation; and though the yoke of the Tsars was never light, some useful work was accomplished in regions which were still in a semi-savage state. It has often been remarked that whereas Russia was broadly speaking reactionary in Europe, she was generally a reforming influence beyond the Urals and the Caspian.

Tcharykow represented his country in many capitals; but he never experienced a more terrible night than that in which the King and Queen of Serbia were murdered almost under his eyes in Belgrad, for the Russian Embassy was close to the Palace. The conspirators had forced their way in but failed to find their prey. "Suddenly a window was opened in the lower story of the Palace facing the street, and we heard the Queen's voice calling to the soldiers outside for help. This showed the conspirators where the Royal couple had taken refuge." After thirty years of service he spent some anxious months as Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1908-9 during the absence of Izvolsky, who had held out hopes that he would be his successor. The prize went to Sazonoff, and Tcharykow ended his diplomatic career in the difficult post at Constantinople during the early years of the Young Turk régime. A few snapshots of the world-war are followed by chapters on the revolution which drove him into exile and almost cost him his life. Like many of his countrymen he found refuge in Constantinople, where he had so recently represented the empire of the Tsars, now destroyed and forgotten. Despite his sufferings and anxieties he writes without bitterness, and he was supported to the end by an indestructible faith in the future of Russia. Though his autobiography reveals fewer secrets of high policy than those of Witte and Rosen, Izvolsky and Sazonoff, it is none the less indispensable to our knowledge of the closing decades of Imperial Russia.

* * *

ROBERT BROWNING.*

There is one point, but perhaps only one, on which a critic must disagree with Mr. Hardy Wallis in his useful study and edition of Robert Browning's earliest poem *Pauline*. He says that it is

* *Pauline*, by Robert Browning. The text of 1833, compared with that of 1867 and 1888. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by N. Hardy Wallis. University of London Press Ltd. 5s. net.

remarkable that "the poetry of Browning should be so little read." It is probably as much read as ever, but Browning has become a classic and is no longer the subject of dispute. The poetry of Browning is part of the educated man's or woman's outfit, just as Shakespeare, Pope, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and Matthew Arnold are part of his or her outfit. While other poets of great rank, such as Tennyson and Swinburne (to take modern instances) are still struggling for entrance into the indubitable classics, Browning has won his place and perhaps in the very winning of it he has dropped from popular gaze in the meaner sense of the words.

All critics are agreed on the intractable nature of some of the poet's writings. Browning is said to have answered to a question about the meaning of a certain passage, "When I wrote it the meaning was known to God and myself, but now God alone knows." This is undoubtedly apocryphal, but Mr. Wallis quotes another version as true: "I am sure I meant something when I wrote them, but do not remember what." *Sordello* is a huge poem crammed with vast learning relating to mediæval Italy, but it is very difficult to read. A contemporary critic said that there were only two lines—the first and the last—that he could understand and these were not true. On the other hand the very great Italian poem *The Ring and the Book* is not only magnificent but for the most part quite easy to read, as indeed are most of the shorter poems. But we are an impatient age: people talk about Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Keats, and Shelley who really do not know these sublime authors, except in extract. Browning, in his little volume of selections, knew of the fate of most poets, and preferred to make his own selections for those who wanted his music and his philosophy but had not the patience to seek them in his gathered works.

Robert Browning was twenty when in the year 1833 he published *Pauline: A Fragment of a Confession*; it was reprinted with certain comments by the poet in 1867 and again in 1888 with some small modifications: "I have simply removed solecisms, mended the metre a little, and endeavoured to strengthen the phraseology—experience helping, in some degree, the helplessness of juvenile haste and heat in their untried adventure long ago." The poet therefore retouched the poem fifty-five years after it was written. The next year he died just as his last work, *Asolando*, was published and had gained from the critics a final laurel-wreath. Browning was the most meticulous of authors and, despite his alleged obscurity of language, he was in his maturity never in any doubt as to what he wanted to say. He was well aware of the frequent difficulties of his text and recognised that there was something to

complain of. In the 1888 preface to his collected works he says frankly, "My faults remain duly recorded against me, and I claim permission to somewhat diminish these, so far as style is concerned, in the present and final edition where *Pauline* must needs, first of my performances, confront the reader." In the impatience of his middle age and old age he would willingly have swept the poem away altogether, but various copies in manuscript existed (one made by Dante Gabriel Rossetti himself), and while all his very early work was destroyed—"only this crab remains of the shapely Tree of Life in my fool's paradise"—*Pauline* remains. Mr. Augustine Birrell writes in his two-volume edition of the Works published in 1896, "Amongst the early works of great poets it must always occupy a distinguished place on account of the splendour and extreme beauty of many of its passages. As a rule, such early work is disappointing, or at all events insignificant and uninteresting, but *Pauline* is far from insignificant, and is always interesting. One sees a mind at work and a rich promise of a harvest to come." Even the poet himself in his contemptuous reference to the poem in 1867 writes:

The thing was my earliest attempt at "poetry always dramatic in principle, and so many utterances of so many imaginary people, not mine," which I have since written according to a scheme less extravagant and scale less impracticable than were ventured upon in this crude preliminary sketch—a sketch that, on reviewal, appears not altogether wide of some hint of that particular *dramatis persona* it would fain have reproduced: good draughtsmanship, however, and right handling were far beyond the artist at that time.

Less than three years later, however, Browning had come into his stride and published the very learned poem *Paracelsus*, an amazing achievement for a young man of less than twenty-four. In 1837, at the age of about twenty-five, he wrote the play *Strafford: a Tragedy*, which was acted on May 1st, 1837, at Covent Garden Theatre, Mr. Macready taking the part of Strafford, with Miss Helen Faucit as Lady Carlisle. The fine scene at the end between Strafford and Pym fulfils the conception of tragedy, conflicting ideals that are finding their solution on a higher plane. *Sordello* came in 1840. It is difficult mainly because the average reader cannot project himself into the Ghibelin and Guelf struggle. But it contains passages superb and wonderful which recall the fact that from this time onwards there is a philosophy of faith, instinct and irremovable, in the poet's heart. Asolo, sparkling Asolo, comes to life in this early poem, and it is with him to end when the volume *Asolando* appeared on the very day that the poet died, December 12th, 1889. He was as young in spirit then as he was when he wrote *Pippa Passes* in 1841. He wrote in 1889:

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

He wrote in 1841:

The year's at the spring
And day's at the morn;
Morning's at seven;
The hillside's dew-pearled;
The lark's on the wing;
The snail's on the thorn:
God's in His heaven—
All's right with the world!

It is plain, forty years after Browning's death and nearly a hundred years since *Pauline* was written, that there is a significance in the poem with respect to the whole ambit of the poet's work, and Mr. Wallis has done a duty to the history of poetry in producing the original text of 1833 with Browning's later changes in footnotes. Mr. Wallis says that after forty years "many contemporary problems in religion and philosophy are dealt with in his verse; while his noble optimism, which can be traced from the concluding lines of *Pauline* to the 'Epilogue' in *Asolando*, has still a message and a challenge for to-day." Indeed it is still more than this. Without the study of Robert Browning it is impossible to realise what the nobler side of the great nineteenth century—so scorned to-day by little scorners—meant to and means to the world. In 1833 Browning wrote at the end of *Pauline*:

No less I make an end in perfect joy,
For I, having thus again been visited,
Shall doubt not many another bliss awaits,
And tho' this weak soul sink, and darkness come,
Some little word shall light it up again,
And I shall see all clearer and love better;
I shall again go o'er the tracts of thought,
As one who has a right; and I shall live
With poets—calmer—purer still each time,
And beauteous shapes will come to me again,
And unknown secrets will be trusted me,
Which were not mine when wavering—but now
I shall be priest and lover, as of old.

Sun-treader, I believe in God, and truth
And love.

Browning in this poem throws off the infidelities of false joys of youth and makes his mind capable of grappling with immortal things:

And what is that I hunger for but God?

in thought generally as well as in the region of biology. But to-day, more than seventy years after the publication of Darwin's theory, "the struggle of living forms leading to natural selection by the survival of the fittest is certainly far less emphasised" by naturalists now than in the years that immediately followed the appearance of Darwin's book." Gregor Mendel, who published the results of his experiments with peas in a local journal in 1866 and 1869, was unknown to Darwin, and Mendel's laws were only recognised as of priceless importance in 1900 by de Vries and others sixteen years after Father Mendel's death.

The old Darwinian formula of "formation of species by imperceptibly minute continuous favourable variation" was becoming generally discredited. On the whole, naturalists had turned away from the Lamarckian point of view, and disbelieved in the inheritance of acquired characteristics. The view of variation by sudden jumps, saltations, or mutations of spontaneous origin were in favour in some quarters. The rediscovery of the work of Mendel greatly encouraged this point of view. The degree to which bodily characters could be analysed on a Mendelian basis was still unrecognised.

But by subsequent intensive work "the Mendelian method of inheritance of opposed characters, the behaviour of the chromosomes, and the doctrine of the continuity of the germ-plasm were linked together." Biologists and naturalists have shown, however, that there are certain facts that do "not fit the simple statement of Mendel's theories." There has been a modification of these theories in part due to new material provided by Mr. W. E. Castle and developed by a group of American biologists. The Theory of the Gene—"genes are hypothetical bodies assumed to carry the Mendelian factors"—has been worked out in part and has done something perhaps to explain the origin of species, but "it is not capable of explaining either variation in general or that particular type of variation known as mutation." But, at any rate, it is not a mechanist theory and amply supports Dr. Singer's non-mechanistic attitude. Life is inexplicable and unique.

J. E. G. DE M.

YOUTH AND POWER.*

Professor C. R. Fay in his interesting volume of essays entitled *Youth and Power: the Diversions of an Economist* begins with an examination of the undergraduates of to-day—the young men who were children of four or five years when the Great War sprang from the blue so far as England was concerned—and finds that on

* Longmans. 10s. 6d. net.

the whole they "work harder, and care less, than we did a generation ago." He repeats the familiar but hardly true truism that "we are to-day *minus* the prime of one generation, the generation that should now be in the middle thirties." In strict fact we are *minus* about half that generation and there are myriads who passed through the War and are doing splendid work to-day. But that half and their juniors have indeed lived "in a curious economic atmosphere." It is doubtful whether "political interest . . . is active and real." The average young man seems to take little interest in politics if anything can be judged from "mock" Parliaments and debating societies. The intellectual freedom of Oxford and Cambridge runs to social questions but not to the political or philosophical aspects of them.

But Professor Fay thinks that "when power is with the group and not with the individual, they will work for the group and the wealth of the group; and social service will mean not the salvaging of the wreckage of capitalism, but the humane control of liberated life. And here, surely, if nowhere else, is a big purpose for the youth of to-morrow." But surely the phrase "the salvaging of the wreckage of capitalism" is a term that means very little, the kind of phrase that comes from a communist orator of twenty summers turning towards Imperial Free Trade in a University Union debating society. The team-spirit is another and a very ancient thing in schools and universities, and it has spread to all quarters in educational and post-educational life with the definite purpose of making life more beautiful in every social sense. The Scouts and Church brigades of modern days, the Mechanics' Institutes of a century ago, the new universities and extra-mural education, are outward and visible as well as spiritual signs of a group or team spirit almost as old as the hills. Professor Fay on the other hand bases his belief in immortality on individuality. But here again the team-spirit comes in. The immortality of others is necessary to accomplish the immortality of oneself.

Professor Fay follows this short but very interesting chapter on the outlook of youth with excursions on types of Power: the political autocrat, the labour union—in which the American labour position is clearly explained—and company finance as understood in America and beginning to be understood in England, as the trade in tobacco shows; on the dynamic economic State, as conceived by Adam Smith the philosopher and economist, Ricardo, Mill and Marshall; consumption, machinery and employment; the public ownership of electric power (which is almost accomplished in England through the relationship of the power-companies with the State); the Peopling of a New Land, that is, the history of colonisation within the British Empire, and lastly the Psychology

Mr. Wallis says that "the personality of Pauline becomes apotheosised into a guiding spirit, but yet does not completely lose her womanhood, and the confusions of the work arise from the mingling of real and imaginary personality." The poet himself in his criticism of thirty-five years after calls it a first attempt at "poetry always dramatic in principle, and so many utterances of so many imaginary persons, not mine." Yet despite this disclaimer the poem of 1833 reads like Browning himself struggling to be free; first from poetic dreams, from the poetry of the flesh, from analytic philosophising and the eighteenth-century naturalism; and coming at the last to the conclusion that the struggles after all lead to God. A poem which is a tribute to Shelley singularly enough shows definitely that Browning and Shelley have nothing fundamental in common. The little poem *Memorabilia* shows the early reverence of Browning for Shelley:

Ah, did you once see Shelley plain,
And did he stop and speak to you
And did you speak to him again?
How strange it seems and new!

But "A moulted feather, an eagle-feather" which Browning put in his breast as a symbol of Shelley rapidly faded away, and Mr. Birrell tells us that in his later days "he became a very severe critic of the life and conduct of Shelley, and did not care to be too frequently reminded of his boyish raptures for that strange and unaccountable being." But that fact does not condemn *Pauline*. Mr. Wallis says:

Many minds discover that they have passed through the same experiences as the lover of Pauline, and find in his search for light a similarity to their own. To such this early work of genius will always be a revelation and a joy; nor will they fail to sympathise with the moods of the poet or to guess his meaning. Confused though it may be, unequal in expression, rising to glorious poetry, sinking to prosaic passage, it remains a unique study of deep passion, of mental development, and of spiritual attainment.

Pauline, in fact, describes the emergence of a great poet from youth's Slough of Despond.

J. E. G. DE M.

THE HISTORY OF BIOLOGY.*

Dr. Charles Singer, with his vast specialist knowledge and excellent literary gifts, gives the reader in this most readable book "in simple language, a critical survey of the historical develop-

* *A Short History of Biology: A General Introduction to the Study of Living Things*. By Charles Singer. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 18s. net.

ment of biological problems. . . . The exposition of the origin and development of the main problems of biology is the objective on which we shall concentrate." His *Short History of Medicine* is, as he says, in some degree a companion volume. The two subjects overlap in many respects. In his preface he tells the student frankly, and indeed hopefully, that

the book is written by one who finds mechanist interpretations of life unsatisfying. His attitude is prompted largely by the "relativity of functions," that is by the conditioning of any one form of vital activity by innumerable concurrent forms, and this not only in the organism as a whole, but in each part susceptible of independent investigation. He recognises, however, that the mechanist outlook has been responsible for countless far-reaching and important biological investigations, and he is aware that it remains indispensable for advances in many biological departments. He is, moreover, acutely conscious of the danger of confounding physical with metaphysical issues. He would, however, urge that there are many scientific propositions that are acceptable on one level of investigation but not on another. . . . But the victories of the experimental method are too numerous, too complete, too general, for us to lose faith in its value because it fails to reveal a universe completely consistent with itself. We must accept with resignation the ineluctable fact that there are an increasing number of antitheses in the world of our experience which science shows no signs of resolving.

This very fact, as Dr. Singer says, makes room for philosophy.

In Part I the Older Biology is treated in clear and succinct fashion in three chapters, the first dealing with the world of thought that Aristotle dominated, the second with the age from 300 B.C. when the old scientific thought began to give place to new and, after a gap of a thousand years, brought us to the newer thought of Roger Bacon and the mediæval thinkers, the third deals with the rebirth of inquiry in the age of the renaissance and concludes with Harvey's work in the middle of the seventeenth century on the circulation of the blood. Part II discusses the historical foundations of modern biology which, based on the inductive method, gave rise to the search for materials, the classification of materials, the comparative method, the distribution of materials, and the statement of what we must take to be preliminary or tentative biological laws or theories. There is continuity in the whole of this historical period. Dr. Singer says that Darwin, "the greatest biological successor of Aristotle," laid great stress on "the value of the formation of a theory to justify and stimulate the collection of observations." The theory must, of course, adjust itself freely to fit the observations or perish.

There is no doubt that Darwin's theory of the origin of species by means of natural selection marked a stage and a great change

of Social Revolt. On the subject of international trade Professor Fay takes a step beyond Alfred Marshall. He says :

Any organised assistance to the internal development of Great Britain, therefore, should have as its first purpose the equipment of the country with superior facilities for the extension of its foreign trade. If the old way of stimulating foreign trade by the free export of capital is no longer adequate, the possibilities of an alternative policy, for example the organisation of Empire trade, should receive careful consideration.

But there is an alternative that would satisfy presumably Ricardo and Mill and Marshall and their respective schools, and that is the abolition all over the world of tariff boundaries. It was a dream in the days of Cobden, but is it a dream only to-day when fundamental economic changes are in the air? The economic union of the whole of the Western world would ensure the abolition of horrible conditions of labour and would also mean the adequate distribution of foodstuffs in a world which complains of over-production and at the same time complains of starvation. Both France and Germany are thinking of a United Economic Europe; we in England are thinking of free trade within the British Empire; the League of Nations is striving for equal economic conditions of labour; the whole world is thinking of disarmament as a practical fact. The dream of Cobden may suddenly come true and the hope of youth may be faced not with autocrats of the market-place and autocrats of the Council Chamber, but with a united world giving free scope for idealism, for practical effort, and for true union of the spirit. Professor Fay looks for great relief from present financial evils from public ownership in the region of public utility control.

Public ownership, within the sphere which is technically possible to it, avoids this perplexing choice of evils. That America, with her vast resources and elasticity, will be equal to her problem does not admit of doubt. But countries with narrower means, or which are less sovereign in the economic sense, should be grateful if they possess in public ownership an aid to stability in this unstable world.

The most brilliant chapter in the book is that on "The Psychology of Social Revolt." Professor Fay is not afraid of Russian Communism: "For being conceived in hatred and securing itself by force, it is sterile and therefore cannot spread." . . . "Imperial Christianity, however, is different." There is the thought that Imperial Christianity alone prevented the bloodiest of revolutions in England. "On the spiritual side the keeper of freedom in the agonising England of the eighteenth century was John Wesley," whilst half a century later "the Moral Force Chartists spoiled the chances of Chartism by their devotion to virtue." It was a rich

man, Robert Owen, who in his autocratic practical way founded the co-operative movement. Karl Marx comes in for praise, but his writings had not the force of the genius of Disraeli, who gave the co-operators of Manchester what they wanted, or the solidarity of the Rothschilds who in a sense dominated all Europe. All were Jews, as indeed was Ricardo, but the forces of equilibrium prevailed and "G.P.U. would make short work of Marx, if, like Joan of Arc in the Epilogue, he dared to return to the world to-day."

But after all was it not the common sense of the English people aided by a long heredity of religious faith that made it possible for us to overcome the onset of the Industrial Revolution without bloodshed? Disraeli by an act of genius saw the signs of the times and slowly but effectively introduced the stage of democracy into the councils of the nation. But bloody revolution is not in the soul of the English people. They had an heredity of faith and freedom and therefore acted in 1848 and henceforth as a stabilising force in a world of storm. The fact that the new democracy in the treatment of foreign (and indeed home) affairs is very like the old Whig and Tory oligarchy, seems to show that there is a continuity of opinion in England that makes progress slow perhaps but infinitely certain and peaceful. "So let youth mount the saddle and ride firmly while it may." This is Professor Fay's wise opinion and one justified by the facts of our time.

J. E. G. DE M.

A COLLECTION OF GOOD CAUSES*

It is well that the public should know something of the numerous "Good Causes" in aid of youth which are afloat to-day, causes which reach far and wide, from sea to sea, causes which help outwardly in the body and inwardly in the soul. Sir Charles Bright dedicates his Book of Good Causes to the Prince of Wales, knowing his intense interest in and appreciation of all efforts for the betterment and advancement of youth for the Britain of to-morrow. The author begins his list of "Good Causes" with "The League of Nations Union" and rightly so does, since if nations acquire knowledge of each other that is the starting-point of a social well-being which is rooted in Christianity. To know all is to forgive all, and out of that knowledge comes a wider view, a view which embraces both sides of a question, and seeks not alone for peace, but for the means of ensuring it.

* *Let's Help: A Collection of Good Causes.* By Sir Charles Bright. Routledge. 4s. 6d. net.

The speech of the Prince of Wales at the League of Nations Union dinner at the Guildhall last October with which this book opens, strikes the right note on the Brotherhood of the British Empire and the ardent desire to establish the same brotherhood among the nations of the world. The beginnings of many things seem at first to be idealistic, but a wagon that is hitched to a star cannot go far wrong, it may flounder and stagger for a while but time drives surely if slowly; all growth is slow in nature and humanity and in art. The builders of old were less impatient than we of this age, they began, and were content to let others continue their work, and their work follows them. So may it be with the League of Nations.

Sir Charles Bright hopes that a book such as this may be a help to those willing to assist, but who lack knowledge of the various schemes, Houses (such as those from the Universities, and Toynbee Hall), Brigades, Clubs, Scouts, and so forth, numbering between forty and fifty associations, all of which he feels are representative of "Good Causes." He gives at the close of each chapter their name and local habitation and the names of the persons to whom to apply for all information, and he dwells especially on those entirely depending on voluntary support and voluntary funds. The institutions not dealt with are hospitals, which are always in need of support, and will continue to grow in that need as medical and surgical knowledge increases. The "Good Causes" for bettering woman's lot also are not touched upon, nor the work of the various Rural Community Councils, nor the innumerable concerns which come under the head of "Charities." These movements are known to all.

The Introduction, "Lest we forget," recalls Dr. Johnson's view that the true test of civilisation is the care of the poor. Perhaps he and Dickens sowed the seed of organised philanthropy. At any rate, they watered, and God gave the increase. Disraeli wrote in his remarkable novel *Sybil* that "The claims of the Future are represented by suffering millions, and the youth of a nation are the trustees of Posterity." The usefulness of all associations for the benefit of youth to-day is fully recognised, institutions such as "The Boys' Brigade," "Church Lads' Brigade," "The Boy Scout Movement," the "Public School and University Social Services," all of which help to impart health to the body, vigour to the spirit and truth to the soul, a trilogy worth working for. These short descriptive chapters show that work was never a curse, but ever a blessing. A most stirring B.B.C. talk by Field-Marshal Sir Claud Jacob, the present commandant of the Church Lads' Brigade, entitled "A Day in a C.L.B. Camp," was delivered on May 7th, 1930, and by it one gets a glimpse of what a full day of

work, and rejoicing in freedom, and all the delights and interests of nature can mean to boys whose daily work and ceaseless round of sameness pall upon the spirit. The C.L.B. is the only definite Church of England organisation. "It neither judges nor condemns any other organisation, but it holds that its service to the Great Captain of our salvation would best be done by unswerving loyalty to every principle and purpose of that Church." All other associations are either inter-denominational or undenominational.

A book such as this opens the eyes of the ordinary man and woman to the amount of work that is done, not only at home in London and the Provinces, but overseas. It is impossible in a short notice to enumerate all these activities, but the author gives to each its end and aim, and publishes the volume at a price which makes it accessible to most people. To those already interested in helping over stiles this book is a guide that will be useful in a hundred ways.

S. DE M.

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ANCIENT LAW.*

Sir Henry Maine's famous volume entitled *Ancient Law* was first published in 1861, and, as Sir Frederick Pollock says in his new edition, during the lapse of time since the work first appeared,

and to a great extent under the influence of Maine's own work, research into the early history of laws and institutions has been more active, systematic and fruitful than it ever was before. . . . Later speculation and research have, on the whole, confirmed Maine's leading ideas in the most striking manner, partly by actual verification of consequences indicated by him as probable, partly by new examples and applications in regions which he had not himself explored.

This introduction, first written by Sir Frederick Pollock some twenty-five years ago with learned notes to accompany the text, has seen not only eight editions, from January 1906, to February 1927, but a new and perhaps final edition has now been issued containing the Notes which successive editions have seen and bringing up to date the views of the doyen of living thinkers on the problems of jurisprudence. The Notes are enlarged in various cases. Sir Frederick finds it necessary to insist (in Note D to the chapter on Legal Fictions) that "the process of making case-law cannot properly be called legislation even with any qualifying

* *Ancient Law: its connection with the early History of Society and its relation to Modern Ideas.* By Sir Henry Sumner Maine. With Introduction and Notes by the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock. New Edition. John Murray. 10s. 6d. net.

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epithet intended to mark it as an exercise of limited or subordinate power . . . the judicial authority of precedents is not of that kind." It may be suggested that when a sovereign legislature declares that in certain cases case-law is legislation a different principle applies. The Swiss code does this. Again Sir Frederick in his latest edition dealing with the Law of Nature adds (to Note E of 1906) the statement that the hypothesis of a "State of Nature" does not seem to occur before the sixteenth century. There are other additions bringing the thought of the commentator up to date. Note K on the Patriarchal Theory has been recast, "much of it having become obsolete or superfluous; and Note S, on Archaic Procedure, enriched by the results of a recent ingenious study in Homeric scholarship," the work of Dr. F. B. Jevons. In the view of Sir Frederick "the account given by Maine of the symbolism involved in the *Legis Actio Sacramenti* may be taken as generally correct."

Sir Frederick Pollock, in his final introduction, says that in 1906 "Maine's work, like that of his contemporary Darwin, had been under a passing shadow of depreciation. Now we may read at the opening of a learned article on jurisprudence in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: 'At the head of English jurisprudence stands Sir Henry Maine.'" It is a remarkable fact, after the lapse of seventy years, that Maine's fame is still undimmed despite the mass of discoveries in ancient and customary law which have been made since he wrote *Ancient Law*. But the fact is explained partly by the method of the author and partly by his invention and grasp of principles which include almost all possible variations. The new discoveries of this or that anthropologist come naturally into the wide circuit of the principles which Maine laid down, but the task of the anthropologist takes him into regions which Maine never touched. The Aryan race was, in reality, Maine's field, but his method of treatment and the principles he laid down go much farther than the material available in his day went.

The comparative method, indeed, was much older than Sir Henry Maine. While Savigny was exhibiting law as an organic process evolving with the evolution of races, tongues and kingdoms, and striving in 1814 to show that law, whether codified or not, evolves, Jacob Grimm was working at the relations between the different branches of Germanic Law, and Adolphe Pictet in Maine's very period was striving to reconstruct the common civilisation of the Aryans. The idea of the comparative method was in the air, as shown by the work at the same date of J. J. Backofen, J. F. McLennan and Lewis H. Morgan, followed up into our own time by the work of Westermarck and Malinowski. But Maine re-

stricted himself to actual observation of the Aryan race in action, with the result, to quote Sir Paul Vinogradoff, "of recognising again and again, in actual modern custom, the views, rules and institutions of which he had read in Gaius and in the fragments of the Twelve Tables," while in his *Law and Custom* "he opposed in a determined manner the attempts of more daring students to extend to the Aryans generalisations drawn from the life of savage tribes unconnected with the Aryans by blood." Yet he gave a lead, not by generalisations in which he did not believe but by methods which, in the increasing knowledge of non-Aryan customs, his followers could with caution apply to the new knowledge. He was, says Sir Frederick Pollock writing in the *Edinburgh Review* as far back as July 1893, a jurist

whose business is to give us examples of method. . . . Maine did nothing less than create the natural history of law. He showed on the one hand that legal ideas and institutions have a real course of development as much as the genera and species of living creatures, and in every stage of that development have their normal characters; on the other hand he made it clear that these processes deserve and require distinct study, and cannot be treated as mere incidents in the general history of the societies where they occur.

In his *Village Communities* Maine himself says, "If indeed history be true, it must teach that which every other science teaches, continuous sequence, inflexible order, and eternal law."

In his *Ancient Law* Sir Henry Maine applies his method to Ancient Codes, Legal Fictions, the Law of Nature and Equity, the Modern History of the Law of Nature, Primitive Society and Ancient Law, the Early History of Testamentary Succession, Ancient and Modern Ideas respecting Wills and Successions, the Early History of Property, the Early History of Contract, the Early History of Delict and Crime. He, therefore, gives us the roots of the whole range of problems of the practical lawyer of to-day. The method of dealing with ancient European codes gives the method of dealing with codes far more ancient, the Sumerian and Babylonian codes. When Maine says of modern English case-law that it is not unwritten law at all but "is written case-law, and only different from code-law because it is written in a different way" he may disagree with eminent jurists, but in fact he describes the very way that the Sumerian and Babylonian code law grew. When he describes in the chapter on Legal Fictions the way in which the Roman authors of a new jurisprudence "during the whole progress of its formation professed the most sedulous respect for the letter of the Code" we are really watching a process that recalls the processes of the growth of the English Common Law and

its gradual incorporation into Code or Statute Law. The changes that an English Chancellor made in the law are likened, with effect, to the changes that a Prætor made in Roman Law. When Maine says that "the movement of the progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from *Status to Contract*" we see a movement that has been, in the last seventy years, with us continually and not only in England. In the chapter on the Early History of Delict and Crime Maine dwells on the fact that in the administering of criminal justice under the Roman Empire "both its theory and practice have had powerful effect on modern society." At every phase Maine dwells on the essential historical continuity of law with a vigour that his master, Savigny, would have admired. But in a sense he was greater than Savigny, since his methods were of universal application and his intense practicality of mind saw the procedure of the law at work in every age and clime.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Theodore Roosevelt: the Story of a Friendship, 1880-1919,* by Mr. Owen Wister, brings his opulent personality nearer to us than any other work which has been written on him. For the author, in addition to being one of his closest friends from college days at Harvard till his death, possesses the gift of making his hero live again before our eyes. The book, indeed, is a delight to read, so vivid is the portraiture, so exquisite the literary art. The distinguished novelist loved Roosevelt with all his heart, but there is no slavish obeisance before a national idol. He paints him as the eternal boy, the preacher who went into politics as a duck takes to the water. These similes suggest that he was, as President Eliot of Harvard remarked, "too headlong"; and our author rightly deplores the intemperance of language and policy which marred his last campaign and estranged so many of his friends in 1912. The chapters on the White House are the most interesting, and the studies of the "Familiars"—Judge Holmes and Judge Brandeis, Taft and Henry Adams, Lodge and Root, Leonard Wood and Pinchot—make fascinating reading. The closing chapters, dealing with the war, naturally exalt Roosevelt at the expense of Wilson, who is depicted as "the shadow of a great man." We have no full-length presentation of Mrs. Roosevelt, but her gracious personality pervades the whole story.

* Macmillan, 18s.
† Verlag für Kulturpolitik. Berlin, 1930.

Fürst Bülow: Der Staatsmann und der Mensch,† by Herr Sigmund Münz, is a lively study of one of the most influential and accomplished men of the post-Bismarckian era. Everybody is now reading and criticising his *Memoirs*, which appeared very soon after the present volume. But the fourth Chancellor of the German

Empire was such an outstanding personality that we crave to know not only what he thought of himself but what others thought of him. Herr Münz, the Nestor of Austrian journalists, has known almost every leading statesman in Europe for forty years, and he possesses the ability to reproduce his impressions in a very vivid and readable form. He tells us in his Preface that he admired the Prince more as a man than as a statesman, and the whole volume may be described as a comment on this text. We are presented with delightful snapshots in Rome, in Berlin, in Norderney, in Baden-Baden, in Venice, on the Semmering, and each time we feel the fascination of one of the best talkers of his time. For Bülow knew the world of books only less thoroughly than the world of men, and his retentive memory could produce from history and literature an illustration or a warning, a parallel or a quotation at any moment. Yet though he keenly enjoyed the society of the most charming of hosts, the internationally-minded Münz never surrendered his judgment, and he complains above all of Bülow's failure to retain the confidence of England. As the author was a friend of Monts, we have also a picture of the Prince drawn by one of his bitterest critics. Bülow's was a highly complex nature, and this book is a valuable contribution to the solving of the riddle.

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"The story of Odiham Grammar School (1694-1930),"* by Mr. C. H. S. Willson (a former headmaster) and Mr. F. E. Hansford, is the type of book which many old or ancient grammar schools are now producing, and by so doing are making possible a real history of secondary education in England. Odiham school is, and always has been, a comparatively small school; but it has had distinguished sons and has "been able to preserve that happy atmosphere of family life which has characterised it from the beginning." The authors of the book point out that there was an earlier school before Robert May, a wealthy local mercer who issued his own tokens, by his will in 1694 founded the school in aid of "godliness and good learning." The connection between the two schools should be traced. The school from 1742 to 1753 was (a usual thing in that period) apparently neglected, but from 1755 to 1870 we are supplied with a full list of foundation scholars. There is also a complete list of headmasters, of whom the most eminent was Benjamin Webb, who ruled with great success from 1763 to 1787 after a long course as Assistant Master. He was the author of a work on education which is extraordinarily modern in its outlook, published at Reading by Messrs. Carnan and Smart in 1782. He supplemented the school by a boarding-school or house devoted to classical learning. Among the eighteenth-century alumni was Thomas Burgess (1756-1837), who became Bishop of St. David's and founded St. David's College, Lampeter. He was one of the finest Hebrew scholars of the age, a Greek scholar of great repute, and a social reformer of tremendous energy. The new order of education which came in 1870 marked the close also of two long reigns. Jonathan Hilkiah Bricknell and Edward Samson had ruled the school from 1789 to 1870. In 1876 the school had new buildings and came under the Endowed Schools Act of 1869. It played its part in the Great War and is playing it in the new world of to-day. In the early years of the twentieth century it became a co-educational school, and

* The Wykeham Press, Winchester. 4s. 6d. net.

"sisters and brothers could now be educated together," a great advantage in a rural school. The honours list shows that the girls are as successful as the boys. This history is a scholarly book, and will stimulate other schools to publish their records.

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In "Georgian England: A Survey of Social Life, Trades, Industries and Art from 1700 to 1820" * Professor A. E. Richardson, with the aid of no less than 261 beautifully reproduced illustrations, records "the more salient features and characteristics of the age" and, at the same time, presents "some other of its aspects which are probably less familiar to the student and general reader." The general social scene, including the life of the Services and the Church, sport and the stage, is presented in a fresh perspective; the decorative arts—furniture, methods of lighting, door furniture, ironmongery, enamel-work, ormolu, ornamental glass, tapestries, carpets, needlework, silverwork, porcelain and bookbinding—form a chapter of rare importance, while the chapter on the building crafts should be studied in detail by modern architects. Painting and sculpture, music and musical instruments receive due attention. The whole work is produced in the style for which Messrs. Batsford are famous.

* * *

Sir James Jeans, whose book entitled *The Mysterious Universe* has attracted such widespread interest, has now written a well-illustrated book, an expansion of wireless talks which assumed in the listeners "no previous scientific knowledge of any kind, and tried to introduce them to the fascination of modern astronomy and to the wonders of the universe we see through the great telescopes of to-day."† The difficulty of dispensing with scientific knowledge is shown in the account of the gyroscopic compass with which the book opens. The amount of information contained in this little book is truly wonderful though it is not certain whether the ordinary reader or listener can really follow the condensed thought that it contains except to the extent of realising something of the majesty of an almost infinite domain, something of the apparent "utter insignificance" of our human lives and human history measured in that terrific scale, but something also of the fearful majesty of human powers which have been able to survey the curving deserts of space and measure things almost infinitely vast and infinitely small. The reader may be driven to philosophise, to wonder which is more real, the *continuum* of Professor Einstein or the personality of Man, and to believe that when Time-Space is folded up as a garment human self-consciousness will survive.

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Dr. E. W. Hope, the Professor of Public Health in the University of Liverpool and formerly Medical Officer of Health for the City and Port of Liverpool, in his important work entitled *Health at the Gateway: Problems and International Obligations of a Seaport City*,‡ dwells on the fact that Liverpool has been a pioneer, not only in Sanitary Legislation (subsequently incorporated in the Public Health Acts), but in all manner of social and educational reforms. Civic and voluntary effort on the part of the clergy, councillors and private citi-

* B. T. Batsford Ltd. 21s. net.

† *The Stars in Their Courses*. Cambridge: at the University Press. 5s. net.

‡ Cambridge: at the University Press. 15s. net.

zens ("with the inception of which the late Lord Leverhulme and the University were associated") resulted in the formation of the first School of Hygiene in this country designed to meet the needs of health officers of various grades. Preventive medicine is the goal at which Liverpool aims, the provision of measures to prevent suffering of all kinds. In this book Professor Hope tells "the story of the measures which have transformed the most unwholesome of seaports into the foremost place in sanitary administration." He dwells successively on Port Administration and Quarantine (against cholera and plague), the history of the growth of Liverpool and of effort towards social improvement as the true preventive of disease. Writing of the prevention of venereal disease Professor Hope rightly says "moral teaching should take the first place in every educational system, but it must be recognised that a duty to prevent the ravages of disease is the foremost of the obligations of the Sanitary Authority." Influenza (with figures relating to the fearful plague-like epidemic of 1918-19) is also discussed at some length. The chapter on administrative developments is a footnote to the history of sanitation. It is interesting to know that Dr. Budin, of Paris, in 1892 started the movement which in England has reduced the infantile death rate in such a marvellous manner. Miss Lawrence on April 14th, 1931, announced in Parliament that the infantile death rate had been reduced to sixty per thousand births. But it is possible to go further since Dr. Budin in 1892, by means of his *Clinique and Consultation de Nourrissons* reduced it to forty-six per thousand as compared with 178 per thousand for the whole city of Paris. The chapters on the care of schoolchildren, water supply, the supervision of dwellings, housing operations, municipal cleanliness, the control of food supplies and the general effects of public health legislation afford food for the most earnest thought.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

It is a pleasure to commend to our readers the work entitled "Religion and Life,"* recently published by the Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. The volume contains the William Belden Noble Lectures, delivered in the Divinity School of Harvard University in 1930. The subjects dealt with are Religion and History; The Psychological Interpretation of Religion; Belief in God; Religion and Ethics; The Christian Contribution; and Eternal Life. Dr. Selbie is so well known as an eminent theologian and a competent writer on the Psychology of Religion that a short notice of this little book is all that is required. The treatment of all the important subjects of which it treats is marked by the elevation of thought, the careful scholarship, and the sanity of outlook which we have learnt to expect from its distinguished author. These Lectures will be found a most useful guide to educated readers who, without specialised knowledge, desire a competent and lucid account of the Christian position in regard to some of the most momentous problems of modern thought and recent investigation. To all such we commend it.

J. S. L.

* Oxford University Press. 6s. net.

Mr. W. J. Glover has compiled a charming series of stories for children under eleven years of age called "The World's Story Time."* It is really an answer to an appeal from the Board of Education who, says Mr. Glover, "evidently believe there is good literature in existence that would foster 'reading for content' even in Junior Schools; and that books written down for the pupils in them are to be deprecated." There is, indeed, abundance of material in the folk-stories of all lands, East and West, North and South, and Mr. Glover has drawn on the best: very simple, vivid, kindly classics for the youngest children, and with gradations of difficulty in Books II, III and IV. In the third book, entitled "The Book of Wonder," the folk and other stories range from the British Isles to Europe, including Russia, India, China, Japan, and Greece, and are delightful even for the adult reader. All these stories of Delight, Desire, Wonder and Treasure are so delicately graded that the teaching, which must precede whole-hearted appreciation, is made easy.

"The Key of Progress: a survey of the status and conditions of women in India,"† by several contributors, edited by Miss A. R. Caton, is intended to show British readers the position of Indian women and the work that is being done for and by them. Lady Irwin has written a Foreword in which she emphasises the importance of the women's movement in India to the future of that country. The book deals with Education, Health and Sanitation, Women in Public Life, Home and Marriage, Women in Rural Life and Industry, and Social Evils. The contents have been sought from published material, the individual opinions of experts, and from the results of a Questionnaire widely circulated in India. In Appendix I the position of the dependants of the Indian soldiers is discussed by Mrs. G. H. Bell, and in Appendix II a summary is given of the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, 1930, in reference to women. An excellent detailed bibliography shows where further information on the individual subjects can be found.

"The Practical Dog Book: with chapters on the authentic history of all varieties hitherto unpublished, and a veterinary guide and dosage section, and information on advertising and on exporting to all parts of the world"‡ is a "comprehensive work dealing with the buying, selling, breeding, showing, care, and feeding of the dog," by Mr. Edward C. Ash, that should be valuable to dog owners and dog lovers. The book contains a great deal of research work, especially the story of breeds; a subject which has suffered from the constant repetition of alleged facts. Mr. Ash "has been able to throw light . . . on the vexed question of the Irish Wolfhound . . . and has 'discovered' some generally unknown facts on Airedales, Samoyeds, Chows, and many other breeds." Dog owners who live far from veterinary aid or who wish to doctor their dogs themselves will find the chapter on "Veterinary information and dosage" particularly useful. The book contains a very large number of excellent plates and pictures which add to both the interest and value of the book. Foxhounds, Beagles, Harriers, Otterhounds or Basset-hounds are seldom kept as pets, and so have not been dealt with in the work.

* George Philip & Son. Price: Books I 1s. 10d., II 2s., III 2s. 3d., IV 2s. 6d.

† Oxford University Press. English Price 7s. 6d.

‡ Simpkin Marshall. 21s.

AN EMERGENCY BUDGET.

LAST year I contrasted Mr. Snowden's second Budget, unfavourably, with his first. In his first he had made admirable use of a handsome surplus by repealing the Inhabited House Duty, and sweeping away most of the protective taxation, notably the McKenna Duties, which had been left by the Great War. At that time some considerable success had been achieved by advocates of economy. With the help of the Geddes Committee substantial retrenchments had been effected in the scale of national expenditure; and these savings enabled Mr. Snowden to reduce the burdens on consumers as well as upon direct taxpayers. Unfortunately for business men and taxpayers, low-water mark had been reached in 1923, and the tide of public extravagance, in spite of Mr. Churchill's pledges and Mr. Baldwin's insistence on "the imperative necessity" of economy, has since then flowed higher and higher until now (including the Post Office and other self-balancing departments, in order to compare like with like) it has risen from just under 789 millions in the financial year 1923-4 to just under 885 millions (estimated) in the present year. This disheartening and disastrous addition of nearly a hundred millions is even worse and less excusable than appears on a superficial view of the figures; for, as Sir Donald Maclean pointed out during the Budget debates, there have been swallowed up and absorbed automatic reductions of twenty millions annually on War pensions and thirteen millions of savings due to reductions and conversions of the National Debt, as well as some five millions resulting from the winding up of various War services.

But even that is not all. To the savings thus realised but lost should be added very large economies in the cost of Government as a result of the enormous fall in prices since 1924. The *Economist* Index Number of Wholesale Prices, starting from a basic figure of 100 for the year 1913, stood at an average of 166 in 1924. From this it declined to 132 in 1929, and to an average level of 111 in 1930. The collapse of prices was very rapid last year, and at the end of December the index figure had dropped to 98. This means that at the end of last year—and since then prices have fallen even lower—a wholesale purchaser of food, textiles, minerals, etc., could buy with the same amount of money rather more than he could buy before the War. To put it in concrete form a wholesale buyer would require sixteen shillings in 1924, thirteen shillings in 1929, and eleven shillings in 1930, to buy what cost ten shillings in 1913, and somewhat under ten shillings in the spring of 1931. The fall in retail prices is much more difficult to measure. But retail movements always lag, and the decline in the

cost of living has hitherto been less than the decline in wholesale prices. But purchases by Government departments are mostly wholesale, and those of the great spending departments—Army, Navy, Air Service, Post Office, etc.—must have realised enormous savings in these years. I am told by an excellent authority, who has had long experience in the supervision of Government contracts, that a saving of twenty millions on this head since 1924 would be a very moderate, indeed an absurdly low, estimate. I think it fair to conclude that the real increase of national expenditure since 1924 has been not less than 150 millions and probably a good deal more.

The 1931 Budget has been described quite correctly, not only by Mr. Snowden's critics, but by Mr. Snowden himself, as an emergency Budget and a makeshift Budget. In ordinary times the devices or makeshifts by which he has covered his prospective deficit would be inadmissible, and the adoption by Mr. Churchill of similar dodges has been scathingly exposed by Mr. Snowden himself as well as by many others on several occasions during the last few years. It will be well, therefore, before briefly describing the makeshifts, to consider the emergency—its character, its causes, and its dimensions—in order to see whether the Chancellor can be excused for departing from the strict principles of financial purism which he upheld when Mr. Churchill was Chancellor and followed himself in his two previous Budgets; whether, in short, the emergency justifies a resort to makeshifts.

In the first place, let us ask whether the emergency is national, or international, or both, and how far the difficulties peculiar to this country are due to the financial measures of Mr. Churchill, and how far to the financial measures for which Mr. Snowden is responsible. Mr. Snowden himself said, by way of introducing one of his substitutes for tax revenue: "In the midst of this widespread economic blizzard, more severe than our generation has ever known, I feel justified in seeking, as the lesser of two evils, relief by means of non-recurrent revenues and temporary expedients, somewhat similar to those to which my predecessor resorted so freely in more prosperous times, and which I admit in those circumstances I condemned, and should condemn again in normal conditions." Among these Churchillian "expedients" may be recalled his raids on the Road Fund in 1926 and 1927, his shortening of brewers' credits (also in 1926 and 1927) and his appropriation in 1928 of a large sum from the Currency Note Redemption Account. Here are ample precedents; but a bad precedent should be a warning, not an example, unless the circumstances are grave and the emergency is dire.

What then are the magnitude and probable duration of the storm

before which so stout an oak has bent like a willow? No one can dispute its extent or intensity, and no one at this moment can forecast its duration or prescribe a limit to its ravages. It has raged from Japan to Peru, from England to Australia, from Poland to Portugal, from France and Holland to Italy, Greece and Roumania. It has broken the finances of weak States, and threatened the stability, or impaired the strength, of strong ones. It has already spread private bankruptcies innumerable over most parts of the globe. Starting with the collapse of the Wall Street Boom in the autumn of 1929, the business depression extended rapidly over the United States, and then from the American people to their customers, until practically all countries were involved. Hardly any agricultural or industrial product has been exempt from the most precipitous collapse in prices known to the modern world, if we except those which inevitably followed the great inflations of war time. Pastoralists, cultivators of cotton, jute, flax, hemp and silk, sugar growers, rubber planters, coffee planters, copper and tin miners, have all been overtaken by the slump and reduced to insolvency or deprived of the profits of their labour. Strange to say, industrialists are not much better off. The cheapness of raw materials so far has not compensated them for an enormous decline in the purchasing power of their customers. I doubt if in modern times there has ever been known such widespread unemployment, such a reduction of output, or such a shrinkage of profits and dividends in the great manufacturing areas of Europe, Great Britain and the United States. Even Japan shares in the depression. The only countries of industrial importance, so far as I know, that have maintained a fair degree of prosperity have been Sweden and China—the former in virtue of its specialities, the latter in virtue of its silver standard, because silver prices have risen moderately while gold prices have been plunging to ever lower depths.

Considering the strain upon them, British finances have held up remarkably well. True, the sinking fund was practically obliterated, but after allowing for every kind of temporary borrowing, the last financial year ended without a deficit, a remarkable achievement considering the large deficit of France and the enormous prospective deficit of the United States. On the other hand, our direct taxation is much heavier than that of our leading industrial competitors, though we are free from the protective tariffs which artificially raise their prices and their cost of production. Then we have the immense expenses and leakages of an unreformed system of unemployment insurance, with benefits which do not fall with prices and far exceed contributions.

Moreover, as the greatest creditor country, the greatest commercial and shipping country, and the greatest manufacturer for

export, we are the chief sufferer from bankruptcies abroad and from any sharp decline in the volume of international trade. Last but not least Great Britain is a victim of the misfortunes which have befallen two of her biggest customers, India and Australia, mainly through the action or inaction of their Governments. A long course of excessive borrowing crowned by a prohibitory system of Protection, had brought Australian democracy to the verge of bankruptcy, when a fall in wool and an insane resort to embargoes shattered Australian revenues and exchanges, causing enormous losses to British investors and to British merchants and manufacturers. For this calamity no blame can be attached to Mr. MacDonald's Government. It is otherwise with India. Until some better working constitution has been devised and established, we were surely bound to maintain not only law and order, but economic justice among the three hundred and fifty millions of people for whose welfare Britain is still responsible. Instead of so doing, a Protectionist Viceroy and a Protectionist Finance Minister have not only raised the tariff to please a comparatively small group of cotton and iron interests to the detriment of nine-tenths of the population, but have allowed an extensive boycott, supported by organised picketing and intimidation, to prohibit the peaceful and lawful occupations of merchants and shopkeepers and of bazaars which deal in British and foreign goods. Yet all the time police protection and security against their miserably paid operatives have been afforded by this same Government to the pampered manufacturers of Bombay and Bengal. A change of policy, a re-establishment of political, social and economic justice for the benefit of the distressed ryots in all parts of India and the native States, would speedily restore the beneficent exchange of goods between Britain and India, and a revival of trade, upon which in part the justification of the Snowden Budget depends, would then begin in Lancashire and Yorkshire.

For the second justification, by Mr. Snowden's own admission, substantial retrenchments are imperative; and for these the Labour Government and its supporters in the House of Commons cannot escape accountability. It is their bounden duty, by applying drastic economies to all branches of the administration, and especially to the unemployment doles (which they have enlarged by extension and relaxation) to make sure that at the end of this financial year a disastrous deficit is not unfolded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

If intelligent taxpayers took as much interest in the national balance sheet, and in the accounts of their town or country or district council, as intelligent householders take in their family budgets, one would not have to apologise for selecting a few salient figures from Mr. Snowden's financial statement. I do apologise, because I know how distasteful (unfortunately) public statistics are, even to those whom they most concern, and how lazily disinclined too many of its victims are to study even in bare outline the course of national and local extravagance. Indolent citizens usually take refuge in an abject plea that the Treasury accounts are a

mystery which only the high priests of a specialised cult can hope to unravel. But even if this were true, it would be no reason for refusing to master the leading items when they have been disentangled and set out in a simple form.

In his last Budget Mr. Snowden estimated his Ordinary Revenue in round figures at 789 millions, and his self-balancing revenue from Post Office, etc., at 83 millions; but the receipts fell far short of the estimate owing to bad trade, being only 775 and 81 millions odd respectively. Thus, while estimated revenue for the financial year which closed on March 31st, 1931, was £873,280,000, the actual receipts were only £857,761,000. To this deficit, caused by over-estimated revenue, must be added another deficit due to under-estimated expenditure, mainly on account of increasing unemployment. In his Budget, Mr. Snowden estimated his total expenditure at £871,044,000, whereas his actual expenditure was £881,037,000.* To sum up, last year's balance sheet resulted in a deficit of over 23 millions, instead of an estimated surplus of over two millions, the difference of 25½ millions being due to shortage of over 15½ millions in revenue and an excess of nearly 10 millions in expenditure.

Coming now to the present Budget and the present financial year Mr. Snowden's estimates of national expenditure are nearly 14 millions above last year's; and on the then existing basis of taxation he was confronted by a prospective deficit of over 37 millions, because he had to add to the growth of expenditure a large prospective decline of the revenue from Income Tax, Stamp Duties, etc., on account of the depression in trade, which at present shows no visible signs of recovery. To balance his Budget Mr. Snowden drew twenty millions from the so-called Dollar Exchange Fund, which has been used to facilitate payments of our gold War Debts to the United States, and is now made practically unnecessary by the services of the newly-established Bank of International Settlements at Basle. He also raised an additional ten millions within the financial year by providing that three-quarters, instead of one-half, of the Income Tax under Schedules B, D, and E, shall be paid henceforth in January, and the remaining quarter in July. Thirdly—and this is his only real addition to taxation—he raised the existing duty (imposed by Mr. Churchill) on petrol and hydrocarbon oils from 4d. to 6d. per gallon, which increase is estimated to yield £7,500,000 this year and £8,300,000 in a full year. By these changes he obtains an increased revenue of £37,500,000, of which 30 millions is purely temporary and must be regarded as a draft on the capital assets of the nation. If his estimates of revenue and expenditure prove correct, there will be on March 31st next a tiny estimated surplus of £134,000.

One adverse comment must be made here on Mr. Snowden's presentation of the accounts. In dealing with the provisions for debt reduction by means of Sinking Fund, he left out altogether the borrowings for the Unemployment Insurance Fund, which,

* For a more complete summary of the Budget statistics for this and last year, I may refer to pages 208-12 of the *Liberal Magazine* for May.

owing to an enormous increase in the number of unemployed, are now at the rate of about a million a week. Technically it is true that if and when unemployment returns to normal or sub-normal, the receipts of the Insurance Fund will pay their way and ultimately repay the debt; but, as the *Economist* observed (May 2nd), "This is looking very far ahead, and if the debt of the Fund continues to grow at its present rate it is difficult to believe that it will be possible to establish the rates of contribution from employers and employees at a sufficiently high level to repay it."

Now we may boast, if we like, about the size of our Sinking Fund, or Sinking Funds, as they do in other countries where the National Debt is growing year by year; but it remains true as Robert Hamilton, the Aberdonian professor, showed conclusively more than a century ago in his famous exposure of Dr. Price's illusory Sinking Fund, that the only real means of reducing the National Debt is by an annual surplus of revenue over expenditure. If there is a surplus, the debt, i.e. the gross liabilities of the nation, can be reduced by that amount. If there is a deficit, there will be a corresponding increase of the debt by borrowing in some shape or form. If last year's borrowings for unemployment insurance are set off against the Sinking Fund, last year's Budget would only just balance; and this year, unless the present rate is reduced, the borrowings for insurance will more than cancel the amounts applied to the Sinking Fund. This catastrophe can only be avoided by prompt economies in this year's estimates, and by an equally prompt and drastic reform of the unemployment dole. Unless these things are achieved, Mr. Snowden's makeshift emergency Budget (which has been received with a general sigh of relief) will become an object of ridicule and reproach—a warning to succeeding Chancellors and to future Parliaments—and the name of Snowden instead of being associated, as his friends and admirers all hope it may be, with the best traditions of sound Gladstonian finance, will be used in party controversy to point a moral and adorn a tale of the Socialistic Rake's Progress.

Here perhaps should be mentioned what Mr. Snowden describes as "the main feature of this year's Budget," namely a project for the taxation of land values. Mr. Snowden has always been a disciple of Henry George, whose very able writings on political economy find their central aim and culminating end in the substitution of a single tax on land for all other forms of taxation, direct and indirect. Mr. Snowden's modest proposal of a tax of one penny per pound on site values will, if carried, be a mere drop in the ocean of national taxation. A recent estimate by Sir Josiah Stamp in the *Statistical Journal* guessed the value of built-upon sites, including buildings, in the whole kingdom at 4,500 millions sterling, and that of agricultural and other land (including farm buildings) at 950 millions sterling. A penny in the pound on 5,450 millions would yield 23 millions a year—about as much as the duties on petrol. But under Mr. Snowden's scheme agricultural land will be exempt, and when the site valuations have been separated from the values of the buildings, the 4,500 millions will shrink to a

comparatively small total. Moreover, to avoid a clamour of criticism and protest from small owners, whose opposition would no doubt have wrecked the Bill, Mr. Snowden has exempted from his site value tax all properties of less than £120. The scheme in fact is riddled with exemptions, and I venture to doubt whether it will yield a revenue of more than five millions three or four years hence when the valuation is completed and the tax comes into operation. In any case, except for the expenditure that will be necessary in order to start what may prove a very costly valuation, this land tax, though attached to the Budget, has no bearing upon it; nor need I here diverge into an argument upon the merits and demerits of the motives and principles which inspire and underlie the scheme beyond saying that, in my judgment, it should have been preceded by a redemption of the old land tax, and that the revenues from land values in towns should have gone to the Local Authorities in relief of rates.

Mr. Snowden's device, in imitation of Mr. Churchill, by which he extracts more Income Tax in the current financial year than would otherwise come in, has subjected him to an absurd complaint that he has really raised an extra Income Tax at the rate of $13\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the pound from several classes of unlucky taxpayers. This fallacy, started by Mr. Keynes, was exploded by Mr. Leif Jones, who pointed out in *The Times* that from the moment the Income Tax is imposed the taxpayer owes the Exchequer the amount of the tax. Under the new arrangement he has to pay three-quarters in January instead of half, and a final instalment in July of one-quarter, instead of one-half. All that he loses is six months' interest, which, at 5 per cent., would be about one-third of a penny. The loss to Income Tax payers is about 250 thousand pounds on the ten millions gained this year by the Treasury; but the operation cannot be repeated, and some Income Tax payers may incur serious embarrassments through being forced to find a quarter of the annual charge six months earlier than usual.

A much more agreeable feature of Mr. Snowden's third Budget, indeed by far the most satisfactory thing to be found in it, was not even mentioned by the Chancellor in his Budget statement. I refer to the removal of the $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. *ad. valorem* duty on all descriptions of packing- and wrapping-paper (including brown paper and tissue paper) of a weight, when fully extended, equal to more than 10 lbs. but not more than 90 lbs. to the ream of 480 sheets of double crown, measuring 30 by 20 inches. This duty was imposed in 1926 for the purpose of protecting British manufacturers of packing- and wrapping-paper at the expense of British consumers. In spite of the duty, imports which at first fell from 219 thousand tons in 1925 to 166 thousand tons in 1927 recovered a little and stood at 172 thousand tons in 1930. As the tax was only imposed for five years from May 1st, 1926, and has happily not been renewed, it lapsed on May 1st; and all shippers, merchants and shopkeepers have experienced a reduction in prices which, I am informed by a large firm of stationers, is much more than the amount of the duty.

It may be of interest to add that a London merchant, Mr. J. B. Kiley, stated in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* of April 27th:

I have before me a written quotation (dated April 22nd, 1931) from one of our suppliers of British kraft paper offering to my firm, subject to the Safeguarding Duty disappearing at the end of the present month, a reduction of approximately 16 per cent. on the prices that have been ruling. Now, British manufactured paper has had to pay no Excise Duty. Why, then, should its price be thus affected by the removal of the tariff? The explanation given to us is that, when the duty is removed, suppliers of foreign paper are expected to reduce their prices by 16½ per cent., and that in order to meet this competition the British suppliers will reduce their prices also. Yet we are told that "Safeguarding does not raise prices!"

No manufacturer who asks for Protection, and subscribes to the funds of the party which promises it to him, believes the repeated statements of Protectionist writers and orators that a Protective Duty on imports does not raise prices. That is its purpose, and its purpose is always achieved to the full amount of the duty and something more. There is a duty of 33 per cent. on imported motor-cars; and the Ford cars cost about double as much in this country as in the United States—a difference which will be impossible when the McKenna Duties are repealed.

In these days Free Traders have to be grateful for small mercies, but the removal of this mischievous tax on an important raw material of commerce deserves a grateful word of acknowledgment. We must remember, too, not merely what the Chancellor has done but what he has resisted, and Mr. Snowden's scathing rejection of the revenue tariff will help to consign that sophistical project to the limbo of oblivion. These revenue duties of 5, 10, or 15 per cent. on practically all imports were to be paid by no one, he said, "and incidentally they will be levied on goods which Protection has prevented from coming into the country." The two economic advisers of His Majesty's Government who recommended this tariff to the Chancellor have supported it on somewhat contradictory grounds. But neither of them recommended an Excise Duty on home production; for both of them seem to have preferred that part of the revenue to be derived from their tariff should be pocketed by our manufacturers in increased profits. In short, the revenue tariff would be a protective tariff; the taxes would pass into the price of the articles and the burden on consumers would be far greater than the gains of the Exchequer. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who like Mr. Amery regards a 10 per cent. tariff as hopelessly inadequate, declared, during the Budget debates, that this is the last of the Free Trade Budgets. We shall see. A good many politicians and economists have recanted their Free Trade opinions. A witty friend of mine said to me the other day: "It looks as if the electors may soon be the only Free Traders left in the country."

FRANCIS W. HIRST.

THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN.

I.—SPAIN AND HER IMMACULATE REPUBLIC.

LET anyone whose faith in human nature has been dimmed by the events of the last twenty years take heart of grace from the Spanish Revolution. Here was a Monarchy which had been in existence for fifteen centuries annihilated in the space of forty-eight hours by the sheer irresistible force of the popular will—and not a drop of blood spilt in the process. For two days juveniles of all ages from five to fifty, and of both sexes, paraded the streets waving their red, yellow and purple flags and tumultuously rejoicing like so many sand-boys—the new Government having wisely decreed April 15th, the first day of the new era, a national holiday—and then twenty-two million human beings as virile as any in the world settled down to their daily round and common task as if nothing had happened. Proudly they named their achievement the "immaculate" Republic, and if the recent scenes of anti-clerical strife have revealed that not all continued equal to the strain, the spectacle of that week in Madrid will remain for ever in my memory as one of the most heartening evidences of the good that is in man. At the very lowest it should be a powerful antidote to the cheap sneers at democracy which have lately been the fashion.

It should be noted, moreover, that tempers which blazed out into such shocking acts of incendiarism from May 10th-12th were yet under sufficient control to avoid all personal violence. When the priests and nuns gathered up their belongings and fled in all directions there was no attempt to molest them, and the only casualty in the three days' popular hysteria was apparently a Jesuit Father who injured himself jumping out of a window.

No praise can be too high for the demonstration of self-restraint and self-respect which the Spanish people, from the Royal Family down to the humblest shoe-black, has given to the world. April 14th in Madrid was Armistice Day over again in its tone of unspeakable relief, yet mixed with that emotional experience was a grim determination to confound the critics and display the inherent democratic capacity of "decadent" Spain. Since chief credit for the behaviour of the masses in industrial towns must go to the organisation and discipline of the Socialist Party and General Union of Workers, some 250,000 strong, it was peculiarly fitting that the following Sunday witnessed one of the most impressive labour parades that any country has seen. Eighty-six workers' associations with their banners formed a column a mile and a half long and walked sedately from Independence Square, sacred to

the memory of the popular revolt against Napoleon, to the civil cemetery on the outskirts of the city to pay reverent homage to the late Señor Pablo Iglesias, author and begetter of Spanish Socialism. There was not a single incident, not even a cry of derision when the procession passed the house of Señor de la Cierva, the most reactionary member of the last Government of the Monarchy and a name of ill-omen for his repression of the first efforts of the workers in Spain to organise. The same admirable discipline was displayed by the Union of Workers on May-Day, and it is safe to say that *they* had no part in the recent regrettable acts of arson, which were carried out by unbalanced youths from *bourgeois* families and tools of the Syndicalists.

There was a certain historical fitness, too, about the whole situation. In 1521 Charles I of the House of Austria defeated the *Comuneros* of Castile at Villalar, thus finally breaking the power of democratic municipalities which were the glory of mediæval Spain. In 1931 it was the municipalities who expelled the last of the alien dynasty and cleared the way for the restoration of Iberian democratic tradition.

At the end, Humpty-dumpty did indeed have a great fall. Writing in the April number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW I suggested that Alfonso XIII's days were numbered. Yet no one expected that he would be driven from the throne quite so soon. The legend of his popularity or his cleverness with which we are so familiar in England through our penny press has now, I hope, been exploded once and for all—evidently another instance of that time-lag of which Mr. Bernard Shaw spoke recently at the Institute of Journalists! The revulsion of feeling against the King had indeed acquired an amazing momentum during the last few months, and we know now how entirely oblivious of the real state of opinion Don Alfonso remained right up to the last moment. He continued to sit on the wall—made of solid brick as he thought—formed by the Church and the Army, the two pillars of the eighteenth-century State, which was the only form of Government that he knew and understood. And meanwhile considerable portions of that wall had fallen away or had been shifted under the impetus of spiritual forces that could not be gainsaid. For years Spaniards, whatever their private thoughts, had publicly paid homage to the traditional divinity that doth hedge a king. When, however, this fibre of the body politic snapped, close observers of the situation might have guessed that the end was at hand. Ridicule accomplished what no amount of dignified protest or armed revolt could compass. Thus, on the eve of the municipal elections, *El Socialista* came out with a challenging article the gist of which was in the bold headlines "*Buen Viaje*, Don Alfonso." About the

same time electoral posters appeared all over Madrid featuring Gutierrez (*anglice* Smith or Robinson, but also colloquially used of the King), who was described as "Head of the Bankruptcy Section of the Department of Accounts in Arrears," while his one-man party's colours were given as Pale Pink Shirts!

How near, nevertheless, the final issue came to tragedy is probably not appreciated in England. We have been told that the King accepted at once the verdict of the polls as the signal for him to go if his country was to be spared the anguish of civil war. This, however, was not at all the view taken by Don Alfonso on the morrow of the elections; it was nothing more than an inspired statement attributed to the King in one of the evening papers, which proved in fact to be a powerful piece of bluff in the development towards the climax. On the following morning, April 14th, Don Alfonso did indeed, on the advice of the Liberal Members of his Cabinet, notably Count Romanones, authorise negotiations with the shadow Republican Cabinet but recently released from imprisonment following upon the ill-fated December revolt. It was resolved that the seals of office should be formally transmitted by 6.0 p.m. that evening. Left to himself, however, Don Alfonso determined to make one last bid for fortune. At another Cabinet meeting that afternoon he announced his departure by car for Cartagena, where a ship would be waiting, but at the same time he let it be known that the Minister of War, General Damaso Berenguer, had instructions to proclaim Martial Law, ostensibly to prevent the general excitement in the streets from developing into violent disorder, but actually in order to set the country by the ears and once more, perhaps, triumphantly ride the whirlwind of popular confusion. This little ruse was fortunately frustrated by the clear-sighted and patriotic action of General Sanjurjo, Marques del Riff, head of the Civil Guard, who perceived that it was too late for any stratagem and plainly informed the Minister of War that his men would no longer act as the King's *garde de corps*, the thankless task imposed on them by the circumstances of the last few years, and that he had already offered the services of his Corps to the Republican régime. Important sections of the Army, he added, were taking similar action. The order for martial law was at once revoked, and when Don Alfonso inquired of Admiral Magaz at Cartagena whether martial law was in force and was answered in the negative, he realised that he had played his last card and lost.

Some such *aperçu* of the manner in which the change-over was effected will perhaps help us to understand subsequent happenings. The Provisional Government, which was all ready to take over the helm, was the result of skilful carpentering among the various

anti-dynastic elements of the nation. It had at its head a former Liberal Minister of the Crown, Señor Alcalá-Zamora, whom history seemed to have marked out as the inevitable link between the old order and the new, because he was the first of the old *políticos* to formulate publicly the national verdict of "*J'accuse*" and openly to espouse the Republican cause. Sánchez Guerra, Santiago Alba and the others had delivered themselves of the most devastating criticism of Alfonso XIII's actions and demanded that he should "face the music"; they had still, however, declared themselves to be Monarchists. Alcalá-Zamora, on the other hand, on April 13th, 1930 (exactly a year before the nation's hopes were brought to fruition), had not only voiced the general demand for political liberties and the restoration of Spain's dignity, but had gone on to obey the logic of his conscience. "I ceased to be a Monarchist," he had said, "when the Monarchy itself came to serve personal and private causes more than the public interest, when in fact the King's actions have shown unmistakably that the machinery of the State is to be employed not in extinguishing but in merely localising the conflagration (kindled by the dictatorship)." And he proceeded to outline plans for a "Conservative" Republic that would draw to its side the best elements of "tradition" which despaired of achieving "national decency," the much-quoted phrase of the philosopher, José Ortega y Gasset, by ordinary constitutional means owing to the folly of the "traditional obstacle." It was Señor Zamora, too, who first focused public attention upon the unedifying spectacle of minions of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship collaborating—in order to screen the King—with those very *políticos*, Count Romanones, Count Bugallal and the like, whom General Primo de Rivera had especially reviled. When I add that Señor Alcalá-Zamora is a devout and fervent Catholic, he was obviously the ideal leader of the forces of renovation to win sympathies for the Republic among the great body of Spaniards who, seeing no hope in a continuance of the Monarchy, yet had fought shy of the Republican alternative from an unreasoning but characteristic fear of social upheavals that would throw everything into the melting-pot.

Señor Miguel Maura, Minister of the Interior, son of Antonio Maura who had once striven—but in vain—to cleanse the Augean stables of Spanish politics, is another guarantee of essential moderation and continuity. Three other names of note in the Cabinet are the Socialists, Fernando de los Ríos, Largo Caballero and Indalecio Prieto, each of them with as fine a record of public service "as any in Iberia." Alejandro Lerroux, now Foreign Minister, if anyone, deserved Cabinet office, after his many years under the old régime of ploughing a lonely Republican furrow.

He, too, could hardly be described as a man of "revolutionary" views. It looks as if not even the tradition by which Spain's economic policy is governed by the interests of Catalonia is to be disturbed, for a Catalan, Nicolau D'Oliver, is at the Ministry of Economy.

These men have the backing of the famous "generation of 1898" whom Mr. J. B. Trend and others have made known to us in England, men of letters like Azorín, Ramon Perez de Ayala, the novelist-Ambassador whom we have the pleasure of greeting in London, Luis de Zulueta who goes to the Vatican Embassy, and Salvador de Madariaga, all of them induced by the unhappy circumstances of their country to give politics a wide berth, but now at last, when there has been time for their seeds to bear fruit, themselves to reap a rich harvest. The distinguishing feature of these particular Spanish "intellectuals" is their complete freedom from fanaticism. Like all Spaniards they are consummate idealists, but by travel and training they have acquired a broad-minded tolerance which will stand the Republican Government in very good stead in the difficult days ahead. In fact the fate of the new régime may well depend on whether these elements remain in the ascendant or are elbowed out by the cruder type of Republican "intellectual" which is by way of utterly discrediting the *Ateneo*, Madrid's hive of ideas that was a source of such discomfort to successive dictatorship Governments. (Cf. the resolution proposed after the May disturbances, but fortunately not passed, demanding dissolution of the Civil Guard and the police and their replacement by an armed militia enrolled from workers and militant Republicans; confiscation of all Church property, expulsion of the Jesuits; nationalisation of the land, etc. . . .)

While then the watchword of the new régime is Renovation, the banner of *El Sol* ever since its foundation in 1917, its main purpose, one may fairly say, is to root out the remnants of feudalism which have survived in Spain's economic and political life to the present day. And the Provisional Government's initial statement of policy was definitely reassuring to the main body of opinion which recognised that the Monarchy was bankrupt yet were uneasy still about what Señor Cambó had called "the Republican adventure." A Constituent Assembly was promised at the earliest possible moment to legalise the *de facto* situation, and also incidentally to make fundamental changes in the country's political and administrative structure in consonance with the aspirations for a Federal State. The Government gave an undertaking to preserve the sanctity of private property subject only to a right of sequestration in the public interest but with due compensation. The right of holding land, so the statement ran, is to be closely related to the

social function of the leaseholder, a broad hint that the Government was not afraid to tackle one of Spain's most pressing problems, which is the transformation of big estates into smallholdings where they are not properly developed, and establishment of collective labour contracts where the labour conditions are not equitable. A pledge of complete freedom of worship was also included.

Religious tolerance was indeed provided for in the 1876 Constitution, provided also that the supremacy of the Roman Catholic religion was respected as being the national cult. But this toleration on paper was not by any means always translated into practice. Aside from concrete cases of religious persecution, no Protestant or other Church and no synagogue was permitted to make public show of its identity—it had to be camouflaged in some way or other—nor to ring bells or otherwise disturb Spain's Catholic serenity. Propaganda for non-Catholic forms of religion had never been admitted by the authorities, and it had to be entirely unobtrusive. This situation was, one must admit, in line with the religious ideas of the vast majority of Spaniards, if not the more cultivated and broad-minded. It was felt at once, therefore, that the Government was treading on dangerous ground. Certainly the Papal Nuncio had no difficulty in acceding to the request of the Minister of Justice that the Church should confine itself to its evangelical mission and hold aloof from all politics. But it was unlikely that the high dignitaries of the Church would resign themselves meekly to the new order of things. The Government was prepared to abide by the Concordat until further measures relating between Church and State could be passed by Parliament, but it was clear that the religious orders would not be allowed to retain their privileges or their untaxed wealth. A still more drastic treatment of the whole Church problem may be expected after the recent outbursts of popular resentment, for, apart from the patently hostile tone of the pastoral letter issued by the Primate, Cardinal Segura of Toledo, documentary proof was found that certain religious organisations were supplying the funds for a monarchist conspiracy.

Señor Alcala-Zamora's Government deserves most praise for its handling of the Army problem and its firm grasp of the nation's finances. Within the first week of settling into the saddle the Republican Ministry boldly abrogated the so-called Law of Jurisdiction of 1906 which had conferred a privileged status on the Army, virtually placing them above criticism and maximising military jurisdiction. This measure was always deeply resented by all who had developed any civic pride and who were sick and tired of foreigners' taunts that Spain was a country permanently in the grip of a stratocracy. Then, haunted no doubt by the

ghosts of Spain's first Republic, those Army leaders who did not rest until they had paved the way for the restoration of Monarchy in Alfonso XII, the Government insisted on officers making a specific pledge of loyalty to the Republic on pain of loss of their commissions. Few there were, it turned out, who refused this pledge of professional loyalty. In fact the automatic transfer of allegiance by Army, business and other organised sections of the nation has proved almost embarrassing to the Government, since the rank-and-file of their supporters tend to complain that the régime has not made a sufficiently radical change. Major Ramon Franco, already marked out as the stormy petrel of the Republic, distinguished himself by saying as soon as he arrived from Paris—he had been in exile since the abortive December revolt—"Ah, now we've got the Republic, the next thing is to see about the revolution." And he is still, to some extent, a popular hero.

Señor Manuel Azaña, Minister of War, has ambitious plans for reorganisation of the Army which will reduce the number of officers by some 70 per cent. and should increase efficiency correspondingly. Although he is a civilian, officers can scarcely grumble at "ignorant interference" since the Minister happens to have made a special study of military organisation in the different European countries and has written standard works on the subject.

The full scheme of Army reform is being left for discussion and approval by Parliament. In the meantime, however, Señor Azaña has introduced the novel expedient of a "disarmament dole" which deserves special consideration since other countries may yet find themselves compelled to resort to similar initial experiments in disarmament. A decree published at the end of April offered to all officers of the higher ranks the option of retirement (or transfer to second reserve) *on full pay*, including bonuses and allowances, within a period of thirty days. It is obviously an emergency measure for reducing the very considerable surplus strength. If not many so far have availed themselves of their option it is probably because they want to wait and see the more detailed projects of Army reform so as to appreciate the relative advantages of going or staying. Certainly Spain is doing her best to help Barcelona qualify as the seat for the Disarmament Conference! The Government is not in danger of any military *coup d'état* for restoration of the Monarchy. From the rank of major downwards the Army has become solidly pro-Republican, and even the higher officers are content to let well alone, after their long and thankless task of propping up the worm-eaten Monarchical structure.

The Minister of Finance at once secured the co-operation of banks and business elements by his frank admission that he had not taken office under present circumstances as a Socialist, but as

temporary warden of the public purse. They were only too glad to support wholeheartedly a moderate Republic, which would put an end to the perpetual unrest that dried up the springs of industry. The best barometer of the first six weeks of the Republic was indeed the peseta exchange, which never lost more than a few points and, except for the set-back occasioned by the anti-clerical outbursts, has steadily gone up ever since. The Government is known to be in favour of "no restrictions," of letting the peseta find its own level *vis-à-vis* other currencies, and we may be sure that, unless anything unforeseen occurs, that level will be nearer thirty-five than forty-five to the pound. In any case, stabilisation would not be feasible until the Constituent Assembly had met and legalised the present *de facto* political situation.

If I had space I should like to explain the full implications of the Federal question which is going to be the *pièce de résistance* of the Cortes discussions. Some idea of its significance may be grasped from the speech which Señor Alcalá-Zamora broadcast to the Americas on April 29th. Spain has a very special function in the twentieth-century world, that of being the bridge between Europe and America. She is *in* Europe but not *of* Europe; by ties of affection, by solidarity of *raza*, by the sheer logic of history, as her Prime Minister affirmed, her foremost consideration must be for America. It is much too early, of course, to speak of an Iberian Commonwealth, extending across the seas like our British Commonwealth, but it is useful to remember that ever since the League of Nations came into existence Spain has been there as a sentinel guarding against any possible danger of a European *bloc* being formed against America. With the disappearance of the great "differential," the Monarchy, the ties that unite Spain with her "former daughter now sister nations" (Alcalá-Zamora's own words), the Spanish-American Republics, will be every day and every year strengthened. Thus, provided only that she be true to herself—Iberia resurgent become a reality—the Spanish Republic should prove to be one of the most important links in the chain of peace which is hall-marked Geneva.

W. HORSFALL CARTER.

II—THE LIBERATION OF CATALONIA.

WHATEVER the student of history may forecast concerning the permanence of the Spanish Republic, he can have little doubt that the newly-proclaimed autonomy of Catalonia is a condition of affairs that has come to stay. No republican government in Madrid, and no hypothetical restoration, will be strong enough in our time to bring back that gallant little country into subjection. Its glorious past, both in history and in culture, may almost have been forgotten in the centuries following the conquest of Granada from the Moors. But, since the tyrannous régime of Ferdinand VII—for a full century—its national consciousness has been slowly rising, and the seven years' repression under Primo de Rivera, no less a tyrant for his outward benevolence, has succeeded in bringing it to a climax.

Thronged with loyal sons of the new republic, the great square of Sant Jaume in Barcelona was hushed on April 14th into such stillness as a Latin race achieves but rarely. The venerable Francesc Macià, who had risked death for the cause of his country's freedom, was speaking words which none who heard them will ever forget:

In the name of the people, I have taken possession of the Government of Catalonia. . . . We who now govern are prepared to defend its liberties. We believe the people will do the same. . . . We shall show ourselves worthy of this freedom.

One shout went up from twenty thousand voices. Then the whole city caught fire. From that two o'clock on the Tuesday afternoon till four o'clock on the Thursday morning, Barcelona was hardly quiet for more than the three small hours of Wednesday following the public homage paid by the army to the new régime shortly before dawn. Those were no ordinary celebrations that shook Barcelona and made themselves felt throughout the Catalan State. Not seven years of severe repression, but four hundred years of alternate absorption, persecution and neglect, were commemorated in the superhuman rejoicings. The festival of the birth of the Spanish Republic was the festival of the liberation of Catalonia.

For something like three hundred and fifty years, from the mid-eleventh century to the beginning of the fifteenth, the north-eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula made history. While the greater portion of Spain was occupied in driving the Moors back to Africa, Aragon-Catalonia looked, not southward, but eastward, to conquest and to commerce across the Mediterranean. Itself once freed from Moorish incursions, this ambitious nation pursued a policy of expansion of quite a different nature from that of Castile. Dreams of a "Pyrenean Empire" and its partial realisation gave place to a

series of successful engagements, each bringing its coveted prize. The Balearics, Corsica, Sicily, Sardinia fell in divers ways into Catalan hands, as Valencia, Játiva and Murcia had done on the mainland. Then, in the full flush of Catalan pride, came the splendid expedition of the six thousand *almogàvers* to Constantinople, the extension of the Catalan empire into Asia Minor and the establishment, in 1311, of that Duchy of Athens which lasted for almost eighty years. It is the descendants of those who formed that Grand Company who are reclaiming their lost liberty to-day.

Properly speaking, the downfall of Catalonia began with the expiration of the dynasty of Barcelona in 1410. This was the remote cause of the union of the Spanish kingdoms at the end of that same century and the submersion of Catalonia in the resulting centralised State. All who know the Catalonians, either of to-day or of yesterday, realise how greatly they differ from the Castilians. They resemble them less than the Portuguese resemble them—and we know for how many years Castile was able to absorb Portugal. Yet the absorption of Catalonia proved successful to an extent which to-day seems unbelievable. Despite the fact that the Catalan language had produced at least as many masterpieces as the Castilian, it gradually ceased to be the mouthpiece of literature. Other phases of culture followed it. Politically things went from bad to worse. With the Spanish Government centralised at Madrid, the Catalonians soon found their immemorial privileges vanishing. They had to keep up part of an army in which they had but small commands. In taxes they paid heavily for the virtue of industry and the blessing of a country that has always been naturally fertile. Even their ecclesiastical privileges were taken from them. Their treasured shrine of Montserrat fell into the hands of Castilian monks who told their Catalan penitents to speak in a "Christian language." Little by little a temperamentally loyal people was being turned into a nation of rebels.

On two occasions during that long period of absorption the national spirit blazed forth, and burnt bright for a while before it could be subdued again. The first was in 1640 when, under the more than ordinarily oppressive yoke of Philip IV's favourite, Olivares, the Catalonians rose in a revolt commemorated by their patriotic hymn of the *Segadors*, which has been sung again and again during these most recent happenings. For a brief time, during the year 1641, there existed under the same title of *Generalitat* as has recently been re-adopted a genuine Catalan republic. It lasted, however, only a week. Hampered by the disturbed state of the country, by its relations with France and by difficulties as much economic as military, it was incapable of standing alone. It was then that Pau Claris, who had proclaimed it, proposed in its

place the election of Louis XIII of France as Count of Barcelona, on the condition that he would grant the fullest recognition to Catalan liberties. Three days later Catalonians and French routed the Spanish Army and before long were in possession of the greater part of Aragon. Then began the long and painful strife which ended in the submission of Catalonia and the Treaty of the Pyrenees.

Once more Catalonia rose, this time against the first of the Spanish Bourbons, early in the next century. The War of the Spanish Succession is more familiar to English readers than the Siege of Barcelona, which occupies a small but memorable place in it. In the Corts of Barcelona in 1706 (those same Corts, with their three Estates, which took their rise as early as 1228) the Bourbon dynasty was declared to be excluded for ever from the Spanish throne. That moment when hopes of victory beat high was succeeded by years of agony and depression. The European Powers abandoned Catalonia's desired king, and the central army of Spain turned its whole force upon the rebel. Yet, deserted by her friends, she kept her spirit to the last, and in the Palace of the Generalty the solemn asseveration of 1706 was repeated. While on September 11th, 1714, the first day of the siege, it was once more affirmed within the city at the Portal de Sant Antoni in circumstances which won for it the name of "Testament of the Martyrs":

"Since our servitude is now certain and inevitable," declared the city fathers, "in fulfilment of our obligations, we set forth, declare and protest to those present, and bear witness to those who shall follow us, that we have put forth our last and utmost efforts, protesting against all the evils, ruins and desolations which shall befall our afflicted country and the extermination of all our privileges."

Then they went out to their fate, and on September 13th, after a frightful carnage, the city fell.

For more than a hundred years no further rebellion had occurred in Catalonia, when, at first almost imperceptibly, began the Catalan Renaissance. This was in its origin literary—a rebirth before everything else of the language of Catalonia which had never entirely disappeared—but it soon came to have a broader cultural significance, and, later still, a political one. In literature the ninety-eight years which have passed since Aribau gave to Catalonia his great *Oda a la patria* have seen the establishment of a modern literature which, in each of its branches, is perfectly comparable with that of Portugal or of Spain. The revival of the *Jocs Florals*, or Floral Games, of the Middle Ages is largely responsible for the popularity of that literature, and the readiness of poets, novelists and dramatists to learn from other nations (in particular

from France and Italy) is the chief cause of the reputation which it has assured for itself from future historians.

Politically the re-emergence of Catalonian individuality began to be visible at about the time of the revival of the Floral Games. Cortada's *Catalonia and the Catalans* (1860) is regarded as having first clearly enunciated the political problem in modern times. Yet for decades little but spadework was accomplished: the Catalan language, in particular, though expressing itself freely in creative literature, was prohibited in the schools and in the law-courts. Spain went through the throes of revolution, dethroned her queen, made a new experiment in monarchism, abandoned it for a short-lived republic and finally recalled a Bourbon to her throne. Through all this Catalonia passed as a part of Spain and made no attempt (so much had first to be done) to pluck advantage to herself from these adversities. All the time, however, nationalistic conceptions were growing. The Federal idea, which now seems to have been accepted at Madrid, was set out in 1886, the year of Alfonso XIII's birth, in the book entitled *Catalanism*, of Almirall. It has taken forty-five years to translate itself into reality.

From that date forward political progress in Catalonia was greatly accelerated. Though attempts to create one single party with one single programme failed, the "Catalanist Union" rose a head and shoulders above other bodies and produced in 1893 the famous "Bases of Manresa" upon which have been founded most of Catalonia's revised pretensions. Briefly, the "Bases" agreed to the centralisation of Spanish national defence, customs and excise, national finance and relations between Church and State, while demanding complete recognition within Catalonia of the Catalan language and laws, a separate militia of home police, a separate coinage, a re-distribution of the Catalan provinces, and the appointment of Catalonians only to the public offices of Catalonia. The ancient Courts were to be revived, with a system of democratic class-election somewhat similar to the old system of the three Estates, but adapted to modern conditions. This concrete programme made practicable a consolidation of forces, and Catalanist candidates began to win elections to the Spanish Cortes in alarming numbers. In 1907 forty-one out of the forty-four deputies from the Catalonian provinces were Catalanists. By 1913 a part of the battle had been won and a union and centralisation of the local councils of Catalonia was established under the name of the *Mancomunitat*. Though subordinate to the Spanish Cortes, to which its accounts were rendered, it became of importance not merely as a body which was supreme within certain limits, but as the symbol of a degree of independence already won, and the earnest of further victories.

Upon its foundations, so to speak, were reared propagandist schemes which without it would have lacked reality. The "Municipal Weeks" of 1918 led to a strong movement in favour of "autonomy-here-and-now," and the resulting negotiations with Madrid at least brought the desires of the people once more into the cognisance of the central government. In 1922 came the foundation of that *Acció Catalana* which has so often and so sharply challenged the more sedate and moderate *Lliga Regionalista* and which inspires that most virile of Catalan newspapers, *La Publicitat*. Then, on September 13th, 1923, the anniversary of Barcelona's forced surrender to Philip V, was struck the fatal blow to Catalan liberties which brought the seven years' dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and of his little more liberal successor, Berenguer. It is unnecessary here to recapitulate the petty tyrannies which the first Dictator added to his severe repression of almost every form of Catalonian individuality. The reaction against that severity has cost its life to the institution which he most cherished—and its force may not even yet have spent itself.

Enough has been written to give some idea of the gradualness of the Catalan *risorgimento*, which is the strongest guarantee of its permanence. To a casual observer the shouting and the tumult, the solemn declarations of allegiance to the Catalan State and the fervour of its adherents may seem to be no more than the ebullitions of a naturally expansive people. In reality they are the culmination of a movement which in all its essential features is a full century old, and has three and a half centuries of glorious history to inspire it. If one thing, amid all the confusion of the Spanish stage, stands out clearly, it is that the Catalonians will only surrender with their lives the autonomy which after so long a period of waiting they can now call their own.

E. ALLISON PEERS.

HARD TIMES IN AMERICA.

THE American people are now nearing the end of the second year of the great depression. It is a national experience without a parallel. During the seven decades since the Civil War there have been many financial crises and periods of bad trade, but the annals of the Republic do not contain the record of any ordeal comparable with that through which the whole nation is at present labouring. Beginning with the stock-exchange collapse of 1929, the depression has involved the entire world of industry, the export trades and the retail; and it has been associated with a series of natural calamities, notably the prolonged drought over an immense area, which by themselves accounted for the ruin of many millions of the rural population. It would be accurate to say that in our generation, with the exception of Germany and Russia, no nation has undergone an economic reverse so catastrophic as this. The statistics of production and export tell the story in part; the statistics of unemployment, incomplete and tentative though they are, provide the evidence most easily understood by our people.

The population of the United States is now fully 120,000,000. It was therefore to be expected that a great industrial and agrarian depression should produce a total of unemployment greater in the mass than any recorded hitherto in an industrial country. Three months ago the Federal Department of Commerce issued a statement to the effect that the estimated total of the unemployed—that is, of men and women able to work but wholly without jobs—was something over 6,000,000. There is no federal register of unemployment. The figure given by Mr. Lamont, Secretary of Commerce in the Hoover Cabinet, was an estimate based upon the census returns in nineteen typical cities. It was at best a guess, arrived at by means of a cautious calculation. The public departments in Washington are keenly sensitive to public opinion. They are expected to lean towards under-statement. Allowing, then, for official restraint and for the large number of wage-earners known to be on part-time work, we should be well within the mark in saying that the departmental estimate implies a total of the wholly or partially unemployed certainly over 7,000,000 and probably not less than 8,000,000. The statistics as given imply an increase in unemployment of almost 150 per cent. between April 1930 and January 1931. Nor has there been since mid-winter any sign that this appalling situation, in the richest country on earth, is or is about to be materially changed for the better. By almost universal agreement the conditions throughout 1931 will prove to be similar to those of 1930.

A national condition of this kind, obviously, challenges attention

from every point of view. In this article I propose to consider it briefly in relation to three questions: First, how does the depression affect President Hoover and his "prosperity" Administration? Secondly, what does it mean for the political parties in advance of the presidential campaign? And thirdly, what has the experience brought out in the way of economic thinking and leadership: has, for instance, the collapse of American prosperity made any real change in the mind of industrial and commercial classes?

I. The position of the President in this crucial year is not difficult only but distressing. No man at present holding high office can be more harassed or more deeply involved than Mr. Hoover. It will not be disputed that he has lost ground steadily since the beginning of his term. The complications of Washington would in any case have been unmanageable for a president without political experience, but Mr. Hoover, of course, has had the worst of possible ill-fortune. There were premonitory signs of the business depression before his inauguration; within eight months the country was plunged into financial chaos, and in less than a year the prosperity war-cries of the 1928 campaign were remembered only in bitter irony. Punishment for the Administration and the Republican Party was inevitable when the hard times began, but to say this is not the same as saying that Mr. Hoover was doomed to lose all that remained of the reputation that was his when he entered the White House. At present, to be sure, his stock in the country is extraordinarily low. No President since Taft has lost so heavily in his first two years. Indeed, we must go back at least half a century in order to find a Chief Executive so bewildered by his task and so completely deprived of influential friends at the centre. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that no small part of this is explicable as matter of routine or by reference to the unexampled events that have befallen since the presidential election. Every American President has to be prepared for a bad stretch of road, and it is not unusual for him to strike it at the point which Mr. Hoover has now reached. The four-years' term gives the President only a meagre chance: the Houses of Congress are normally hostile to him, even when they contain a majority of the right party. They have no parliamentary leadership, as that term is understood in Europe, and they invariably become suspicious and resentful whenever the President acts in harmony with the Roosevelt and Wilson conception of the office as combining the functions of Chief Executive with those of Prime Minister. The large Republican majority in the House should have been an advantage to Mr. Hoover. It was

merely an embarrassment, for its one achievement was a Tariff Act which in one year destroyed the President's reputation as an economic statesman; while the Senate, confirmed in its antagonism to the Executive throughout Mr. Coolidge's five years, has since 1929 displayed in an extreme form the checks and balances of the world's most famous Constitution.

It would have been difficult in normal circumstances for Mr. Hoover, inexperienced among politicians, to establish a tolerable relation with Congress. The conditions of the time made this impossible. Take, for example, the question of the policy to be adopted in regard to emergency relief. Concerning the limits of Federal Government action Mr. Hoover clings to certain notions which for him are fundamental American principles, and from these he will not be dislodged. His tenacity in such matters was exhibited during an angry and prolonged debate over the methods proposed on behalf of the States impoverished by the drought of last year. The Senate majority took the view that here was a special large-scale calamity calling for commensurate action by the Federal Government—action, that is, designed to meet the urgent need for food and clothing among the distressed population no less than to provide for the rehabilitation of the farms. The President insisted that the Federal Government was properly concerned with rehabilitation alone, and ought not to be charged with the duty of immediate relief: that should be left to the organisations of voluntary benevolence. In the closing days of the last Congress the dispute was ended by a compromise, upon the basis of a \$20,000,000 drought-relief fund, to be administered according to a formula which, as everybody understood, would be stretched a long way beyond the restrictions urged by the President. The amount of the appropriation was trivial when measured against the extent of a calamity from which certain States of the South and South-West will be suffering long after the presidency of Herbert Hoover has passed into history. It is bad enough that politics should be allowed to hamper and vitiate a discussion of this kind, and the quarrel in Washington was one of the most painful of recent years. But the situation would seem to be made considerably worse when, in the record, it is sardonically set against the former achievements of the President as the greatest of all organisers of emergency relief. This is doubtless unjust to Mr. Hoover, since his objection to Government action, like his fear of it, is deeply ingrained. And yet we cannot wonder that the satiric contrast should be drawn.

There is, however, nothing new or surprising in Mr. Hoover's difficulties with Congress. It was recognised from the beginning that he could not avoid them. This was the single point upon

which, on the morrow of the election, all observers were agreed. Mr. Coolidge, most popular of recent presidents, knew all about those difficulties. But he could be largely indifferent to them, because of his remarkable standing with the country. Mr. Hoover, unfortunately, has no such standing, and the fact that in this respect he makes so sharp a contrast to his predecessor is a striking example of the mysteries of democracy. The American Press created with ease a complete Coolidge legend. It has not been interested in performing a like service for Mr. Hoover. The President's personality and daily life have not become a common possession as the populace likes them to be; nor has he made up for this by a power of addressing the American public upon important issues in plain and direct terms. Mr. Hoover cannot be direct. He is not given to the use of concrete language. At no time since entering politics has he been known to deal realistically with a current problem. He cannot bring himself to be outspoken in reference to a difficult or perilous situation. We may judge that he is constitutionally incapable of taking the public into his confidence. And it is here, undoubtedly, that we touch the central point in the President's relation to the present crisis.

His critics to-day are drawn from all sides, and they are exceedingly vocal. They accuse him of having ignored the grave facts of the situation, during the mid-term elections of last year and since. They affirm that, against a crushing weight of evidence, he has treated the depression as a passing phase. He cited figures of unemployment which every informed person knew to be far below the reality, and he was daring enough, before the worst stage of the winter was reached, to predict that jobs would be available for all at the end of two months. If such things were said and done by a Senator or an ordinary member of the Cabinet the American public would take no notice. But they cannot be said in days like these by the President, and they come strangely from the mouth of the one prominent man in American public life who, before his elevation to the presidency, was regarded as an industrial realist, working in a world that was supposed to be free from the rubbish which the party politician is compelled to tolerate and to deal in.

2. The nominations are not made until June of next year, and the presidential election is four months later still; but this interval is not long in the eyes of the party managers. From now onwards the entire field of American affairs will be governed by considerations relating to the conflict of 1932, and it would be wise for our political public to keep this fact well in mind with reference to certain questions in which Britain is closely interested. These

pages, for example, are being written while the International Chamber of Commerce is meeting in Washington and representative business men are actively engaged in promoting a fresh and actual discussion of the war-debts problem and the wisdom of a conclusive settlement. Nothing, of course, could be better. Washington is the right place for that debate, and the International Chamber of Commerce is the right forum. (Incidentally, one may observe that if Chambers of Commerce and kindred bodies had undertaken ten years ago the task that was plainly theirs, and had insisted upon confronting political and racial nationalism with the hard facts of world economics, the civilised Powers would be standing upon vastly different ground to-day.) But resolutions of the International Chamber can have no influence upon the Hoover Administration or the Congress that will assemble in December. Mr. Hoover and his colleagues are in all probability ready for a final reopening of the whole problem of debts and reparations. American Big Business, manifestly, is more than ready. But no one in Washington is under any illusion as to the immediate prospect. The Administration cannot touch it; Congress is immovable; the public is uninformed. This question, like the question of American adhesion to the World Court or any other affecting the relations of the United States with Europe, must of necessity await the electoral decision of November 1932. If that decision should mean a second Hoover term, it is not impossible that the Euro-American outlook might undergo a change of considerable importance.

It is generally assumed that the Republicans will find themselves committed to the renomination of Mr. Hoover. The President's ability to succeed himself, if he wishes to do so, cannot be gainsaid; the influence of his position is enormous. And, moreover, the party in power must nominate its President: to turn away from him is too flagrant a confession of failure. Mr. Hoover, it is understood, is anxious for the renomination, and, notwithstanding his unpopularity with the regular politicians, he may feel reasonably secure in the knowledge that there is no Republican of sufficient national prominence to be pitted against him. By all the signs, however, 1932 should be the Democrats' year. They gained large successes in the mid-term elections. The mention of Hoover "prosperity" arouses a storm of anger and contempt in public meetings. Unemployment and wage reductions make a twofold terror for Republican candidates everywhere, and then there is the still incalculable factor of Prohibition. If Mr. Hoover should run again, he will be the Dry candidate, and the experiences of 1930 showed that the numbers are growing of those voters who are resolved to make the Eighteenth Amendment a direct issue

in national politics. When all is said, however, it is certain that the next presidential contest must turn upon the central economic questions. Dark as the present outlook is, bitter as are the facts of which the whole nation is aware, the recovery of the United States is—we are obliged to believe—a certainty of the not distant future. The political observer is concerned chiefly with the probabilities of the great depression. The historical evidence tends in favour of an upward movement before the close of the Administration, but we have to remind ourselves that the experience of past depressions cannot be taken as a guide to the present phenomena: they belong to the still uncharted neo-technic age. They may, and probably will, upset all the political calculations of the next year or two. But in the meantime the American political parties and bosses will continue their manoeuvres and intrigues as though economic forces, no matter how searching and revolutionary, can have no bearing whatever upon the political framework of the United States and the marvellous practices developed therein. In other words, it will take much more than one financial and industrial upheaval, equal to that which has made so sensational an end of the Coolidge-Hoover epoch of prosperity, to transform the structure of one of the most conservative political systems now existing in the world.

3. The pattern of American politics, after all, is unchanging. It is when we turn to the spectacle presented by industry and business that we begin to realise how vast and significant are the results of the depression. Our two countries exhibit one remarkable contrast. Britain sank gradually into the morass of bad trade and unemployment and has seemed by degrees to reach a condition of fatalistic acquiescence. Disaster fell suddenly upon the United States and, in the first half-year of the depression especially, the authorities and the important business people appeared to be sharing in a prodigious activity. The President, behaving in accord with his European reputation, called the heads of Big Business into conference, appointed special commissions, and threw his influence on the side of a large and systematic extension of public works. He sought, moreover, from representative employers a pledge to uphold the American standard of wages in order that the purchasing power of the community might be maintained. Such efforts were praiseworthy, and undoubtedly they had a good, if transitory, effect upon the national state of mind. But they were inspired by a belief that the depression would be temporary and might yield to treatment under the leadership of the engineer-President. The experiences of 1930 were profoundly disturbing, and they made an end of the hopes which accompanied the launching of the Hoover programme. The bottom had fallen out of industry,

as out of investment. Palliatives and goodwill appeals could do little against the flood of unemployment which, in many great centres, was estimated to involve 25 per cent. or more of the families of the wage-earners.

President Hoover, despite his differences with Congress, is a genuinely representative American in his attitude toward the problem of relief. Hitherto American public opinion has been decisively against unemployment insurance upon either a State or Federal basis. The newspapers have spread fantastic versions of the British system, and nothing has been more revealing than the evidence of an almost universal fear of America's being led into imitation of the English "Dole." That miserable word is made to connote a comprehensive terror, and it has been used time and again, in Congress and the Press, for the purpose of defeating proposals of urgency which could not, by any stretch of definition, be brought within the scope of public assistance or social insurance. In this matter, as in others, British policy and experience have been misrepresented, and in consequence the American public is unprepared for the discussion of plans which, in the industrial States at all events, must soon be dealt with as the most pressing item of practical politics. It is admitted that there can be no Federal system of workers' insurance in the United States. But the time is plainly at hand when such States as New York and Pennsylvania, Ohio and Wisconsin, will make a direct approach to the problem, each in its own fashion. A variety of experiment in this field is not to be deplored. On the contrary, we may see in the regional diversity of method a valuable contribution to constructive sociology such as no other country could make. The Federal Government, on the other hand, has lately thrown away a great opportunity by means of the presidential veto upon a group of Bills promoted by Senator Wagner of New York. They were designed to create a national system of Employment Exchanges, which incidentally would have called into existence a complete register of the unemployed. By the independent student this has long been recognised as a clamant necessity of contemporary America, for the great country which produces statistics as a major industry has no national record of its jobless workers. Mr. Hoover, however, does not agree.

The majority of American, and Canadian, cities are equipped with a remarkable system of associated charities. There has grown up, under systematic encouragement, a practice of generous giving by the well-to-do which is beyond the range of the English imagination; and in the admirable institution of the Community Chest (by means of which the charities and social-service agencies of a city are regulated, supplied with funds, and kept up to the

mark) the two great nations of North America have worked out a most noteworthy method and technique of voluntary public assistance. In the present emergency the associated charities and the Community Chest are supplemented by innumerable civic committees and by the national organisation of the Red Cross, upon which in some regions a very large portion of the burden of relief has rested. Nevertheless, throughout the country, as the official reports make clear, the bulk of the unemployment benefit comes directly from public sources—that is, from the city and county authorities, whose regular expenditure upon relief far exceeds, in very many areas, the combined total of all the voluntary funds. This fact would seem to imply that the prevailing notion as to the contrasted systems of Britain and the United States is in need of drastic revision. Roughly speaking, all Americans believe that Britain is a land whose people are demoralised by the Dole, while the United States, in grappling with an unexampled condition, has kept free from this corrupting agency. The truth is that Britain has built and kept its foundation of contributory public insurance, while so far the workless of the United States are kept altogether dependent upon a lavish system of public and private doles.

No student of American conditions and movements who may be in a position to compare phenomena over a term of years can fail to remark that the great overturn has wrought an immense change in the American mind, and perhaps most of all in the collective business mind. When Mr. Coolidge retired from the presidency the American people were enjoying a sense of power and well-being such as no nation of the modern world had approached. American prosperity was a commanding reality; it was rare to find an American citizen who was prepared to express a serious doubt as to the permanence of the structure of American industry, commerce, and credit. And—more significant still—the theory that America had opened the road to plenty, discovered the secret of continuous prosperity, and abolished the cycle of good and bad trade, was carried from the Rotary Club and the Chamber of Commerce into the colleges; it was being adopted as the new orthodoxy by the faculties of Economics. Of all this, needless to say, nothing whatever is now to be heard. The shock of the depression has been terrific, overwhelming, and there does not exist in any country so widespread a spirit of perplexity, concern, and self-criticism as may be met with in the United States. Until these present times of trial the American has been sure of at least one thing—the rightness and soundness of the American economic system. Not even of that can he be certain to-day.

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

THE HINDU-MOSLEM PROBLEM OF INDIA.

IT cannot be questioned that the gravest problem of Indian politics is the hostility between Hindus and Moslems; but that problem is not, I think, so intractable as to justify us in despairing of its solution. When examined without bias it will be seen not to be peculiarly Indian, but rather to belong to a class of political questions with which we in Europe are only too familiar and on which some of the best minds of the West have been working for some time, not without a certain measure of success. We cannot hope, however, to solve this or any other problem unless we state it correctly. To describe the Hindus and Moslems of India as communities merely is both to misrepresent the facts and to underestimate their seriousness. A truer statement would be that two nationalities are here in conflict. The passions which drive Hindus and Moslems into collision in India are of the same magnitude and gravity as the passions which in Europe produced the catastrophe of 1914. Sir Muhammad Iqbal stated the case shortly, but with complete accuracy, when he said, "The problem of India is international not national."*

Nationality in India appears to us in an unfamiliar form. The history of Europe has led most of us to believe that there is but one type of nationality; about that type our ideas are fairly clear. For us a nation is composed of all the inhabitants of a certain geographical area, an area painted yellow, blue or red on the map and labelled France, Germany or England. We assume that all the inhabitants in each of these areas are animated by the same national spirit, possess the same cultural traditions, take a pride in the same history and are ready to support the same national government. Even in Western Europe these assumptions are not absolutely correct, but they correspond to the facts with sufficient closeness to justify us in identifying nationalities with certain geographical areas. In India and in several other Eastern lands nationality is not identified with locality. All the persons who follow the same religion, who share the same culture and who have a community of historical antecedents, belong to the same nationality, whether they happen to inhabit the same region or whether they are separated from one another by considerable distances. As a matter of fact the nationalities of India are mostly dispersed over the country in larger or smaller groups, and one province, one district, one town will usually contain representatives of more than one nationality. The Hindus and Moslems, for instance, live

intermixed in the same areas, but each people keeps intact its social practices and is conscious of its separate identity. Sir Abdur Rahim once said with courage and exact truth: "Any of us Indian Moslems, travelling, for instance, in Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, among Chinese Moslems, Arabs and Turks, would be at once made at home and would not find anything to which we are not accustomed. On the contrary in India we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our fellow Hindu townsmen live." Each of these two communities which dwell side by side without intermingling is moved by ideals of its own; each has memories of past glories or past sufferings peculiar to itself and each may be moved by a noble patriotism or, at times, an ignoble chauvinism. In *The Heart of Aryavarta* the Marquess of Zetland has, with a sympathetic hand, laid bare to us the national emotion which sways the Hindus of Bengal. The speeches and writings quoted by Lord Zetland are well worth a careful study; the patriotism which impregnates them is so obviously sincere that few Englishmen could read them without a measure of sympathy, although all the writings are violently anti-English. What, however, is not less deserving of remark is that the patriotism is a purely Hindu patriotism, its inspiration comes from Hindu history; the great men who shed a glory on the past are all Hindus, and some passages indeed are hardly intelligible without some acquaintance with Hindu religion or literature. Barindra Kumar Ghose, for instance, foretelling the degradation that would follow from the continuation of foreign (sc. British) domination closes with these words: "And then? Good-bye for ever to the India of Valmiki and Vyasa, of the Vedas and the Vedanta, from whose sacred soil had sprung forth Lord Krishna and Gautama Buddha. Farewell, priestess of Asia, mistress of the Eastern seas, temple of Nervana to which pilgrims travelled from Palestine and Cathay."—Surely this is the very spirit of patriotism passionately felt and eloquently expressed; but not less surely it expresses a patriotism in which only the Hindus in Bengal can share. Moslems can have no part or lot in it; the names of Valmiki and Vyasa and Lord Krishna can kindle no more emotion in the hearts of Moslems than in the hearts of Englishmen. Yet it is the Moslems not the Hindus who constitute the majority of the population in Bengal.

In the districts about Agra, Delhi and Lucknow the position is reversed; here the Hindus are in the majority and Moslems form only a minority of the population. Yet this part of India is to them famous for the glories of Moslem kings and hallowed by the piety of Moslem saints; to this day the Moslems who dwell there constitute a society which for distinction of manners and for elevation

* All India Muslim League. December 1930. Presidential Address by Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal.

of thought is unmatched in India; these Moslems are the foremost representatives of that Urdu culture which is becoming the predominant characteristic of Moslems all over India. When in this region Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded the M.A.O. College of Aligarh, it was with the avowed object of "regenerating a fallen people" and that people was the Moslems of India. The College (now a University) was always spoken of by Moslems as their national college, and the young Englishmen who worked under, and with, Sir Syed Ahmad felt that they were taking part in a national uprising which for earnestness and enthusiasm could be compared with the Italian *Risorgimento*. Yet in the districts in which Sir Syed Ahmad Khan mostly worked the Moslems do not constitute more than 14 or 15 per cent. of the whole population.

Indian nationalism, then, is not regional and thus lacks one of the characteristics of European nationhood; but it is not one whit less fervent or less sincere, and it is, I incline to believe, more capable of logical justification. I should have much sympathy with an Indian who would, for once, flout the prestige of Europe and say to us: "Our organisation of nationality is not merely as good as but better than yours. It is more reasonable to group men together on the basis of religion and culture than of geography. Our Indian nationalities are held together by the bonds of a common religion, common ideals and a community of historical antecedents. If ever wars are justifiable, these are the things worth fighting and dying for. And not only is our Indian organisation of society theoretically more rational than yours, but in practice it works out better. It is true that there are occasional explosions of animosity between our nationalities but these are of small account compared with the organised ferocity of European hostilities. What are a few heads broken in town riots when measured against the bloodshed which incarnadined Europe from 1914 to 1918? We Indians do not pretend that we have yet evolved a faultless type of society. We have not yet evolved from our various nationalities an autogenous government. But have you? Is Europe any nearer the perfect society than we are? We shall not feel the least temptation to reorganise our society on the Western model until we see that you have succeeded in establishing the United States of Europe."

Political India is too much under the domination of European thought to entertain such views as these. When people are possessed by the uncompromising spirit of Western nationality they are inexorably compelled to demand that their national aspirations shall find expression in a national state upon the Western model. Such is the demand of the Congress at the present time, and as

the Congress is a Hindu organisation its leaders are asking for the establishment of what in fact would be a Hindu national State. In view of the present distribution of nationalities a national state of states would be possible in India only if the several nationalities were first segregated, one from another, into homogeneous blocks, that is to say by the Westernisation of Indian society so as to adapt it to Western institutions. How much suffering would be involved in this segregation of nationalities it is hard to imagine. But we need not tax our imaginations; the whole dreary tragedy has recently been played out in the Near East. Such a reorganisation of society under the impulse of the same spirit has actually taken place in those countries which once formed the Ottoman Empire. The process has been described by Mr. Arnold Toynbee in *The Survey of International Affairs, 1925 (The Islamic World)*. To describe the social conditions which prevailed in the Near East at the time of the decline and collapse of the Ottoman Empire he uses words which might be applied without alteration to India at the present day, and he proceeds to give a rapid survey of the means by which this society was adapted to Western institutions. This masterly analysis deserves the closest study by Indian statesmen; here I must content myself with one short quotation:

The triumphal progress of the Western conception of nationality across the Islamic World (i.e. the Ottoman Empire) required that the interlocked nationalities should be segregated and this process which had begun in the Serb and Greek revolutionary wars at the opening of the nineteenth century reached its culmination during and after the general war of 1914-18. The segregation was accomplished, and perhaps only could be accomplished, through an internecine struggle for existence in which the weaker parties were eliminated by compulsory emigration or massacre. The less fortunate victims like the Perganotes in 1819, the Circassians in 1859 and the Anatolian Greeks in 1922 were uprooted and transplanted to new national homes (though not without an appalling loss of life). Others like the Moreot Turks in 1821 and the Anatolian Armenians in 1915 were almost blotted out of the book of life. There was perhaps no single community which was not successively the perpetrator and victim of these atrocities in some part of the Islamic World (Ottoman Empire) at some moment during these terrible generations of violent transition, and the total suffering inflicted upon innocent and impotent individuals, children, women and men, was beyond calculation.

In Mr. Toynbee's *Western Question in Turkey and Greece* and in Miss Edith Durham's books may be found fuller details of the ruthless savagery with which the Balkan tangle was straightened out. It is not probable that the tangle of nationalities in India would prove any easier to unravel, and the recent occurrences in Cawnpore suggest that the segregation of nationalities, if con-

ducted by the Satyagrahis,* would be effected in the Balkan manner.

Political evolution is as ruthless as biological evolution, and if we felt assured that the latter state of India would be better than the first we might perhaps resign ourselves to the suffering of two or three generations. But this seems very questionable. The unity of India, to which the Congress Nationalists profess to attach importance, would certainly be destroyed. The United States of India would be an ideal as remote as the United States of Europe. That at the cost of a century's suffering a number of national states might be created is conceivable. I can imagine a Moslem national state in the north of India buttressed against Central Asia, a promontory of Islam jutting into the waters of Hinduism. Such a state would hold a very strong strategic position and could defy all attacks from the south. It is equally easy to imagine that Hindu states should arise in Madras, Bombay and the Central Provinces. But such a distribution of nationalities would certainly not make for peace. National animosities embittered by recent persecution would easily burst into flame and they would then be armed with all the terrific weapons with which one nationality fights another in Europe. The vision of Hindus and Moslems armed to the teeth and glaring at each other across the Satlej brings only too vividly to mind the age-long *Wacht am Rhein*.

These clearly are not precedents to follow; if the doctrine of a national state can only lead India to a Balkanic catastrophe, some other principle must be sought on which to base her future constitution. The problem is to devise a constitution which, while satisfying India's demand for autonomy and equality of status within the Empire, will command the whole-hearted support of all her nationalities. That this is the ideal has already been recognised by some thinking minds. The Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University of Aligarh closed an address† last Christmas with the words:

I cannot conclude my address without appealing most earnestly to the two great communities which inhabit India to put an end to the mutual distrust from which no good can come to anyone. Is our country not big enough to allow two cultures, each with rare gifts to offer, to flourish side by side? Is the land that has given birth to great religions and philosophies in the past now doomed to become an arena where two groups of humanity are to engage each other in a lengthy war of extinction?

That the diverse nationalities of India should come to entertain for each other a spirit of forbearance and esteem is clearly the ideal;

* Mr. Gandhi's "soul force" brigade.

† Presidential Address by Syed Ross Masood delivered at the forty-second session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, at Benares, 1930.

is it possible to translate this ideal into practical politics? Can a modern state which derives its authority from the consent of the governed be founded on a basis of two or more nationalities? A survey of the world to-day does not justify a positive answer to this question. The number of bi-national or multi-national states which have for years been able to return an absolutely clean bill of health is small. There are perhaps only two in this happy position: Canada and Switzerland. Belgium and South Africa, though normally enjoying good health, are subject to recurring attacks of nationalist fever. Besides these there are in Europe a number of composite states wherein rival nationalities have been brought under one administration. It would be idle to pretend that all these states are doing well; most of them are young in political experience; they have been confronted with a problem for the solution of which there are few precedents. They have, of course, made mistakes, but they have also achieved some successes and they are showing some symptoms which justify a cautious optimism. It is for India a happy accident that Central Europe is just now a veritable laboratory in which a number of political experiments are being conducted upon the very problems in which she is most interested. Some of these experiments are yielding negative results; they are not for that reason less instructive. Let me first take one example from this class. A large scale experiment has recently been conducted in Polish Upper Silesia upon the value of Joint (as distinguished from Separate) Electorates in a country of mixed nationalities. This, of course, is in India the burning question of the day. Polish Upper Silesia is inhabited by a mixed population of which approximately two-thirds are Poles and one-third Germans. In this area the system of Joint or Mixed Electorates, such as the Congress demands for India, has been established. At the end of last summer the Polish Parliament and the Silesian Sejm were dissolved and fresh elections announced. The feeling between Poles and Germans at the time ran high and the Polish nationalists entered the electoral contest with the declared object of wiping out German representation; in Upper Silesia they organised an "Anti-German Week" to run from October 19th to 26th, and they gave the widest publicity to this feature of their electoral campaign both in the Press and by posters affixed in public places. A violently nationalist organisation, the Association of Polish Insurgents, proclaimed that the object of the elections was the annihilation of the German minority and organised a systematic campaign of violence and intimidation to prevent any votes being given for German candidates. There was no ambiguity about the consequences that might be expected by those who ventured to disobey the orders of the Polish Insur-

gents. An election poster of the *Westmarkenverein*, for instance, contained these words: "Nobody is allowed to vote for the German list. Whoever votes for the German list becomes a traitor to the Silesian people and will be exposed to disagreeable consequences." Threatening letters were printed and circulated; one of them ended with these words: "We add that we should be compelled to take the severest measures against you, if you should record your vote for the German list." During the elections many acts of violence and brutality were perpetrated against the defenceless minority. In a petition addressed to the Council of the League of Nations the *Deutsche Volksbund* for Polish Silesia gave details of as many as 255 cases in which assaults and outrages were committed against individuals to prevent them voting for German candidates. These violent and illegal tactics had the result intended; the outcome of the elections was a heavy reduction in the number of German representatives. But the feud between the two peoples is more bitter than before.

This is one of the experiments conducted in the Middle European laboratory which gives, very definitely, a negative result and thus supplies India with a valuable warning. Positive successes are also being achieved in these countries, which are patterns for India to copy. Experience of the practical difficulties of statecraft is teaching nationalism to abate something of its pretensions. Public opinion in Europe is growing impatient of its truculence. The adequate protection of a minority against unfair treatment by a majority is now recognised to be a matter of international concern and general rules for securing the rights of minorities are becoming part of the international law of Europe. The following States have either signed Treaties or bound themselves by Declarations to respect the rights of the Minorities within their borders: Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Greece, Albania, Estonia, Finland, Latvia and Lithuania. The stipulations regarding minorities in these Treaties and Declarations are placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations; to the Secretariat of the League is assigned the duty of collecting information concerning the manner in which the minorities are treated, and the Council is responsible for the exact execution of the clauses which have been drafted for their protection. The Minorities in India would read these clauses with interest; they would find that the minorities in Europe have asked for, and have secured, precisely those measures of protection for which they themselves are asking in India. The European Treaties and Declarations guarantee to the Minorities (1) admission to public employments, functions and honours, (2) the right to use their own language, either orally or in writing, before the Courts, (3) the right to have their children

taught through the medium of their own language, and (4) the right to an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds for educational, religious or charitable purposes. And these rights must not only be inscribed in the Statute Book; they must also be respected in practice. The Permanent Court of International Justice, when interpreting certain provisions regarding equality, declared: "There must be equality in fact as well as ostensible legal equality." There is thus a body of law for the protection of minorities growing up in Europe; this law should be consulted and where suitable incorporated into the next Government of India Act, for this law is not inconsistent with the international status for which India is asking and it goes a long way to satisfy the demands of the Moslems and other minorities for cultural autonomy.

The lessons to be learned by India from European experience are, then, the following:

- (1) Minorities, unless specially protected, are liable to oppression or extermination.
- (2) Joint (or Mixed) elections create occasions of strife between rival nationalities which may result in civil war.
- (3) The rights of minorities may be defined in the Constitution.
- (4) These rights must be enforceable by an impartial external authority.

It is along these lines that a solution of the Hindu-Moslem problem may, I think, be sought with some chance of success. There are, I know, men of goodwill in both camps, who would welcome a reasonable settlement. If they will resolutely lead public opinion in India and resist the extremists on both wings they may not only find a solution for the difficulties of their own country but at the same time teach Europe a valuable political lesson.

THEODORE MORISON.

GERMANY ON THE ROAD TO PEACE.

TWICE lately Germany has thrown Europe into a flutter: by the Fascist successes last September, and again two months ago by the tariff agreement with Austria. In each case it was the unexpectedness of the event which created most of the apprehension. If public opinion had noted and understood the steps leading up to these events, there would have been less disturbance and outcry.

Before Fascism made its sudden and dramatic appearance at the elections last September, political opinion in Germany had already undergone several violent fluctuations as the result of international politics. The great victory of the democratic parties at the elections of January 1919, which gave them a three-quarters majority, took place before the peace conditions were disclosed. Germany had trusted that the peace would be "a settlement of every question upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned"; but the war to make the world safe for democracy ended with a peace which dealt a staggering blow to democracy in Germany. The peace conference was not a congress with debate and compromise; acceptance of the Treaty was enforced by threat of invasion. Germany was excluded from the League of Nations, an indefinite load of reparations was put on her, and her union with Austria was prohibited. Coinciding with a reaction from Socialist tendencies in the middle classes on the one hand and with a disappointment in the establishment, not of Socialism but only of Democracy among a section of labour on the other, this policy of Versailles drove parts of the middle class into Stresemann's still monarchistically inclined People's Party, and parts of the proletariat into the Independent Socialist Party, the one trebling and the other quadrupling its numbers at the elections in May 1920. The coalition of the Socialists, Democrats and Centre which gave the Reich its Republican constitution was driven out of power within a year; in Prussia, where it had not to bear the brunt of foreign politics, the same coalition has preserved its majority till the present day.

By the end of four terrible years, during which the German Republic had to struggle for its very existence, vital changes had become manifest in the political thought of the nation. Bolshevism had arisen; the Communist Party, from being a little group quite without influence, sprang into prominence in May 1924 with 66 members in the Reichstag, representing 4,000,000 votes. Democratic Socialism had lost its hold on this great mass of unorganised labour. The Socialist Party, in spite of the assimilation of the Independents, was nearly halved and returned with only 100 mem-

bers. Democratic thought, which had largely gained the adherence of the middle classes after the downfall of the Empire, was uprooted. Nationalism, inflamed by anti-French feeling and fused with the agrarian and big industrial interests, strode forward and appeared as the strongest party with 107 members. Most startling of all, Fascism, hitherto unknown as a political force in Germany, took the field with 32 members. After five years of Versailles policy Communism and Fascism, insignificant or non-existent in 1919, had begun to undermine the democratic foundation of the State.

Seven months later the psychological effect of the evacuation of the Ruhr and of the provisional economic settlement under the Dawes Plan was felt. It did not yet touch the Nationalist vote at the elections of December 1924, but it halved the Fascists, weakened the Communists, and restored the Socialists to the first place in the Reichstag. In the spring of 1925 Field-Marshal Hindenburg was elected President by only a very small majority. Three more years of successful foreign policy—Germany's entry into the League with a seat on the Council, and the partial evacuation of the Rhineland—culminated in the defeat of Hugenburg's Nationalist Party in May 1928 and the further rise of the Socialists to nearly a third of the seats in the Reichstag.

But in Locarno Germany had paid a heavy price for the results achieved. She had offered the guarantee of permanent peace with France and spontaneously accepted the Franco-German frontier. But Stresemann's Wilsonian policy of generous principle came up against the unrelenting *Realpolitik* of practical gain. The Guarantee Pact of the Rhine was framed in very severe terms and permanent control of the demilitarised Rhineland was actually only avoided with great difficulty; while the renewal of the French alliances with Poland and Czechoslovakia, at the very moment when Franco-German reconciliation was declared, roused great resentment. Further, half of the Rhineland remained under occupation as a guarantee of the execution of the still unknown Reparations demands; and the fulfilment of the clear promise of general limitation of armaments as a consequence of German disarmament was only mentioned in very vague terms. All this explains why Nationalism was not more successfully overcome. By the spring of 1929, when for the first time for ten years the Socialists formed a Government in the *Reich*, disillusionment had begun to gain ground in the country. The policy of conciliation no longer seemed justified by its results. There was a general feeling of impatience and a desire for fresh successes. Instead of this the load of Reparations, after the pause granted by the Dawes Plan for recuperation, increased by £25,000,000 yearly to the "normal" rate of £125,000,000. The Government, formed as it was of a

coalition of conflicting class interests, was at a loss how to compromise on the necessary new taxes. Moreover, Parker Gilbert, the Reparations agent, had strong private reasons for disliking his post of foreign debt collector and was impatient to complete his task and leave Germany; Schacht, Chairman of the Reichsbank and a banker by profession, had illusions as to the political possibilities of a fresh settlement and his own part in it; while Stresemann, with a premonition of his death, was possessed by a desire to see the Rhineland free before his nearing end. Under this threefold urge—financial, political and personal—for final settlement, the Moratorium clauses of the Dawes Plan were passed over and revision was pressed for too early. The negotiations of experts and Governments resulted in a "final" settlement of reparations which brought Germany financial alleviation for the next few years but meant the acceptance of a load of £100,000,000 annually for two generations in exchange for the evacuation of the Rhineland a few years before its appointed term.

This gave the Fascists a magnificent chance for anti-Republican propaganda. In the autumn of 1929 they launched a plebiscite against the "slavery of the Young Plan" which secured more than 6,000,000 votes. It was fought by the Government with a promise of economic relief as the result of the lowering of the Reparations payments in the next few years. In the end the Young Plan was altogether too much defended. The promised relief was swallowed up by the economic crisis. Instead of expanding, trade and revenue shrank; instead of falling, unemployment rose. Labour and middle class, led to expect economic improvement, were terribly disappointed. The extremists saw their chance. The Fascists simplified political issues by ascribing all the evils of the time to the Young Plan. Behind the immense figure of newly incurred indebtedness the evacuation of the Rhineland sank into insignificance. The so-called "Young Parties" were accused of selling the welfare of the country to foreign capitalism, just as MacDonald was accused in 1924 of selling his country to Bolshevism. Millions of people who, disgusted with politics, had not voted for many years, were brought to the polls in September 1930 by the simple appeal to passion. The present Reichstag counts 577 members, more than ever before. The Fascists, with their war-cry "Down with the Republic," gained 107 members; Communist labour got 77; anti-Young propaganda had proved so effective that even international Communism had adopted the Nationalist slogan.

The Fascist onslaught was more imposing than real; it was a gain largely at the cost of Hugenburg's Nationalist Party, half of which was swallowed up. The People's Party and the Demo-

crats lost terribly, but a number of little bourgeois groups sprang into existence which also support the Government. The Socialists remained this time by far the largest party. The women's vote, favouring as always political moderation, was preponderantly against the extremists. Furthermore, Hindenburg and the leading men of the army, knowing that in a Fascist State the militia would be their rivals, kept the *Reichswehr* from drifting towards Hitler's party. Brüning, who had risen in the spring of 1930 by his timely criticism of a "weak" financial and foreign policy, remained steadily in office. The Socialists, who had attacked his dictatorial methods and his health insurance reform bitterly, changed their tactics with breathless speed and supported him to prevent the Fascists entering a coalition Government and getting key positions like the Foreign Office and the Army. Internal administration and control of the police was unaffected by the elections in the Reich: Otto Braun, at the head of the Democratic Coalition in Prussia, remains in power in two-thirds of Germany, as he has done for a dozen years. The Communists have refrained from indulging in the excesses which gave Mussolini the chance to establish Fascism in Italy. The Socialists mobilised their 1,000,000 enrolled members in a permanent anti-Fascist campaign, actively supported by the *Reichsbanner*, a kind of voluntary civilian Republican Guard, which organises the younger generation of labour. The Catholic Church began to teach the wickedness of Fascism. The Fascist leader, Hitler, himself showed that he dreads illegal ways to power, remembering his collision with the army in the revolt of 1923 in Munich. Being of humble birth he has a strong desire to win the appreciation of the leading men of industry, but many of his subordinates are impatient for the day of reckoning; millions of his voters believe sincerely in the promise of a new and better society in a Fascist State.

At present there is a strong reaction against Fascism, which has been thrown on to the defensive. But in less than a year's time, possibly even in the autumn, there will be elections to the Prussian Diet and the control of the Prussian police administration will be at stake. The election of the President of the Republic will be at stake. At the height of an economic crisis and without the prospect of definite relief it would certainly be wrong to say that the danger of Fascism to peace, liberal thought and free development is passed. Fascists and Communists form together the large body of German political opinion which is definitely revolutionary: about a quarter of the German electorate have turned their backs on democracy and look forward to a revolution and a State strong in armaments and unhampered by foreign debts.

The budget for 1931-2 has been passed in time and is nominally balanced, but the necessary relief for the unemployed is expected to be very high, while the revenue from taxes is certain to drop heavily. To raise more taxes is not practicable as it would hinder the return of capital from abroad. Fresh cuts in the salaries of civil servants (which include railway and municipal workers and employees) and the reduction of unemployed benefit would drive a large section of the public back to extreme views and defeat its own ends by further lowering the purchasing power of the home market. A deficit of anything up to £50,000,000 is to be anticipated. Unlike France, who sends away her foreign unemployed or does not allow foreign workers to return, and unlike England, France and Italy, whose debt payments to America are refunded to them, Germany is not only suffering heavily as a highly industrialised country from the prevailing economic crisis, but has in addition to surrender a large part of her annual production to other countries as reparations.

Germany feels acutely that the question of Reparations has developed into something very different from what it appeared when it was first discussed before the Armistice. President Wilson had never spoken of more than the restoration of the devastated areas. It may be safely said that Germany accepts this charge as justified, since the invasion of France and Belgium spared her the invasion of her own territory, and it was on these terms that she asked for an armistice. When the Allies agreed, five weeks later, they interpreted them in the Lansing Note as "compensation by Germany for all damage done to the civilian populations of the Allies and their property." This was the first extension of the original demands. After Germany had given up resistance she was compelled by the Versailles Treaty to "accept the responsibility for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected" and made to promise to meet the expense of all war pensions. This was the second extension of the original demand, based on the accusation of Germany's sole responsibility for the war, of which not a word was said either in Wilson's peace terms or in the Armistice. The knowledge of the economic impracticability of such demands prevented the victors from fixing a definite sum in Versailles; and when America finally withdrew into her traditional isolation, the European Allies, left to themselves, fixed the capital of the German debt at £6,600,000,000 under threat of invasion in 1921. This obligation was impossible for Germany to fulfil and was by some, perhaps, consciously designed to furnish a pretext for further punishment; but the fixing of a sum, however fantastic, gave the impression that they were sure to receive

from Germany compensation for all loss and damage. The obvious result of this was that about a year later, after the Washington Naval Conference, America remembered the financial help given to her former allies, who were now rich in the happy possession of Germany's promise to pay. Exercising her "undoubted rights," she asked Great Britain for a settlement of her war debt. The British Conservative Government, though in the meantime "convinced of the economic injury inflicted on the whole world" and prepared in principle to "surrender their share of German reparations and to write off, through one great transaction, the whole body of inter-Allied indebtedness," shifted their burden to their Allies and Germany, because any other policy could not "be expected to commend itself to the people of this country," as the Balfour Note of August 1st, 1922, put it. Meanwhile, under pressure of the continual demands of the Reparations Commission to execute the London "Agreement" of 1921 Germany, with her finances and her currency collapsing, despaired of any reasonable settlement. France, with her still unsatisfied desire to invade the invader, was nothing loath to seize the pretext offered by a German delay in payments. Five months after the Balfour Note she invaded the Ruhr to collect the reparations herself; England and Italy, looking forward to their share of the proceeds, left her benevolently to her own devices, although under the Treaty the exercise of sanctions by one Power individually was illegal. The financial and political disaster which ensued ended with the Dawes Plan. This terminated the period of indefinite yearly demands, though without fixing a definite total, and allowed Germany a pause to recover her ability to pay. But long before the normal Dawes payment of £125,000,000 yearly was reached and Germany's ability to pay it proved, all inter-Allied debts were settled on the model of the Anglo-American Treaty of 1922, counting on the permanent fulfilment of the Dawes settlement, itself provisional. As soon as the "normal" level of German payments was neared, the plan had to be revised, as it was found to be impossible of execution. And now Germany's legitimate wish for a definite statement of her total liabilities and for lower annual payments in the near future encountered the obstacle of the inter-Allied debt treaties. Executing the demands of America and united in the desire to pass off their share, the creditor States, acting once again as allies, secured Germany's agreement to pay an average of £100,000,000 yearly till 1987.

But this can be no lasting arrangement of debts and reparations. It constitutes precisely the "economic injury to the world" so clearly foreseen nine years ago and is undermining civil order in Germany. The German Government is forced to collect from all

classes an immense sum yearly to be handed over to foreign Powers, to meet claims far in excess of the cost of restoring the devastated areas. Industry, the middle classes, civil servants, labour and the unemployed are taxed not only to rebuild the villages of France, but to replenish European treasuries drained by the demands of America. No wonder that the disruptive forces of Communism and Fascism grow on the strength of their open repudiation of war debts, universally considered as unjust. German democracy and the peace of Europe are between the devil of tribute and the deep sea of the resentful and suffering masses.

The American Treasury has already paid off an imposing part of the war loan subscribed by its citizens. The natural moment for a cancellation of allied debts and, in consequence, of German reparations would be when this has been paid off, but Germany does not seem able to wait so long. American business realises that European payments are bad policy, weakening the purchasing power of Europe and upsetting the normal balance of trade, but the American political mind will not see this until a definite step is taken by the European Governments. The international cancellation of war debts is emerging as an urgent necessity of practical politics. There can be no doubt which is the more important: a transitory phase of difficult negotiations with America, or lasting peace in Europe.

German resentment to reparations—other than restoration—is all the greater as the creditor States are driven to urge their claims by the demands of their military budgets. It is felt here that the "victors," especially France, far from keeping their promise to reduce armaments, are arming at Germany's expense. America, to avoid being put in the same position, refuses cancellation of war debts so long as Europe retains the right to increase armaments expenditure at will. A satisfactory debt settlement between Europe and America can only come after an international agreement to limit military budgets.

But budgetary limitation and even reduction is far from assuring a real restriction of armaments. Within the terms of financial limitation a technical armaments race is quite possible. Unless the number of tanks, big guns and war planes is limited, States may still compete in the invention and manufacture of the most terrible machines of destruction. Until the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, as regards material and poison gas, are made generally binding, no real disarmament has been effected, and the promise of disarmament contained in the treaty remains unfulfilled.

Germany's position between the Versailles Treaty and the Draft Convention is extremely difficult. The only freedom which the peace treaty leaves her is freedom of expenditure on armaments. Not one of the restrictions laid upon her is embodied in the present

Convention, which touches neither conscription, nor reserves, nor the manufacture and accumulation of war materials. Neither on the grounds of her own demand for equality nor on those of honest disarmament can Germany be satisfied with this. It is to her interest that her expenditure should not be increased and that that of the other States should be diminished; but to add to the direct prohibitions of the Versailles Treaty the further restriction of expenditure is not a sacrifice which can be asked without offering compensation. This could be done by allowing her the same freedom as the other signatories in allotting her expenditure. If one bears in mind the vast difference between the existing stocks of war material in other countries and their absence in Germany, one can hardly deny that she would be justified in demanding the same freedom to manufacture fresh war material within the limits of the budget agreed upon, a budget in any case considerably below those of her neighbours. If, on the other hand, Germany is expected to continue as hitherto without building tanks, big guns and war planes, it is imperative that an end should be put to the further construction of such weapons for all.

In Versailles Germany agreed voluntarily to abolish military service, which had been a constitutional principle with her for one generation less than it had in France. Not only has Germany's lead not been followed on the Continent, but the Governments of conscript countries refuse even to restrict the number of trained reserves. Now in two or three years' time the result of the falling birth rate during the war will be seen in a heavy drop in the number of conscripts; from Russia to Portugal and from Finland to Italy there will be a natural decrease in the yearly contingent of youths going up for military service. It is estimated that the available number of conscripts in France will fall from 240,000 to 150,000, and something similar, but to a less degree, will happen in Italy, Poland, Russia, and the States of South-Eastern Europe. The Draft Convention as it stands at present, instead of taking advantage of this natural decrease as a first step towards reducing conscript armies, actually empowers Governments to lengthen the period of service in order to maintain their strength. The existence of conscript armies on every side of Germany and Austria is a powerful cause of the growth of the semi-military Fascist militia, which, even without arms for warfare, is a danger at once to the Republic and to peace. As the coming Disarmament Conference does not seem able to deal effectively with conscription, a first step towards equality should be made by a definite international undertaking not to lengthen the period of service when the number of conscripts falls, but to accept the reduced number as the beginning of a permanently reduced strength.

Not less immediate in importance than debt settlement and disarmament, but only less ripe for solution, is the fate of the millions of Germans living just across the borders of Germany to east and south. It is true that however the frontiers in Central and Eastern Europe were drawn there would still be minorities, but the case of Germany is different. There are ten million Germans living at her very doors, shut off from her only by the arbitrary frontiers of the Peace Treaties: the language frontier between the German nation and the neighbouring races lies south of Austria and well within the northern border of Czechoslovakia. All this territory formed one constitutional whole with Germany for a thousand years. After the downfall of the Holy Roman Empire all the sovereign States of which it had been made up formed themselves into a League with the consent of the rest of Europe. In the late forties when our great-grandfathers rose for the Republic, they brushed aside the prince-made frontiers and strove to set up one German State. The last constitutional bonds were only broken in the struggle for supremacy between Hapsburg and Hohenzollern in 1866, and when twelve years later Bismarck and Andrassy formed their defensive alliance, they were urged by a deeper principle than fear of a common foe to fuse their people in a permanent international alliance. In course of time the two countries really became one empire—with two foreign offices—which goes far to explain the compliance of Berlin in the war policy of Vienna.

When the two Empires crashed to the ground forty years later, the democratic movement in both countries tried to realise the ideals of 1848. German Austria declared herself in her constitution to be part of the German republic; but she was forbidden to unite and even forced to drop the "German" out of her name. The tentative attempt of the Weimar constitution to give Austrian delegates a merely advisory vote in the federal council of the Reich was declared invalid under threats of sanctions from the Allies. Two years later, when Austria's isolation from her markets ended in her financial collapse and union with Germany could have saved her, the popular movement for *Anschluss* broke out again and was again crushed. The Austrian Government was forbidden to hold a plebiscite, and when plebiscites unofficially organised in two provinces had resulted in a 98 per cent. majority in favour of *Anschluss*, the federal government was forced to instruct the provincial governments to suppress the movement. After this the "friendly help" extended to Austria by the League appeared to the German nation to be another proof that the League was merely an instrument to execute the peace treaty. This dealt a blow to the League of Nations movement in Germany and Austria from

which it has not yet recovered. The separation of Austria from Germany alienated the middle class from the Republic and raised a barrier between the intellectuals and the labour movement which had failed to satisfy the nation's desire. The rise of Fascism and Communism in 1924 and their further gains last year are in large part due to the early weakening of democracy by the ruthless suppression by outside forces of a deeply rooted democratic and national feeling. Many think that this feeling is not powerful because it is unexpressed; but it is silent only from the desire not to disturb the policy of understanding with France.

The immediate motive of the Berlin and Vienna Governments in March 1931 in proposing tariff agreements was economic, and a natural consequence of the breakdown of concerted economic action. But it was not an accident that the initiative in the matter of breaking down customs barriers was taken by the two States on the Continent which feel themselves one nation.

In Geneva in May the proposed Austro-German tariff agreement was examined by the Council and the European Committee; this is the first time that a question touching *Anschluss* has come up for international consideration since Germany has been a member of the League. The treatment of the tariff agreement is the first step towards consideration of *Anschluss* by the League, as laid down in the peace treaties, which expressly stipulate the Council's consent to Austria's union with Germany. The political side of *Anschluss* is not yet ripe for international discussion. It will eventually come up together with the problem of the Eastern frontiers for settlement in some kind of Eastern Locarno, by which the war-created frontiers of the old Empires and the 1919 treaties will be finally obliterated.

As we have shown, German democracy has been undermined and the power of the extremists enormously strengthened every time that reasonable and generous international policy has been superseded by narrow policies of self-interest and retaliation. The widespread effects of the elections last September prove how general is the feeling that the peace of Europe depends on German democracy. War debts, disarmament and *Anschluss* are the three problems confronting the world. The treatment of war debts on the principle of economic justice, of disarmament on the principle of equal renunciation, and of *Anschluss* in accordance with the will of the people concerned, will assure German democracy the ascendancy. Only then can Germany and Europe help each other along the road to peace.

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THE FUTURE OF LIGHT, HEAT, AND POWER.

ALTHOUGH the sun emits enormous quantities of radiant energy giving us both light and heat it is only possible for this planet, which is in the path of those radiations, to intercept about one part in every 2,500,000,000 which the sun sends out. For purposes of our manufactures and industries we are dependent upon fuel, for in this country, and in all temperate countries, the rate of supply and the density of distribution of the sun's radiation are insufficient to allow of any direct utilisation for mechanical purposes. Fuel, therefore, and chiefly coal, which is fossilised or stored-up sunlight, is the method which we must use if we are to produce the necessary light, heat, and power, and to satisfy the demands of industry and our social requirements. It therefore becomes of the utmost importance that our coal supplies should be utilised to the best advantage, for although we have other fuels, such as wood, peat, and lignite, and although we do import an enormous amount of mineral oil which serves the purpose of fuel both in its crude and in its refined form, yet it is obvious that without coal which is a wasting asset, not only would our principal manufacturing industries suffer and many of our social amenities disappear, but the probability is that as an industrial nation we should disappear from the face of the earth.

In considering the future of light, heat, and power we have to remember first of all that we are using our coal reserves in a most uneconomical fashion, and, secondly, that we are demanding not only in our homes but in all our factories and public buildings a far more efficient form of lighting and heating, while the need for power, whether supplied in the shape of gas or electricity, is increasing with great rapidity. Power must not be confused with heat, which is an entirely different use of potential energy. There are two main reasons why it is essential that we should make a more scientific and economical use of our coal reserves. In the first place, the careless use of coal, and specially the burning of raw coal, entails an enormous waste since it fails to give the amount of light and heat we ought to obtain, and at the same time inflicts serious loss upon the community by reason of the smoke and fumes which pollute the atmosphere. In the second place, if coal is used wastefully for the production either of light, heat, or power we are obviously handicapping ourselves when in competition with other nations, e.g. Germany, which is extremely scientific in its use of all forms of coal. Fortunately, we are just beginning to understand the importance of research both on the chemical and engineering side, and the new developments which are taking place will no doubt, if wisely

encouraged, give an impetus both to our manufacturing and agricultural industries.

At the moment all the talk is of the future of electricity. The newspapers and the magazines are full of articles tending to show that it is only by the rapid development of electricity for light, heat, and power that Great Britain can hope to recover her former prosperity. It is perhaps natural that writers interested in new developments who like the touch of sensation in their subject-matter should lay so much stress upon electricity. The Tenth Annual Report of the Electricity Commissioners, recently published, shows the immense advance that has been made during the last few years. There is a substantial growth in both the industrial and the domestic demand for electricity. During the year ending March 31st, 1930, the sales of electricity amounted to 10,526,000,000 units, an increase of 11 per cent. on the figures for the previous twelve months. A big programme of new construction has been put in hand. Contracts to the value of approximately £4,100,000 were placed by the Central Electricity Board in respect of "Grid" lines and works, and the total value of all the contracts placed amounts to £12,250,000. About 1,000 miles of overhead transmission lines have already been constructed and 500 miles are already in operation. Schemes have been put in hand for rural areas in Bedford, Essex, Kent, Shropshire, and North Oxfordshire, the method of transmission and distribution being by means of overhead systems. The coal consumed during the year under consideration amounted to nearly 10,000,000 tons, and 200,000 tons of coke were consumed as fuel in addition. The average consumption of electricity, on the basis of a population of 44.49 millions, was 193 units per head of the population. Three schemes relating to North-east England, South-west England, and South Wales together and East England have been completed and transmitted to the Central Board. The "Grid" system for Central Scotland has been inaugurated and a scheme is being prepared for South Scotland. The sales of electricity to farms in rural areas will account for about 2.9 million units, representing an average consumption of 1,160 units per farm.

It is a little strange to note that no substantial use is being made of electrical power in connection with the various operations associated with farming. In Sweden 50 per cent. of the farms use electricity for lighting and power, in the Pacific States of America 28 per cent. In Italy the Adriatic Company sell over 50,000,000 units for agricultural purposes, while in Great Britain only 1 per cent. of the farms use electricity for purposes other than lighting. There is room for considerable improvement in this direction, though the difficulties are obvious. No one doubts, however,

the continued success of electricity under the spur and stimulus of Government support, nor does anyone doubt the value of electricity for a multitude of purposes. Writers who have no accurate or scientific knowledge are naturally untrammelled in their advocacy of electricity at any cost, but the Minister of Transport, who controls the Electricity Commissioners, has knowledge at his disposal which should have modified his recent speeches on this question. What is subject to doubt is the statements which are constantly made implying that electricity can take the place of gas in every department without any attempt being made to show either that it is cheaper or more efficient. Statements lacking in moderation often lead to uneconomic action, and there can be no justification whatever for the refusal on the part of certain Local Authorities to allow gas to compete with electricity on level terms and to refuse all applications for permission to lay mains and supply gas in their areas. In at least forty cases Local Authorities have prohibited the use of gas for lighting and heating purposes. It is natural if the Minister of Transport speaks almost as though gas were non-existent that Municipalities should take this attitude, but when we remember that the capital sunk in the gas industry is over £200,000,000, that the men employed number over 110,000, and that there are 1,500 gas works in Great Britain, it is not only absurd but almost criminal from the point of view of the community to under-estimate its value or injure its position as a great competing source of light, heat, and power.

Looked at from the point of view of coal conservation alone, the saving of coal by the use of gas is of the utmost importance. The gas works of to-day carbonise about 18,000,000 tons of coal per annum, and more than half is returned to the fuel market in the shape of coke. The very latest electric super-stations organised on the most efficient lines would require twice as much coal to perform the same service for the consumer in the shape of heat for cooking or apartment-heating, since there is no residual coke from a generating station driven by steam power. The result is that at least 80 per cent. of the raw coal that is consumed to produce electricity becomes ash. Not only is there no coke, but none of the valuable by-products in the shape of fertilisers, tars, and chemicals produced in an efficient gas plant are at present forthcoming. The object of this article is to show that the policy of decrying and depreciating gas as compared with electricity is short-sighted and unwise. The true policy in a great industrial country like Great Britain is to use as economically and effectively as possible every source of heat, light, and motive-power, not with a view to making large profits in this or that direction by any one method, but with a view to assisting industry and supplying the necessary amenities

of social life. There is no scientific justification for regarding electricity as likely to supplant other fuels for every purpose. The general public have been led to believe that by the new developments which we are witnessing in electricity, subsidised as they are by the Government, we can supply electrical energy at such a cost as will make it possible for every house, cottage, farm, and factory, large or small, to obtain light, heat, and power at a cost so low as to displace both coal and gas for all fuel purposes. When these statements are made nothing is said whatever about the enormous amount of raw coal which must be so used for the generation of electricity if it is to take the place of gas. Electricity cannot do everything without becoming a charge on our national wealth in the shape of coal. Stanley Jevons, writing on the coal question even so far back as 1865, said with regard to the people who advocate electricity for every purpose "they treat electricity not only as a marvellous mode of distributing, they treat it as a source of *self-creating power*," and then he adds, "if we have force in any one of its forms as heat, light, chemical change, or mechanical motion we can turn it or may hope finally to turn it into any other of its forms. But to think of getting force except from some natural source is as absurd as to think of making iron or gold out of vacant space."

Lord Moulton, in 1919, said: "People do not realise that panaceas do not exist in nature. Each thing has its own special properties and utilities, and the probability is that a higher civilisation will make use of very many means of accomplishing its aims. That is the lesson to be learned from the apparent rivalry of gas and electricity in rendering coal as serviceable as possible to mankind. The one might be better under some circumstances, but the idea of the one driving out the other would be distinctly retrograde." This can clearly be perceived when we examine the figures supplied by men like Sir Dugald Clerk, Professors Cobb and Smithells. Sir Dugald Clerk has shown by careful scientific experiments, and his figures have not been controverted, that the thermal efficiency for the generation of heat by gas is many times that of electricity. In other words if we want the same quantity of heat for domestic and manufacturing purposes it will require that the electricity generating station should use up a far greater amount of coal than the gas works. A great variety of tests has proved the point that the writer would make, which is that if you had to substitute for gas heat, electric heat throughout the country it would necessitate a huge waste both of coal and money.

In comparing the relative values of electricity and gas from the point of view of light it is desirable to consider the best and most efficient form of lighting in each case. The figures there show

that there is very little to choose between the latest form of light by means of an inverted incandescent mantle and the most economical form of electric light. The competition here is very keen, and in most cases where the cost is not too high the consumer, no doubt, is influenced by the simplicity and cleanliness of electricity. It is for this reason that the Electricity Companies are able, by supplying light at a relatively high charge, to offer to the consumer electricity for heat and power at a low cost. We may say, indeed, that in a very large number of cases the profit on light has to pay for the loss on heat. The object of the electricity concern is clearly to spread the demand over as long a period as possible, because, unlike gas, electricity must be consumed as it is produced, and if the householder can be persuaded to use electricity for heating and cooking purposes throughout the day, providing that the cost is not too great it must be to the advantage of the companies concerned.

Electrical engineers, however, like Ferranti, take the view that a solution of the question of light, heat, and power is to be obtained by the conversion of the whole of coal into electricity, and the recovery of by-products at a few producing stations. This has not yet been found to be practicable. In their view electricity can be distributed throughout the country and take the place of gas, a view vitiated by the scientific proof after many experiments that there will be no coal saving if we substitute electricity for gas, and that as a matter of fact it is only electric light that can compete successfully with gas so far as coal saving is concerned. It is necessary that electrical engineers should take into account the limitations of electricity distribution, while at the same time gas engineers should give the superiority to electricity for certain special purposes. The claim to the general superiority of electricity over gas in coal economy cannot, however, be justified. We may anticipate considerable improvement in the production of both electricity and gas in the near future. We know, for example, that as regards gas, what is known as producer gas, a diluted fuel gas, can supply power gas for gas engines at a thermal efficiency of from 80-85 per cent. with an efficiency of gas production of 75 per cent., and that all distribution has 93 per cent. The combined efficiency would thus be slightly under 70 per cent. The efficiency of power production by gas engine would then be 17.5 per cent. Let us compare the results arrived at by the electricity super-stations. The great super-station will generate electrically 19.6 per cent. of the heat consumed in the generating station. Looked at from the point of view of heat generation, gas is superior to electricity in the proportion of 3.8 to 1, viz., 19.6 for electricity as compared with 75 per cent. for gas production. Once again, the use of heat units

at the gas works will give 17.5 per cent, as brake horse-power to the consumer, whereas the super-station will only give 15.9 per cent.

It is only in the field, then, of lighting that electricity can show any thermal gain, and it is just possible that gas engineers may make great improvements in lighting before long. Indeed, since 1895 the light obtained from a cubic foot of gas has been increased eightfold at low pressure and twentyfold at high pressure. It is impossible to conceive that the consumption of gas would be so greatly increased notwithstanding the competition of electricity, aided as the latter is by the Government, unless it did in effect prove more economical, but far more might be accomplished if obsolete statutory fetters were removed and the general law governing gas undertakings were modified. The figures show that 90 per cent. of all the town's gas sold is used for illumination and fuel purposes and the other 10 per cent. for motive-power by gas engines. About 55 per cent. of the coal gas consumed would be used for heat. If, therefore, electricity is to take the place of gas, comparing the average generating efficiency of both electricity would require at the station four times the heat consumption of gas; and taking light, heat, and power together the substitution of electricity for gas throughout the country would mean that for 100 heat units of gas 265 heat units of electricity would be required. We may take it for granted that the electric super-stations will all be successful although that, of course, is not definitely proved; yet even so from a coal conservation point of view the gas service is twice as economical, that is to say it would only use half the amount of coal as compared with electricity. Putting together all these facts it is impossible to make out a strong case for electricity in regard to the production and distribution of heat energy. There is, however, a keen competition with gas for illuminating purposes and that, as we have pointed out, can easily be understood because of its convenience. Even here we have to remember that some of the most important streets in London are lighted by high-pressure gas, and that there is no intention whatever in most cases of replacing gas by electricity.

The more this problem is studied the more we shall come to the conclusion that what is wanted is a greater interest on the part of the public in fuel problems. The work of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in connection with the Fuel Research Board is a step in the right direction, and it is important to investigate all other sources of motor power as, for example, such as might be obtained by water power in Scotland. There is still a very wide field available for the generation of light and power by electricity. The Weir Committee, which has just issued its report, recommends that the entire national railway system should be

electrified at a cost spread over fifteen or twenty years of not less than £350,000,000. This would mean the electrification of 20,000 miles of railways. It is in this direction that developments must take place in the near future. Electrical power is almost essential for the operation of tramways and railways, for driving mills, and, as we have pointed out, power motors in shops and factories. It will be increasingly used for many electro-chemical processes and for very high-temperature metal-welding. The mistake is to suppose that it can be the one source of heat, light, and power. It will not only increase fuel consumption, but in many respects it would be a disadvantage to industry apart from the cost. The truth is that gas and electricity must go together, they supplement one another; and the more this truth is realised, the better it will be for industry and the community as a whole. In America it is quite common for the same company to run the two concerns, and specially for gas to supply the heat required and even the motive power where the internal-combustion engine is more economical. This is the practice also in certain municipalities in the country owning both gas and electricity undertakings. No one wishes to decry the use of electricity or to underrate the importance of these super-stations which are being linked up one with another and are able to distribute energy at considerable distance by means of the "Grid." One word of warning is, however, necessary when looking ahead. The total "demand" on any electrical distribution system has to be met at all times and simultaneously by an equivalent output. This invests the "peak load" with a peculiar significance, and it is for this reason that such a substantial difference is made between the price per unit for "on-peak" and for "off-peak" loads. Electricity engineers are beginning to see that the "off-peak" of to-day may become an "on-peak" load in the future, in which case the low price per unit for heating and power purposes might seriously affect the finance of the undertakings.

Finally, what is wanted is a desire on the part of both industries to co-operate with one another and to produce the light, heat, and power required in the manner best calculated to conserve the coal resources of the country. Civilisation requires both, and if we are to maintain our position in competition with the rest of the world it is necessary not that one industry should try to kill the other, but that they should develop in friendly rivalry and, to use the words of Sir Dugald Clerk, "each perform the task for which each system is specially suited."

PERCY ALDEN.

SHANGHAI AT THE CROSSROADS.

WHAT the Simon Report has done for India, that the Feetham Report has more recently achieved for Shanghai. It has delivered an exhaustive judgment upon the famous case of European mercantilism *v.* Oriental race-consciousness. Whether the Feetham Report has at the same time written the epitaph of European enterprise in China is a question which will trouble some, though certainly not the majority, of those to whom the problem of foreign rights in China is one of supreme interest.

Western reports upon Oriental politics have a habit of appealing to the Oriental temper of the day before yesterday. One wonders, for example, what the reception of the Feetham Report would have been among the Chinese had it been published a year or two after the Washington Conference. To-day it will be regarded with some suspicion, and it will be lucky if it escapes the usual charge of whitewashing foreign encroachment in China. That is a charge which can be brought home with exceptional force in respect of Shanghai. Since the treaties were made by trained diplomatists, and Shanghai was built up by merchants, there was on several important occasions in Shanghai's history a lack of complete accord between the two. A glance at the correspondence of nineteenth-century British ministers and consuls to China will show them often attempting to convince themselves that a merchant usually said a good deal more than he meant, and that the rarefied atmosphere of the Peking diplomatic quarter was far more favourable to the settlement of the Shanghai problem than the more partisan air of the international city. Sometimes a minister might even make the fatal mistake of listening to the Chinese side of the case, presented in courtly and interminable memorials—fatal because there was such an element of solid truth in the Chinese case that it was apt to seem convincing unless the minister sifted it on the spot; but British ministers appear to have been more than a little reluctant to visit Shanghai officially. Perhaps they felt it to be (from their standpoint) a den of lions. American ministers were less circumspect, and so it is that we sometimes have the curious spectacle of British residents looking hopefully to an American minister to explain the true state of affairs to his British colleague. At the present time an important section of British opinion in Shanghai is earnestly hoping that the international character of the Settlement will cause American, French, and other influences to restrain the sacrificial impetuosity which seems to have characterised British policy in China since 1927. To take a chance with a small concession such as that at Hankow,

they urge, is one thing; to risk dislocation of the mechanism of foreign trade at Shanghai by a hasty experiment is another matter altogether.

It is almost exactly a hundred years since the foreigner made the first unequivocal forward move in the Chinese political arena. In 1834 Lord Napier, sent out as the first British Superintendent of Trade, declined to accept a position of complete inferiority to the local officials at Canton, and somewhat precipitately reinforced his claim for equality in negotiation by bringing two frigates to Canton. By a strange inversion, this episode is usually styled by Chinese writers the first step towards "unequal treaties." When the more far-seeing of the foreign community at Canton perceived that war was inevitable (and a number of them, as old issues of *The Chinese Repository* show, perceived this at least two years before the British Government), they raised the question of a suitable base for commercial operations, preferably under exclusive European control. The possibilities of Shanghai had already been appreciated by one or two shrewd minds, and therefore Palmerston wrote to the British Plenipotentiaries in February 1841 when the cession of an island was being discussed with the Chinese:

With respect to the selection of an Insular Station, if that should be the arrangement determined upon, it seems to Her Majesty's Government that an Island, somewhere on the Eastern Coast, and either in the Chusan Group or not far from it would, for all commercial purposes, be by far the best, because it would afford to British Trade an opening to the wealthy and populous countries and cities on the central part of the Eastern Coast of China, and would, by means of the Great Canal and of the large Rivers whose mouths lie in that quarter, give to British Commodities an easy access to the interior of the Chinese Empire.

Palmerston's judgment, however formed, was sound, but it was overborne by the Canton merchants, who obtained the cession of Hong Kong. Their attitude was natural. Canton had been the only base for foreign trade in China for a century, it had always been the most important port whilst the foreign trade existed, and all their commercial connections were made there. The choice was made; whilst Hong Kong was ceded, Shanghai was "opened," the British merchants leased a valueless tract of land outside the huge native city, and the problem of Shanghai began. There would have been no problem had Palmerston's view prevailed, for the foreign settlement would have been built on Chusan, or on some island in the vicinity, and it would have been a British colony. It is true that Chusan is not ideally situated for the Yangtse trade, but neither is Shanghai, and the island would have been far easier of access by sea than the present city.

Once the foreign settlement was established, its phenomenal rise in importance was inevitable. It occupied the key position for Chinese trade. Canton and Hong Kong have always been local. They are the outlets for the southern provinces only. Shanghai attracts most of the rest of the foreign trade. The river brings down the trade even from the remote western provinces, and railways (under normal conditions) draw upon the populous districts north and south of it. More than half of the entire imports of China pass through Shanghai. If the International Settlement were to be immediately swallowed up in the native city, the task of commercial penetration would have to begin all over again.

What was at first designed as a small district for the residence of British merchants soon became a thriving municipality inhabited by representatives of all races and nations, with a complex government. The first step was taken when the American Consul ran up the Stars and Stripes over his Consulate and refused to haul it down again in response to the dignified protests of his British colleague. America was right. What was needed in this nerve-centre of foreign trade in the Far East was international co-operation, not rivalry. The settlement was open to all traders, and although the French preferred a settlement (or "concession" as they have chosen to term and to consider it) the two foreign establishments have faced the same problems together. A more important crisis arose during the Taiping Rebellion. There had been numbers of Chinese in the Settlement before that date, but they were mostly coolies, and in those days the strong hand of the foreign consuls repressed occasional coolie exuberance without any real protest from the Chinese local authorities. During the Rebellion, however, Chinese of all classes rushed into the Settlement for protection, and stayed for profit. This was the beginning of most of the modern problems which now affect the future of Shanghai. The Settlement was not a foreign colony, it was not even a concession, leased indefinitely to a foreign power, into which a grant of governmental powers might conceivably be construed. It was simply a collection of miscellaneous patches of Chinese soil, rented by foreigners, and which happened to be contiguous. Obviously, the Chinese argued, that circumstance could in no way affect the rights of Chinese subjects who also happened to live there. Chinese governmental institutions clearly functioned over them as usual, and with no limitations. To this the foreigner replied with equal plausibility that this particular area had been deserted until the foreigners took it over and made it valuable, that setting aside land for the foreigner's benefit implied an obligation to permit him to make regulations for the preservation and improvement of the Settlement, and that to allow the Chinese Govern-

ment to function inside the Settlement was to take away all efficacy from the promise to set aside land for his residence. It may be that the foreign case compares unfavourably with the Chinese on paper, but the foreigner's final appeal in China has always been to fact. With confidence he can invite his critic to come and have a look at things on the spot and then form his opinion. A pure theory in itself is an interesting mental exercise, but divorced from reality it has no value. Since 1925 Shanghai has been suffering from an overdose of facts, and it has called in Mr. Justice Feetham to fulfil the duties of a conjuror, and produce from nowhere a theory to fit them.

The three main issues between Chinese and foreigner at Shanghai in the past have been those of jurisdiction, administration and representation, in that order. None of the three is yet finally solved, but with the solution of each of them considerable progress has been made in the last three or four years. The problem of jurisdiction dates back to the first days of the Chinese invasion during the Taiping Rebellion. Who was to hear and determine cases in which Chinese were defendants on civil and criminal charges? The Chinese, adhering strictly to the principles of logic, said there was no question at all. The foreigner replied that no foreign community could lend its countenance to the uncompromising severity of Chinese law, with its judicial torture, its laconic "Off with his head" for every serious offence, and its erratic procedure. Furthermore, it was notorious that a purely Chinese court within the Settlement would merely be the instrument for Chinese official interference or, in times of rebellion when the rebels controlled the neighbourhood, for rebel interference. (This was no idle speculation, for the problem arose in acute form at the outbreak of the Revolution in 1911.) Finally, there was a danger that a court independent of foreign control would regard the Chinese as a community whose interests should in ordinary circumstances prevail over those of the foreigner, for whom the Settlement had been set aside. This fear was amply substantiated in the history of the court that *was* established. It would have been an even more difficult problem had the Chinese view prevailed.

As a compromise the Mixed Court came into existence. There were Chinese magistrates, appointed by the Chinese officials, and European assessors, the scope of whose authority was never clearly defined. The assessors sought to remould to some extent the content of Chinese law in accordance with Western juridical principles, and the Chinese quite naturally resented what they regarded as a usurpation of jurisdiction. There was friction, and there were scenes. On one occasion an eminent British assessor, who has since filled a Chair of Chinese in England with distinction, was

struck by his Chinese colleague in open court. Still, in a clumsy fashion the Mixed Court provided some sort of a solution for an exceedingly difficult problem until 1911. In that year the Revolution brought about the collapse of China's obsolete administrative system. Various parties at various times claimed the right to appoint Chinese judges to the Mixed Court. The Settlement, however, could take no sides in the civil war, and the Consuls solved the difficulty by themselves controlling the appointment of Chinese judges until 1925. Correspondingly the influence of the foreign assessors increased. Though the Chinese never acquiesced in the change they could not for the moment take any effective action, and a generation of foreigners in Shanghai grew up who came to regard the purely provisional arrangement of 1911 as part of the permanent constitution of the Settlement.

In 1925 the surge of Chinese nationalism, which broke out on trifling provocation early in the summer, found one outlet in Shanghai and the vicinity in an attack upon the constitution of the Mixed Court. For a time a partial boycott of it was imposed. This accelerated tentative negotiations between the Settlement authorities and the provincial officials for a modification of the status of the Court. The agreement came into effect at the beginning of 1927, but from the outset it was doomed to failure. The Mixed Court was replaced by a Provisional Court. In the title of the new court could be spelled out its doom, for the Chinese regarded it merely as an attempt temporarily to thwart full rendition of the court to Chinese control. Again, when the agreement was signed the War Lord of the three provinces in the neighbourhood of Shanghai was Sun Chuan Fang who, with all his faults, still negotiated in the nineteenth-century style which foreigners understood. Before the agreement came into force he had been replaced by the Nationalists speaking what was for China a new political language. Justice must be administered in Chinese courts in accordance with the principles of the Revolution. Whatever else that might mean, it clearly implied that the Provisional Court would not be immune from administrative interference from Nanking. Three successive Chief Justices—all lawyers of ability and integrity, in whom the foreign community had considerable confidence—resigned rather than administer justice with a partisan flavour. There was friction over protests made by Consular deputies, now reduced to the bare treaty-right of "watching the proceedings" and to the unsatisfactory and irresponsible course of protesting if they disagreed with anything that happened. There was also a lack of co-operation by the local Chinese authorities in carrying out orders of the court, and there was a partial failure to grapple with the problem of violent crime, so that 1928 and

1929 saw many more murders and armed robberies than had ever before been recorded in the history of the Settlement.

When the Provisional Court ceased to exist, therefore, at the end of 1929, neither Chinese nor foreigners regretted it. It was succeeded by the Shanghai Special Court which, in spite of a few remaining foreign safeguards, is for all practical purposes a unit of the recently reorganised Chinese judicial system, functioning within the Settlement. This, with its two predecessors, is fully discussed in the Feetham Report. Its short history has not been uneventful, and there is still a great discrepancy between Chinese and Western judicial practice. Still it is possible to feel a good deal more hopeful about the Special Court than one ever could about the Provisional Court, for the Chinese are fully and finally responsible for it, and since it functions in the broad glare of Western criticism, it is unlikely that any grave abuses will be permitted to creep into its administration of justice. It ought to be one of the formative influences in the new Chinese jurisprudence, and as it builds up a judicial tradition abnormalities should disappear.

The problem of administration has already been mentioned in dealing with that of jurisdiction. Since the early days of the International Settlement, this area has practically ceased to be Chinese for administrative purposes. Its municipal council is peculiar, for it owes allegiance to no State, Eastern or Western. One has to go back to the free cities of the Middle Ages for a parallel, and even then there are fundamental differences. The Settlement, however, has never been able to live of itself alone. In a way it has been a barometer for the Chinese political atmosphere. Coming storms could be foretold by the relations of the Settlement with its Chinese neighbours. Again when a Chinese offender could escape the arm of the Settlement police simply by stepping over its borders, it was important to work on an amicable footing with the local authorities. A glance at the history of Shanghai proves that the two authorities have on the whole worked together better than might have been expected, although there have been many difficult moments. Nor must it be forgotten that there was another side to the picture. Chinese warrants could only be executed within the Settlement through the Settlement officers, with the permission of the Council. Obviously the solution of the problem of administration is directly bound up with that of the future constitution of the Settlement.

The last fundamental problem is that of Chinese representation on the municipal council. Until 1924 the Council was elected by the community of foreign ratepayers, yet the Chinese outnumbered the foreign community by ten to one, and paid the larger share

of the taxes. Still, the demand for Chinese councillors is a recent one. It was rarely heard before the war and is largely the product of the new national consciousness. After the disturbances of 1925 three seats on the Council were offered to the Chinese. This was refused on the ground that the number was totally inadequate. Last year a proposal that five should be appointed narrowly escaped shipwreck at a meeting of foreign ratepayers; it was eventually approved by foreigners though still regarded as inadequate by the Chinese. Here the foreigner seems to be facing a fundamental difficulty. Is there any principle which is applicable to the situation? Equal suffrage would swamp the foreigner and put an end to the identity of the International Settlement; even majority representation for the Chinese is a hazardous experiment. This may perhaps seem to some a slightly arrogant statement, reminiscent of "The White Man's Burden," but it should not be overlooked that even the broad outlines of Western municipal government are unknown to all Chinese, except a handful of the *intelligentsia*; that the Kuomintang governmental programme has hitherto emphasised provincial (and, where possible, national) centralisation, and is distrustful of municipal autonomy—perhaps for good reason; and finally that where foreign municipalities (and more especially Tsingtau) have been given back to Chinese control their prosperity has automatically ended. If the same thing happened to Shanghai there would be international repercussions.

These are merely the primary problems connected with Shanghai. There are, as the Report shows, innumerable others and all of them are closely bound up with the history and present status of the Settlement. What will be the eventual solution of this key-problem of Sino-foreign relations? Five years ago it was still possible for certain groups of foreigners in China to talk vaguely of an Imperial Free City. That fact alone shows how quickly the political scene changes in the East. There is only one question now—that of bridging the gap between the City's present status and its eventual reincorporation into the Chinese political system with the least possible disturbance of foreign commercial and other interests. On its success will depend to no small degree the future of Western intercourse with China.

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GREAT BRITAIN AND IRAQ.

EARLY in February of this year the announcement was made that His Majesty King George and King Faisal of Iraq had exchanged ratifications of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty which Sir Francis Humphrys, High Commissioner of Iraq, and Nuri Pasha, Prime Minister of Iraq, had signed at Baghdad on June 30th, 1930. But public interest in Iraq is woefully lacking. For both this Treaty and the fact that it had been ratified without discussion in the British Parliament have passed almost unnoticed. One might have thought that more attention would be paid to the heritage to which, as a result of British and Indian valour in the Great War, the Empire succeeded. But national memories are short: or is it that its representation by the popular Press of Great Britain as a land of swamps and desert and a vast reservoir, or refuse dump, for British gold has been tacitly accepted by the British people? In any case, this negligence is particularly unfortunate, not only because Great Britain would appear to be heavily committed by the new 1930 Treaty, but also because its main proposal—that Great Britain shall, unconditionally, recommend Iraq for admission into the League of Nations in 1932—has aroused very considerable interest, not to say anxiety, in countries outside Great Britain. For many States the termination of a mandate—and, of course, if Iraq were admitted into the League in 1932, Great Britain's mandatory obligations would automatically cease—may be an academic matter, but there are such countries as France, which itself has mandatory commitments in the Middle East, as Italy, which has consistently shown interest in the development of Iraq, and as Persia, Turkey, and Wahhabi Arabia, which have very definite reasons for the existence of stable conditions in Iraq. One need not necessarily agree with the political opinions of Mr. Winston Churchill in order to accept his recent dictum that whereas such lands as France and Italy are still resolute in their dealings with peoples under their charge overseas, Great Britain seems to be following a vacillating policy. Decidedly this question of Great Britain's early evacuation of Iraq in her mandatory capacity is not merely one of Anglo-Iraqi relations; and what may seem to be comparatively simple of solution in Baghdad and London may be differently viewed in, say, Paris, Rome, Teheran, or Angora.

There is no need here to recapitulate the history of the mandatory régime in Iraq. Ever since the setting-up, in 1921, of an Arab monarchy in Iraq, the declared aim of British statesmen has been the evacuation of the country so soon as mandatory obligations should be satisfied. In how short a time this movement towards the independence of Iraq would be completed has always been a matter

of opinion. It is well to recall, however, that the only definite period of time named, during which Great Britain should retain control of Iraq, was that suggested by the League of Nations Commission sent out to Iraq in 1925 for the purpose of delimiting the frontier between Iraq and Turkey. That Commission's recommendations, which were accepted by the League of Nations and by the Mandatory Power (and which resulted approximately in the inclusion of the Mosul vilayet in the Arab State of Iraq) laid down a period of twenty-five years. It appears strange, therefore, to many observers, particularly to Continental observers, that five years from the acceptance of the Mosul Commission's recommendations, Great Britain should be seeking to abandon her mandatory obligations in 1932. Yet it is only fair to remember that Mr. Amery, when Colonial Secretary, in accepting the League's proposals for the conditions of retaining the northern province of Iraq under the British Mandate, did definitely suggest a shorter time than twenty-five years as the period of British tutelage of the young Arab State.

Yet, to those who have followed the course of Anglo-Iraqi relations, there is nothing surprising in this proposal for getting Iraq into the League almost at once. For Arab Governments, once the northern province had been secured to Iraq, had been constantly pressing towards independence, using the claim to admission into the League as a means to that end. (Whether membership of the Geneva Assembly is really prized in Baghdad, which is inclined to look upon Turkey, a non-member, as the model Islamic Government, may be a matter of opinion: certainly it is complete independence for its own sake at which the governing classes of Iraq have been aiming.) This pressure on the Mandatory Power was exercised, in greater or less degree, by all Iraq's politicians. They consistently repudiated the very word "Mandate," and sought to be treated as delegates of an independent State. More than once it seemed almost as if an *impasse* might be reached as between Mandatory Power and infant State, and so strong did this Nationalist fervour become that the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1927, which foreshadowed the recommendation by Great Britain of Iraq's admission into the League in 1932 provided that all went well in the interval, could find no ratification in the Baghdad Parliament, or *Majlis*. It is only just, however, to Sir Henry Dobbs, who as High Commissioner played an important part in this 1927 Treaty, to say, what is now well known, that he was in favour, certain safeguards being granted, of Iraq's admission into the League as early as in 1928.

The Iraqi politicians' suspicion of British motives in Iraq appeared to be finally dissipated in 1929, when the late Sir Gilbert

Clayton, whose régime as High Commissioner in Iraq was cut short by sudden death, counselled the British Government to forgo all conditions, and to announce categorically that Great Britain would recommend Iraq for admission into the League in 1932. This advice the Government of the day acted upon: and since that day it has been thought by the casual observer that Great Britain's obligations in Iraq, legal and moral, arising directly, as I have said, from the victorious sacrifices of British and Indian troops during the War, were swiftly and smoothly approaching their end. It would be extravagant, moreover, to pretend that this prospect of deliverance from commitments in Iraq was distasteful to the average taxpayer. But if such a pretence were extravagant, it would be baseless optimism to assert that with the Treaty of 1930 our mandatory obligations and our commitments are necessarily at an end. Let us take first our mandatory obligations, because that consideration is arousing most controversy both in Iraq and in League circles. Discussion on this point is governed by a decision of the Council of the League of Nations on September 15th, 1925, which reads as follows:

The cessation or transfer of a Mandate cannot take place unless the Council has been assured in advance that the obligations regularly assumed by the former Mandatory Power will be carried out, and that all rights regularly acquired under the administration of the former Mandatory Power shall be respected.

Now there is no questioning the immense advance which has been made in Iraq under British guidance. The number of really capable Iraqis has, admittedly, been few, but the ability of the people is undeniable. It is a misfortune by no means a monopoly of Iraq that her governing class is restricted to a number of perhaps three hundred men. The relations of Iraq with her neighbours are satisfactory, and although her finances are at the moment depressed, owing mainly to the collapse in world prices of agricultural products, she does enjoy adequate financial stability. Politically she can boast of fair stability with the exception of one section of the State, namely Southern Kurdistan. Quite certainly she could make as good a case for League membership as that of a few countries already enjoying representation at Geneva.

Then why this anxiety concerning the fulfilment of mandatory obligations? It arises chiefly from the presence of non-Arab minorities in Iraq. These minorities, consisting for the most part of Kurds, Assyrian and Chaldean Christians, Yazidis and Jews, received in the Mosul Commission's report already referred to specific mention. It was stated in that report that privileges in respect of language, religion, customs, and so forth, of these mino-

rities should be confirmed, and it was suggested that a certain measure of autonomy should be granted. The Commission declared in fact that since Turkey was infinitely more stable than Iraq, the Kurds of Southern Kurdistan would prefer Turkish to Iraqi supervision, unless the Mandatory Power continued to exert influence in Southern Kurdistan. When, therefore, the Treaty of 1930, which is to govern Iraq's admission into the League in 1932, was drawn up, these minorities naturally imagined that the special rights guaranteed to them by the presence in Iraq of the Mandatory Power would receive special recognition. But nothing of the kind happened: not a word about these minorities. Owing, as it is declared in official British circles, to the impossibility of inserting in a Treaty between two independent and sovereign States, the one on a theoretical equality with the other, any clause guaranteeing the rights of minorities, the matter was left over until such time as the League, in accepting Iraq, should oblige her, like certain Balkan States, to sign guarantees respecting the rights of minorities within her borders.

It may be remarked in passing that no sort of encouragement has been officially given by British or League officials to dreams of independence or separatism in Northern Iraq. The declared aim in regard to these minorities has for many years been amalgamation as opposed to absorption, and the official hope has been that the Kurds and the other non-Arabs of Iraq might become to the preponderant Arabs as, for instance, the Copts of Egypt are to the preponderant Muslims. But what has happened in the meantime? The Kurds, who have shown since early in 1929 increasing signs of restlessness, have latterly taken violent alarm. They have sent petition after petition, not always wisely or accurately worded perhaps, to the League of Nations; they boycotted the elections of 1930; they have in the last few months had more than one skirmish with the Iraq Army; and at the present moment they appear to be only waiting for the melting of the snows to have another "dig" at the forces of the King, whom they assert they never have recognised and never will recognise. Disappointed at the non-intervention of the British on their behalf—for in their opinion the British have hitherto always stood by them—they have been imploring Great Britain, if she cannot aid them, at least not to send her troops against them.

As a symptom of the unhappy state of affairs in Southern Kurdistan, it may be recorded that Shaikh Mahmud, a feudal chieftain of the old, unteachable, and utterly hopeless type, recently broke the agreement which he came to a few years ago with the Iraq Government, left his retreat in Persia, and betook himself to the congenial path of war and intrigue. Just as the ridding of his influence from

the neighbourhood of Sulaimani, the cultural centre of Kurdistan, implied a real step forward in Kurdistan, so his re-emergence as a factor to be reckoned with indicates a step back into unprogressive barbarism. There seems, indeed, to be uneasiness everywhere among the Kurdish tribes, an uneasiness quite unconnected with the unrest among the Kurds of Turkey who last year caused the Republican Government much trouble. In short, it needs no prophet to foretell that unless this Kurdish problem is handled with the utmost circumspection and wisdom, dire pains may be in store for the Kingdom of Iraq. If such towns as Sulaimani, Arbil, or Kirkuk were to run amok the repercussion on the rest of Iraq would inevitably be profound. Nor have the remaining minorities in this northern province of Iraq been slow to raise their voice in alarm over their prospects under the new Treaty. As with the Kurds, petitions have been forwarded on their behalf to Geneva complaining of actual grievances, while the Mandatory Power is still in Iraq. How well based these complaints from the non-Arabs of Iraq are it is obviously impossible for those not on the spot to say. On the one hand Iraq Government officials deny them completely; and British officials are disposed at present to agree with the Iraq Government. On the other hand independent observers of more than one faith persist in asserting their authenticity. One thing is certain: the League of Nations will require information on this matter. It cannot be burked.

Now such information can in existing circumstances be obtained only from the Mandatory Power—for manifestly the League would not accept nor, indeed, ask for the evidence of the Iraq Government itself, which in this case would be an interested party. And in this connection a fact as regrettable as it is notable has to be recorded. At the meeting last November of the Permanent Mandates Commission on Iraq, repeated efforts were made by members of the Commission to elicit from the accredited British representative information on this problem of the minorities. It might have been thought, in view of the specific recommendations of the Mosul Commission concerning the minorities of Iraq's northern province, and of the declared proposal of Great Britain to terminate her mandatory obligations in 1932, that the accredited British representative would have taken pains to go to Geneva completely informed on this delicate point. After all, the Permanent Mandates Commission is not concerned with the political aspect of the problem of the termination of a Mandate: it can, as one of its members, Count de Penha Garcia, pointed out at this meeting on Iraq, only decide in accordance with the annual reports and the information given by representatives of the Mandatory Power. Or, as the Chairman of the Commission, Marquis Theodoli,

remarked at this meeting: "The policy of the Mandatory Power was of no concern to the Commission except in so far as it affected the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the obligations it had assumed under the terms of the Mandate." And yet the accredited British representative was "unable to give full details" on the position of these minorities, for whom he might have anticipated the League would have a special regard. He explained, indeed, that in pursuance of British policy the High Commissioner was now in the habit of interfering less in matters of domestic concern than formerly. Whereupon a member of the Commission bluntly described the attitude of the Mandatory Power as being "casual," saying that "it would appear that it was no longer possible for the accredited representative to describe to the Commission the exact steps now being taken in Iraq for the protection of minorities, because these steps were being taken by the Iraq Government itself and not directly by the Mandatory Power."

This was a rebuke to Great Britain as Mandatory Power which should cause shame. It is one thing for the Permanent Mandates Commission to disagree with accredited British representatives, as it did at the last meeting on the Palestine Mandate: it is another thing for it to complain that it is impossible to get requisite information from such representatives. At a meeting of the Council of the League on January 22nd last, the British Foreign Secretary promised to supply the League with full information concerning the proposal to recommend Iraq for admission in 1932, information which is to be considered by the Permanent Mandates Commission this June. What does this unfortunate state of affairs, this anxiety among the Permanent Mandates Commission, among the Kurds, the Eastern Christians, and the other minorities of Iraq point to? Surely this. That there must be guarantees, supervised guarantees, by Iraq, on her entering the League, that the minorities of Iraq shall be decently treated. For the giving of such guarantees there is ample precedent; and it has been suggested that, to ensure the effective implementing of them there should be permanently resident in Iraq a League of Nations representative. There is, moreover, little reason to suppose that the Iraq Government would demur to such a course, which would as a matter of fact materially assist her in the solution of a problem which recalls, say, that of the Croats in Yugoslavia, or that of the Magyars in the old Hapsburg monarchy—in other words, a problem of such magnitude as is likely to be beyond the ability of untrained or of incompletely trained Iraqi statesmen to resolve. Quite patently, if there is trouble and anarchy in Northern Iraq, the richest part of the kingdom, the stability of this young State will be impossible. And since *ipso facto* Great Britain by her Treaty

with Iraq relinquishes mandatory obligations, those outstanding must be assumed by the League, unless, indeed, the League refuses Great Britain the right to relinquish the mandatory obligations in 1932.

Apart from this problem of the minorities which concerns, in its Kurdish aspect, not only the Kurds of Iraq but also the Governments of neighbouring Persia and Turkey, both of which have more Kurds under their ægis than has Iraq, and in its Christian aspect such Powers as France and Italy, there is the question, a less general, but to Great Britain a most important question, of future British commitments in Iraq under the Treaty of 1930. Attention has been fixed (although as remarked earlier in this article no public attention) on Article 4 of this Treaty, which stipulates that should either of the High Contracting Parties become engaged in war, the other High Contracting Party will (subject to the Covenant of the League of Nations and to the Kellogg Pact) immediately come to his aid in the capacity of an ally. How one-sided a provision such a promise might become is at once clear. The help which Iraq could give to Great Britain, were she involved in a war, is manifestly negligible. But what of the help Great Britain could give to Iraq in time of crisis? Is it so certain that the people of this country would consent, in the hypothetical case of Iraq's having embroiled herself with French Syria, with Wahhabi Arabia, with Persia, or with Turkey, to the use of British troops? Obviously the continued stability of Iraq is an essential Imperial interest, an interest which, moreover, with the development of Iraq oil and of air communications with the East, will certainly increase; but equally obviously the British people will not willingly "go bail for" any diplomatic indiscretions which may in future be indulged in by Iraqi politicians. Is the recent history of Iraqi politics so full of correct behaviour towards neighbouring States that the possibility of Iraq's embroiling herself with neighbours can virtually be ruled out? There are few observers who would discount the possibility, particularly if the past attitudes of Baghdad Government towards, say, Persia or Wahhabi Arabia be remembered. At the moment, it is true, relations between Iraq and her eastern and south-western neighbours are good; but it takes little in the Middle East to pick a quarrel.

That Iraq is not yet in a position to defend her long frontiers is well known, and she has not so far introduced the method of conscription which practically all her statesmen favour as a means of self-defence. For purposes of keeping internal order her existing voluntary army and her police are, apart from the hilly Kurdish country, probably adequate. It is a serious problem, however, whether Great Britain should in effect be responsible for

Iraq's immunity from invasion without any control of her relations with potentially invading nations. Admittedly Great Britain is to retain, primarily through the agency of the Royal Air Force, certain stakes in the country—such stakes, indeed, as have induced Continental critics to assert that Great Britain as an ally of Iraq will be in a more powerful position than she has been as Mandatory Power; but it is not clear how effective control of events which may involve, according to this 1930 Treaty, the use of British arms, is to be maintained.

That point, however, is one that concerns Great Britain and Iraq alone. The League exists in this connection only to see that mandatory obligations are fulfilled, and that Iraq can, in the words of the Covenant, "stand alone." To satisfy itself on this matter, it is very possible that before taking the step which will create a precedent for the termination of all Mandates, the League will send out to Iraq a Commission of Investigation. To such a step it is scarcely to be anticipated that either the confident, expectant Iraqis, or the recommending British, could object.

GHAFFIR.

THE JESUIT MISSIONS IN SOUTH AMERICA.

IT is no exaggeration to assert that the Jesuit missions in South America constitute one of the most remarkable examples of colonisation—i.e. of the training, disciplining and government of coloured races, the utilisation of their physical and mental powers, the exploitation of the soil on which they live, by the white man—to be found in history. From whatever point of view—whether administrative, or economic, or ethical, or even military—one considers this extraordinary, indeed unique, effort at colonisation, it cannot fail to excite one's keenest interest. The most prejudiced adversaries of the Jesuits find themselves compelled, if perhaps reluctantly, to admit its merits and to pay their grudging tribute to the men who sustained it for close upon two centuries. From the day of the arrival of the first missionaries in Paraguay, towards the close of the sixteenth century, to the time of the ruthless expulsion of their successors from the Spanish possessions in South America some 170 years later, the record of the missions invariably remained one of unflinching devotion to the lofty ideal of raising the ethical status of the native population entrusted to their care, of promoting the mental and bodily welfare of that population, of protecting it against unscrupulous exploitation, of ministering alike to its religious and its economic needs. What the Jesuits created in their *reducciones*, or settlements, was a theocratic-patriarchal empire, the ultimate destruction of which is to be mainly attributed to the greed of lucre of spendthrift Courts and of colonists in need of cheap slave labour.

During their activity, extending to about seventeen or eighteen decades, the priests of the *Societas Jesu* travelled far and wide over the vast expanses of the new continent. From the upper reaches of the Paraguay and Paraná, in the region now known as the Brazilian provinces of Matto Grosso and Minas Geraes, right through the State of Paraguay and the Gran Chaco and the Argentine Pampa to the coast of the Southern Atlantic and Patagonia they wandered, studying with the thoroughness peculiar to members of their Order the languages and customs and beliefs of the various peoples with whom they came into contact, announcing the "joyful tidings" of Christ's Gospel, and founding settlements. The present Argentine province of Misiones, which lies between the rivers Paraná and Uruguay and is bounded by Paraguay in the north, and Brazil in the east and south-east, forms but a very small part of the former Jesuit *reducciones* scattered throughout the territory stretching from the Andes to the Atlantic, from the head waters of the Amazon to the Rio de la Plata and yet much farther south.

The missionaries were fired by a sacred enthusiasm; unlike that of the *conquistadores*, theirs was no mere worldly ambition; they had heard the Master's call, *venite post me et faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum*, their aim was not the conquest of riches but the conquest of souls, to labour in the Master's vineyard they forsook home and country and set out to face perilous adventures in distant and unknown lands, caring nought for privations of the flesh in their ardent zeal for the things of the spirit. Already in 1549, only nine years after Pope Paul III confirmed the new Order created by the ecstatic ardour of Loyola, the Jesuits arrived at Bahia, in Brazil, whither half a dozen of their fraternity were sent by Dom João III of Portugal; in 1568 we find them in Peru, where the proud Inca empire had been annihilated and Atahualpa, last of the Inca rulers, treacherously murdered by Pizarro's wild hordes operating in the name of the Most Catholic Majesty of Spain; in 1587 they reached Santiago del Estero, in Argentina, and two years later established themselves in Paraguay, one of the original missions to arrive here being an Irishman, Thomas Field, whom persecution had driven from his native isle.

Everywhere we discover traces of these dauntless apostles—in Asunción, where they established the principal college of the Order; in Cordoba, where another college existed and where the Provincial and his four *consultadores*, elected conformably with the constitution of the Society, had their residence; in Salta and Tucumán, at the Laguna de los Padres near the now fashionable Argentine seaside resort Mar del Plata, at the Lake of Nahuel Huapi on the fringe of the southern Cordilleras; in the ancient province of Guayra, now belonging to Brazil but formerly a part of Paraguay, the cradle of the remarkable people of the Guarani, of Caraibe stock, the earliest explorers of the Rio de la Plata, whose language constitutes the root of that spoken to-day in Paraguay. The Guarani were the first South American people to be colonised by the Jesuits, the earliest and most famous of the *reducciones* were founded in the province of Guayra—thus named after a distinguished Guarani *cacique*—at the commencement of the seventeenth century. In consequence of perpetually recurring raids by the Portuguese colonists of Sao Paulo, these settlements were ultimately abandoned and the Guarani community was resettled in the region between the Uruguay and Paraná rivers; but up to the end the Guarani remained the nucleus, so to speak, of the *misiones*.

It is not easy for us nowadays to visualise the conditions under which the Jesuits of those times worked in the far-off tropical continent, when there were no towns in the modern acceptance of the word, when passable roads or anything resembling them were extremely few, when the handful of Europeans was confined to a

limited number of widely separated fortified places, when it took two years and more to get an answer from home to one's letters, when visible and invisible dangers dogged each step of the bold wanderer once he left the shelter of the fortified places in question and ventured out into the boundless prairie or the well-nigh impenetrable virgin forest. A glamour of extraordinary romance enshrouds those precursors of European penetration, and it is possible for a lively imagination to conceive some of the poetry of the life led by the Jesuit, despite innumerable discomforts and the ever-present menace of death, during his lonely peregrinations in a land of mystery, where every day meant new country explored, fresh impressions obtained, new adventures surmounted. We can, perhaps, picture to ourselves the priest offering the Sacrifice of the Mass amid those strange surroundings, to the accompaniment of the weird music of the forest or lost in the seemingly limitless space of the pampa; and maybe we are likewise susceptible of realising how supremely powerful, how greatly exceeding all human incentives, was the inspiration that not only enabled the Jesuit to carry on his task, but ennobled and sweetened the latter.

The modern traveller who forsakes the beaten track and betakes himself, surprised at his own audacity, to some remote and little-known district, may well be still more surprised to discover that a few centuries ago a Jesuit priest had preceded him to the same spot and there taken careful note of the healing properties of a plant employed by the medicine-man of a roving tribe or of other peculiarities of the region, confiding the data thus collected to a book which has contributed not a little to posterity a knowledge of the new world as it then appeared. For the number of books concerning that world, its inhabitants, flora, and fauna, which we owe to the keen observation and the insatiable curiosity of Jesuit missionaries is legion; among them José de Acosta's celebrated *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* occupies a place of honour. The Spanish and Portuguese colonists, adventurers in search of wealth, paid no heed to animal and vegetable life in *el dorado*. A Pizarro and an Almagro, a Sebastian Caboto and a Diego Garcia, and all those of their stamp were interested in the natives solely as objects of unrestricted exploitation. But to the Jesuit nature perpetually revealed new miracles; the Jesuit never relaxed his efforts to fathom nature's secrets, which she only yields up to the persevering; for him the peoples of the new hemisphere constituted a human problem, infinitely interesting alike in its novelty and its variety; for him the Indian was not a slave without rights, but a rational being endowed with an immortal soul and having an equal share with the white man in the divine scheme of redemption. His attitude towards the autochthonous races was dictated by these

considerations; hence, contrary to the hated and dreaded *conquistador*, he earned their affection and confidence. Verily, if the mission of the Jesuits had not been one of love, how could they have shaped the great empire extending from the banks of the Upper Paraguay to the vast horizons of Patagonia, seeing that they came, not as conquerors armed to the teeth, but as unarmed harbingers of peace into the strange land?

These enthusiastic and stout-hearted men were not only eminent psychologists, administrators of the highest quality, learned theologians; among them were also skilful and experienced master-builders, to whose professional capacity the stately ruins of former settlements dotted across the surface of South America bear eloquent testimony. When contemplating the massive walls, still standing to-day as they stood when erected under expert Jesuit supervision, the spacious refectories and chapels through whose stone floors giant trees have irresistibly forced their way towards the sunlight flooding the all-pervading silence; when comparing these admirable monuments of a great past with the sordid dwellings of twentieth-century settlers, often huddled together in tin shacks and mud huts, we perceive—and, perceiving, understand—that the ecclesiastical master-masons and architects of departed centuries were resolved to create works of lasting value, to build with a view to durability, to raise edifices such as should defy time and not easily perish without leaving a trace. This brings us to the wider question: did the Jesuit missions in South America as a whole succeed in their endeavours to bequeath to humanity a work of permanent, and not merely ephemeral, value—a work destined to survive the vicissitudes of fleeting ages and testify to the genius of its creators?

To reply, as is frequently done, that the Jesuit empire has disappeared, is utterly irrelevant. The Greek republics and the Roman world empire, the empires of Babylon and Egypt and countless others have similarly disappeared as concrete political bodies, and yet no one would dispute the fact of their spiritual survival. Manifestly the criterion of the value of any human creation is not external, but internal, and depends, not on the survival of its outer shell, but on its ethical and social excellence. Applying this criterion to the South American missions of the Society of Jesus, we can assuredly not contest the lasting value of the work accomplished by them. True, their efforts at colonisation proved externally durable only in Chiquitos, on the Upper Paraguay, and among the Guarani; all the other numerous *reducciones* had but a relatively brief existence, owing to the invincible antipathy of nomadic tribes to a settled life. True, also, modern colonising methods differ from those practised by the Jesuits, albeit we observe

a certain outward similarity between the compounds of South Africa and the *reducciones*; this similarity, however, is limited to externals, for the compound system, whatever its economic advantages may be, lacks precisely the moral element that underlay the entire structure of the Jesuit settlement. But what was of outstanding value in the Jesuit South American missions, what has withstood the inroads of time, what has remained immutable amid the fluctuations of social evolution, what has asserted itself against the most violent and persistent prejudice, is a great principle, a principle which has come to be applied ever more consciously to British colonising methods, as it was likewise applied to those of the Germans—the principle, namely, that the native population of a conquered country is not exclusively a means to the end of enriching the conqueror, that the native is a moral end in himself, that the work of colonisation shall redound also to the native's moral and material benefit. This indestructible and universal ethical principle, superior to all contingencies, is a legacy of the Jesuit colonial pioneers in South America. When they toiled, the principle was either unknown outside their settlements, or, if known, decried, and its champions were traduced. But the seed sown by them has ripened, and if it has not yet borne fruit abundantly this is chiefly attributable to the fact that colour prejudice is frequently so strong as completely to obliterate all sense of moral obligation. Nevertheless they did not sow in vain. They might be driven from the scene of their beneficent activities, their settlements might be smashed up and all vestiges of their erstwhile strength wiped out. They themselves knew best that, having laboured, they must needs also wait.

Outside the Jesuit missionary empire, the history of European colonies the world over from the days of the Romans on—in so far as those colonies were, or are, inhabited by coloured peoples—is writ large in letters of blood, as though an inexorable and inscrutable Destiny had decreed that the way of the European colonist should be hewn for him by the unspeakable sufferings of anonymous exotic multitudes. Against the dark background of all that accumulated wrong and misery the Jesuit empire in South America stands out the more conspicuously, like a bright star in the firmament in the opaque darkness of a tropical night.

Time cannot efface the memory of the example set by the Jesuit missionaries. To them the world will always remain indebted for the successful realisation of a grandiose idea, for the planning and carrying out on an impressive scale of a work of colonisation based on the Christian precept of love. To them it was reserved to show posterity how extraordinarily fertile and constructive this precept is, not only when applied to individual conduct, but when made to serve as a lever of social evolution. To them we owe the effective

demonstration of the value of Christianity as a sociological factor.

The methods of colonisation favoured by the Jesuits resulted necessarily from the character of the Order itself as an ecclesiastical institution, whose fundamental principles did not countenance the employment of brute force and to which such a theocratic-patriarchal system alone conformed. Here the priest exercised simultaneously the functions of *paterfamilias* and spiritual mentor. In every *reduccion* was a priest invested with supreme authority, together with an assistant, likewise in holy orders, who kept the books and looked after business generally. Fortifications protected the settlement—often most inadequately—against raids by colonists. The task of supervising the Indians and maintaining discipline was incumbent on a native *cacique* nominated by the Superior, and part of his duty consisted in seeing that those committed to his charge did the work, whether agricultural or industrial, assigned to them. The Indians were everywhere carefully trained as agricultural labourers and cattle-breeders, artisans and art craftsmen, they learnt to read and write in their own tongues which the erudite Fathers developed into written languages, they were properly fed and clothed, ample provision was made for recreation and relaxation, and, of course, particular attention was paid to their religious and moral upbringing. The régime can best be defined as one of “family communism,” all work being done for the community, its produce stored in depôts, and the various material wants of the Indians provided for out of the stock thus accumulated. The missions sold the surplus for their own account; part of the proceeds obtained served to defray the costs of the missions, the rest remained the property of the Order and was transferred to Europe, where, it may be surmised, no inconsiderable percentage found its way into the coffers of the Spanish Crown. That no share of the surplus product should have been allotted to the Indians themselves is easily comprehensible, when we bear in mind that these primitive tribes were still very far indeed from having attained a level of social evolution enabling them to utilise it in a rational manner. Incontestably the Society derived profits from the sales, but these perfectly legitimate profits have been ludicrously exaggerated by partial historians, and cannot compare with those extorted by the *conquistadores* by dint of slave labour and the ruthless trampling under foot of every human right.

That the Jesuits enjoyed the affection and confidence of the native population is sufficiently proved by the facts; and we need only compare the existence led by the Indians in the *reducciones* with the fate reserved for them outside under the prevailing system of *encomiendas*, to understand their attachment to the *Padres*. If the latter were careful to keep their settlements secluded from all

intercourse with the colonists, if they often displayed a wary attitude towards viceroys and governors, they had sound reasons for so doing, and this isolation was first and foremost in the interest of the aborigines themselves. As for the accusation of hostility to Spain occasionally brought against them, it is best disproved by the rôle which they and their *protégés* constantly played in the defence of Spanish territory against Portuguese aggression. Never did the missions refuse to lend their invaluable assistance to the Spanish authorities in these feuds, and the reconquest of the Colonia de Sacramento, on the Rio de la Plata opposite Buenos Aires, in 1680, was due solely to them.

At the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain's South American colonies, in 1768—they had already been expelled in 1760 from the Portuguese dominions—between 30 and 40 *reducciones*, with some 150,000 inhabitants, still flourished to the north and south of the Upper Paraná. But this was merely a remnant of what had been. The extensive settlements in the Province of Guayra had long since disappeared. As we mentioned previously, those settlements were exposed for many years to the raids of the wild slave-driving "Paulistas"—i.e. the colonists settled by the Portuguese Crown about the middle of the sixteenth century in the Brazilian province of Sao Paulo. In consequence of a raid by these savage hordes in 1630, about 30,000 Guarani Indians were led off into slavery, their depôts plundered, their fields devastated, their houses and churches and other buildings razed to the ground. The continual menace from this side induced at a later date Father Ruiz Montoya to emigrate with his Guarani *protégés* to the region between the Uruguay and Paraná, part of which is now covered by the Argentine province of Misiones.

The same motives caused the banishment of the Society of Jesus from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. By reason of the protection they afforded to the Indians, they had *ab initio* been a thorn in the flesh of the *encomendéros*, whose arbitrary rule was supreme beyond the gates of the *reducciones* and whose colonising methods were rooted in slavery unmitigated by any moral restraint. But the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon likewise required money and saw—now as on other occasions—in the confiscation of Jesuit property in their domains the most rapid and convenient means of raising it. The defenceless Indians, whose bulwark against merciless oppression the *Padres* had so long been, and who were henceforth an easy quarry for human beasts of prey smitten by the frenzy of the yellow god, mourned them, as well they might. For the Jesuits were equitable masters; the *Padres'* yoke was mild. History has vindicated those intrepid pioneers of civilisation, and later generations by their verdict have sought to repair the injustice of malevolent contemporaries.

GEORGES CHATTERTON-HILL.

PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES.

THE reader of Purchas in search of dog-faced and headless men, and Patagonian giants covered with hair, roaring "Setebos" to the ships as they entered the Straits of Magellan, will generally be disappointed. Anthony Knivet in 1601 saw a Patagonian giant thirteen spans long and not fully grown, but he did not roar, and Knivet who had many other marvellous things to relate soon passed him by. It was still the custom to look for cannibals anywhere outside Europe—Giles Fletcher found them even in Russia—and to ascribe the practice to every savage, but American Indians were becoming common sights in London and were tolerated with some impatience in polite society. Purchas often conversed with Pocahontas' brother at a friend's house, and although he indulged in "diabolical" dances and blasphemed freely, it must have been apparent to all that he fed like a Christian. An age which craved for wonders was giving way to an age of investigation and incredulity. James I, on reading Richard Cocks's letters from Japan, declared that they contained the loudest lies he had ever heard, whereas Cocks was an unusually restrained and truthful narrator. There are marvels in Purchas, of course, and a good deal of well-attested cannibalism, but his epic is concerned less with these matters than with settlement, adjustment, and above all with trade. It is astonishing how readily we accept the changed conditions, and find ourselves looking, not for Spanish treasure ships and plunder, but for trading centres and factors, and these in the most outlandish places. The first expedition sent out by the East India Company sailed in 1600 under Sir John Lancaster, and from that date until 1619 Purchas prints reports or journals of practically every voyage. His later volumes contain trading documents from India, Russia, Turkey, Persia and Japan, as well as reports from Africa, America, China, and the Arctic regions. His subject, like Hakluyt's, is still the sea, but the sea as "Purveyor of the World's Commodities to our use."

The outlook had changed, but the various commanders of the East Indian expeditions, their seamen, and the factors they carried were the true descendants of Hakluyt's heroes. They faced danger and disaster with the same doggedness, and carried to the ends of the earth a certain stolid indifference to the amazing circumstances in which they often found themselves, a strong sense of decorum, which must at times have been sadly outraged, and a grim determination to buy spices and any other saleable commodities at the cheapest possible rates, and get them shipped quickly and in good order to England. But although they were ready to subordinate themselves completely to the work they had to do, they were above

all Elizabethan Englishmen. They hated the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and their language concerning the Dutch was at times so outspoken that Purchas had to modify it. The thought that the native rulers with whom they did business could be so deluded as to imagine that the Europeans were all brothers horrified them, if possible, more than the customary lack of clothes, the plurality of wives, and other matters of scandal which could be discussed then but need not be mentioned now. There is a strong note of insularity in everything these sturdy mariners and traders did. Sir John Lancaster sang the Psalms of David daily in his ship, and he and his little company of twelve men were proud to sing them in English in the island of Sumatra to the King of Achin. David Middleton, desiring to entertain the King of Button, brought in his crew to dance before him—what a picture this conjures up!—while William Hawkins, finding himself saddled with an unwanted Armenian girl, would have nothing to do with heathen irregularity and wantonness. He solemnly married the maiden before witnesses, his man Nicholas acting as priest, until a preacher arrived with an English ship to tie the knot in decent Christian fashion.

With such a catalogue of worthies it is difficult to make any satisfactory selection. Every time one dips into Purchas one finds something fresh. William Keeling deserves, I think, a special place of honour, partly for the skill with which he outwitted the Dutch in the Banda Islands, and partly because he was a true Shakespeare lover, and in September 1607, in order to keep his men from idleness and sleep, had *Hamlet* and *Richard II* played in his ship off the coast of Sierra Leone. (This interesting Shakespeare item is not in Purchas, but can be found in the introduction to the *Voyages of Sir John Lancaster*, edited by Sir Clements Markham for the Hakluyt Society.) Keeling's adventures make exciting reading. He commanded the third East India Company's expedition which sailed in 1607. The voyage out was not particularly noteworthy, except for the fact that "George Evans was shrewdly bitten by an Alegarta" off Madagascar, but after Keeling reached Banda, where the Dutch were at war with the natives, there cannot have been a dull moment.

The Dutch did everything they could to prevent the English from loading the ship. They arrived early in 1609 when Keeling was building a house, and from May until August, under suspicion that he was assisting their enemies, they gave him orders which he ignored, tried to stop his trading, and even threatened him with their guns. There were interviews and correspondence, the Dutch letters, according to Keeling, containing as many lies as lines, but he was not to be hurried. He dared the Dutch to shoot, denied their right of search—although for the sake of peace he suffered

them to board his ship—went on calmly collecting his debts and loading rice and nuts, and finally in his own good time he sailed away to Bantam, having first procured from his oppressors a letter of credit for the debts he had been unable to collect.

About this time Edmund Scott, the first English factor at Bantam, was taking notes for his *Discourse of Java* which is printed by Purchas. He was not a happy man. He found Bantam unhealthy. It was not a place "to recover men that are sicke, but rather to kill men that come thither in health." Lancaster had already reported that "the Javians be reckoned among the greatest Pickers and Theeves of the World," who thought nothing of setting fire to a house in order to make off with stores during the confusion which followed. This danger of fire was never absent from Scott's mind. "O this word fire," he writes, "had it beene spoken neere me, either in English, Mallayes, Javanes, or China, although I had beene sound a-sleepe, yet I should have leaped out of my bed, the which I have done sometimes when our men in their watch have but whispered one to another of fire." His fellows Thomas Tudd and Gabriel Towerson would sleep through the sounding of a drum, but if one breathed the word of fire they would run headlong from their chambers. Scott could think of little but murder, theft, wars, fire and treason, but he stuck to his work and bought pepper in such quantities that the people asked if the English plastered their walls with it to keep them warm. In the early years of Scott's factorship there is, happily, no sign of the enmity with the Dutch which was afterwards to become such a blot on Eastern trade. They were rivals in trade, "yet in all other matters," he says, "we were friends, and would have lived and dyed one for the other." Later a certain Captain Syverson, "a very proud Boore," arrived with "his rascall crue," and conditions were never the same again.

Purchas has also some excellent records of the first English factory in Japan. Here we meet that interesting person William Adams, who served the chief ruler of Japan for twenty years, and whose letters to his family and friends at home make sad reading. He had sailed as pilot-major of a Dutch ship, but the fleet was scattered in the Straits of Magellan, and Adams finally reached Japan in February 1600 with only twenty-four survivors out of a crew of a hundred. Nothing was heard of him until eleven years later, when the two letters printed by Purchas were received. He tells us that he was first a prisoner, although not hardly treated, and that later he found favour with the ruler, building ships for him, and instructing him in geometry and mathematics, but whenever he craved leave to depart his master hardened his heart and would not let him go. He had a living like a lordship in England, with eighty or ninety husbandmen, his servants and slaves. Later another

Mistress Adams supplanted the loving wife to whom one of his letters was addressed, and when an opportunity did occur for Adams to return to England he let it slip. But he must have been an unhappy and homesick man. His heart was in England, at Chatham, where "the King's ships do lye," with Masters Diggines, Best, Isaac, Jones and Beckett, his good friends at Ratcliff and Limehouse, and with his wife and children at Gillingham in Kent. His name crops up again and again in connection with English trade in the East, but he is known to us chiefly by his two letters. They breathe a longing for England which no reader of Purchas is likely to forget, and nothing that is known of Adam's later life can detract from their simplicity and pathos. He died in 1620 and was buried on a hill overlooking the harbour of Yokosuka.

Closely associated with Adams in Japan was Richard Cocks who had charge of the English at Firando (Hirado). Purchas prints Cocks's *Relation*, and his diary published by the Hakluyt Society in 1883 completes the story. In these documents we get as vivid a picture of life in an English factory in the East as could be found anywhere. As at Bantam and elsewhere there were language difficulties to be faced. Local regulations had to be carefully observed, and all kinds of officials great and small required to be humoured. But an added embarrassment at Firando was the interest taken by the local rulers in the business of the factory. They would steal in upon Cocks at any time unannounced for supper, to discuss articles of trade, the daubing up of doors in case of fire, the behaviour of the factory servants, or to appropriate odds and ends of clothing: "a piece of English Beefe, and another of Porke sod with Onions and Turnips," a "Prospective Glasse," a bottle of wine, or six loaves of white bread, and unconsidered trifles of that sort. A *tuffon* or tempest blew down the wall of the house. The factory servants were unruly and got drunk. James Turner "the fidling youth" left a Japanese girl with a child which she promptly killed. Seven sailors ran away and hid on a desert island, others fell sick, and when the local physicians were called in they were gravely offended—"tooke pepper in the nose," in Cocks's quaint phrasing—if their pills and seeds were not effective. Then there were the books to be kept, letters to be written home, cargoes to be cleared and shipped, and in the midst of anxieties about prices and failing trade, a hue and cry had to be raised for "Master Foster's whistle and chaine" which could not be found, or someone in England wanted "a Japan Almanacke, whereby you may see their order of Printing, Figures and Characters." It was "worry, worry, worry" from morning to night. Poor Cocks, he was an unsatisfactory merchant and gave intense dissatisfaction to his employers, but his story can be matched in any other factory in the East at this

time. The servants seem always to have been drinking or "a crowing with drinke" and neglecting their business. Bad debts and sickness increased. There was no possibility of justice for crimes committed, and the squabbles with the Dutch and Portuguese were endless. In 1616, in the island of Puloway, the Portuguese put halters round the necks of the factor's people and marched them through the streets with an hour-glass, and an announcement that they were to be hanged as soon as the glass ran out. Then there were the court functions and ceremonies which the factors cordially disliked because they did not understand them. The King of Achin liked to entertain his visitors seated for hours in the water, while little boys swam about with food and drink. The English seem as a whole to have stood this ordeal fairly well, but the Reverend Patrick Copland, who was at Achin in 1614, records that a Dutch captain, either with hot drink or cold, or sitting so long in the water, was taken ill and died. There were difficulties too with rulers who contracted to sell pepper and other goods to which they had no possible title. One monarch, on being pressed by the factor for pepper which he had sold but could not deliver, preferred to amuse himself with his tumblers, or to talk of English customs, or better still to sit musing without talking at all. Finally he adjourned the matter for further consideration to a lonely house in a wood, and although the factor was bold enough to go there, and did in fact return alive, he never got his pepper.

If the factors had troubles in the towns and ports in the East, the lot of travelling merchants was infinitely more hazardous. Apart from the risk of murder and theft from strangers, which they faced daily, almost hourly, they could not trust even their own guides and escorts. In 1613 Richard Withington went by land on the East India Company's business from Surat to Tatta in Sind. One morning a local chief who was acting as guide set upon the company, seized and bound them, strangled the native merchants and their servants with the camels' ropes, and cast the bodies into a hole in the ground. Withington and his attendants were carried off to the hills and finally sent on, but their guardians robbed them again, and when they reached their destination they were more dead than alive. Even greater hazards were at stake in the attempt to open up land communications between India and Persia. The caravan route lay across the mountains of Candahar, through a country which was either deserted, or overrun with brigands whose sole means of livelihood was to rob caravans and murder travellers. Sometimes, owing to heat and cold or the badness of the way, the journey took six or seven months. Yet there were men, resolute to a degree of madness, who would penetrate to the ends

of the earth, and were not to be deterred, in the faint hope of fetching back silk and disposing of the broadcloths which were not as readily saleable in India as had been hoped. Some like John Newberry, John Mildenhall, and Tom Coryat (who walked "with most unwearied leggs" through Persia to India in order, among other things, to sit on an elephant) did not return at all. In 1615 Richard Steel and John Crowther travelled by this route and brought back a rather useless firman from the Shah, but the only indication that the journey was hazardous is a chance mention of stinking water, and the statement that Crowther was so weak at one place that they had to stay fourteen days to refresh him.

Joseph Salbanke who travelled that way in 1609 was less fortunate. John White who was to have accompanied him was poisoned, but Salbanke reached Isfahan in safety. On his return, however, he was captured by pirates on the Persian Gulf, and might have ended his days at Muscat if an English Jesuit Father had not befriended him. He was then sent in chains to Ormuz and thence to Goa. How he escaped we do not know, but his enthusiasm for trade with Persia remained undamped. The project failed owing largely to the Portuguese monopoly in the Persian Gulf, but it carried with it a fine record of courage and endurance, and had it succeeded the whole history of British trade in the East might have been changed.

Before Purchas closes his book trade is giving way to settlement and colonisation. Virginia and Newfoundland had been planted, the Pilgrim Fathers were in New England, Sir Thomas Gates had been wrecked off the Bermudas, had found the island of devils to be "habitable and commodious," and had given Shakespeare his sketch for *The Tempest*. The Virginian plantations were far removed from the Spanish zone, but the voyage out could still be an exciting business. The *Blacke Hodge*, sailing from London in 1620, was attacked by two Spanish ships which powdered and peppered the little vessel and then drew off, leaving her fighting bravely. The casualties were heavy, Doctor Bohune and seven others being killed outright. The Doctor's end shows that the flame which burned in Hakluyt's heroes had never even flickered. "Captain Chester embraced Doctor Bohune, beeing mortally wounded, and thus recomforted him, saying: 'O Doctor Bohune, what a disaster is this': the Noble Doctor, no whit exanimated, replied: 'Fight it out brave man, the cause is good, and Lord receive my soule.'"

MALCOLM LETTS.

A CORSICAN CANTICLE.

CONCA! I suppose there are few people outside Corsica who have ever heard of it. Conca de Porto Vecchio in its beautiful setting, lying as it does in a cup or shell—its very name meaning *cuvette* or basin—on the side and at the foot of mountains which almost completely encircle it. What a setting it would be for even the fairest of jewels! All around are the lovely cork woods of that delicate shade of green which, unless seen side by side with it, can be so easily mistaken by the uninitiate for the olive. Olive trees also abound, and underneath both cork and olive are masses of cystus shrub, of tall bushy white heather, of arbutus and euonymus so amazing to the visitor from northern climes, accustomed to see these only in parks and gardens. And the wild cyclamen everywhere uprearing its small and exquisite pink face, in mossy glades, by the roadside, it spreads its fairy carpet, fit only for the touch of a Titania and her attendant elves.

Our arrival in the *Ile de Beauté* had not been very auspicious. Eleven hours by steamer from Toulon to Calvi in a rough sea makes a fair-weather sailor faint. But a sleepless night of merely physical misery was quickly dispelled and soon forgotten in the golden light of an enchanted dawn, which flooded the hills around with magic. At that early hour the little quay at Calvi was crowded with an eager throng; some shouted, some waved and some sat silently gazing at the advancing ship. We scanned the multi-coloured miscellany for the friend who had promised to meet us, and with whom we were going to stay at Conca. At first there was no sign of him and we felt some relief when we saw him approaching through the old gateway of the citadel, just as the gangway was let down. Our bags were violently seized by various individuals who swarmed on board shouting hotel insignia, and after much ejaculation, asseveration and delay, our belongings were at last bundled into our friend's car, in which we were soon on our way to Ajaccio. For some hundred and sixty kilometres we sped along a narrow mountain road, in many places a thousand feet above the sea which shone glittering in the blazing sunshine in depths of cobalt and ultramarine. Above and below sheer precipice: rock, here gaunt and gigantic, there clad thickly with arbutus and box, euonymus and masses of rosemary and white heather. The drive along the winding road, full of oblique turns and twists, with nothing between us and the abyss but a few upright stones, sometimes without even that pretext for a wall, frequently brought one's heart to one's mouth: but the skill of the driver, a Corsican, was extraordinary, and the powerful car obeyed the helm at each turn, disclosing to our astonished eyes scene after scene of un-

imaginable grandeur. As we gazed with awe on the glorious spectacle, on the expanse of semi-tropical vegetation interspersed with gigantic rocks of granite and of deep red or yellow porphyry, set in masses or standing like colossal sentinels of that deep blue sea, we forgot, or partly forgot, what had seemed a perilous situation.

We stopped for luncheon in a hamlet which boasts of an inn. While *déjeuner* is being prepared we explore the near neighbourhood and stroll along an avenue of eucalyptus trees, flanked on one side by a mountain river, on the other by huge pillars lying prone and quarried stones of immense size, destined, we are told, for a new church, the *Sacré Cœur*, which is being built in *Marseilles*; and so on and down to the sea, to the lovely little harbour of Porto, where a ruined tower dating from the Genoese domination of Corsica adds greatly to the picturesque beauty of the scene. An *alfresco* luncheon at the odd little inn where the chauffeur, Charles, who in spite of his somewhat furious driving had brought us safely thus far, sat down with us and his master to the simple meal; the unconscious ease and grace of his manner might have afforded a useful object lesson to many a *soi-disant* society man. After some delicious coffee, without which in Corsica no meal, even in the poorest home, is complete, we started on again. Ever the same splendid pageantry surrounded us till, as we approached the *Callanches* of *Piana* the grandeur of the rocks seemed to culminate. There they stand, outlined in their perpendicular symmetry, black, red and flameglow in the late afternoon sun, through wild weather and calm, enthroned in their mighty eminence, a galaxy of surpassing sublimity, seeming to eclipse in their Dantesque solemnity all that has gone before.

After this our road, which hitherto had alternated between ascent and descent, soon began to dip in earnest, and as we left those super-heights of magnificence behind us we lost sight for a time of the lapis-lazuli seas. Finally after many a twist and corkscrew turn the wonderful road, begun by Louis Philippe and finished by Louis Napoleon, entered less lofty, more terrestrial country, and as evening fell the pilgrims, tired but full of wonder and interest, reach Ajaccio, forever famous as the birthplace of Napoleon Buonaparte. One hundred and eighty kilometres from Calvi to Ajaccio—so ended our first unforgettable day in Corsica.

The Grand Hotel of Ajaccio! what a contrast to our country inn at Porto, the latter so primitive in every way, the other with every modern comfort calculated to appeal to the sybarite latent in the heart of all of us. What a spell the garden alone casts, with its waving palms and its gay profusion of summer flowers in March—stocks, freesias, geraniums, pansies, as well as a seemingly ubiquitous small yellow flower of the crowfoot genus! The house

where Napoleon's parents lived stands as it stood on that day of August 1769, when Letizia Buonaparte, who was worshipping at the cathedral close by, had to hurry home for the birth of the child who was to dominate Europe for the first decade of the nineteenth century. The house, which is a fine one, stood then in the main street. To-day its surroundings appear to be rather squalid: in itself it is charming with its large reception or ballroom and comfortable living rooms opening out on a *patio*. The family furniture is there still and one is shown the very bed from which Napoleon first saw the light of day.

Everything in Ajaccio seems to speak of him: the splendid equestrian statue facing the sea in the *Place des Diamants*, with his four brothers standing one at each of the corners; also the statue of him as First Consul in the *Place des Palmiers*, where it is said that not so many years ago a Prefect, disembarking at Ajaccio to take up his post, was literally collared by a group of *manifesteurs peu commodes* who obliged him to listen *tête nue* to the song of the *Ajaccienne*. There are people in Corsica who will tell you that what is called "*Buonapartisme Ajaccien*" does not exist, at any rate outside Ajaccio, and there are others who are very certain that it does and also that it does not consist exclusively of fidelity and pride in the man of genius who was born at Ajaccio, but is also the expression of a *pénible malaise* and a profound discontent felt by Corsicans in general and by Ajaccio in particular when they see or imagine themselves treated as forgotten poor relations of France. One writer takes pleasure in imagining an old Ajaccien dreaming in the evening beside the statue of the great Emperor in the *Place des Diamants*: "*S'il était là! Lui, cependant, s'il revenait parmi nous,*" he would have found the means not to let Corsica perish. Again, there are those who say that the Corsican is apathetic, that he will not work. Poor Corsicans! perhaps all the more they feel the need of one who, in the *mot célèbre* of the Abbé Sieyès is a "*Maître qui sait tout, qui peut tout, veut tout faire.*"

We explored the museum which is full of Napoleonic relics, some beautiful; grotesques are there too—made by the English of that day, ridiculing as they loved to do the powerful *parvenu*. The famous "*Grotte Napoléon*" on the south side of the town is a lovely half-wild, half-cultivated pleasure ground, formed on the spot where it is said the young Napoleon used to sit and dream, and where Corsicans can now dream too for ever, where the soft breeze murmurs in the trees and one sits in the long grass catching glimpses of the gleaming Mediterranean Sea and listening to the faint sounds of the waves as they wash the shore in the near distance.

The following day numerous suitcases, wraps, ourselves and our

host are once again dovetailed by Charles into the accommodating car and off we go in the early morning, hoping to reach Conca the same evening. The whole aspect of the countryside through which we pass, in spite of a heavy grey mist through which the sun shone only fitfully all day, was very beautiful with its "fields of asphodel," its crocus and anemone. We passed through Propriana which after Bastia is the largest commercial port in Corsica; piles of wood and cork were lying on the road beside the bay awaiting transshipment. Sartène perched high on its rocky fastness was our next halting place: it is one of the five principal towns of Corsica. In the hotel the private room where we had luncheon was decorated with portraits of Pasquali Paoli, the great patriot and Corsica's noblest son, and of Napoleon her most famous. Here we were regaled with many delicacies of the country including cheese made from goat's milk—*bruccio*, and were waited upon by a Corsican woman whose ungrudging hospitality and general attitude of benevolence towards the strangers warmed our hearts. Once more we took the road, and before evening had closed in had covered the one hundred and fifty kilometres between Ajaccio and Conca, passing through Santa Lucia de Porto Vecchio, the post town for Conca, which is five kilometres beyond. For at least half of this distance the road is little more than a track; cut in the side of the mountain it bends and curves with acute angles, zigzagging its hazardous course uphill along the edge of a vertical drop some seventy to a hundred feet in depth; the way is narrow and even what there is of it is blistered by gargantuan ruts and pieces of rock, huge, flat slabs now and again taking up half the roadway. After two or three miles this "pass" turns into quite a park-like drive, bordered on either side by the lovely cork woods with the omnipresent and sweet-scented *macchi* shading the fairy carpets of pink cyclamen, until we reach the outskirts of Conca. Large tombs like small houses line the road of approach to the village, reminding one of the Via Appia on a small scale. The church, as is usual in these small places, is the principal landmark and immediately behind the church is Monsieur L.'s house.

Our arrival is observed by a crowd of village children who swarm round the car as we unload. A smiling *femme-de-ménage* welcomes us at the door and we enter the quaint, rather fascinating domicile, which was the house of a former *curé* and is now the temporary home of our friend. The house is odd in some ways but has a charm of its own; each and all of the rooms on the first floor have glorious views of the mountain peaks which surround "La Cuvette." We settle down with a vivid sense of adventure to our somewhat primeval life. No English people, it seems, have ever before visited Conca and as we pass the villagers point and murmur

to each other—"C'e sono Inglese." Corsican peasants speak an Italian *patois* amongst themselves; the better educated, and all the younger generation talk French as well. Some of the women have handsome, refined features and the children are often attractive: the men seem pleasant and good-natured on the surface, but, we were told, are revengeful. The Corsican is disinclined to give quarter once his enemy is in his power. One is reminded of Michel's words when discussing Napoleon's unwise "*précipitation sauvage*" in the case of the duc d'Enghien: "*Mais l'instinct du torse s'éveilla dès qu'il vit la proie dans ses mains.*" But if the Corsicans in modern times are found to be wild and intractable, the reason may be sought in their unhappy history under the Genoese, and especially under the rule of the bank of San Giorgio in the early part of the sixteenth century, when, in the absence of any proper spirit of justice, the blood-feud or vendetta grew and took root.

We are taken for lovely walks up the straggling steepness of the village street and in the cork woods. In the woods are half-wild cattle, strangely beautiful creatures; flocks of agile goats, many with their legs tied to prevent their wandering away; and strolling about anywhere and everywhere are the happiest of donkeys; we long to adopt one. The chief cultivation in Conca is the vine; everybody makes his own wine and every level space on the mountain side is a little vineyard, the rich, black soil carefully tilled and enclosed with rough stone walls. The glorious blossom of the peach trees dotted here and there add a brilliant touch of colour. We went for lovely drives: to Pinarello by the sea, a lonely bay inhabited only by two or three fishermen living in little brick cabins: to Porto Vecchio, the Portus Syracusanus of the ancients. The beautiful *macchi* spreads everywhere, the *cistus* is already beginning to flower, and here and there are branching laurestinus trees in full bloom, while a sparkling mountain river, the Santa Lucia, rushes gaily over its pebbly bed to the sea near Pinarello.

On Sunday we were bidden to luncheon with the Corsican manager of the state vineyards about sixty kilometres from Conca. We drove along the *corniche*; a fine old Genoese tower stands regnant on the most advanced abutment of rock. One sees these deserted towers everywhere in Corsica, on lonely headlands and isolated promontories; they still seem to speak of the hardy intrepidity and *flair* for a good site of those old sea-dogs of Genoa, disastrous though their rule was for Corsica, on which with intermittent periods of revolt they kept a stranglehold for some four hundred years from the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. The skies were grey and the responsive sea showed no sign of colour either, but the scene is beautiful in

chiaroscuro, its headlands alternating with exquisite little sandy bays. At eleven o'clock we arrived "chez" M. Agostini, the genial and hospitable manager of Casabianda. The estate is situated in a large fertile plain with beautiful mountain vistas to the west and south. It comprises some four thousand hectares, a pastoral paradise, a large part of which is taken up by vineyards and wheat: there are, too, numbers of sheep, lovely creatures with long, shaggy hair which supply all the milk of the farm. As we stepped out of the car, M. Agostini shook us welcomingly by the hand and said: "Good-bye!" He only knew a few words of English and was horrified when we explained that he was giving us our *congé*, so that we had to say: "How-do-you-do" all over again. After a "Lucullan" feast we were taken to see the wine presses and vats in which the delicious Corsican wine is made. On the return journey we called on some cousins of Charles, who live in one of the solitary houses sprinkled here and there along the *corniche*; they offered us hot boiled goat's milk with a disinterested generosity hard to refuse, and out of the rather uninviting-looking house emerged cups and saucers of fine china from which it was a pleasure to drink this Corsican stirrup-cup by the wayside. Then we wandered down to the small bay a stone's throw from the house and tarried for a while listening in the *crêpuscule* to that "eternal note of sadness Sophocles heard long ago on the *Ægean*."

Another day we visited Bonifacio, an amazing town of unmatched originality where the houses are built in the rock overhanging the sea. The approach to what must once have been an impregnable fortress is of extraordinary beauty. So the days ran by and the time came for us to bid good-bye to Conca. The day we left was gloriously fine and sunny and Monsieur L. suggested we should start early and wander about a little on our way to the station sixty kilometres off. Our road lay once again along the *corniche* already described, but to-day the sea is deep blue, except where it breaks in snowy white foam on the strand, or away beyond where ivory wavelets mark the hidden submarine rock: in the distance to the north are the mountains which the last time we came this way had been shrouded in mist. Instead of taking the train at Ghisonaccia, as we had meant to do, our host suggested going over the mountains and through the renowned Inzecca Gorge to Corte. This enchanting and astonishing road is cut on the side of the mountain which towers above, while some seventy or eighty precipitate feet below dances and gambols, romps and reels, a mountain river, the laughing water seeming to rejoice in obstacles as it leaps and frolics over the boulders on its path—racing heedless, reckless and impetuous to its outlet in the sea. Each curve and bend in the narrow road, and they follow in quick succession, reveals the splendid

panorama of snow-capped mountains and river in some fresh aspect. Alas! we were told at Ghisoni where we stopped for *déjeuner* that there were several feet of snow on the road above, so that it would be impossible for us to proceed to Corte. There was nothing for it but to turn round and retrace our steps. On the return drive the sheer beauty of the gorge when it suddenly opened at various points and became a frame for the bright blue sea, to which the river is always hastening, seemed to take one's breath away. At length we reached the plains, said *au revoir* to our kind friend and took train for Bastia, enraptured by all we had seen and full of gratitude to the French host who had discovered to us in that brief visit so much of the fascination of Corsica.

We had little time to explore Bastia, but were able to walk along its fine sea-front, noting the picturesque citadel and houses, also a fine statue of the great Emperor set amid palms on the principal square by the quay. Further on is another monument unfinished as far as its general arrangement goes; it is the Corsican 1914 War Memorial, depicting a Corsican mother offering her young son to France—arresting in its classic simplicity. We left Corsica in the *General Buonaparte*. The voyage from Bastia to Nice was made in ideal weather on a perfectly calm sea. For the first two hours we hug the shore of the Cap Corse, a wild, beautiful coast with its tier upon tier of hills rising one behind the other, and as we gaze and dream we wonder on which particular desolate spot Seneca lived out his solitary eight years' exile from Rome, and speculate on the blank despondency and heart-sinking he must have experienced as he landed there from a galley some two thousand years ago.

And now we say good-bye to Napoleon's isle, recalling those penetrating words written by Dimitry Merejkovsky: "*La grandeur de Napoléon est religieuse, mythique, légendaire, précisément parce qu'elle est ancrée au cœur de l'Humanité. Car c'est par les mythes que l'humanité se représente le plus naturellement ce qui la dépasse.*"

BEATRICE and MAY O'CONOR.

GIANT INSECTS.

ONE is so accustomed to think of all insects as small that the fact that there are giants among them is apt to be overlooked. Yet there are large forms in every order, which are so much larger in size compared with the smallest forms that they bear the same proportion to them as mammoths do to mice. Giants cannot be said to be a real success in the long run. Zoologists tell us that the antediluvian beasts could not cope with more strenuous conditions of life, nor with keener competition with other species; so that when smaller and more active races arose they were outclassed; and that is why these giant forms gradually died out. So if giant races exist among insects it is because they do not happen to be in keen competition with smaller forms; and because they have some means of protection against whatever is likely to prey upon them. Large insects must attract attention; so they need special protection either by adopting a camouflage, or by evolving weapons whereby they can make themselves respected.

It is quite possible that in bygone days there existed very much larger forms than the largest of the insects of to-day. There are fossil remains to convince us of the existence of giant dragon-flies of the carboniferous period; these had an extension of two feet—in the largest fossil found the extension is estimated as being twenty-eight inches. So in those indolent days of uniform tropic warmth, when fewer races inhabited the earth and so made competition among them much less fierce than it became later, nature may have produced other forms of giant insects when she was trying her hand at all kinds of giants. But no trace of them has been found up to the present. It has always been the ardent hope of collectors of insects to be the lucky one to come across some living form of a startling size, which might be lingering on in an out-of-the-way corner of the globe, just as the giant tortoises and lizards of the Galapagos Islands linger there to-day. But the chances become less and less every year. It is improbable that any such strikingly large forms exist now, for there are few unexplored regions where man has not penetrated.

There are quite large forms among the butterflies, which are a comparatively modern or recently evolved group. The big butterflies have been known for a long time because they attracted the notice of all kinds of travellers by their beauty, even those who were not particularly interested in natural history. The enormous, gorgeously-coloured forms only found in tropical countries are called Bird-winged Butterflies. They are indeed creatures of the tropical sunlight, and do not by any means convey an idea of the real splendour of those vivid colours when they are seen in a col-

lector's cabinet in England. The best known among the big butterflies are those with pure blue wings that appear to be of the texture of satin. These are the butterflies most commonly used by the Parisian jewellers in making butterfly-wing jewellery and other ornaments. What is a most curious fact about this lovely colour is that it is not produced by pigments but is entirely due to myriads of infinitesimal ridges in even rows on the surface of the wings; which interfere with the beams of light and reflect the blue colour to the eye. In many of the gaudiest coloured butterflies, by looking at the wing from another angle, the colour will appear to alter. Perhaps a bright heliotrope will become green; these changes also are due to the structure of the wing.

No doubt these big butterflies have enemies, but they do not often appear to be attacked. At least they may be seen congregating in numbers; and they may be easily approached at times without being put to flight. I have seen thirteen at one time busily engaged in thrusting their proboscides into the exposed tissue of sugar-cane from which sap was oozing. They were so absorbed in what they were doing that I sat on the ground quite near them without disturbing them, and watched their little tricks for getting the best position. Their big flopping wings took up a great deal of room and the cane was too narrow to hold them all comfortably; so they were in perpetual movement. Every now and then one would be pushed off and flap around with a swift change of colours as first the upper and then the under surface caught the light, and there was a constant coming and going to and from the nearest thicket.

There are moths which exceed in size the Bird-winged Butterflies. The Giant Atlas Moths of Assam have certainly beaten them, for their great wings in some cases measure four to four and a half inches, so that when they are expanded they cover as much as ten inches. This is immense when one thinks of the average size of moths; and when they fly out of the bushes in the twilight—for they are nocturnal in habit—they are often taken for bats. Atlas Moths belong to the group known as the Wild Silk Moths. The caterpillars of many of the species spin a silk which makes a good, strong, rich material; the most familiar is the tussore silk. Quite a number of kinds of the wild silk caterpillars are reared for the sake of the silk; but this does not find its way into our English markets and so we only see it occasionally, at exhibitions or in the Imperial Institute.

There are also huge beetles to be found in warm countries, which must certainly rank among the giants. The largest are the Rhinoceros Beetles; one species is called Goliath, and another Hercules, and they have some enormous relatives. They are

extremely hard, shining beetles, with curious horns projecting from their heads or from the forepart of their bodies: not so long and branched as in Stag Beetles, but often of considerable length. There is no doubt about the protection of their horny bodies against the attacks of enemies; they might as well be encased in a cast-iron suit of armour; and it would take a powerful blow to make any impression upon them. Their grubs are not covered with armour but have on the contrary very soft bodies; and being so large would make a tempting morsel for any hungry bird or mammal. They owe their preservation from most enemies to the fact that they feed upon rotten wood and therefore all their growing stage—which lasts for several years—is passed inside the trunks of trees. In a more exposed position there is no doubt that they would run great risks, for even human beings do not disdain them as food. The natives of most of the countries where they are found are very fond of eating them. The little native children of the West Indies hack open the rotten trunks of cocoanut palms to get at them. Livingstone gives a very interesting description of how he saw natives belonging to some African tribe cut open tree-stumps, and pull out these fat, white grubs; they then proceeded to spit them on pieces of tough fibre and roast them whole before a fire.

There are some very large insects among the grasshoppers. Luckily none of the giants are migratory; for if they had habits of swarming, and went about in prodigious numbers as do the migratory locusts they would be still more terrifying to the unfortunate agriculturists. For some of these giants are more than twice as large as locusts. Certain species feed on the fronds of cocoanut palms; they are not often to be seen because they live in the crown of leaves at the summit and seldom leave it. The wings are of a most brilliant red, which only shows when they are planing from tree to tree. They are so large that specimens have been brought down by small shot fired by an ornithologist who imagined that he had bagged a rare bird. There are some extremely beautiful giant forms of grasshopper in New Guinea, and the Islands near, and on the Isle of Pines. These all mimic leaves. It is a very exact mimicry, precise enough to bear close scrutiny. There are many wonderful examples of this type, but somehow it appears more wonderful when it is carried out by the very large insects, because it has to be so faultless. Yet if you were to hold some of these grasshoppers in your hand and compare them with leaves the resemblance would be perfect. You must, of course, ignore the eyes and the legs, but if these latter are tucked away among the leaves there is nothing to give the insect away, for the eyes are usually of a pale green and so escape notice. The gloss of

thick, leathery leaves, their deep colour, and every detail of intricate leaf venation is scrupulously represented in the insect.

In the Natural History Museum at South Kensington there is a remarkable exhibit of a very large African grasshopper which was caught in the act of eating a mouse which it had evidently captured alive. Certainly it is a small mouse, and perhaps a young and inexperienced one. Yet the fact remains that insects exist of such a size that they are capable of capturing, and holding, and eating a mammal. All this makes one realise that there is a vast difference between the size of the largest insects living in the tropics and the largest sized insects found in the temperate countries. The largest grasshopper which we find in England is about two and a half inches in length. This is, of course, nothing in comparison with the giants we have been describing; yet even this size is remarkable when compared with that of the average English grasshopper, so much so that most people who come across any of this species imagine that they must have been imported accidentally from abroad. Nearly every year specimens of this grasshopper used to be brought to me at the Insect House, with the story that they had been found either near imported timber, or somewhere within reach of the sea, or in the house of somebody recently returned from the tropics, and so on. One lady who was just home from India was convinced that her specimen must belong to an Indian species, because it was observed in the house just after her ayah had unpacked some luggage. It was so sad to see the evident disappointment with which such people received the information that these large green grasshoppers are undoubtedly denizens of our own country. There is distinct consolation in the thought that they probably did not believe it.

So far we have been considering the more gentle and inoffensive giants. The big grasshoppers cannot take the offensive if they are attacked, even by smaller foes: but there are also giants among insects which are armed with stings. Some of these when they evolved weapons of defence seem to have also evolved a serene confidence in their ability to overcome an enemy by personal prowess, whatever may be his size. This type of insect may be quite alarming when it attacks. There are some very large ants in South America. The workers of the same species are minute, but the soldiers measure over an inch in length, including the long sting which is usually protruding from the end of the body. They can inflict a nasty wound by their bite or their sting. I once met one of these ants face to face at a most inopportune moment. It was on the island of Gorgona when I was with the St. George Expedition. I happened to be crossing a rather deep stream by means of a tree trunk which had fallen across it. The

trunk was extremely slippery, and I was proceeding very cautiously on all fours, when a large ant appeared crossing from the opposite bank. Seen from that angle when my chin was almost on a level with its own, the insect looked of a colossal size. At the sight of something moving in its path it did not hesitate or turn back, but came straight on with mandibles wide apart, quite confident of its power to attack a creature many, many thousand times larger in bulk. I got the impression that there was not enough room for the two of us on the trunk, and anyhow I wanted the specimen. I took it in the net, but so awkwardly that I was stung twice in the wrist while doing so. The sting reached through the meshes of the net and drops of formic acid glistened on the stuff as the creature stabbed wildly in all directions. It only got me twice, but the wrist and thumb were partially paralysed afterwards for the rest of the day. The wounds throbbed at night and were rather inflamed next morning; I could not grasp my net all that day, and was forced to use the left hand. It will be seen that an insect so armed must be a very formidable enemy to one of its own class. Indeed all the well-armed stinging hymenoptera, the bees, but especially the wasps and the ants, are feared by other insects and for this reason so often are used as models in mimicry; and because they are as a rule avoided by the larger insectivorous creatures as well.

One of the most interesting giants of the wasp group is undoubtedly the great Hunting Wasp to be found in many parts of the world but chiefly in the tropical forests of South America. These large wasps fight with and overcome the Bird Eating Spiders, which are also giants among spiders and come of a most ancient lineage. In the tropical jungles, crowded as they are with every kind of being which thrives in the heat both animal and vegetable, nature appears sublimely beautiful and at the same time most hideously ferocious. We see on every hand an almost endless variety of designs among the living forms; and every race appears to develop to its fulness of beauty. But underlying it all is the savage cruelty of unconscious life; for wherever life is most redundant and most vigorous, we must be aware of the powerful forces of existence which have produced that redundancy of form and maintained that vigour. So everywhere the splendour of tropical life seems to be marred by appetite, which stalks through those great forests naked and unashamed. The strong seem everywhere to be crushing the weak, beauty that we have never dreamed of is every minute being destroyed to appease a temporary craving. And yet it is only the evidence of those forces which are the agents to produce all that beauty; and which are more strong because everything is at its zenith of vitality in the tropics.

It is in such forests that these two giants, the giant wasp and the giant spider, fight out their grim duels.

Bird-eating Spiders are covered with hair and have large, soft bodies. Their food does not solely consist of birds, as the name suggests. They live chiefly on large insects, but they will devour young unfledged birds in the nest belonging to small species, if they happen to come across them. They will also eat young mice; and I have known one of a very large species eat a young rat. But this was not killed by the spider, it was dispatched before being given to her. The body of the biggest spider measures about three and a half inches in length. This is the length of the body only, not taking into account the thick hairy legs; if the whole spider were stretched to its utmost it would probably be over nine inches. These spiders' habits are nocturnal; they conceal themselves in the daytime, living in holes in trees, in the fork of a branch, under bark, in hollows under stones, or the burrows of land crabs. There are some kinds which may be seen in the daytime, but usually in cloudy weather and particularly after rain; for even these do not seem to care to be exposed to the direct rays of the sun.

Hunting wasps are solitary; there are no queens and workers, only male and female. The female digs a hole in the ground and stocks it with one of these huge spiders which she first paralyses with her sting, and then drags to the vault prepared for its reception. She lays an egg upon it and closes the entrance, for the spider is to provide sustenance for the young wasp when it hatches, a gruesome feast. Giant Hunting Wasps are over four times the size of our British hornets; and they are remarkably strong and quick of movement. They need to be both, in fact they have need of every faculty that they possess, for the work which they do is terrific, and they are very severely tested in these encounters with the spiders. All the time they are running great risks of bites from the poisonous jaws of these monsters. The wasp hunts through the forest until she finds a spider in its burrow; then she deliberately sets to work to tease it in order to make it quit its fortress. This is very necessary, for the spider will be hidden somewhere right inside in a dark corner, and it would be far too risky to venture in and attack it in its own lair, where the spider is at home and would have all the advantage. So the wasp remains at the mouth of the burrow and makes a disturbance until the spider rushes forward to know what it is all about, expecting to capture some victim. Instead it is met by its much-dreaded enemy and, before it can withdraw, the wasp with a very quick movement has darted at it and seized one of its hairy legs.

Then a furious tug of war results. In nine cases out of ten the wasp will win; although the spider is resisting with all its legs,

and has the advantage of possessing eight pairs to the wasp's six. Then, if the wasp succeeds in dragging it out into the open daylight, strange to say the spider scarcely shows any fight but allows its adversary to fall upon it and dispatch it. Several observers have recorded this fact. It may be that the spiders in these cases belonged to the nocturnal species, and were bewildered by the daylight; or that they were not in full possession of their senses in the daytime, like so many nocturnal creatures. Whatever the cause, if the wasp once succeeds in getting the spider out of its burrow and is not too venturesome in approaching it at first, the spider is easily overcome. Even when the spider is safely finished off, the wasp's task is not complete. The hole has to be dug and the corpse must be dragged to it and fitted inside. The digging requires a great expenditure of energy, and the inert mass must be piloted over the ground with frequent interruptions to the work caused by stones, etc. But nothing daunts the digger; she plods on, industriously dealing with every problem as it arises until at last her task is done. Since they are so efficient, each according to its own needs, their size appears to be no obstacle to the continued existence of giant insects, and there are no scientific grounds for any belief that they must ultimately make way for smaller races.

EVELYN CHEESMAN.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.

THE events that preceded the Republican revolution in Spain were summarised in this section of the April CONTEMPORARY REVIEW (pp. 520-4). On February 18th the political leaders who remained loyal to King Alfonso made an emergency attempt to save the monarchy by forming themselves into a coalition party and offering their services unconditionally, as ministers under any Prime Minister the King might name. He named a Captain-General of the fleet, Admiral Bautista Aznar, who duly formed his Cabinet with the material thus made available. It was at once revealed that the new Government's motive was to cut the King's losses, as it were, with drastic promptitude, for the Foreign Minister, Count Romanones, within twenty-four hours circularised all Spanish representatives abroad to inform them that the Government's basic policy was to convene a constituent parliament with the avowed object of revising the 1876 constitution, in the hope that all sections of Spanish opinion, including the Catalan, would thereby be diverted from their revolutionary propensity.

The situation, however, proved too brittle for such treatment. The Cabinet began to think about its plans for the elections, which, it decided, should consist first of municipal and county council elections, and then of parliamentary elections for a Cortes Constituyentes. On February 23rd the date of the municipal elections was announced for April 12th. The date of the parliamentary elections was reserved for later decision, but fate and an odd mishandling of its opportunity by the Aznar Ministry worked with such effect that those elections were destined never to be held. The main oddity was that the Cabinet, recognising, as it obviously did recognise, that only a convincing concession to the public temper could save the old order, interposed an interval of seven weeks before the holding of the first elections of the series. In that interval, as any political realist could have foretold, the discontent grew and multiplied. On the very day following the Government's announcement, namely on February 24th, Señor Guerra's "Constitutional Party" launched a public attack on the Government, based on the contention that what was urgently needed was a full Constituent Assembly elected by universal franchise. Thereby a fillip was given to general controversy, which was still further excited by the inhibition of a continuing Press censorship. The Government's failure to raise the whole censorship at once was merely another symptom of its strategic poverty. It followed logically that everything it proceeded to do was wrong. On February 28th it appointed new civil governors

in each of the fifty provinces, thus revealing in a way that could not fail to be provocative to an already inflamed opinion, that its first concern was to improve its own chances at the elections. It was not till March 4th that any announcement was made about the Press censorship, and even then the relief announced was confined to Press messages for abroad. Two days later the Universities were all reopened by Cabinet ruling. On March 13th, nearly a month after the formation of the Government, the date of the parliamentary elections was provisionally fixed for June, those for the Chamber to take place "probably" on June 7th, those for the Senate a week later.

The next move was even more left-handed. On March 17th one of the officers concerned in the Jaca rising of December 11th, 1930, was sentenced to death, three others to imprisonment for life, and some eighty others to shorter terms of imprisonment. It seems to be one of the abiding qualities of most politicians in most countries that they have little sense of touch, that they do the wrong thing nearly all the time. In Spain the situation was one of touch-and-go to the revolutionaries. An eleventh-hour Government was in office, charged with the self-imposed business of heading off the revolutionaries. Sedatives all the time were the clear prescription of common sense. Yet the leaders of one of the active sections of the revolutionaries were at that precise moment made unnecessarily into martyrs, in conditions where martyrdom was most lightening in its effect on the others. Within twenty-four hours, of course, the life sentence was remitted by the King's special pardon, requested of him by the Cabinet, which had immediately seen that a general strike and a general outbreak of revolutionary disorder would otherwise have been precipitated. The Labour Union, indeed, submitted an urgent appeal to the Cabinet to grant an amnesty to those who had taken part in the Jaca rebellion.

The Cabinet's road to ruin, however, was still open and was still grimly pursued. On March 23rd six members of the "shadow" Republican Government which had been constituted in December in advance of the contingency of their assuming power, were sentenced to six months' imprisonment. They included Señor Zamora and Señor Maura. The fact that Señor Zamora was the man who three weeks later found himself at the head of a Republican Government in Spain, is a fair measure of the unintelligent conduct of the Aznar Ministry. Again in this case, the six condemned men were released within twenty-four hours. The impression thus given of alternating repression and weakness was probably the worst of all the available results the Government could have encompassed.

With a background consisting of such activity the subsequent measures of conciliation adopted by Admiral Aznar and his colleagues paled into ineffectiveness. On March 22nd, for example, the Press censorship was abrogated: a futile gesture in face of the precedent provocation of public opinion. Moreover, at the moment when the Press was made free, an exception was imposed in the particular case of the Zamora trial, which the Press was forbidden to report. It was not surprising that on the day when Señor Zamora and his five Republican colleagues were released, the Madrid students resumed their former practice of demonstrating in the streets to the accompaniment of certain desultory rioting. What the students concentrated on as their slogan was the release and amnesty of all political offenders. The University was closed on March 25th, whereby the Government's former edict, issued only on March 6th, reopening all the Universities, was reduced to absurdity. The students of Madrid having started the noise, those of Barcelona, Seville, Valencia and Salamanca followed their example, and the Spanish Students' Union declared a general strike (March 26th). Once disturbance is afoot, it breeds upon itself. The Madrid students made it necessary for the police to quell the rioting. The process of quelling it in its turn excited the Socialists and the Republicans, who were easily excited, into denouncing the police with such violence that the sitting of the Madrid Provincial Council, where the speeches were inflicted, had to be suspended. One of the counts in the Socialist indictment of the police was that they had fired on one of the hospitals: but as the roof of that hospital was the vantage point from which certain medical students had first fired upon the police, the ethics of the matter were a little mixed.

Next, the Government discovered a hornets' nest in the most unexpected quarter. The peseta was exposed to the clearest of dangers. It was the Government's proper, and even necessary, business to do something about it. Yet on March 27th, when a report began to circulate that the Government had succeeded in arranging credits to the equivalent of £12,000,000 to buttress the peseta, the Constitutionalists issued a manifesto to "protest with the greatest energy against the scandalous abuse of power committed by the Cabinet," the offence being defined as "the usurpation of power which belongs exclusively to parliament." The importance of that announcement consisted in the fact that the constituent group included in its composition several former Foreign Ministers, the latest recruit being the ex-Foreign Minister, Don Santiago Alba. The credits were reported to have been arranged in New York and in Basle, the equivalent of £7,600,000 having been guaranteed by the New York banks, the remaining

£4,400,000 by the Bank for International Settlements. Messrs. J. P. Morgan were the principal party to the issue contemplated in New York, where its purpose was described as that of regulating the peseta during the period *de facto* stabilisation contemplated by the Spanish Government, as a preliminary step to the definite adoption of the gold standard.

Señor Ventosa, Finance Minister in the Aznar Cabinet, was constrained to take immediate notice of the constituent group's reaction. On the same day (March 27th) he called a meeting of the foreign Press representatives and defended his action in a statement which was summarised by *The Times* correspondent in Madrid as follows: "It is part of the Cabinet's programme to pave the way for stabilisation, but without interfering in any way with the prerogative of the Cortes to vote the conditions in which stabilisation will finally be carried out. The Cabinet has no preconceived idea of what may be eventually the figure for stabilisation. But at present it is evident that the purchasing value of the peseta corresponds to a higher quotation than that prevailing in these days. A partial revaluation may therefore legitimately be hoped for if stabilised conditions are provided. At present the peseta is completely at the mercy of a rumour, a riot, or a strike. It is necessary to defend the peseta, to give it a chance to right itself. For this purpose a stock of gold currencies is obligatory, not to be used to create an artificial rate of exchange, but merely to protect the peseta against speculative manœuvres and the nervousness of the market. Of the three ways to secure a stock of gold currencies—(1) by mobilising the gold of the Bank of Spain; (2) by retaining credits convertible into gold; and (3) by contracting a foreign loan—the Cabinet has chosen the second method, so as not to infringe on Parliamentary prerogative."

Concurrently with recrimination and controversial muddle on the exalted plane of national finance, there were not lacking certain less harmful and more pleasant forms of restlessness. General Burguete, who was President of the Supreme Court of Military Justice, and who had held high office under the recent dictators, decided, in view no doubt of the way the wind was blowing, to remove all doubt there might be in the public mind about his own view of the said dictatorship. He issued to the Press a long essay of which the dual burden was to condemn the past dictatorship and to promise on his own and on the Army's behalf to be good in the future. Nobody, he asserted, any more thought of repeating "the madness and military shame of a dictatorship"; the Army repented the pressure it had mistakenly brought to bear upon Parliament in the days of the dictatorship; and he guaranteed, in the name of the Army, that for the future the military power would

refrain from all interest in politics. No doubt, at such a moment, he would have been a happy man if his guarantee had been anything but a somewhat belated idea fathered by the wish. His escape from politics was not so easy. On the same day his son, Major Burguete, was arrested by the Captain-General of Madrid. On the following day he himself was dismissed from his post and sentenced to two months' detention.

The general suspense and confusion were cut short on April 12th, when the municipal elections were duly held. The results were so overwhelmingly indicative of the country's feelings that within three days King Alfonso had left the country, and the revolution was an accomplished fact, accomplished fortunately without the added misfortunes of civil war.

The issue in the minds of the electorate was the simple alternative between Monarchy and Republicanism. Feelings on the issue ran so high that 90 per cent. of the electorate cast their votes. The Republican vote was everywhere supreme except in the country districts where "El Caciquismo" (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, April, p. 524) still held sway. In Madrid the Republicans were returned with thirty seats, the Monarchists with twenty. They won on a comparable scale in all the important towns, in the mining towns capturing all the seats. On the day after the elections the abdication of King Alfonso became freely prophesied in the dramatic form of actual news to that effect. At midnight a vast crowd surged on the Puerta del Sol, and the Royal Palace was guarded by horse and foot police. An emergency Cabinet Council earlier in the day resulted in the following statement being issued to the Press by a member of the Cabinet: "What happened yesterday in Spain is depressing and crushing. We did not expect it, and it has painfully surprised us. The result of the municipal vote indicates that Cortes Constituyentes have become a necessity, and any delay in convoking them will only aggravate a situation that is already extremely difficult. It is impossible to deny that Spain has gone over to the Left."

The tone of the last sentence recalls a delightful observation made by a French newspaper in 1924 when M. Millerand refused to obey the Chamber's demand for his resignation from the Presidency of the Republic: "One who has been dismissed has no alternative but to hand in his resignation." Señor Zamora scored a personal triumph in the Madrid election, on the strength of which he issued a manifesto in the following terms: "The vote in the provincial capitals and the chief centres of population has the value of a plebiscite unfavourable to the Monarchy and favourable to the Republic, and has, moreover, the force of a verdict of culpability against the occupant of the highest seat in the State. In

the formation of this adverse judgment all social classes and all the liberal professions have collaborated, while out in the street, vibrant but unable to cast its weight in the vote [this was a reference to the twenty-five years' age-limit for voters], the admirable and fervent adhesion of the youth of Spain to our ideals awaits us. We invoke, therefore, in the present hour, all real civic values, to which in all civilised countries the high institutions of State, the official organs of government, and the armed forces render homage, and remind them that they are obliged to submit to the national will, which cannot be buried under silence nor by invoking the vote of rural districts. On April 12th Spain's voice was legally heard; what she desires is known; what she rejects is equally clear. Should, to the disgrace of Spain, those who govern by force not respond adequately to the noble civic act of the people, then we solemnly decline before the country and international opinion all responsibility for the inevitable consequences. In the name of the majority of Spaniards whom we actually represent, we publicly declare that we shall act with energy and rapidity in carrying out their will and in bringing in the Republic."

The revolution was effected on the following day (April 14th). At 8.30 p.m. on that day King Alfonso left Madrid by motor-car for Cartagena, his plan being to embark on a warship for a destination not then decided. Twenty minutes later Señor Zamora personally broadcast a wireless message from the Ministry of the Interior stating that the Republic had triumphed and was now in peaceful possession of office. Señor Zamora did indeed declare formally the establishment of a provisional Republican Government with himself as Prime Minister and the following as members of his Cabinet: Don Alejandro Lerroux (Foreign Affairs), Don Fernando de los Rios (Justice), Don Miguel Maura (Interior), Señor Indalecio Prieto (Finance), Señor Albornoz (Public Works), Don Marcelono Domingo (Education), Señor Azana (War), Señor Casares Quiroga (Marine), Señor Martinez Barrios (Economy), Señor Largo Caballero (Labour).

The Republican tricolour was actually first raised at Barcelona. It was hoisted over the Town Hall at 11 a.m. and the Republican Town Council took charge of Catalonia as a separate Republic. The separatist leader, Colonel Macia, was made head of the State, and at 7.45 p.m. addressed a wireless message to Spain, introducing himself as the first President of the Republic of Catalonia. The Republic (not separate Republics, but the Spanish Republic) was then successively proclaimed at Granada, Cordoba, Huelva, Almeria, San Sebastian, and other provincial centres.

It appears that the King's decision to leave Madrid in the evening of April 14th was arrived at as the result of an intensive

series of consultations with his last Ministry. Captain-General Aznar arrived at the Palace at 10.30 a.m. presumably to report that his colleagues were divided in opinion, the Liberal section, led by Count Romanones and the Marqués de Alhucemas, taking the view that the Government could not now hope to hold the parliamentary elections, inasmuch as a decision on the point at issue had in effect been given by the municipal elections, whereas the Conservative section, led by Señor Lacierva and Count Bugallal, were in favour of continuing in office and of taking whatever measures might be necessary forcibly to repress revolutionary movements. Later in the day Count Romanones interviewed Señor Zamora, who was understood to have demanded the abdication of the King, to take effect before dusk, as the only means of averting grave disorder. Count Romanones at once reported that conversation to the King. At 6.45 p.m., however, Captain-General Aznar, on leaving the Palace, stated that the Government was about to declare martial law, and that the decision on the big issue would have to be deferred till the following day. At 7 p.m. Señor Zamora interrupted the evening wireless programme to broadcast a prophecy that the Republican Government would be constituted that evening, adding that Count Romanones had undertaken that the police would not be instructed to oppose such an event.

On April 15th, the day after King Alfonso's departure, Captain-General Aznar issued a manifesto which had been left with him by the King the day before. It was Alfonso's parting message to the country: "The elections held on Sunday have revealed to me that I no longer hold the love of my people, but my conscience tells me that this attitude will not be permanent, because I have always striven to serve Spain, with all my devotion, to the public interest, even in the most critical moments. A King may make mistakes, and without doubt I have done so on occasion, but I know that our country has always shown herself generous towards the faults of others committed without malice. I am the King of all the Spaniards and I am a Spaniard. I could find ample means to maintain my Royal Prerogatives in effective resistance to those who assail them. But I prefer to stand resolutely aside rather than provoke a conflict which might array my fellow-countrymen against one another in civil and patricidal strife. I renounce no single one of my rights which, rather than being mine, are an accumulated legacy of history for the guardianship of which I shall one day have to render strict account. I shall await the true and full expression of the collective conscience and, until the nation speaks, I deliberately suspend my exercise of the Royal power and am leaving Spain, thus acknowledging that she is the

sole mistress of her destinies. Also I now believe that I am fulfilling the duty which the love of my country dictates. I pray God that all other Spaniards may feel and fulfil this duty as sincerely as I do."

King Alfonso reached Cartagena at 4 a.m. on April 15th, and embarked on the cruiser *Principe Alfonso* for France. The Queen, her children, the Prince of Asturias, the Infante Don Jaime, the Infantas Doña Beatriz and Doña Cristina and the Infante Don Gonzalo spent the night of April 14th-15th in the Royal Palace packing and preparing for leaving Madrid the following morning. The Republican tricolour flew over the Palace throughout that night. They left Madrid by the 10 a.m. train for Paris.

The official time given later of Señor Zamora's assumption of the Prime Ministership was 2.30 a.m. of April 15th. The technique of the revolution was simplicity itself. The body of men who under Señor Zamora had usurped office the evening before called themselves a Revolutionary Committee. Their first act was to transform themselves into a Provisional Government and to transform Señor Zamora into the "President" of that government (not of the Republic). The first official document they issued therefore ran thus: "The Provisional Government of the Republic has taken office without any formalities or bureaucratic opposition of any sort. The people have raised it to its high estate, and its authority is derived from the support of the people throughout Spain. By virtue of this power, the President of the Government of the Republic assumes immediately the functions of Chief of State with the express consent of the triumphant political forces and the will of the people, who knew before the municipal elections the composition of the Provisional Government of the Republic." Having thus constituted themselves, their next step was to establish, by means of a simple public document to that effect, the *de facto* statute from which their power derived. That document, which was understood to have been in existence since last December, was at once issued.

There is always something exciting about the method and procedure of revolutions, although the human sense to which they appeal is one of the lowest in human nature. It is an easy thing for a body of men, exploiting a condition of emotional discontent among the masses of their fellow countrymen, to destroy an existing order and to usurp, on no other right but their own will, the power that before rested upon a traditional polity. But there is no more dangerous or essentially unhealthy proceeding in the whole range of political activity. It rests upon the twin instinct for objective destruction and subjective possession that mysteriously operates in human and animal nature; but in its political guise it is made

the more mischievous by reason of a certain perverted sense of exaltation that accompanies it. The average revolutionary is actuated by that remarkable quality of Socialist fervour which not only takes for granted the ethics of its object, but even invests it with something of the nature of a holy crusade. The only essential difference between the highway robber of the middle ages and the Socialist of to-day is that the former frankly coveted what belonged to other people, made a dash for it, and far from boasting of his success when he got away with it, took some pains to hide himself and his works from his victims; whereas the Socialist, equally regarding the cash and property of other people as fair game, works himself up into thinking and believing that in making a dash for it he is doing something magnificent and almost Christlike. There is at least one member of the present Socialist Government in Great Britain who has publicly spoken of Socialism in an awed tone of reverence and has appealed to religious-minded people to support them on religious grounds. The old highway robber operated with honest curses in his throat. The modern Socialist operates with a prayer in his throat and a halo, of his own putting, round his head. The only modern exception is the Russian Socialist who is honester than the British, because he recognises that spoliation is not an incident of religious exaltation, but the opposite, and who therefore on logical principle regards religion as the enemy and ordains that his followers shall vituperate "God."

The statutory document issued by the Zamora Provisional Government on April 15th began with a preamble of apolaustic uplift in the following terms: "The Provisional Government of the Republic, receiving powers from the will of the nation, fulfils an imperious political duty in hastening to affirm that the Republican Socialist Alliance represented by the Government is not a mere product of the lack of liberty denied to Spain under the old throttling structure of the Monarchy, but springs from the positive necessity of establishing as the basis of the organisation of the State the standards of justice required and desired by the people. The Provisional Government, in this transitory character as the supreme organ of the sovereign functions of the State, accepts the high and delicate mission of establishing itself as the Government with full powers. It is not the task of the Government to draw up a charter of citizens' rights, the regulation of the principles of which is the sovereign creative function of a National Constituent Assembly. But as 'full powers' invested in the Provisional Government must not imply arbitrary faculties, the Government hereby solemnly affirms, before embarking on its duty of taking decisions, that it will keep its acts within the bounds of certain juridical limits, which will be the

directing principles of its conduct and the inspiration of its decrees."

The document then proceeded to enumerate the points of the policy that would be followed: "(1) In view of the democratic origin of its powers, and considering the responsibilities which State functions entail, it will submit the individual and collective acts of Ministers to the judgment of Cortes Constituyentes, the supreme direct organ of national will; (2) responding to the unsatisfied and just aspirations of Spain, the Provisional Government, as a purging measure of the structure of State, decides in defence of the public interests to submit immediately to judgment for fixing responsibility those Governmental acts pending examination when Parliament was dissolved in 1923, as well as those following; also to hold an open inquiry into the revision of official, civil, military, and administrative decisions, so as to prevent a continuation of the prevarications and arbitrariness habitual in the late régime; (3) the Provisional Government proclaims that it will respect in the fullest manner the individual conscience, granting liberty of beliefs and cults without the State's requiring citizens ever to reveal their religious convictions; (4) the Provisional Government will endeavour to respect the individual liberties and rights which, under the Spanish Constitution, make a Statute of Rights of Citizens, and also will strive to increase them by creating guarantees for the protection of individual rights, recognising, as a principle of dogmatic jurisdiction, syndical and corporative personality as the basis of modern social legislation; (5) it declares that private property is guaranteed by law and consequently cannot be expropriated except for the public utility with due indemnity. Nevertheless, the Government, conscious of the conditions in which the immense mass of peasants live, the neglect of agrarian economy, and the incongruence of rural rights and present legislation, adopts as a form of policy the recognition that agrarian legislation should be adequate to the social function of the land; (6) in virtue of the reasons justifying the plenitude of its powers, the Government would incur real delinquency if it abandoned the new-born Republic to those holding strong, centuries-old positions, who, with the means to hand, might hinder consolidation. Consequently, the Provisional Government submits temporarily the Rights under No. (4) to Government supervision, of which a full account will be rendered to Cortes Constituyentes."

One of the immediate internal problems that arose was that of the relationship between Catalonia and Spain. On April 15th Colonel Macia declared that Catalonia would not form a part of Spain except of her own free will; that Spain and Catalonia should first form their separate republics, and later they could meet and create

a "common Government" for the management of common interests; but that Catalonia would not tolerate "a unitary régime," on the ground that such a régime would represent for the Catalans "a slavery like that we suffered under the Bourbons." On the following day, however, he reached an agreement with Señor Zamora whereby the title Republic of Catalonia was to be replaced by that of State of Catalonia in the Republic of Spain. The details of the arrangement were drafted in their final form on March 17th, when still another change was made in the title of Catalonia. It had been a republic for two days, a state for one day, and it now became a Generalidad, that is a state governed by a Governor-General representing the Central Government. On April 17th a joint official note was issued by the Federal Republican Government of Spain and the Generalidad of Catalonia stating that the former approved of the acts of Colonel Macia's government up to date, that the statutes of a self-governing constitution were to be drawn up by the municipalities throughout Catalonia and presented to the Government at Madrid, which undertook to accept them "as the expression of the will of a people" and to present them as such with full Government support to the next Cortes.

Such are the facts in their main outline of the Spanish revolution of 1931. The actual revolution was carried through with a minimum of disturbance. The subsequent effect, however, must be reserved for future chronicle. It need only be noticed in passing that certain indications were not wanting that Spain was not likely wholly to escape the penalties of all countries which indulge in revolutions. Both the Madrid and the Barcelona authorities issued orders to their subjects that "law and order" must be respected. All revolutionary Governments start by issuing such instructions, for, of course, any future disorders automatically take on the aspect of disorder against themselves. In particular on April 17th the Madrid Government on the one hand ordered the Primate to keep the Church out of politics, and on the other hand issued special orders to the police to prevent demonstrations against the Church. Within a few weeks of the issue of those special orders churches were being burnt and destroyed in many parts of Spain by hooligan mobs, and newspaper kiosks were being razed to the ground for no other offence than for selling Roman Catholic journals. Such things one expects from revolutions. In some ways the Government tried to minimise the distrust that was created abroad by such announcements as that private property would be respected and that all the loan operations of the Dictatorship would be honoured. In other ways it behaved with unnecessary exuberance, as when on April 27th it arrested General Berenguer. That action may well have been a sop to the extremists, who had lost no time in behaving

according to their type. On April 21st, for instance, the Republican and Socialist Organisation issued an idiotic manifesto to demand "inexorably" the punishment of all those persons who had been associated with the former régime, not excluding "the person of" Don Alfonso of Bourbon."

The new Spanish Government was recognised on April 18th by Bulgaria, Guatemala, Portugal and Yugoslavia, on April 20th by the Argentine, Brazil, Belgium, Ecuador, Greece and Norway, and on April 21st by Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State, Sweden, Switzerland, China and Peru, on April 22nd by Austria, Germany and the United States of America, on April 24th by Hungary, Japan and Finland.

CHEQUERS, GENEVA AND DISARMAMENT.

It was made known in London on April 6th, at the height of the French alarms excited by the news of the Austro-German customs union, that the British Government some weeks before had sent an invitation through the German Embassy in London to Dr. Brüning and Dr. Curtius to pay a private and friendly visit to London and to Chequers. It was made known at the same time that as Dr. Brüning and Dr. Curtius had many engagements during April it had been found difficult to fix a date in that month and that the invitation had instead been accepted for May. As if foreseeing what the effect of such an announcement would be on French opinion, Whitehall added the hope that M. Briand would be present at the meeting.

Probable as everybody thought it that a certain amount of distress would be caused in Paris when that news became known, unnecessary and absurd as it might be, the reality of what was produced in Paris surprised even those who had been most exaggerated in anticipation. M. André Géraud ("Pertinax") in the *Echo de Paris*, in addition to drawing his usual moral that the Briand policy was proved a blunder, went so far as to express the view that Europe was being "reorganised against France." The *Journal des Débats* described the British invitation as "extraordinary" and the general diplomatic confusion as "complete." The *Journal* sneered at what it regarded as another example of the incorrigible British desire to play the part of general mediator in Europe. The French newspapers generally sounded a note of alarm, and suggested that the 1932 Disarmament Conference would have to be postponed as being "dangerous." There could be no more tiresome illustration of the difficulties that beset the path of those who try to do something constructive and sensible in high diplomacy. If the present British Government has made any of its aspirations

clear, it has made clear that it encompasses peace, quiet and constructive progress abroad (odd as may be the contrast between the constructiveness of its foreign policy and the destructiveness of its Socialist economics and finance at home). Mr. Henderson has not only proved that he has set his heart on the success of the Disarmament Conference. He has worked for it and shown imaginative enterprise in his handling of the preliminaries. It is probably fair to comment that the key to everything he has done is to be found in its bearing on the Disarmament Conference. So clear is that inference that one might almost have guessed that no sooner had he experienced the satisfaction on March 1st of seeing France and Italy put their signatures to a naval agreement than he would turn the abundance of his enthusiasm on to Berlin, the more so as German opinion was notoriously and with a measure of reason sceptical about the prospects of the conference.

That is exactly what did happen. The invitation to Berlin was sent soon after March 1st. There was no doubt that Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Henderson wanted to meet Dr. Brüning and Dr. Curtius to talk about the Disarmament Conference. Their obsession was to cultivate the friendliest relations with everybody impartially on the self-evident hypothesis that the more general the friendliness, the likelier the chance of success. When the innocent announcement was made on April 6th it was an unwritten understanding that the German guests would arrive in this country on May 1st or May 8th, a Friday, so that a long week-end could be spent at Chequers. Incidentally, no doubt, Mr. Henderson imagined that he could encourage Dr. Curtius to adopt an attitude of sweet reason when the question of the customs union came before the League Council, which was due to meet at Geneva on May 18th. Sweet reason, however, whether projected for Chequers or for Geneva, was knocked sick by the frantic disturbance that radiated from Paris. So disturbing was it that within forty-eight hours the British invitation to Berlin was reissued in a revised version, the date being changed to June 5th (another Friday), the visit being planned to last till the following Tuesday (June 9th). The only explanation of the change was London's weary desire to placate French feeling by conceding that the Geneva meeting of the League Council should take place first and that the Germans should there be roasted without any precedent nonsense about White-friendship. Speciously, bravely and with the best intentions Whitehall explained the change to the Wilhelmstrasse as being due to Mr. MacDonald's engagements (mobilised presumably *ad hoc*) and to the shortness of the interval that would elapse between the Chequers and the Geneva meetings. Yet, on the general theory of the Chequers plan, the plain man would have thought that the

shorter the interval the better. French opinion, however, was to some extent appeased, even though German opinion was to some extent irritated. It is not an easy game that Whitehall tries to play.

EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA.

It became known on May 6th that a serious hitch had taken place in the negotiations that had been conducted intermittently since the beginning of 1930 between the British and Nanking Governments about extraterritoriality in China. The latest phase of the negotiations had started in February of this year, when Dr. C. T. Wang, the Foreign Minister of the Nanking Government, indirectly issued what amounted to an ultimatum, although he disclaimed any intention of "a threat." On February 12th he made a speech to foreign and Chinese journalists, in which he asserted that China had in effect abolished the system of extraterritoriality thirteen months before, but regretted that no agreement had yet been reached with the Powers about the formal abolition. He then darkly hoped that "China shall not be forced to adopt any measure to obtain her objective than that of friendly negotiation." He went no further than that, but inspired rumour soon wrote the missing footnote to his statement by explaining that if the negotiations then about to be resumed with Sir Miles Lampson were not successful by May, Nanking would make a unilateral announcement that the abolition of extraterritoriality as announced for January 1st, 1930, would at once be held to be effective. On April 22nd Mr. Henderson, on being asked in the House of Commons what the position was, made a statement which seemed to suggest that up to that date the promise held that an agreement might be reached. "If, as I hope," he said, "the negotiations are successful, they will result in a treaty, and there will, in accordance with the usual practice, be an opportunity for debate in this House before ratification. . . ." By May 6th, however, something had happened to frustrate that hope. On that day he stated in the House of Commons: ". . . agreement has now been reached on a large number of the details of a treaty providing on the one hand for the transfer of jurisdiction over British subjects in China from British to Chinese courts, and on the other hand for safeguards relating to the administration of justice, calculated to give a feeling of confidence and security to the British nationals and British interests under a new régime. A serious obstacle to the speedy and successful conclusion of the negotiations has, however, arisen in connection with certain important treaty ports, which in the view of His Majesty's Government must be excluded

from the operation of the treaty until such time as necessary changes have been effected in the municipal administrations at those ports to meet the new situation created by the abolition of extraterritorial rights. This attitude on the part of His Majesty's Government was influenced not only by consideration of the chaos which might ensue from any sudden change in jurisdiction at the ports in question, but also by the fact that they could not alone decide the question, having regard to the fact that other Powers were also concerned. As a way out of the difficulty, His Majesty's Government recently suggested to the Chinese Government that they would be prepared, immediately on the conclusion of the treaty, to agree to the appointment of a special commission, which would proceed forthwith to a study of the whole problem of the reserved areas with a view to finding a satisfactory solution. Unfortunately, the Chinese Government have not seen their way to agree either to the point of view of His Majesty's Government on the question of the reserved areas or to the appointment of the suggested commission. His Majesty's Government, however, have not abandoned hope that, if time is allowed for further discussion, a satisfactory solution of this one outstanding difficulty will be found, and I need not emphasise our sincere desire to reach a friendly settlement."

The treaty ports to which Mr. Henderson was understood to be alluding were Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton and Hankow.

The action foreshadowed by Dr. Wang in February was taken by Nanking on May 4th, when a new set of regulations was issued. They provided that as from January 1st, 1932, all foreigners in China were to be subject to Chinese courts of law, with the modification that in Shanghai, Tientsin, Mukden and Canton "special courts" would be set up to carry out certain functions subsidiary to those of the Chinese courts. Dr. Wang in a public statement explained what those special subsidiary functions would be. They amounted to nothing more than this, that "advisers," who would "not unnecessarily" (!) be Chinese, would be attached to those courts and would be able to submit written memoranda. They would not, however, have the right to interfere with any judgment. In other words, on May 4th Nanking simply announced the full abolition of extraterritoriality in China. It would probably be unnecessary to develop any excitement on that score at the present stage; for not only will the Nanking edict be ignored by the Powers, but a more practical problem, that will have to be solved before Nanking can even reach a lasting settlement with the Powers, is that of Nanking's own competence in China. Dr. Wang does not yet appear to have faced the inevitability of a federal solution of the internal problem of so vast a country as China with its 400,000,000 inhabitants. Indeed the "provisional Constitution of the Chinese

Republic," which at that very time was being discussed in draft form by The People's Convention, not only maintained the centralised form of government, but maintained the Kuomintang as the supreme authority. The legislators of Nanking, far from facing the constitutional problem, were apparently concerned to consolidate the power of the Kuomintang for an indefinitely prolonged period of tutelage. Chiang Kai-shek himself took the authority of Nanking so much for granted that during a debate on the provisional constitution on May 10th he warned the Convention against a too easy expectation of freeing China from the bondage of the unequal treaties. "In order to attain our object," he said, "we must first make our country powerful and independent. The mere shouting of 'Down with the "unequal treaties"!' will be of little avail." It would be fair comment to say that Chiang Kai-shek himself and his advice will be equally unavailing until he recognises that Nanking can never rule the whole of China.

May 15th, 1930.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY.*

Before noticing this remarkable volume of the Cambridge Ancient History dealing with Rome and the Mediterranean in the century between 218 and 133 B.C., some due praise must be given to the three volumes of plates which illustrate and adorn the series, prepared by Mr. C. T. Seltman, of Queen's College, Cambridge. To him belongs, as the editors say, "the credit for what has been a difficult and arduous task of collection, preparation, and arrangement." The first volume illustrates Volume I-IV of this gigantic work and ranges over a vast period from the walls of the prehistoric Altamara cave, to the Neolithic cultures and Predynastic Egypt, from Egyptian art and the age of the decline of Crete, to Assyrian art and the art of Greece and the lesser art of Etruria. The sense of design is continuous from prehistoric times, but "viewed as a whole the arts and crafts of many races appear in the perspective of history to have moved slowly, unwittingly towards a single centre, towards the artistic lode-stone of the Ancient world, Greece." Mr. Seltman gives the means to realise this unconscious (or partly conscious) movement. In the second volume of plates illustrations are provided by Mr. Seltman for Volumes V and VI "which treat of the Mediterranean world of which Greece was the centre during the fifth and fourth cen-

* *The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume VIII. Rome and the Mediterranean, 218-133 B.C.* Edited by S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock and M. P. Charlesworth. Cambridge: at the University Press. 35s. net. Third volume of Plates prepared by C. T. Seltman. Cambridge: at the University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

turies B.C." The fact that the major part of this volume "is devoted to examples of Greek sculpture, painting and architecture of those centuries" must rejoice every student of art. The book contains exquisite reproductions of the noblest phases of Greek Art. The third volume provides illustrations for Volumes VII and VIII, which deal with the Hellenistic monarchs and the rise of Rome and the relationship of Rome and the Mediterranean. In these plates "will be found objects ranging from Britain to India, from Spain to Central Asia," to the range, that is, of regions that include the conquests of Alexander and the expansion of Republican Rome. The centre of interest is still the Western Mediterranean, and hence

the products of the Hellenistic Age, sculpture, painting, architecture and the minor arts, occupy the chief place. But, in addition to the plates illustrating such subjects, there will be found illustrations of Celtic, Iberian, Thracian, Bosporan, and Carthaginian products and of numerous coins which have been mentioned in the text of the *History*. If Italy and Rome appear to have received scant notice this is because the discussion of their art is reserved for Volume IX and for the plates which will illustrate it.

These plates will be welcome, but the volumes already published are masterpieces in the art of reproduction.

It is impossible in a brief notice to give any full idea of the contents of this noble treatise. It tells the story of the triumph of Rome in the Mediterranean in the eighty-five years between 218 B.C. and 133 B.C. The editors write:

Volume VII ended at a moment of suspense. East of the Adriatic the three great Hellenistic monarchies, Macedon, Syria and Egypt, had attained the appearance of a balance of power. The lesser states of Greece and the East lay beneath their shadow, though there was independent political vigour in the Greek Leagues, Rhodes and Pergamum. Meanwhile the old Great Power Carthage and the new Great Power Rome were on the eve of a struggle which finally decided the mastery of the West. Before eighty years had passed no state remained in the Mediterranean world strong enough to cross the will of Rome. The political and military triumph of Rome went far to maim the spiritual, social and economic life of the Hellenistic world, which for more than a century had been sorely tried by the wars of Macedonia, Syria and Egypt; but here too there is much achievement to record. Rome herself gained much from Hellenism and, later, passed on to the West what she herself had gained. The victory of the new Power cannot, in the last decades of the third century, have seemed as inevitable as it seems to us or as it seemed to Polybius.

"Inevitable" is the word that we must use since our school books have taught it to us, as a deep historic sense taught it to Poly-

bius. But a perusal of successive chapters of this great book must tempt the readers to substitute the word "miraculous" for "inevitable." A succession of seeming miracles secured the success of the Roman Republic. The only explanation is the puritanical conservatism of all classes of Roman people (illustrated not only by Cato, a new man, but by the home lives of the small patrician groups) and the purity and spirituality of their religious faith. Such a people in such a world (for surely the Hellenistic world was corrupt to the core) could and did perform miracles. Plautus did not present the Roman but the Athenian world to the amazed citizens of Rome. "The comedies," says Professor Tenney, "produced the effect of a modern French farce when played in some provincial English or American town." The puritanical nature of the Roman people raises the one criticism possible of this learned and clearly written volume: the failure to provide a clear full-length picture of the processes of private law in connection with the period. To Volume VII Dr. H. Stuart Jones and Mr. Hugh Last contributed learned chapters on primitive and early Rome which contain some reference to private law, while in the present volume Professor Tenney deals briefly with the legislation and social life in the period under survey, but so fiercely did the puritan and religious instincts of the Romans dominate the position at the end of the third and during part of the first half of the second century that law seems to need much fuller exposition if only to explain the miracles that an exhausted people performed. It was the Roman character based on the principles of law and order and moulded by a spiritual faith that made the dominance of the City of Rome inevitable. The Punic and Hellenistic worlds could not withstand a city of Cromwells.

The fascinating chapters by Mr. B. L. Hallward on the Punic Wars throw new light at every turn on the great defence and the great victory. Hannibal and Scipio emerge in victory and defeat as super-men. The struggle with Macedon, the occupation of Spain, that first advance to the West (told admirably by Professor A. Schulten), the beginnings of Latin Literature as told by the safe hand of Professor J. Wight Duff, Dr. Cyril Bailey's account of the Roman religion and the advent of philosophy, Professor M. Rostovtzeff's amazingly interesting history of the Bosporan Kingdom and the advent of Greek culture and Greek genius in Southern Russia, all call for admiration and prolonged study. The whole volume indeed is admirable, whether for its study of personalities and of nations, or of religion, humanism and art. The bibliographies alone are an education, while the style is as admirable as the material which it frames.

J. E. G. DE M.

PIERS PLOWMAN.*

Professor Chambers and Professor Grattan have now continued after an interval of no less than twenty-two years of textual study their very learned consideration of what is known as the A-Text of *The Vision concerning Piers the Plowman*. This famous poem was written in the second half of the fourteenth century (c. 1362) and was successively edited by the author, or by someone else, in about the years 1377 (the B-Text) and 1393 (the C-Text). The author is supposed to have been William Langland, a writer sprung from the Malvern area who wrote in a dialect of that area, the same man to whom *Richard the Redeless*—King Richard II—is attributed. William Langland, if the identification is right, was almost exactly a life-long contemporary of Geoffrey Chaucer. The style of the mystic poem—the late alliterative style is almost *vers libre*, without a touch of rhyme—and its dialectical form give it an archaic look. Professor Saintsbury emphatically rejects the old view that Langland is more “Saxon” in his vocabulary than Chaucer: “It has even been calculated by patient industry that his percentage of Latin and Romance words is, if anything, a little larger than Chaucer’s; it is quite certain that if both were printed in modernised spelling, it would be at once seen not to be smaller.” The poem consists of a series of visions which describe the people of England, the influence for good or ill of Holy Church, the Lollard or Puritan forces at play, the life of London, the appearance of Piers the Plowman, who is at once the representative of the country folk, Christ himself and His universal purified Church. The whole poem is the visionary Pilgrim’s Progress of the fourteenth century written by a man who had more experience of life than the Tinker of Bedford.

But who was its author? Clearly the successive versions have the stamp of one personality, though an effort has been made in recent years (1928) by Dr. Mabel Day (the Assistant Director and Secretary of the Early English Text Society) to establish as a fact that the B-Text and the C-Text were from different hands, neither of whom was the author of the original work of (say) 1362. Dr. Day worked from Skeat’s A-, B-, and C-Texts (based on certain well-known MSS.) and Skeat’s results

cannot be taken as representing the A-, B-, and C-Texts as these left the hands of their author or authors. . . . No final textual results can be reached, without further investigation of the MSS. . . . Skeat’s collations, present only a fragment of the evidence, and that fragment, apart from the rest of the evidence, is often bound to mislead us. Yet, when we have got all the

* The Text of “Piers Plowman.” By R. W. Chambers and J. H. G. Grattan. Cambridge: at the University Press.

evidence, it remains, as we have said, complex and difficult in the highest degree. We are convinced that the question of authorship will *mainly* have to be settled upon other grounds.

- The case for multiple authorship is very difficult to make out, apart from the purely technical points upon which Professors Chambers and Grattan disagree in a courteous but effective manner from Dr. Day. The most likely person to correct and amplify a poem is the author of the poem. The professors illustrate this with reference to Wordsworth’s recasting of a poem originally written in 1798. An almost better case is Browning’s successive revisions of *Pauline*, the long early poem of 1833 of which he was (curiously enough) ashamed, while recognising its basic claims to affinity with his later work. Perhaps William Langland was ashamed of the inchoate shape of the 1362 text, almost certainly the older man of 1377 and 1393 saw that the poem could be dealt with fruitfully in the light of more experience and more accumulated facts. That was the case with *Pauline*. Using the names A, B, and C, our professors write:

Exactly as A cannot be fixed without reference to B, so B cannot be fixed without reference to C. For C, whether or no he was the same man as B, had access to an excellent MS. of B. He treated it very freely, and omitted much; so that constantly, and sometimes for long stretches, C’s MS. of B can no longer be traced; C has substituted his own paraphrase. But when this MS. *can* be traced, in those lines or half lines which C was content to take over without alteration from B, it is often better than any extant B-MS. But more than that. The MS. of B to which C had access gives what is obviously the correct reading in certain cases where *all* the extant B-MSS. go wrong.

After all the test of authorship is in the main (apart from biographical facts) a psychological problem. To assume with Dr. Day that there were three poets and not one, agreeing that her assumptions from Skeat’s texts are right and conclusive, would be to assume that three poets of almost the first magnitude sprang in less than forty years from the same Malvern region and that these three poets had an almost Shakespearean grasp of both town and country life, that they had an equal grasp of the Rose or Romance poetry, an equal grasp of social, mystic and religious problems. That is the danger of pure textual criticism. It hardens the mind against the higher or humane criticism, the criticism of common sense. The only way that Dr. Day can solve her problem is to assume that a poetic Trinity existed in England in the late fourteenth century, all born in what Professor Saintsbury calls “the remoter Malvern districts.” We must be thankful that Professor Chambers and Professor Grattan (who give us in a Note a most useful list of the *provenances* of the known Manu-

scripts) still, with commendable and logical firmness on textual grounds, adhere to the view that A is B and B is C, but that B was wiser than A and that C was perhaps wiser than B, yet that all three were one and indivisible as far as that is possible in a world where man grows better or worse, wiser or more foolish, as he grows older. But who Langland was is another question. All that we know is that he was a puritan Shakespeare born out of due time, a Lollard and a courtier who hid his personality in a sun-smitten cloud of alliterative verse.

J. E. G. DE M.

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

This very competent life of Joseph Priestley (March 13th, 1733—February 6th, 1803), by Miss Anne Holt, is long overdue, and yet the delay has brought into a perspective that earlier days could not bring the personality of a genius who combined rare linguistic talent, still more rare appreciation of the principles of science (he was a Fellow of the Royal Society at the age of thirty-three), intense Protestant conviction which verged into the intellectual Deism of the mid-eighteenth century, a true scholar of the most thorough type, all being knit into a focus by his uncompromising Yorkshire blood.

The life of Priestley is a footnote to the famous dissenting academies, such as Doddridge's Academy at Northampton, founded in 1729, an Academy protected from persecution—it had not the Bishop's licence to teach—by the personal intervention of King George II, who declared that "in his reign there should be no persecution for conscience' sake." Priestley went to the Academy at Daventry and he was its most distinguished pupil. The life there was hard but intensely intellectual and suited to the mind of a scholar who, at the age of nineteen, was perhaps more than the equal of his teachers. From Daventry Priestley went as a dissenting minister to Needham Market in the lovely Suffolk "Constable" country, but after three years his youth, his stammering delivery and his unorthodox views spelt failure and he was transferred to Nantwich in Cheshire, where he supplemented his tiny salary by opening a school which was a real success and gave him the opportunity of developing his scientific ideas. After three happy years it was clear that his mind was rather academic than pastoral, and he was appointed tutor in languages at the Warrington Academy under Dr. John Aiken, the successor to a very distinguished Hebraist, Dr. John Taylor of Norwich. Here

* *A Life of Joseph Priestley.* By Anne Holt, with an Introduction by Francis W. Hirst. Oxford University Press. 8s. 6d. net.

Priestley wrote his *Essay on Government*, which inspired the young Jeremy Bentham to enunciate the doctrine of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," and he was in touch with London and especially with Dr. Richard Price and Benjamin Franklin, for whom he wrote his *History of Electricity*. He returned to the Ministry in 1767 and worked at Mill Hill, Leeds, where he made many friends, including Archdeacon Blackburne of Richmond, who was clamouring for relief from subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and Theophilus Lindsay, the Vicar of Catterick, who eventually left the Church. The Leeds movement led to a Bill which was carried in the Commons but defeated in the Lords to excuse Dissenting Ministers and schoolmasters from the obligation to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. Lord North himself was in favour of the Bill, which showed that the Dissenting bodies were a force in the land in 1771.

The next year Priestley was appointed as his librarian by Lord Shelbourne. This notable statesman, reformer and patron of learning was very insistent, and Priestley accepted the post though he had also been offered the post of naturalist in Captain Cook's second voyage. At Calne Priestley had time to develop his scientific thought and mingle with scientists and other learned persons. In 1780 the close intimacy with Lord Shelbourne came to an end and he was pensioned. There was a breach that it is difficult to understand, and when Lord Lansdowne (as his patron had then become) wished to renew the friendship Priestley in his turn declined. It was in this period that Priestley established his position as a great chemist. His experiments were made at Calne, and his six volumes on Air appeared at intervals between 1774 and 1786. It was on August 1st, 1774, in the laboratory at Bowood, that he extracted oxygen from mercuric oxide produced by heating quicksilver in air.

Priestley made mention of his discovery to Lavoisier, Le Roy, and other scientists he met. This is important as showing that Lavoisier, in his subsequent experiments on oxygen, had Priestley's hypothesis to work on, and that he therefore had no right to claim independent discovery. Priestley mentioned the fact of this meeting in the original account of his discovery, and when Lavoisier wrote in his *Elements of Chemistry* "this species of air was discovered almost at the same time by Mr. Priestley and Mr. Scheele and myself," Priestley contradicted this assertion in the Appendix to his *Doctrine of Phlogiston Established* and again described the dinner-party at which he announced the discovery. . . . It was left to Lavoisier to explain and build on Priestley's facts the theory of the new chemistry.

On the other hand Priestley failed to discover the true composition of water, a feat that was accomplished by James Watt and

Cavendish. Priestley's strength was experiment and not theory, but despite that fact (due no doubt to the multiplicity of his interests and his habit of racing from one field of thought to another) "he still remains one of the great chemists of the modern world." But it is strange that a man of such great intellectual power failed in the region of chemical theory.

That very fact, however, throws his metaphysical theories into doubt, since "he mistakes his theories for fact," explains both the universe and man on a materialistic basis and depends on revealed religion for the explanation of the resurrection in which he believes. "The resurrection will not be miraculous, but will be according to some unknown Law of Nature." There must be a God since design is evident, and he conceived of God "not as a cruel and implacable tyrant, inferior to man in sympathy, pity and justice, but as a gracious and loving Father." Bishop Berkeley and Joseph Priestley represent the two extremes of philosophy. Augustus Toplady (the author of *The Rock of Ages*) writes almost amusingly on the contrast.

Bishop Berkeley tells me that I am all spirit, without a single particle of matter belonging to me. Dr. Priestley, on the other hand, contends that I am all body, untenanted and unanimated by any immaterial substance within. Put these two theories together, and what will be the product? That my sum total, and that of any other man, amounts to just nothing at all. I have neither body nor soul; I have no sort of existence whatever.

The steady attraction of Berkeley's thought to-day, when the essential immateriality of what we call matter is becoming recognised by experiments in which Priestley would have taken the greatest intellectual delight, seems to show that extremes will sometimes meet and that Toplady was wrong. Body and soul may be conceived of as the same thing in a new metaphysic based on modern scientific thought. Miss Holt, in writing that "nowadays it would probably be impossible to find anyone who, holding ideas of materialism, also held to the belief in revealed religion," represents the ideas of some thinkers of the nineteenth century but not current ideas. Just as Newton in the seventeenth century had no difficulty in a firm belief in God and Immortality, so there are thinkers to-day who do the same when the Newtonian ideas have been expounded by the New Physics.

From 1780 to 1791 Priestley was at Birmingham, then beginning as a manufacturing centre of iron ware. The leading manufacturing figures were James Watt (who produced his steam engine of 1769 and 1775), John Wilkinson (Priestley's brother-in-law) who launched an iron boat in July 1787, and Matthew Boulton. The famous Lunar Society of Birmingham, which included

Erasmus Darwin and Josiah Wedgwood (the two grandfathers of Charles Darwin), welcomed Priestley, who settled down as minister of the New Meeting—the most liberal congregation in England—and proceeded to issue theological and historical work which perhaps was not worthy of him. Haste was the curse of his literary and of his scientific life. But he was personally popular. Dr. Samuel Parr, of the Established Church, told a granddaughter of Priestley that

He once invited me to dinner at Fairhill and I never was at a more agreeable party in my life. Your grandfather was at the head of the table, I sat at the bottom. At your grandfather's right was Mr. Berington, the Roman Catholic, and Mr. Galton, the Quaker, on his left. Next to me was Robert Robinson, the Baptist, and Mr. Proud, the Minister of the New Jerusalem Church.

In this pleasant compromise of social life with antagonistic opinion Priestley might well have ended his honoured career, but the Birmingham Riots of July 1791, said to have been fostered by the magistrates in revenge for a foolish dinner to celebrate the second year of the French Revolutionary Government and by Priestley's lecturing reply to Burke's *Reflections* of 1790, drove the scientist from the town. Everybody was bitter and Priestley not the least, and after the outbreak of war between England and France he and his family emigrated to America in 1794, where he was destined to find disillusionment and took refuge in theological studies. After the death of his wife in 1797 he decided to return, but in fact he remained in the United States, where he died on February 6th, 1804, working to the last. His was a strange character: a man of genius, a man of real religious force, but one who could not see the limitations to which every man must adjust himself if he would give genius and learning real play. He was a scientist, but never gave his great scientific gifts full scope. Yet it is as a scientist that he will be remembered rather than as a divine or a metaphysician or a politician, though he played some considerable part in all these spheres.

J. E. G. DE M.

MEDIÆVAL VICARAGES.*

Dr. R. A. R. Hartridge's full and detailed account of the history of vicarages in the Middle Ages is a valuable addition to a complex subject—and as a book of reference will prove helpful in the attainment of a high standard of accuracy in the history and especially

* *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages.* By R. A. R. Hartridge. Cambridge University Press. 15s. net.

the local history of the Church. The vicarage played in that history a large part, especially in pre-Reformation England. The volume is a study of the times, a scientific study, as Dr. Hartridge would have it called, since he considers that if history were treated with the same accuracy as science it would command equal attention. Truth-seeking in history and truth-seeking in science may be in some ways similar, but in the former the seeker has to rely on the accuracy of the records, many centuries old, which have come down to us, and many facts may have been very imperfectly recorded, and have become precedents though they have been rooted in exceptional cases. Many an error has thereby crept in, which it is the well-nigh impossible task of the historian to remove. In science the facts are all on the table though the scientist may be unable to detect them. Science continually corrects itself, and as knowledge grows, it throws off the accretions of error which have gathered around it. This is impossible in many phases of history through sheer lack of the reliable material. Dr. Hartridge, indeed, quotes from a seventeenth-century monk, Jean Mabillon, "To proclaim certainties as certain, falsehoods as false, and uncertainties as dubious" as the proper aim of every historian.

Dr. Hartridge traces the evolution of the vicarage from the early twelfth century. Many mediæval laws relating to vicarages remain unto this day, despite centuries of reform, and from time to time the present machinery of the Church deals with these ancient laws, while the lay element in Church and State helps to free the administration of vicarages from abuses which custom in monastic times had brought about. The dissolution of the monasteries illustrated "the soul of goodness in things evil." While the monks pleaded poverty—which was their rule—their Orders had amassed not only riches, but power, such as the "appropriation of churches" gave them. Vicariates sprang out of "appropriations." The rector of a church was not necessarily in Holy Orders, and as the larger tithes went to the rector, many parishes were neglected, or rather not served in the ecclesiastical sense, and consequently many churches were closed. Thus in times of distress, brought about by constant wars in mediæval days and the terrible scourge of the Black Death, many monasteries obtained from the Pope permission to annex churches on the condition that the monastery provided a vicar who should be in residence, and who should be paid out of the smaller tithes of which the monasteries had now become the owners. The monks could not normally serve the parochial or secular altar, even when they were in Holy Orders, but in the fifteenth century there were fifty parish churches in England served by monks. In any event the monasteries dis-

appeared, but the vicariates remained and are doing admirable work to-day.

Many instances of appropriation to foreign monasteries or abbeys are given—such as Greenwich and its many smaller adjoining parishes on the manor of Lewisham which were granted by King Edgar in A.D. 964 to the Abbey of St. Peter's, Ghent. Dr. Hartridge says it was probably no more than a grant of advowson. In fact in the case of Greenwich and Lewisham the Abbey of St. Peter's had always priests in residence as well as a Prior of Lewisham until the exclusion of the alien priories in 1414. But Ghent seems to have had some claim on England, for Cromwell gave, or restored, the fine candlesticks from St. Paul's, London, to Ghent, where they are pointed out to the traveller as something to be proud of. In many deeds of appropriation a clause was inserted that a *smaller* part of the tithe was to be set apart for the vicar in residence—one wonders how small a part—and the student is shown in detail how the rector is differentiated from the vicar, often to-day a vexed question amongst the unlearned laity. There are still many lay rectors, and the King of England himself is rector of many vicariates, such as Greenwich.

Dr. Hartridge, in his endeavour to attain accuracy, states that any error pointed out in this publication shall receive immediate attention and that an erratum-slip will be provided to make good the error. This is apparently a new idea and one that will be welcomed. The index, which is most complete, helps the reader considerably on a subject of universal interest and yet deplorably neglected. Not every parish has an antiquarian society to trace the history of its parish church and the fate of successive rectors and vicars. Churchwardens will do well to place this book in the church archives or library, and it will re-create local interest in the history of their most precious local historical possession, the ancient parish church which has outlived so many changes in Church and State.

S. DE M.

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BUREAUCRACY IN THE BALANCE.*

Mr. Carleton Kemp Allen, till recently Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford, has launched what may well prove a deadly bolt against the system of pseudo-administrative law which has grown up in England—and indeed in the British Commonwealth of Nations—with such weed-like rapidity since the

* *Bureaucracy Triumphant.* By Carleton Kemp Allen. Oxford University Press. 5s. net.

outbreak of war in 1914. In France there is an admirable system of Administrative Law. At the present time

The remedies of the subject against the State in France are easier, speedier, and infinitely cheaper than they are in England to-day. It has become a maxim of constitutionalists, and a bulwark of French democracy, that the Conseil d'État is the great buffer between the public and the bureaucrat.

In England there was and is a bastard sort of administrative law in the sense that in certain cases of contract in certain circumstances the subject can sue what is known as the Crown, but is in reality the Government or Department of Government. There is no remedy for ordinary civil wrongs known as torts—such as false imprisonment. A subject can sue the actual doer of the wrong—a driver of a Post Office van, for instance—but not the Department which employs him. The King can do no wrong, and the phrase covers all the Departments of Government. With the extremely rapid growth of local delegated Government powers in the twentieth century this doctrine has spread enormously, and Mr. Allen gives various cases of infamous hardships. The Courts of first instance, the Court of Appeal, the House of Lords, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, have done what they can to stop sharp practice by the Crown officers, but with little effect. They act on lay instructions of the most strenuous kind.

The French have a maxim in their *droit administratif* that "The State is an honest man." It is beneath the dignity of the Government to stoop to shabby tricks and push merely technical rights à outrance. We, having no administrative law, but merely the emulation of a number of competing authorities, have developed no standard of honesty for the Crown, and unhandsome dealing is all too frequent. Repeatedly of late the Law Officers have adopted the pleadings of Shylock and made claims which, even if technically specious, have no substantial merit.

In some cases the Department in question has over-reached itself, "but there are also instances of conduct which, though technically sanctioned, nobody would hesitate to call dishonesty in a private individual." Mr. Allen quotes reported instances which are perfectly monstrous in the sickening rapacity which they exhibit, but none of these cases "equals in brutal cynicism the litigation by the Duff Development Company against the Government of Kelantan, in Malaya," which is reported in the 1924 *Law Reports*. A certain arbitration award in favour of the Company was repudiated by the Government who "moved Mr. Justice Russell to set it aside. He emphatically refused; so, on appeal, did the Court of Appeal and the House of Lords." The Government thereupon refused to submit to judgment and on a purely technical point

(which was in fact based on so-called facts which were untrue) succeeded. "The Lord Chancellor gave the broadest of hints, amounting to a direct appeal, to the Government not to persist in a policy which every judge concerned considered scandalous. No notice was taken of his observations." Mr. Allen says with absolute truth:

The Law Officers and their staff do not work for nothing. Money and time are spent like water in resisting just demands, and the whole system is as uneconomic as it is unscrupulous. . . . The State is not an honest man. Its dishonesty is the worse because it combines the method of the bully, who has all the odds in his favour, with those of the casuist, who can make the worse appear the better reason. . . . No reform is more urgent. Lord Justice Scrutton expresses the representative opinion of the legal profession when he demands revision of the whole system of remedies against the Crown.

This should be possible since the Crown Proceedings Committee reported in 1927 and produced a Bill which would make the Crown liable in tort and puts forward radical changes in the whole sphere of Crown procedure. Mr. Allen says that "it has not been advanced, despite strong demands from the legal profession, which have been twice voiced in *The Times*, in 1928, by the Presidents of the Bar Council and the Law Society." Bureaucracy is apparently too strong for successive Governments, but it might have been hoped that the present Prime Minister, who presumably is all for democracy and not at all for dishonest bureaucracy, would advance the Bill despite the extraordinary opposition that it has met with in dark places. The Bill could be introduced by a private member and so give the Government an opportunity to express its views. If the Bill were subject to free vote, for it is not a political issue, there could be no doubt that it would be passed. The House of Lords would not oppose, since that House has in its judicial aspect repeatedly condemned the present scandalous state of things.

In a series of essays Mr. Allen deals with various aspects of the subject and labours the actual and numerous cases in which injustice has been done; he points to "the fantastic lengths to which the Crown will sometimes push its claims." In one case Lord Birkenhead described the proceedings as "an absolutely hopeless appeal without merit in fact or foundation in law." This case was taken from the County Court to the House of Lords. The Crown's method is to ruin its victims in costs. "The method is one of terrorisation." Mr. Allen is not attacking the Civil Service as such. Indeed he realises that we have good reason to be proud of our Civil Service. But "the real difficulty in which we find ourselves at present is that Administrative Law, in the senses which I have indicated, has come into our house surreptitiously, by

a back door." The present Lord Chancellor has said: "If then we have taken steps towards the system of *droit administratif*, it is surely pertinent to inquire whether we ought not to adopt the real thing, with all the special protection it confers on the subject in France and Germany, and not a perversion of it." Mr. Allen is not in favour of Administrative Courts. The "peculiar ferocity in the Crown as a litigant" is a lesson. "It is only the lawyer who knows how to temper the fierce legalism of the layman." There are two sides in the matter of reform. One was put extremely well in the late Dr. Port's work on Administrative Law. But if it is true that the Crown would still adhere to the methods which it uses in the Law Courts then it might make matters even worse. The present writer was in favour of Administrative Courts with known judges and reported cases, and expressed that view in the columns of *The Times* of September 5th, 1929, but certainly the arguments brought forward by Mr. Allen are very convincing. The time has come to reassert, as the Lord Chief Justice has said, "in grim earnest, the Sovereignty of Parliament and the Rule of Law." It is true that various Courts were originally administrative bodies and slowly acquired legal functions. What Mr. Allen dislikes is specialist tribunals and specialist administrative law. These have in the far past given us good courts. But the point is, why repeat the process when we can, with our present judicial machinery fitted to suit the case, "make administrative power as responsible *de jure* as it is efficient *de facto*." Working on those lines it is not too late to prevent bureaucracy trampling democracy and national life under foot. English bureaucracy is not yet corrupt, but the example of other countries shows that corruption is the next stage of the present abominable position.

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J. E. G. DE M.

THE NO-GOD RELIGION.*

This News Bulletin on Anti-Religious activity in Soviet Russia is published in Paris with the help of an English movement in aid of the Russian Clergy and Church Aid Fund patronised by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Bulletin is entirely non-political, and its sole aim is to bring before the public the facts existing in Russia as to the Russian Church as revealed officially and non-officially by the Soviet Press. The Bulletin opens with a translation from a publication called "The Godless at the Machine"

* *Anti-Religious Activity in Soviet Russia. Non-Political Bulletin based on information contained in the Soviet Press. No. 5-6. February 1931. Information Service on Religious Conditions in Soviet Russia. Paris, France.*

(No. 21, 1930) which describes the recent anti-Christmas Campaign—"probably the most violent since 1917"—and translates "the general plan and directives of the Central Council of the Union of the Militant Godless given to all organisations and Unions all over Russia" who participated in the anti-Christmas Campaign. That campaign was to have been subordinated to the "fighting programme of the year": namely, "the full development of the construction of great industrial enterprises (Magnitstroi, Kuznetzstroi and Uralsmachinstroi, etc.), the transition to collective farming of not less than a half of individual peasants' households in the entire U.S.S.R., a fight for general primary education and for the complete liquidation of illiteracy." Why is it considered necessary to accompany these economic and educational ends with the elimination of Christianity and the belief in God? That question is answered in an article by M. N. A. Klepinin entitled *Why is Communism anti-religious?* He says that "the most extreme social and economic radicalism can be connected with religion or even be based on religion," but Marxian Communism is "the theoretical basis of the new Russian state" and "the leaders of the Union of the Militant Godless and Russian Communists are fighting against religion on the basis of the Marxian teaching as a whole." Marx condemned religion on historical grounds as an opiate for the people which especially showed itself in the time of the Industrial Revolution, and in his social philosophy "hatred dominates love."

No absolute freedom of the individual is possible if there is faith in God, because the individual can enjoy real and absolute freedom only when believing in his own forces; recognising no higher authority whatever. In the light of the utilitarian tendency of Marxism the faith in an existence beyond the grave is weakening the energy in the fight for a better existence on earth. In so far as religion weakens this energy and also the will to fight, it hinders the cause of revolution and the emancipation of the proletariat—the absolute and supreme aim of Marxism; consequently religion must be refuted.

The result is that, in fact, a new religion has been introduced, "a religious faith in the truth of materialism," with Marx as its prophet. It has the fierceness of Mohammedanism, but without Allah. M. Klepinin says with great frankness, "Marxism is in its deepest foundations, one of those religious revolutionary movements, which strive to establish paradise on earth, and the only novelty of Marxism is that this paradise is concerned in purely utilitarian and materialistic forms." In fact it contains the germ of its own destruction in the efforts made by the Soviet system to destroy illiteracy in Russia. Once the peasantry can read and think for themselves they will perceive very rapidly that Chris-

tianity, the doctrine of love, is better for the world than Marxism, the doctrine of hate. With an illiterate peasantry any religious cult, be it one of negation or creation, can be used for purposes of revolution and destruction, but when literacy is achieved the Gospel of Peace and of Love will have more attractions for the human soul than the Gospel of Hate and War. It will be seen that though there are and have been from the earliest times many men and women outside Russia who have openly—like Marx—expressed their disbelief in God and Immortality, yet the absolutely first-rate thinkers—men of the types of Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Newton and many modern thinkers—have never proclaimed or believed such negations. It is only second-rate thinkers, men and women perhaps who are or have been absorbed by one line of thought and have been repelled by the sternness of belief, who have been contented not to allow their souls to soar to their natural heights. The real great thinkers, like the really great peoples East and West, have intuitive faith underlying their thinking. The great leaders in the East, the great Greeks, the great Latins, the great commanders of Islam, the greatest men of mediæval and modern Europe, have all been face to face with realities that underlie the temporal series.

The Russian Revolution must undergo its course and its disappointments. Its Marxian leaders have the power to enforce for a time the Marxian utilitarian theory. In the attempt to enforce that theory they have not absolutely forbidden the exercise of the Christian or any faith. What they have done is what other States in different ages have done to extirpate Christianity: made the position practically intolerable for the pastors of the faith. The Church was separated from the State by a decree of January 1918, and by successive decrees in the last twelve years the position of the clergy has become even more intolerable. All Church property was nationalised in 1918, and from that date no religious associations have had any legal rights. Religious associations have no contractual or social rights whatever. The members cannot assist each other or organise meetings for adults or children of any sort or kind, and religion is entirely excluded from all schools. "Only books necessary for the purposes of the cult may be kept in the buildings and premises used for worship . . . the work of ministers of religion, religious preachers and instructors, etc., shall be restricted to the area in which the members of their religious association reside and to the place where the premises used for worship are situated." Services in special buildings (which belong to the State) are not forbidden, but all ministers are disfranchised and as "non-labouring elements" their right to receive food cards is considerably restricted. They have no right

to receive exchange-money (death being in some cases the penalty), while they have to pay enormous taxes and their right to obtain work and earn their livelihood as laymen is considerably restricted, and they are not protected by labour legislation. Moreover they are liable to be accused of "counter-revolutionary" or "damaging" activity to which are attached fearful penalties under Articles 58^{1b} and 59¹⁰ of the Criminal Code (edition 1926-7). In the schools anti-religious education is now openly accepted, "teachers are urged more and more to participate in anti-religious fight," and the Leningrad Department of Public Instruction ordered in 1930 that

All cultural and educational institutions and people working in them are obliged to direct decisively their work to revelation of religious reaction, destruction of religious prejudices, liquidation of the remnants of religious nests and the fight for a new socialistic life.

The Rev. Dr. Methodius Kulman states in this Bulletin:

The Soviet Government, as such, is actively participating in religious persecutions—this fact becomes evident from any impartial study of Soviet legislation as a whole, including decrees and regulations of separate commissariats. Any statement to the contrary, which is often made by Communists, is contradicted by official laws and decrees of the Communist Government itself.

Certainly the Russian attempt to enforce on a vast religious population the crude Marxian doctrine of atheism is the most curious social phenomenon of our own times. Like all persecution it will have in the long run the reverse effect, since the soul of man cannot be controlled by force. But the effect will last longer than the Diocletian persecution, since this strange movement is mingled with other strange doctrines which the Russian people must have time to deal with.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Germany and the Germans,* translated by W. D. Robson-Scott, is a sociological analysis, not a history nor a political survey. The larger part of the volume is devoted to the country with its climate, flora and fauna, the towns, the races, the characteristics and occupations of the people. The author describes his book as a philosophical geography or geo-philosophy, an attempt to discover and depict the essence of the German community. He writes with sympathy and yet with remarkable detachment. He is fully conscious of the various elements that go to make up the nation while welcoming them all. The later chapters, dealing with the New Germany, will strike many readers as the most interesting. "We Germans are still wandering

* Macmillan. 10s. 6d.

of years are in question it may well be that, despite the space between China, Java and Europe, there was only one travelling stock involved in different stages of development. We know that the stock moved from East to West, and surely it is too dogmatic to say that at the beginning of the pleistocene period "the genera of mankind . . . was not three in number; more probably there were thirty and more utterly diverse types. As yet we know of only three of these early genera." Prophecy is a dangerous thing in science, as Sir Arthur Keith knows. In fact the Peking man and the Neanderthal man have decided affinities which would be natural if they were the same well-travelled stock. But social anthropology is a special subject and the value of Sir Arthur Keith's book is rather anatomical than social.

In this volume, which Dr. Mackenzie describes as "An Essay on Speculative Philosophy,"* the author discusses the present philosophical outlook and, advancing by a General Theory of Value and a consideration of the Ideas of the Absolute or God, reaches the general conception of a Universal Creative Intelligence as an hypothesis to be tested before it can be accepted as a valid principle for the interpretation of the Universe. In testing this postulate Dr. Mackenzie treats in succession The Problem of Creation, The Spatio-Temporal System, The Conception of Evolution, The Problem of Freedom and the Problem of Immortality. Insisting upon the creativity of Mind and upon the objectivity of Values, especially of the "Good", the author reaches the conclusion that a "Universal Mind" is "The Source of All Particular Existences." The Supreme object of the creative process appears to be "the production of a society of persons, each of whom has a limited power of choice, relatively independent, but controlled by the general purpose of the creative Power." It is probable "that such persons may survive the death of their bodily organisms." The chief difficulties of the conception of such an Universal Mind are considered and suggestions are made for solving them. The temper in which the whole subject is discussed is optimistic, and Dr. Mackenzie justifies his optimism on the ground of his "initial postulate that the totality of things is to be regarded as a Cosmos determined by the idea of the Good." The significance of Religion consists in the recognition of the supreme purpose in the Universe as that of realising the highest Good and in seeking to co-operate in its fulfilment. The entire discussion, while brief, is extremely lucid and the book deserves careful study as the work of one who is not only a deeply religious thinker, but also an accomplished metaphysician.

Dr. T. Baty, writing from Tokio with reference to the review (December 1930) of his book "Canons of International Law" draws attention to an error in transcription on page 799. The sentence quoted, dealing with Dr. Baty's estimate of a State, should read "it might be better to lay stress less on the element of subjection of the people to an ascertainable will, than on the existence among the people, or the bulk of the people, of a certain mutual reliance, not participated in by the outside world." The word "less" after "stress" was omitted.

* *Cosmic Problems*. By Dr. J. S. Mackenzie. Macmillan. 6s. net.