

1. South Africa — Evidence before the Asiatic Inquiry Commission, 1920.  
V63:45(Y74).N2 F0:4
2. Memorandum by the Indians Overseas Association on Mandates V3:1806773(P15).N2 F1
3. Memo. Dto Dto. "Indians Abroad and Their Future" Y73(P15):5826.1.N2 F1
4. Representation by the I.O. Association to the Govt. of India V1:3:45(Y73P15).N2 F1
5. Memo. Dto. "Some Problems Relating to Indians Overseas" Y73(P15):5826.1.N2 F2
6. Vaze's articles on Kenya in the Servant of India, April and May, 1924 V687:45(Y73P15).N2
7. Articles on Early History of Kenya by Dyce-Keele in the Guardian, Sept. to Nov. 1923  
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8. Articles on Kenya in the Outlook, Mar. to July 1923. V687.N2 F3

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(ASIATIC SOCIETY COMMISSION)

At the Law Courts, Von Thurn's Square, Johannesburg,  
on the 14th. April, 1920.

P R E S E N T :-

Hon. Mr J. Lange, Kt (Chairman).

Mr. W. D. Baxter.

Mr. H. J. Hofmeyr.

Col J. S. Wylie, D.S.O., K.C., M.V.O.

Mr. J. R. Hartshorne (Secretary).

Mr. W. F. Ager - examined:-

1901. BY THE CHAIRMAN:- My name is William Fletcher Ager. I  
am a resident in Johannesburg. I have resided in  
the last thirty years. During the last few years I  
did a lot of dealing with the Indians. I know their mode of  
life and mode of Indians trading, and I find that the  
present set up does not really represent the true feelings  
of the people that really and essentially matter. To my mind the people  
concerned are the poorer class of Europeans. In these days  
of living which reign at present the poorer people have to  
get the best value for their money and they find that the  
trader is superior to them in every way. I found it is so in very  
many instances particularly in one case where it was tested in a small  
town here - Alberton, which is close to Germiston - about  
10 miles. There two stands were let by a Mrs. Mann, those  
stands in the township, to two Indian traders. There an agitation  
was set up by the merchants of the township, who tried to get these  
stands. It was proposed that an iron fence 12 feet high should  
be put along the boundary in order to shut these people off, and  
further down the line the fence was to be continued.  
It was proposed that this should not be done and that the  
trader should deal with the people because if they did not want the  
trader they would not deal with them. This has proved that  
is correct, viz., that the Indian traders were wanted

op is meant to bar these people and deprive the business. As to the rights in this country, which is a British province that the Indian merchants always found them veritas the Europeans, and their houses are clean and they spend as much as they are allowed to spend in the Transvaal in comparison with their position. When I say that they spend as much as they are allowed to spend in the Transvaal I mean particularly in regard to amusements. If the Indian wishes to go to a place of amusement he has to go into the gallery and pay one shilling or two shillings because he is not allowed to take a box or to sit in the stalls. He is objected to. The European sections complain that the Indian does not spend his money where he makes it. I consider that we do not allow him opportunities to invest it where he makes it. We do not allow him to spend his money to invest it nor do we allow him to spend his money as he could. He does spend as far as possible and where he can afford it he buys motor cars, horses and carriages, and further than that we do not let him spend his money, so that, naturally, when he has made more, he must send it out of the country in order to invest it. He is not a hoarder of money and he must invest. We invest our money because we have an outlet for it, but we give the Indian no outlet for investment for his surplus capital. The consequence is that he has to send it to India. So far as I understand it this Commission is in connection with Asiatics, but I rather that no mention has ever been made of others than Indians and Chinese. For instance, why do we allow Syrians full trading rights? Surely their mode of living cannot be compared with that of the Indian merchant? Take a trip to Ferreira township, and if the Commission can show me a Syrian who has a house to live in a poorer place I shall be greatly surprised. They generally herd together in one room and their families live together two or three branches of a family all in one room. They appear to be overlooked, but they are Asiatics. Jews from Jerusalem are allowed full rights but they are also Asiatics in every sense of word and yet as we Europeans and British subjects trying to bar our own subjects who have fought and bled for us and helped us with money. The agitation is at present going

op is meant to bar these people and deprive them of their just rights in this country, which is a British colony. I myself consider it unfair. I have always found them very charitable indeed: the Governor-General's fund was well supported by them and good sums have been collected to my personal knowledge amongst the Indians. From here even down to Dlea on Bay where they have subscribed money for the Governor-General's fund and handed it in. From the educational point of view no other section of the community has subscribed such vast sums as they have for educational purposes. An amount of £10,000 was collected by them to build a school so that they should have an opportunity for sending their children to school, and that building has been handed over to the Educational Department. We say, the Europeans, that they do not pay their assistants well. Well in that case the Government leads the way because the Government does not pay the teachers of that Indian school a fair wage because £120 a year is what they are paid by the Government. That is the Indian teachers. The European trader says that the Indian does not pay his assistants in comparison with the wages paid by European traders, and, therefore, that they are in competition. I find that the Indians are most sympathetic even in mere matters. I know personally of an instance where a young returned soldier went on a farm. He had to buy cattle. He could get the cattle from an European dealer but he could not get his bill backed. An Indian backed his bill for him and when the bill became due he was unable to meet it. The European sunned him, but the Indian met his bill and he has not been paid since. The Indian is hoping that the man will pay him when he is able to do so. In all matters I have found the Indians quite sympathetic to the Europeans. I cannot understand this great agitation against them particularly when I see around me other Asiatic subjects, and enemy subjects, whom are given rights which we deny to our own subjects. If the agitation goes as far as to say that the door should be shut against them then I say let us shut it against all Asiatics. If we are to clear Asiatics out of the country let us clear Asiatics out of the country in every sense of the word - that is all Asiatics. I do not say that it would not be perhaps as well to bar more for coming in. In my opinion

that would be the solution of the question - to allow no more than are at present in the country to come in, but to allow those who are in the country full rights, and then if we have the flood of immigration that we are expecting - according to this morning's paper it is reported that there is a very large surplus population in Europe and South Africa will get a portion of that population then the Indian traders will in the future be in a very small proportion compared with the European population. During the last few years I have come in contact with Indians in my capacity as a Commission agent, and I have had large dealings with them. My business has also brought amongst the poorer classes of Europeans, their way of living, how they deal and where they deal. That is how I am able to speak on the subject.

(Dr. F.E.T. Krause examined:-

DR. KRAUSE: I have been asked to appear with my learned friend Mr. Morris, on behalf of the Transvaal British Indian Association, which is an Association which in the Transvaal comprises at least 95% of the Indian adult population in the Transvaal. I think that is a low estimate. It has branches all over the Province.)

1202. BY COL: WYLIE: It has no connection with the British Indian League which claims to represent as many adult Indians? I do not know whether they belong to our Association. I think they have an association of their own, like it is in all committees, as you can understand, people sometimes do not see eye to eye in consequence of personal and other reasons and sometimes you have a split up in the community. Although there be other associations who also claim to represent Indians in the Transvaal at any rate in respect of the matters which you are investigating they practically all combine and make common cause so that therefore you will have, with the Association that I represent, practically the whole of the Indian community in the Transvaal represented before you making common cause in the same matter.

1203. MRS: HOPMEYER: It is not a matter of great moment but you see Dr. Godfrey came here representing the British Indian League. He also gave very remarkable figures regarding the scope of that League with reference to members and otherwise. It is very difficult because wherever we go we never know whom we have to deal with.- At any rate in the claims and statements put before you, as has been remarked quite rightly you will have a common front and a common cause. I do not think any one will be overlooked. I have here a large number of telegrams which have been sent to us from different people throughout the Transvaal Associations, etc., supporting the British Indian Association in the evidence which it is proposed to put before the Commission. They all support us in the evidence which they wish to tender. I can hand them in, to the Secretary later on. The following is the list of names of those who have sent us telegrams:-

Danger of Amsterdam.

D. Ismail, Ploeghof.

Mahomedian Community of Carolina.  
 Ebrahim Vapee Of Dryden Rail.  
 Community of Ermelo.  
 Indian Association of Germiston.  
 Heidelberg Indian Community.  
 Badat, Buyat, Junan, Mocsa, Mulfoo, Adia, Jimal, Ismail, and  
 Sarang (9) of Heidelberg.  
 British Indian Community of Krugersdorp.  
 Ajan of Litchenberg.  
 Indian Community of Lydenberg.  
 British Indian Association of Pretoria.  
 Hindoo Dharma, Sobha of Pretoria.  
 Mahomedan Community of Pretoria.  
 Indian Association of Potchefstroom.  
 Indian Community of Petersberg and District.  
 Indian Community of Roodeport.  
 Indian Community of Schweizer Renecke.  
 Kassim Kolwal and Dangor (2) of Shiep Moor.  
 British Indian Association of Vereeniging.  
 Indian Association of Ventersdorp.  
 Badet of Vaal Park.  
 Indian Community of Wolmaranstad.

Now, sir in order to facilitate and curtail the work of  
 the Commission as far as I am concerned I wish to hand in the  
 following statement which I do not desire to read now because I  
 do not think it is much of effect simply to read in a sing-  
 song tone a lengthy statement before you. I will, therefore, hand  
 in the statement signed by these gentleman who are officials of the  
 Association - that is, the chairman, the secretary, and certain  
 members of the Association and of the affiliated Associations, so that  
 you will have something on the records definitely from this  
 particular Association. The statement is as follows:-



( TO THE CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS,  
of the  
ASIATIC INQUIRY COMMISSION  
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STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY THE  
TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.)  
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I will briefly recapitulate the history of the Indians' entry into the Transvaal. Prior to the enactment of Law 3 of 1885 the facts are known that in terms of Article 14, of the London Convention of 1884 it was provided that "all persons other than natives conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic, (a) will have full liberties with their families to enter, travel or reside in any part of the South African Republic, (b) will be entitled to hire, or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops and premises (c) may carry on their commerce either in person or by an agent whom they may think fit to employ." It will be observed therefore, that the British Indian was not singled out in the terms of the above Convention: but was placed in the same category as that of any other subject of the British Empire, the aboriginal native excepted. He was entitled to own fixed property and trade freely.

.....  
Annexure "A" When Law 3, of 1885 was enacted apart from Law 3. of 1885, 12th Aug. 1886.

the restriction of the British Indian enjoying the right of owned fixed property, the trading right was left unrestricted. He was entitled to enjoy

against the iniquity of the law, refused to confine themselves in the locations, but took up quarters in the heart of the towns amidst Europeans.

From time to time the authorities of the late Republican Government affected wholesale prosecutions of the British Indians who resided in the centre of the towns and inflicted severe penalties. Notwithstanding the continued prosecution the British Indian community insisted in living where they chose. The British Agent at every instance not only encouraged them to live, where they were living, but protested in the strongest terms possible against such prosecutions, and also invoked the interference of Her Majesty's Government on behalf of the British Indian Community resident in the Transvaal.

The position continued thus up to 1898 when the crisis between the later Republican Government and Her Majesty's Government became so acute that the Indian question became a very important subject in the negotiations passed between the representatives of the two Governments at Bloemfontein.

I do not propose to dilate on their controversy, but suffice it to say that the Indian question played no small part in bringing a painful sanguinary war. I shall merely quote from some of the leading statements of that day.

(LORD LANDSDOWNE, in 1889, before the Boer War  
with referenceto their interests in South Africa

SAID:

"A considerable number of the Queen's Indian  
 "subjects are to be found in the Transvaal, and  
 "among the many misdeeds of the South African Re-  
 "public, I do not know that any filled me with more  
 "indignation than its treatment of these Indians.  
 "And the harm is not confined to the sufferers on the  
 "spot: for what do you imagine to be the effect  
 "produced in India, when these poor people return to  
 "their country and report to their friends that the  
 "Government of the Empress so might and irresistible  
 "in India with its population of 300,000,000,  
 "is powerless to secure redress at the hands of a  
 "small South African state."

LORD SEEBOURNE, ex Governor of the Transvaal,  
also said in that year:

"Was it or was it not our duty to see that  
 dusky fellow-subjects in India who went to the  
 Transvaal - where they had a perfect right to go-  
 should be treated as the Queen in our name had  
 promised that they should be treated? If they agreed  
 with him and admitted that these were questions we  
 had to answer as trustees before our fellow countrymen  
 and before history, then they would agree with  
 him also, that the path of duty was to be ruled  
 not by sentiment but by plain facts. We are not  
 dealing with our personal interests or our own

6.

personal money; we were trustees for our brothers all over the world, for our brethren in Canada, in Australia, at the Cape, trustees also for our own fellow subjects of different races and different colours - the Negroes of South Africa and the Indians of India - trustees of all these and for the unborn children of these. Therefore the test we had to supply in an emergency like this was the simple test to duty. Was it or was it not our duty to see that the rights and the future interests of these should be maintained? Was the British Government going to make its own name respected and to have the pleasures given it to lawfully respected? Was it going to see that the British subject wherever he went, all over the world, whether he were white or black, whether he came from Great Britain itself, or from Canada or New Zealand, was to have rights which his Queen had secured for him?\*)

It will be observed that Law 3 of 1885 and all the subsequent resolutions thereto left the trading rights of the British Indian unimpaired, and they were entitled to trade and reside wherever they desired.

(This painful question of Indian undesirability and trade jealousy was initiated as far back as 1886 by several Chambers of Commerce. It is interesting to note that in a discussion in the Volksraad of 1896 arising out of a petition presented by a number of white traders to cut the Indians from Johannesburg, a statement was recorded

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to the effect that the European Storekeepers charged poor people very high prices for the staff of life while the coolies charged much less." Following upon the petition a deputation of white storekeepers waited upon the late President Kruger to urge him to enforce the petition and to do away with the Indian Hawkers. The President flatly refused to listen to any such suggestions on the grounds that the hawkers were "very useful" to his people.)

plea of  
spread of  
diseases.

(Having failed in this attempt the white traders - small storekeepers - principally supported another petition with the plea that the Indian was likely to spread leprosy, syphilis, and similar loathsome diseases which the white community owing to the presence of the Asiatics were likely to contract. As against this, two counter petitions were presented to the President, one signed by about 500 Burghers, stating that the withdrawal of the Indian Trader would impose a great hardship on them; another signed by 1340 Europeans including a large percentage of European wholesale firms declaring that the sanitary habits of the Indian traders and those who resided in Johannesburg and other principal towns, were not inferior to those of the European and that the agitation was due purely to trade jealousy.

Plea of un-  
fair compe-  
tition.

Having failed in this the Indian's rivals then adopted the plea of unfair competition. The sharpness of the agitation compelled the late Republican Government on one occasion to refuse

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renew the trading licences of the British Indian community. The British Agent recommended them to tender the licence fees, and if the licences were still refused, to trade without them.

refusal of  
licences by  
publican  
government.

This having done and a little later when the Government threatened to prosecute these traders who were carrying on their business without the necessary licence (40 of them were actually arrested) the British Agent not only approved of the Indians' attitude, but encouraged them not to be bailed out and to refuse to pay the fines and to go to gaol if necessary. After a night's detention they were released unconditionally and they continued to trade without licences.)

(The merchants were left in peace for while and the same process of prosecution was repeated. Eventually the grievances of the Indians resident in the Republic became so acute as to call for the strong remarks of Lord Ladysdowne, Lord Selbourn, already quoted, would make this statement too cumbersome.

Annexure "B"  
Extracts from  
P. Ordinance  
of 1903.

After the British occupation of this Province, and British Indian who had not been in the Transvaal prior to the outbreak of the late Anglo-Boer War was entitled to enter and reside within the Province. Lord Milner urged upon the Indian community to comply with the Peace Preservation Ordinance of 1903 TO REGISTER THEMSELVES ON the ground that it would serve a two-fold purpose:

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(a) as a protection to the British Indians resident within the Province and their wives and their children;

(b) that it would also serve to give the approximate statistics of the number of Indians lawfully resident within the Province and would check all illegal entries.

To this request the Indian community complied to prove their bona-fides. Notwithstanding such compliance the community was not left in peace. In 1904 the agitation against the Indian community was revived and carried to the extent that the Receiver of Revenues refused to issue or re-new trading licences to the Indian community. The Transvaal Indians were forced to call upon the Supreme Court for their protection. The learned Chief Justice, Sir James Rose-Innes, in his judgement in- Habib Motan vs. The Transvaal Government- Transvaal Supreme Court's Reports 1904. page 404 said:

Habib Motan's  
Case

"The law, while recognising his rights to  
"settle in this country for the purpose of trading  
"and while charging him a registration fee on ar-  
"rival, would be insisting on conditions which  
"made such trading impracticable, and unprofitable.  
"It would be giving with one hand and taking away  
"with the other. That being, as it seems to me, the  
"position, it is important to notice that neither the  
"Law of 1885, nor the resolution of 1886 con-  
"tains a single line purporting in express terms  
"to curtail the trading rights of Asiatics. The  
"only provision made was one giving the Government

the right, for sanitary purposes, to assigning to them certain streets, wards, and locations for residence (ter bewoning). I fail to see any grounds for holding that these words, whether we take original Dutch or the English equivalent, mean any prohibited trading outside the residential locations. A man's residence is where he lives, where he sleeps, where his family dwells - not necessarily where he works. True it has been held in England that for the purpose of certain Statutes a man's residence may mean the place where he carries on his business. That does not seem to have been the view taken by the Cape Courts, but even excepting the British decisions, they have no bearings upon the present inquiry, because, so far from there being anything in the language or scope of this Statute to indicate an intention to use the word "residence" as equivalent to "place of business", the indications, as I have endeavoured to point out, seems to be the other way. And in this connection it is significant that the reasons for giving the Government the right to assign locations to Asiatics were expressly stated to be sanitary reasons. It was for sanitary purposes that the locations were established and such purposes have more obvious relation to places of residence than to places of business. The mischief pur-ported to be aimed at was an insanitary mode of life in the midst of the European population, not inconvenient competition with the European trader.

This judgment revived the Anti-Asiatic agitation. A National Convention of Anti-Asiatics held



In 1904 at Pretoria passed the following resolutions:

ti-Asiatic  
solutions  
1904.

(I) "That in the opinion of this Convention  
"the serious delay that has occurred in dealing  
"with the question of the status of the Asiatics  
" has been and is highly prejudicial to the best  
"interests of the Transvaal, and increases the  
"difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory settle-  
"ment.

(") "That this Convention, recognising the  
"grave danger resulting from the continued issue  
"of trading licences outside bazaars, requests the  
"Government to take immediate steps to pass the  
"necessary legal enactments to prevent any further  
"issue of such licences.

(/ ) "That this Convention affirms its opinion  
"that all Asiatics should be required to reside in  
"bazaars (Locations)".

MR. ALFRED LITTLETON, M.P. Secretary for the  
Colonies in a despatch to Lord Milner, in 1904,  
said:

"His Majesty's Government held that it is  
"derogatory to national honour to impose on resident  
"British subjects disabilities against which we had  
"remonstrated, and to which even the law of the late  
"South African Republic rightly interpreted did not  
"subject them."

This agitation was continued in full force up  
to the time Responsible Government was granted to the  
Transvaal.

Just prior to the granting of Responsible Government the agitation became so acute that the Indians resident within the Transvaal were forced in order to safe-guard themselves through the British Indian Association, to ask for the following simple rights.

- (1) "That right to reside in any part of the Colony, subject to strict Municipal Supervision and the Ordinary Municipal Bye-laws, thus avoiding the imposition of location restraints.
- (2) "The right to receive licences to trade, subject to control by the local bodies with a right of appeal to the Supreme Court, so that those who might not conform to the laws of sanitation might be largely prevented from trading.
- (3) "The right to own landed property in any part of the country.
- (4) "The right to move about freely, that is, the usual facilities for the use of the public conveyance in common with the white inhabitants".

In the same year during the Crown Government Legislation was introduced which placed the Indian community in a most humiliating position, classing them to be no better than serfs. The Indian community took very strong exception to that insult being flung at them, and the three hundred millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects. Notwithstanding all our protests the measure was rushed through the Legislative Council and was submitted to the Imperial Government for Royal assent. The Community was compelled to send a deputation to London to protest against the assent being given to the measure.

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Sir Lepel Griffin, who introduced the deputa-  
tion which waited upon Lord Elgin, November 8, 1906.

They are not asking for gratitude for their great  
 and devoted services in the Transvaal war, where so  
 many of them lost their lives in their devotion to  
 England, doing as courageous work as any of the  
 members of the armies which were sent by England,  
 by Australia, or by Canada. Those services have  
 been ignored, and further burdens have been placed  
 upon them. We ask for nothing to-day except the  
 merest barest justice. We ask that the whips  
 which the Boers have inflicted upon us may not be  
 changed into scorpions, wielded by the British  
 Government.....I beg your Lordship to think  
 and to remember that besides the Indian birth,  
 against whom the insults of this Ordinance are di-  
 rected there are the whole body of Indian officials  
 to which I and most of the members of this deputa-  
 tion belong, who are insulted with the Natives of  
 India.":

The late Sir Campbell-Bannerman refused to  
 advise her Majesty to assent to the Bill and as  
 Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, said to a  
 deputation that waited on him in 1906:- "It was  
 found in his conscience that the Government over  
 which he presided must not, could not take upon  
 itself to assent to the Ordinance which could  
 still more degrade the position of Indians, our  
 fellow subjects, in South Africa".

That Legislation also called for the remarks of some of the leading English statesmen as follows:-

MR. HAROLD COX M.P. November 8, 1906.

"The real reason why I am here to-day is  
 "because I am English, and because I think this  
 "matter is a disgrace to my country. Our country  
 "was pledged, when we went to the war with the  
 "Transvaal to do justice to the British Indians  
 "That justice has not been done, and I contend  
 "that it is not possible for the present Govern-  
 "ment of which your Lordship is a part, to ride  
 "off on the plea that that the Transvaal is a self-  
 "Governing Colony..... Whatever is done by you  
 "to-day or at any other time, is done not in the  
 "name of the Transvaal, but in the name of the  
 "English people, and in the name of the English  
 "people, I protest against any injustice being done  
 "to British subjects".

SIR WILLIAM MARKBY December 1906: "I have  
 "already told you how deeply I feel that it will be  
 "a disgrace to the British Government if they fail  
 "to procure justice for our Indian fellow subjects  
 "in the Transvaal."

LORD MORLEY, Secretary of State for India, to  
 a deputation, November 21, 1906.:-"This was a prac-  
 "tical question affecting the good government of  
 "India very closely. The effect upon public in-  
 "that country of the disabilities imposed upon In-  
 "dians in South Africa was, and must continue to

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"be serious.....people in India would ask  
 "whether it is not of will rather than want  
 "of power which led the British Government to stay  
 "its hands, when it should be raised in the defence  
 "of this principle to which his friend, Lord Stanley  
 "of Adderley referred.....It was a great worry  
 "that one of the first matters in relation to Imperial  
 "interests brought to the notice of the new Govern-  
 "ment had been the fact from which they could not  
 "get away, that a bar sinister was placed in some  
 "British Colonies upon many millions of the King's  
 "subjects. What he could not understand was mere  
 "race prejudice and insistence on a principle of  
 "racial inferiority, seeing that there were many  
 "Indians in the Transvaal, pursuing professional or  
 "mercantile callings, who were greatly superior in  
 "many of the elements which made up a civilised be-  
 "ing to some of those who were readily admitted  
 "into the country. The motion that Indians al-  
 "ready there should be subjected to any new dis-  
 "abilities and to new elements of humiliation was  
 "one which, he confessed, stirring his feelings  
 "deeply".

LORD STANLEY OF AJDERLEY, in a deputation to  
LORD MORELY, November 21, 1906: "There could be no  
 "doubt that feeling both in India and in this coun-  
 "try was opposed to the Colonial attitude in respect  
 "to our Indian fellow-subjects, and that this attitude  
 "was a violation of principles to which, in theory  
 "at least, were adhered. These principles were clear-  
 "ly stated by Mr. Chamberlain in 1901, when he refused  
 "his sanction to certain legislative proposals from

Cape Colony".

LORD REAY - December 1906.

"We here shall not rest until we see that, in  
"this great Empire of ours, equal protection is  
"given to all the subjects who are as proud of be-  
"longing to the British Empire as we are. They  
"of old were proud of the doctrine "Civil Romanus":  
"every British subject, by feeling their reality of  
"the protection the Empire gives should feel proud  
"to be able to say "Civis Britannicussum".

SIR RAYMOND WESTY - December 1906. " I am not

"at all sure that courts in Africa and the Supreme  
"Court in our own country, ought not to adopt  
"and expand that very (simple) principle which is involved  
"in the great Calvin case, so as to give to British  
"Indians not only in Africa, but wherever there be  
"the privileges and the protection due to subjects  
"and loyal subjects of His Majesty the King of the  
"United Kingdom.....We have adopted a too  
"narrow theory or a too narrow system in simply  
"saying to Colonies, however small: "You are mas-  
"ters in your own houses, you may do what you like  
"we the Foreign office, or we, the Colonial office,  
"should then be rid of the troublesome questions.  
"we say: It is only a Self-Governing Colony and if  
"they are doing harm to other people it does not  
"concern us". "Not so, you cannot off  
"a leg or a toe, you cannot injure any one part of  
"the whole organism without injury extending

"and without terror and pain extending throughout  
 "the whole organism. The people in South Africa,  
 "the people in Australia, the people in all parts  
 "of our Colonies must bring home to themselves,  
 "that they are parts of great organism, and be-  
 "ing such parts, must necessarily sacrifice some  
 "feeling, for which sacrifices they must be prepared  
 "and if not so prepared they are not fit to be parts  
 "of this great organism. If you cannot arrive at  
 "a position like that if you cannot reach some  
 "organization, in which such sacrifices will become  
 "the pride of every member of the Empire, you are  
 "not fit to be an Imperial Race".

ct 2,  
 f 1907.

In 1907, immediately after the full Responsible Government was granted to the Transvaal the first measure that was rushed through by both Houses of Parliament was Act 2 of 1907, and received the Royal assent, notwithstanding it having been rejected as when submitted for assent when the Transvaal was under the Crown Colony rule. The Indian Community had no alternative but to make up their minds under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi to have recourse to Passive Resistance.)

They in one body and with one voice refused to comply with the Law, and suffered the penalty of such civil disobedience. This Law evidently did not provide the necessary punishment clause, and a further law, namely, the Immigration Restriction Act 15 of 1907, with a special provision was enacted.

Passive  
Resistance  
against Act  
of 1907.

On this measure receiving the Royal assent in December 1907, a number of leaders of the Asiatic Community were sent to gaol. In the meantime licences to trade and hawk were refused by reason of the non-production of the Registration Certificate, enforced under the new Act (Act 2 of 1907).

The Indian Community rather than allow their national honour to be trampled under foot decided to suffer the miseries of imprisonments. After the incarceration a large number of the community's leading men, a settle was arrived at between the Government and the Indian community - Mr. Gandhi acting as their mouthpiece, - on an understanding that the Law 2 of 1907 should be repealed and a draft Bill for the Indian community to effect voluntary registration should be introduced. Unfortunately the compact being not fulfilled, the Indian community were compelled, in order to safeguard their self respect to revive Passive Resistance.

Acts 34  
and 35 of  
1908.

While the community were engaged in a life and death struggle for the recognition of the basic principles to which they were pledged, the Government brought in the Township Amendment Act 34 of 1908, and also the Godl Law (Act of 35 of 1908)

The Indian leaders were not blind to the danger that threatened the community under these Acts. A petition of protest was lodged with Parliament



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annexures "C" and "D" and a letter Gold Law.

setting out the community's objections and a further letter of protest by the British Indian Association was forwarded to the Colonial Secretary which are attached hereto, marked "C" and "D".

annexure "E" the five points on which Passive resistance was carried.

After a prolonged struggle of 8 years at the cost of many lives, a great deal of physical suffering and heavy pecuniary loss to the community, a settlement was arrived at, between the Government and the Indian community on five specific points, over which the Passive Resistance struggle had been carried on. I attach hereto copy of a summary of the afore said five points, Annexure, "A".

annexures "F" and "G" settlement correspondence.

Sir Benjamin Robertson took great interest in bringing about the settlement. I attach herewith marked "F" and "G" copies of correspondence that passed in respect of the

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settlement. It will be observed that in Mr. Gandhi's letter of 30th. June of 1914 written from Cape Town to Mr. Georges, Secretary for the Interior, in reply to his letter of even date, Mr. Gandhi in a second paragraph clearly states:-

" The passing of the Indian Relief Bill  
 "and this correspondence finally closes the Passive  
 "Resistance struggle, which commenced in September 1906,  
 "and which to the Indian community cost much physical  
 "suffering and pecuniary loss, and to the Government  
 "much anxious thought and consideration". He went on to  
 "point out in the same letter that the adverse Laws affect-  
 "ing the community would have to be sooner or later adjust-  
 "ed and that the Indian Community would not be satisfied  
 "until full civic rights were extended to them.

The Indian community placed high hopes in the settlement and looked forward to the day that would bring them full civic rights within the Transvaal Province.

Immediately after the settlement, the great war, broke out. The Indian community as a whole focussed its mind upon the welfare of the Empire, forgetting for the time being their grievances, but the Anti-Asiatics continued their propaganda work to wipe out the British Indians out of the Transvaal. In 1916 the Transvaal Municipal Association waited upon the Acting Secretary for the Interior, to record its protest against the presence of the Indian Community in the Transvaal. It was then that the Acting Secretary for the Interior told the deputation what Mr. Gandhi's personal opinion of "vested rights" was. He did not even at the stage hand them a copy of Mr. Gandhi's personal letter of July 7th. 1914, to Mr. Georges, nor did he tell that Mr. Gandhi's letter of July 7th. was accepted by the Government and the Indian

Community. In order to make the case of the Indian community clear, I attach herewith copies of 2 semi-official letters addressed to Colonel Shawe, on the 8th. & 10th. of May 1916, by the Secretary and Chairman of my Association respectively, marked "H" and "I", expressing surprise at the extraordinary belief that had gained ground in the different Municipal Councils of the Transvaal, in regard to "vested rights" and also pointing out that the Municipal Association in reply to the Chairman's letter referred him to the Secretary for the Interior, for the information desired.

Enclosures "H" & "I" letters Secty. for Interior from Chairman & Secretary the B.I.A. dated 8th. & 10th. May 1916.

I attach copy hereto of letter marked "J" dated 18th. May 1917, which was sent to Mr. H.S.L. Polak, and then Hon. Secretary of the Transvaal British Indian Association, in reply to the above two semi-official letters of the Secretary and the Chairman, in which Colonel Shawe stated in these words "that Mr. Gandhi's letter of July 7th. 1914 was his personal letter;" it was stated to them at the time what view Mr. Gandhi personally held as regards the rights of the Indians at the time of the settlement."

Enclosures "K" & "L" Mr. Gandhi's letter of July 7th. 1914 letter and I.A.'s letter to M. Council.

On the 23rd. of May 1916, my Association through its Chairman forwarded the Transvaal Municipal Association a copy of Mr. Gandhi's personal letter under the cover of a confidential letter which I attach hereto marked "K" and "L".

It will be observed that up to 1916, Mr. Gandhi's letter of July 7th. to Mr. Georges was not considered as part of the settlement by the Government nor was it so regarded by the Indian Community. As a matter of fact the letter in question was not published in the Indian Opinion, the official of the organ of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal.

A few months prior to Mr. Polak's departure from South Africa, Mr. Polak had an interview with Colonel Shawe in regard to the ownership of fixed property by

enclosures  
"M" "H"  
Polak's  
no to  
Colonel  
Shaw.

the Indians, and, at the request of Colonel Shawe himself forwarded him a memorandum in regard to the ownership of fixed property by Asiatics in the Transvaal under the cover of a personal letter dated 5th. July 1916, which I attach hereto marked "M" and "H".

On the 20th. September 1916, Mr. Polak addressed a communication to Sir Thomas Watt, from which I quote the following paragraph:-

" I see from to-night's Star, that Mr. Justice Ward was to obtain transfer of certain fixed property. He evidently holds that there is nothing in the Law, to prevent a Company whose shareholders are Asiatics, from becoming the registered owners of the fixed property, in spite of the provisions of Law 3 of 1885.

Another letter dated 20th. September 1916, attached hereto marked, "O" drew the attention of Colonel Shawe to an interview Mr. Polak had had with the Hon. the Minister for the Interior in regard to the repeal of Law 3 of 1885 and also the Supreme Court's decision which was announced in the Star of that day. Even then no objection was taken by the Government nor was the statement of Mr. Polak repudiated.

As a further repudiation of Mr. Gandhi's July 7th. letter being a part of the statement, Mr. Polak when he went to India in 1917, told Colonel Shawe which was acknowledged and not questioned, forwarded copy of a letter in reply to his from Mr. Gandhi dated August 1917. I attach hereto extract therefrom marked "P".

Mr. Gandhi's letter of July 7th. 1914, I venture to say was sprung upon my community before the select Committee, that was appointed in 1919, to enquire into the report upon the disabilities of the British Indian in the Transvaal.

In January 1919 the Krugersdorp Municipality obtained a Judgement under the Gol Law against the Messrs. T.W. Beckett & Co.

nexure  
 ckett's case. Co., Ltd., for having let their premises to an Indian at Krugersdorp for business purposes. I attach herewith copy of judgement marked "Q". This judgement provided an opening for the various Municipal Councils of this Province to institute further similar action against long established Indian firms.

My Association in order to obtain protection against the operation of the Gold Law. The Township Amendment Act, and the Local Ordinance 9 of 1912 petitioned the Union Parliament, to allow its counsel to appear and address the Bar of the House. On the motion of Mr. Morris Alexander M.L.A. a parliamentary Select Committee was appointed to enquire into the report upon the disabilities embodied in the petition which I attached hereto marked "R". The Hon. the Minister for the Interior moved to have added to the terms of reference of the said Select Committee, the question of Asiatics acquiring fixed property by means of forming private limited Liability Companies. I beg to point out that the petition in question did not include that particular item and the Minister for the Interior who on previous occasions when attempts were made to have the Company's Law so altered as to preclude the Indians from becoming the owners of fixed property, by means of private Companies, maintained that it would be indiscreet (and uncontroversial) during the pendency of the European War to open up so controversial a matter, found it to be indiscreet and uncontroversial to have that particular item added to the terms of reference of the said Select Committee.

The Honourable the Minister for the Interior as also the Secretary for the Interior seemingly failed to appreciate that the Indian Empire is at least as important a factor in the British Empire as anyone of the Dominions.

Exhaustive evidence was tendered before the Select Committee by a few protagonists of the Anti-Asiatics whose dis-interestedness it was perhaps more charitable not to discuss. These avowed enemies of my people were very strongly backed up by the Asiatic Secretary for the Interior, and the Mining Commissioner for Boksburg.

I may mention that my community which was represented by counsel and representatives were left wholly in the dark as to the evidence that was tendered by our opponents. We were only given the opportunity to present our case. We did so and without any exaggeration we were given no opportunity to refute the statement made by the other side or to bring rebutting evidence.

(My Community was greatly surprised to read the evidence tendered by Colonel Shaw before the Select Committee after its publication, wherein he laid special stress upon Mr. Gandhi's letter of July 7th. 1914. Colonel Shaw appears to have inadvertently made an incorrect statement to the effect the Mr. Gandhi's personal letter was accepted by the Government and the Indian community as part of the settlement. Whereas in his own letter to Mr. Polak attached hereto marked "J" he had in unequivocal terms stated that the view expressed therein was nothing more than Mr. Gandhi's private and personal opinion. Further I beg to point out that Colonel Shaw himself had, in the interview with Mr. Polak when Mr. Polak protested against the attempt to alter the Companies Act (Act 31 of 1909) in 1916, made it clear that there was no intention on the part of the Government to alter that Act. After the departure of Mr. Polak the community was threatened by a motion of Mr. Blackwell for the second time in the House of Assembly in 1917, to have the Company Law altered. I attach hereto <sup>two</sup> copy of a resolution forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior marked "A". In 1918 a further attempt was made to have the Company Law

Enclosure B.  
Protest against  
attempt to  
alter Act 31  
of 1909.

altered. My Association immediately addressed a letter to the Minister of the Interior, Capetown dated March 4th. 1918, which I attach hereto marked "T" protesting against any such attempts and pointing out that the Association looked forward to the fulfilment of the hopes held out to my community by Sir Thomas Watt through Mr. Polak that Law 3 of 1885 might reasonably be expected in the near future to disappear from the statute book or at least to be amended and brought into operation but with modern views apart from the acknowledgement attached hereto marked "U". My Association heard nothing further.

As there was no repudiation by the Government my community naturally concluded that immediately on the termination of the world-war, their position in this Province will be altered for the better, instead of which not only were existing disabilities reaffirmed by statutes, but existing rights snatched away from them, and further disabilities imposed.)

As for the Mining Commissioner's evidence before the Select Committee, I would point out that Mr. Polak represented in regard to the Boksburg matter in his professional capacity, as a lawyer as will appear from the attached extracts marked "V" from a copy of a letter that it was submitted to the Hon. the Secretary of State for Indian by Mr. Polak from which it will be observed that he flatly repudiates the whole of the statement attributed to him by the Mining Commissioner.

On the recommendation of the Select Committee Act 37 of 1919 was passed attached hereto marked "W". This bill in spite of repeated protests by the Indian community at every state was assented to and promulgated. My Association feared the danger that was imminent and therefore opposed the bill at the last stage. Even before His Excellency my / convit-

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protest recorded through its representatives, I beg to point out that the result of the Act is just the opposite to what we were assured it would be at every stage of our protest.

(Under Act 37 of 1919 for the first time in the history of the Transvaal, the trading rights of the British Indians, within the proclaimed areas were curtailed though secured to them under the Republican Act. The further effect of this Act is that it was deprived the Indian Community of the right under Section (I) (a) hitherto enjoyed of transferring their business from one township to another, (b) the right of acquisition of fixed property by performing private limited liability Companies, and (c) the right of becoming owners of fixed property under equitable trust as Mortgagees.

Since Act 37 of 1919 was passed a Supreme Court judgment was obtained by Johannesburg Municipal Council against an Indian established at Vredekop, Johannesburg under Act 27 of 1907. The learned judges in their judgment interpreted a limited company composed of Asiatics to be nothing but "Asiatic Persons", and therefore contrary to the provisions of Act 27 of 1907, and the occupation of premises within that township by such Asiatic companies was in fraudem legis.

This judgment provided an additional weapon to other Municipal Councils and an action was instituted against one Dadco Limited, to have nullified the transfers obtained by that Company. The Supreme Court of the Transvaal Province upheld the contention and declared the transfer of the said Dadco Limited null and void and therefore set it aside. An appeal against that to the Appellate Court was urged on the 24th. February last before a full Court of five Judges, and judgment was reserved. If the Appellate Court upholding the decision of the Court below members of the Indian community sim-

convit-

1916 my



interested in limited companies will with one stroke of the pen be ruined.

Apart from this danger of ruination I beg to point out that my community is subjected to no little prosecution under Section 90 "E" of the local Government Ordinance 1912. I beg to attach herewith several judgments under that Ordinance which will speak for themselves. At every available opportunity my community is being prosecuted and harassed purely out of trade jealousy and on racial grounds. As the various Municipal Councils of this Province are composed mostly of white traders they are apparently mostly concerned in outing their Asiatic rivals in business, and are seemingly devoid of any sense of justice and fairplay.

Not even the most reactionary law of the late Republican Government imposed such disabilities upon the Indian community as they presently labour under. Even those borne within the Union lawfully resident within the Transvaal are handicapped in their efforts to earn a respective livelihood or acquiring fixed property and are denied the rights to live with dignity and self respect as benefits the sons of the soil.)

As for the alleged evasion of the country's laws, I need hardly dwell upon the facts as the points are clearly set out in the attached memorandum submitted by Mr. Polak marked "N". What the Indians done was done openly and confessedly. There was no attempt to deceive the Government or for that matter the general public. Being residents domiciled in the Transvaal and particularly seeing that the closed door policy has once and for all been accepted and that there is no possibility of the number of Indians in the Province ever increasing to any appreciable extent, my community still does not despair that the day will come when they will live as men with citizenship in their citizenship of the Union, and not as do 1916 my

in this progressive subcontinent.

In regard to the continued expression of alarm by the opponents of the community, and the allegation that a large number of Indians are illegally filtering into the country, I venture to say that this expression of fear is baseless and not actually insincere, and a libelous attack on my people. In point of fact the Indian population of the Transvaal is on the decrease. Where there were 17,000 Indians prior to the Anglo-Boer War and 15,000 in 1903 we have to-day men, women and children between 12,000 and 13,000 all told. At this rate the Indian population of the Transvaal will in course of time dwindle into insignificance.

By virtue of the closed door policy already referred to, no illegal entrant can under any circumstances obtain a (bona fide holder) licence in this Province for any purpose unless he is a bona fide holder of a Registration Certificate under Act 36 of 1906. I beg to submit that even this Act did not curtail the trading rights of the Indian community, but protected them under Section 14 thereof. It will therefore be observed that an Indian who has illegally entered the country cannot trade in any shape or form. Even on the Mines an Indian is not employed unless he produces his Registration Certificate. This does not show that the field for unlawful entry into the Province is open as to become a "danger" to the country. In the year 1915, when it was brought to the notice of my Association which represents the feelings of most of the Indian community resident in the Transvaal that there was smuggling of Indians from Lourenco Marques, my Association immediately took steps to have an enquiry instituted into the whole affair and to get those responsible therefor punished. My Association the same year went to the length of getting a European prosecuted and convicted for issuing forged Registration Certificates. In 1916 my

Association was responsible for obtaining a conviction against an Indian engaged in fraudulent traffic in permits. My statement will be borne out not only by the Principal Immigration Officer of the Transvaal, but also by the Police that this Association will not and did not under any circumstances countenance any such clandestine entries of Indians into the Transvaal. This proves that the whole clamour of Asiatic influx is nothing but a bogey. On no occasion was it ~~discovered~~ found that there is a large number of unlawful residents in the Country competing with Indians themselves or the Europeans. On this occasion also I have no hesitation in saying that the charge preferred against the Indian community will be proved to be unfounded if a searching enquiry is instituted.

Very great stress is laid upon the point of segregation. I beg to record on behalf of my Association it has all along being strenuously objected to the principle. My community objects to be branded as anti-semitic and as fit only to be relegated to ghettos however they be styled. Segregation of Indians purely on racial grounds spells nothing, short of degradation and cannot be too vehemently opposed. During the world war Indians stood for freedom and the right of self determination of the smaller nations. On the termination of war the Indians who helped for the protection of the hearths and homes of the people of the Union cannot be reasonably expected to subscribe to their own enslavement or helotage.

If the complaint of unfair competition be sincere and thought to be at all deserved my community is prepared to secure a minimum wage on equal terms with their

European/fellow workers. Promptly the cry arose that it was beneath the dignity of a white man to tolerate and for that matter suffer a coloured man to draw a salary equal to that of a European.

In regard to the alleged under-cutting of Indians or underselling the white trader this is an unfounded complaint as the Indian does not dispose of his goods except for a reasonable profit to maintain himself and his dependants after meeting all establishment costs, without taking an undue advantage of the consuming public in the shape of profiteering. Moreover the Indian trader largely gets his supplies from the local European wholesalers on even terms with his white competitors. The Indian purveyor of necessaries admittedly performs a useful public service. If one servant is willing to serve the community's needs for a reasonable return to himself that another such servant he is veritable asset to that community.

Must the unfortunate consumer pay for wasteful indulgences and luxuries? The Indian retailer has proved himself a boon especially to the poorer classes in serving a definite economic purpose as a distributing agent particularly in country districts.

The spending power of the Indian is restricted by reason of the many disabilities he suffers. For instance he may not choose a suitable residence for himself in a respectable quarter. All avenues of investment are closed to him. His children are not lawfully entitled to claim the education for their intellectual development and adapt themselves on the requirements of modern civilisation except as despised aliens. He is precluded from enjoying life by visiting places of public entertainments and amusement on racial grounds.

On behalf of the Association I beg to hand in a number of petitions signed by European traders residents of this Province as evidence that the consumer does not adopt the view that the Indian is what his rival trader says to him. I beg to submit to

this Honourable Commission that my community is but asking for the elementary right to live and pursue our usual calling in this Province with self-respect and dignity.

For the purpose of securing the required relief it is respectfully submitted that the following laws be amended or repealed in the following manner :-

- (1) Repeal of Law 3 of 1885 which is purely a class legislation and a measure which has caused no little embarrassment to both the ~~President~~ <sup>President</sup> and past South African Governments <sup>of</sup> the Indian Community.
- (2) <sup>(old Law)</sup> Amendments of Sections 130 and 131 of Act 35 of 1908 in so far as they impose restrictions regarding occupation or proclaimed areas upon the Indians resident in the Transvaal.
- (3) Amendment of those sections of Act 34 of 1908 which <sup>(Amendment)</sup> adversely affect the Indian population of the Transvaal so as to conform to Act 35 of 1908 amended as recommended in No. 2.
- (4) Amendment of Section 90 (E) of the Local Government Ord. 9 of 1912 compelling the Municipal Councils and Village Boards etc. to assign reasons on points of Law and facts for refusal of licences subject to certain defined rules and regulations and granting the applicants the right of appeal to the Supreme Court; renewals to be considered as such and not as new licences <sup>(but see above)</sup>.
- (5) The repeal of Act 37 of 191<sup>3</sup> which is only a corollary to Law ~~three~~ <sup>3</sup> of 1885 and is purely a reactionary measure in all its intents.
- (6) That for the purpose of uniformity exempted Indians be placed on equal footing with those holding Registration Certificates <sup>(enable them to engage in trade) shall</sup>.

In conclusion I beg to attach hereto Mr.

Gandhi's/

Gandhi's open letter published on the eve of his departure from South Africa from which it will be observed that an appeal is made to both the sections of the communities within the Union to work on a line of mutual forbearance to bring about a satisfactory understanding for the common good and elevation of both the races.

16/4/20.

For and on behalf of the

TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

M. I. Asvat.

Chairman.

P. K. Naideo.

Honorary Secretary.

We, the undersigned, Office Holders of the various associations below set out, do hereby, on behalf of our respective Association, fully endorse and associate ourselves with the contents of the foregoing Statement.

NAME:

ASSOCIATION.

R. S. Cheekaling Pillay.

The Transvaal Tamil Benefit Society.

Morarhai Pohage Patel.  
Chairman.

The Transvaal Pahdir Society.

R. V. Patu.  
Secretary.

NAME :

Zina Parag.

Chairman.

G. Parbhoo.

Treasurer.

M. J. Patel.

Vanangie Dayubhoo

Chairman.

D. Exneats.

ASSOCIATIONS :

The Dhonfee Mandal

The Transvaal Annahvil Mandal.

The Keres Community.

The Transvaal Prajpat Mandal.

Colonial Born Indian Association.

The following resolutions were passed unanimously at a Mass meeting consisting of about 3000 British Indians, including a number of Representatives from Country Districts, held at Johannesburg on 11th. April, 1920 :

This Mass meeting of the Transvaal Indians at Johannesburg on the 11th. April, 1920, under the auspices of the Transvaal British Indian Association hereby approves of the statement drawn up by the Committee of the Association, and authorizes the Association to submit same to the Asiatic Inquiry Commission on their behalf subject to amendments by the Association's Advocate Dr. F.E.T.Krause and further authorizes its nominees to tender evidence in support of the statement.

Proposed by : Mr. Suliman Ebrahim. Pretoria.  
 Seconded by : Mr. A.R.A. Gani. Potchefstroom.  
 Supported by : Mr. A. I. Essack. Roodepoort.

While taking the most uncharitable view of the undignified action of certain irresponsible persons or bodies at this critical juncture this Mass Meeting publicly affirms that the British Indian Association is the only representative body which has hitherto constitutionally voiced the feelings of the Indian community of the Transvaal and enjoys their complete confidence. "

Proposed by : Mr. R.S.C.Pillay. Vice-Chairman.T.T.B.S.  
 Seconded by : Mr. A. Rahman. Potchefstroom.  
 Supported by : Mr. L. B. Singh. Germiston.



"A"

(LAW NO. 3, 1885.)

Coolies, Arabs and other Asiatics.

(Approved and enacted by Resolution of the Volksraad, Art. 255, dated June 1st, 1885.)

from  
applies.

1. This Law shall apply to the persons belonging to any of the native races of Asia, including the so-called Coolies, Arabs, Malays and Mahomedan subjects of the Turkish Dominion.

2. With regard to the persons mentioned in Art 1 the following provisions shall be made :

er  
is.

(a) They shall not be capable of obtaining burgher rights of the South African Republic.

is of  
erty.

(b) They shall not be capable of being owners of fixed property in the Republic.

iction.

(c) Those who settle in the Republic for the purpose of carrying on any trade or otherwise shall be bound to have their names entered in a register, to be separately kept for the purpose by the Landdrosts of the various districts, in accordance with a form to be prescribed by the Government.

ty.

On such registration, which shall be effected within eight days after arrival, a sum of £25 sterling shall be paid.

Contravention of the provision contained in subsection "C" above shall be punished with a fine of payment with imprisonment for a period from 14

- 2 -

days to 6 months.

The above mentioned registration shall be effected free of charge in the case of those persons who settled in the Republic before the coming into operation of this law provided they report themselves to the Landdrost, in the case of those living in the district of Pretoria, within eight days, and in the case of those living in the other districts within thirty days, after the coming into operation of this Law.

- locations, etc. (d) The Government shall have the right to point out certain streets, wards and locations for them to live in.
- ception. This provision shall not apply to those who live with their employers.
- eration. 3. This Law shall come into operation immediately after the publication in the Staatscourant in accordance with Art. 12 of the Grondwet.

S.J.P. Kruger.

State President.

W. EDWARD BOK,

State Secretary.

Government Office, Pretoria,

June 10th. 1885.)

"A" 1.

(VOLKSRAAD RESOLUTION, 12th. August, 1886.  
-----oOo-----)

1419: With alternation of the word "sanitary" into "of sanitation" the Rand unanimously agreed with the Executive Council Resolution, Article One hundred and thirty Sixty four, dated 13th. August, 1886.

Said Executive Council reads :-

On order: "Discussion re amendment of Law  
No. 3.

1885".

The Executive Council, recognising the desirability that said law be somewhat amended, and with a view to the short period of session of the Hon. Volksraad:

Resolves to propose to the Hon. Volksraad to authorise the Government to amend the said law on the following basis, viz :-

(1) That after the first paragraph of Article two (b) of Law No. 3, 1885 shall be added the following: "except only in such streets, wards, and locations as the Government for sanitary purposes shall assign to live in":

(2) amending article two (c) of Law 3, 1885.:

(3) that article two (d) of said law shall read as follows:

" The Government shall have the right for sanitary purposes to assign to them certain streets, wards and locations to live in. This provision does not apply to those who live with their employers".

VOLKSRAAD RESOLUTION, dated 16th. May 1890.

Act 138.

Amendment of Art., 2, par. 1 letter e, of Law 3, 1885 (Asiatics).

The said Art, 3, par. 1. letter e, of Law 3 of 1885,  
shall/

shall be amended as follows :-

- " Such coolies, Asiatics, etc., as establish them-
- " selves in the Republic to carry on business or
- " otherwise, shall be unregistered in a separate
- " register, to be kept therefore by the Landdrosts
- " of the respective districts or other officials
- " who may be thereto appointed by the Government,
- " according to a model to be prescribed by the
- " Government. " )

- 2 -

satisfy the Magistrate that he is duly authorised to enter or reside in this colony under the provisions of this Ordinance the Magistrate may make an order in writing directing such person to leave this colony within such time as may be specified in such order provided that did such person declare upon oath that he has already obtained a permit and gives satisfactory reasons for his inability to produce the same or if he declares upon oath that he can produce satisfactory evidence that he belongs to one of the classes exempted from the necessity of obtaining a permit by the provisions of section two thereof he may be related upon entering into a recognisance with or without sureties to produce before any Magistrate named in such recognisance and within the time stated therein such permit or evidence as the case may be. If such person fails to comply with the conditions of his recognisance it shall be forfeited.

7. Any person who may be ordered to leave this colony & fails to do so within the time specified in the order and any person whose recognisance has been forfeited under the provisions of the last preceding section may be arrested without warrant and brought before the Magistrate and shall upon conviction be sentenced to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period of not less than one month and not more than six months and with or without fine not exceeding five hundred pounds and in default of payment to a further term of imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

8. If any person imprisoned under the terms of the last preceding section shall remain in this colony for a period of more than seven days after the expiration of his term of imprisonment or any subsequent term of imprisonment imposed under the section without obtaining permission in writing from the Colonial Secretary to remain in the colony the burden of proving which shall be upon him he may be arrested without a warrant and brought before a Magistrate and shall on conviction be sentenced to imprisonment either or without hard labour for a period of not less than six and not more than twelve months and with or without a fine not exceeding five hundred pounds in a default of payment to a further term of imprisonment of a period not exceeding six months.

9. Any person who

- (1) obtains or attempts to obtain or incites any person to obtain or aids or abets any person in obtaining a permit by any fraud misrepresentation false pretences, falsehood or other improper means.
- (2) uses or attempts to use or incites any person to use or aids or abets any person in using any permit so obtained;
- (3) enters or attempts to enter this colony on a permit so obtained or on a permit not issued to him by proper authority;

shall be liable to a fine not exceeding five hundred pounds or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a term not exceeding not two years or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

It/

10. It shall be lawful for the Lieutenant-Governor on its being shown to his satisfaction that there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person within this Colony is dangerous to the peace and good government of the country to issue an order under the hand of the Colonial Secretary to such person to leave the Colony within such time after service of such order as may be stated therein. If on the expiration of the said period such person shall be found within the Colony he shall be proceeded against in manner prescribed in sections seven and eight of this Ordinance and shall be subject to the penalties therein provided.)

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(TRANSVAAL GOLD LAW.)

BRITISH INDIAN PETITION

The following is the text of the Petition submitted to the Transvaal Legislative Assembly by the British Indian Association in regard to the Draft Gold Law :

To the Honourable the,

Speaker, and Members of

Honourable Legislative,

Assembly of the Transvaal,

P R E T O R I A .

The Petition of Essop Essail Mia, in his capacity as Chairman of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal,

HUMBLY SHEWETH THAT:

1. Your Petitioner has read with alarm Sections 3, 104 113, 114, 127, 128 of the Bill to amend the gold Law of the Colony, recently published in the Government Gazette.
2. Your Petitioner humbly submits that the above - mentioned sections, if they are proved by this Honourable House, will impose upon British Indians resident in the Transvaal disabilities graver than those contemplated by the existing Gold Law, thereby inflicting grave loss to and threatening with ruin a community admitted to be peaceable and law-abiding.
3. Your Petitioner ventures to draw the attention of this Honourable House to the following specific objections on the part of the British Indians resident in this Colony.
  - (a) The Bill retains in the definition of the term "coloured person" the word "coolie", which, as this Honourable House is doubtless aware when applied to the present

British/

British Indian population of the Colony is an offensive term, there being in the Transvaal very few, if any "coolies", in the proper sense of the term. Moreover the bracketting together of African aboriginal natives and Asiatics, British subjects and non-British subjects, is to ignore the peculiar position occupied by British Indian subjects of the Crown.

(b) In your Petitioner's humble opinion, the definition of the "unwrought gold" is calculated to prevent Indian Goldsmiths from plying their trade of manufacturing goldware and jewellery even out of goldbars prepared in and imported from England and it is submitted this would be a grievous hardship for the goldsmiths in question.

(c) The retention of the original law as to dealing in unwrought gold, in so far as it specially affects coloured people, besides their coming under the general prohibitions of the law, assumes that coloured people are the greater offenders in respect of this crime, whereas, in the humble opinion of the petitioning Association the contrary is the fact, in so far as British Indians are concerned.

(d) Your Petitioner ventured to assent that Section 127 of the Bill is vaguely drawn and seems to contemplate entire prohibition of the acquisition by British Indians of any rights under it. The prohibition under the same section to holders of rights acquired previously to the Bill, to transfer or sub-let such rights to a coloured person makes the proposed law retrospective in its effect.

(e) Section 128 contemplates the compulsory segregation of British Indians residing within certain proclaimed areas, to wit, the entire Witwatersrand District, and if approved by the Honourable House, would make it possible for a very large number of the British Indians even to remain in the

Colony/



Colony. Your Petitioner would remind this Honourable House that the large majority of British Indians resident in the Transvaal are to be found in the above-mentioned areas, whilst the principle of compulsory segregation of British Indians under penalty is a direct extension of existing disabilities, by indirect means, which disabilities the petitioning Association has consistently protected against.

4. Your Petitioner ventures to assert that inasmuch as these Sections are based upon race and class distinctions, they can never give satisfaction to the British Indian community.

Moreover, such distinctions certain undeserved slur upon the community that your Petitioner has the honour to represent, as they must inevitably raise in the minds of the white colonists of the Transvaal feelings of contempt and scorn towards British Indians, thus increasing the difficulties unfortunately standing in the way of a better understanding between the two communities.

5. In your Petitioner's humble opinion restrictions of the kind above referred to obviously confer absolutely no privileges upon British Indians, but, on the contrary, deprive them of many rights and much esteem that they at present possess.

6. Your Petitioner further ventures to remind this Honourable House that the imposition of further disabilities upon the resident British Indian population of the Transvaal will enormously intensify the irritation and bitterness of feeling already existing in the minds of many millions of His Majesty's subjects in India.

7. Therefore your Petitioner humbly prays that this Honourable House will be pleased to reject the provisions herein before referred to, or to grant such other relief as to this Honourable House may seem meet; and for this act, etc., etc.,

(sgd.) ESSOP ISMAIL IA.

THE DRAFT GOLD LAW OF THE TRANSVAAL.

AN IMPORTANT LETTER OF PROTEST.

The following letter has been sent by Mr. Essop Ismail Mia, Chairman of the British Indian Association, Johannesburg, to the Honourable the Colonial Secretary, Pretoria :-

Sir, - I have been desired by the Committee of my Association to approach the Government regarding the Draft Gold Law which the Government intend to introduce during the forthcoming session of Parliament.

In the humble opinion of my Committee the draft imposes on British Indians disabilities graver than those found in the existing law. My Committee had hoped, as it still hopes, that the legal disabilities of the community represented by it would be lightened by the Government instead of their being increased.

My Committee desires me to specifically draw the attention of the Government to the following :-

1. The Draft retains in the definition of the term "Coloured person" the word "COOLIE" which as applied to the present Indian population of the Colony is an offensive term, there being in the Transvaal very few if any coolies in the proper sense of the term.

Moreover, the breaking together African natives and Asiatics, British subjects and non-British subjects is to ignore the peculiar position occupied by British Indians.

The retention of the original law as to dealing in unwrought gold in so far as it specially affects coloured people, besides their coming under the general prohibitions of the law, assumes that coloured people are the greater offenders in respect of dealing in unwrought gold, whereas in the opinion of my Association the contrary is the fact in so far as British Indians are concerned. Moreover, the definition of unwrought/

unwrought gold, probably prevents Indian goldsmiths from carrying on their business of manufacturing jewellery even out of gold bars prepared in and imported from England. This it will be readily admitted is a grievous hardship for the goldsmiths in question.

Section 127 of the draft law is, it is submitted, rather vague and seems to contemplate entire prohibition of acquisition by coloured people of any rights under it. The prohibition under the same section, to holders of rights acquired previous to the draft law, to transfer or sublet such rights to a coloured person makes the law retropective in its effect.

Finally section 128 which contemplates the compulsory segregation of coloured people residing within proclaimed areas, could if carried make it impossible for a large majority of British Indians even to remain in the country.

In this connection my Committee begs respectfully to remind the Government that my Association represents a people who claim to belong to a cultured stock in the human family, and trading and other interests which are sufficiently large to warrant the statement that the segregation of the Indian community means utter ruination to it from either inability to protect those interests in Bazaars, Locations and Compounds.

My Committee further reminds the Government that the majority of British Indians domiciled in the Transvaal live within the mining areas.

My Committee therefore respectfully trusts that the clauses complained of will be withdrawn by the Government or will be so amended so as to give the desired relief to the British Indian community residing in the Transvaal.)

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"The Five Points".

It has been suggested in some quarters not necessarily hostile that the points raised by Mr. Cachalia in his letter did not convey to the general public any such sense of grievance as would justify the community in reviving Passive Resistance by reason of their importance. It would perhaps be as well, therefore, to examine these points a little more closely.

It is evident, that, unless the 23 Tax is removed, the community will suffer from a running sore. Beyond this, it is clear that, so long as the tax is maintained, its tendency is either to drive the tax-payers back to servitude or to subject them to moral degradation, or to drive them out of the country.

It must be equally clear that is, in law, DE-FACTO monogamous marriages are not recognised, immoral relationships are bound to arise, families are bound to be disunited and, if such wives and their children are excluded from South Africa, the husbands and fathers must sooner or later follow them, which will entail the closing down of businesses and the gradual elimination from South Africa of a substantial and influential portion of the Indian community.

The right of South Africa born Indians to enter the Cape Province may not appear to the lay mind to be very substantial, but, analysed, it comes to this; That, if this right may now be yielded up by the community, because it has not been in previous years necessary for South Africa-born Indians to exercise it by way of entering the Cape, every such right may also be taken away on the strength of such argument by the Legislature. That the Cape right itself at a critical moment proved to be of the greatest value both to particular individuals and to the community was shown during the last Passive Resistance campaign, when two South Africa-born Indian youths who were as Passive Resisters deported to India - to them a foreign land- and who in pursuance of their vow returned to South Africa at the first opportunity succeeded in effecting a landing at the Cape. These

lads were refused a landing at Durban, declined to give their right to enter the Transvaal, and would most certainly have been obliged to go back to India, had they not been able to compel the Immigration Officer at the Cape, by proving their "South African Birth," to land them. This was of no consequence from the European standpoint but to the community it was of the greatest assistance. If rights may be easily yielded up or taken away, the time cannot be far distant when a community of helots will be created or Indians must leave South Africa.

Time again, the demand for the removal of the racial bar. Twenty years ago in Natal, the demand that legislation in a British Colony should be racial was made by the Indian Community, and, when the then Natal Parliament at its first session passed a Bill excluding Indians by name from the exercise of the franchise the measure was voted by the Imperial Government for reasons set forth by the leaders of the Indian community. Later on, when the Natal Government desired to introduce an Immigration Restriction Act excluding Asiatics by name, the attempt was dropped by reason of a warning issued in the same terms by the Imperial Government with the result that the Act of 1897, which was of a non-racial character, became the model for Colonial legislation on immigration until the Transvaal Immigration Act of 1907 was passed and became the object of massive resistance by the Transvaal Indian Community.

It must be clear to all who look upon these matters that any community that is content to accept legislation differentiating against it must be clear sooner or later be extinguished, because acceptance of one measure about which a racial bar becomes a precedent of a series of enactments similarly for the passing designed and with the object of crushing that community.

Lastly, there is the question of a liberal and just administration of existing legislation affecting Asiatics. The Indians of South Africa know better than anyone can tell them what have been the results of the harsh administration of its

laws. Under the Expropriation Act, men have been driven out of the country penniless. Businesses have been closed down under the Game and Natal Licensing Acts, and merchants in the Transvaal all but ruined under the Administration of the Gold Law and the Townships Act. And if these are not practical, real and tangible grievances, it would be difficult to know what are.

When all these five points are considered cumulatively, the conclusion is irresistible that the policy of the Government is to reduce the community to a condition of serfdom or to compel them to retire from the Union of South Africa.

Neither alternative is acceptable to any community with a sense of self-respect. Passive resistance, therefore means not merely a struggle to obtain on these five points, relief, but it is a demonstration, and a most powerful one, against the insidious attempt of the Government to compass the ruin of the community.

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C O P Y.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
CAPE TOWN, 30th June, 1914.  
HOPE, 30th. June, 1914.

Dear Mr. Gandhi, -

Adverting to the discussion you have lately had with General Smuts on the subject of the position of the Indian community in the Union, at the first of which you expressed yourself as satisfied with the provisions of the Indian Relief Bill and accepted it as a definite settlement of the points, which required legislative action, at issue between that community and the Government, and at the second of which you submitted for the consideration of the Government a list of other matters requiring administrative action, over and above those specifically dealt with in that Bill? I am desired by General Smuts to state with reference to those matters that:

1. He sees no difficulty in arranging that the Protector of Indian Immigrants in Natal will in future issue to every Indian, who is subject to provisions of Natal Act No. 17 of 1905, on completion of his period of indenture or reindenture a certificate of discharge, free of charge, similar in form to that issued under the provisions of Section 106 of Natal Law No. 25 of 1891.

2. On the question of allowing existing plural wives and the children of such wives to join their husbands (or fathers) in South Africa no difficulty will be raised by the Government if on inquiry it is found as you stated that the number is a very limited one.

3. In administering the provisions of Section (a) of the Union Immigrants Regulations Act No. 22 of 1913, the practice hitherto existing at the Cape will be continued in respect of South African born Indians who seek to enter the Cape Province, so long as the movement of such persons

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to that Province assumes no greater dimensions than had been the case in the past: the Government however reserve the right as soon as the number of such entrants sensibly increases to apply the provisions of the Immigration Act,

4. In the case of the "Specially exempted educated entrants into the Union" (i.e. the limited number will be allowed by the Government to enter the Union each year for some purpose connected with the general welfare of the Indian Community) the declaration to be made by such persons will not be required at provincial borders as the general declarations which are made in terms of Section 19 of the Immigrants Regulation at the port of entry are sufficient.

5. Those Indians who have been admitted within the last three years either to the Cape Province or Natal after passing the education tests imposed by the Immigration Laws which were in force therein prior to the coming into effect of Act 22 of 1913, but who, by reasons of the wording of Section 30 thereof, are not yet regarded as being "domiciled" in the sense in which the term is defined in the section in question, shall in the event of their absenting themselves temporarily from the Province in which they are lawfully resident be treated on their return as if the term "domiciled" as so defined did apply to them.

6. He will submit to the Minister of Justice the cases of those persons who have in the past been convicted of "beneficial passive resistance offences" (a term which is mutually understood) and that he anticipates no objection on Mr. De Wet's part to the suggestion that conviction for such offences will not be used by the Government against such persons in the future.

7. A document will be issued to every (specially exempted educated entrant) who is passed by the Immigration Officer under the instructions of the Minister issued under the Sections 25 of Act No. 22 of 1913.

8. All/



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C O P Y

706.  
7 Buitencingle,  
Cape Town.  
30.6.1914.

Dear Mr. Georges,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of even date herewith setting forth the substance of the interview that General Smuts was pleased, notwithstanding many other pressing calls upon his time, to grant me on Saturday last.

I feel deeply grateful for the patience and courtesy which the Minister showed during the discussion of the several points submitted by me.

The passing of the Indian Relief Bill and this correspondence finally closes the passive resistance struggle which commences in the September of 1906 and which to the Indian Community cost most physical suffering and pecuniary loss and to the Government much anxious thought and consideration.

As the Minister is aware some of my countrymen have wished me to go further. They are dissatisfied that the trade licenses laws of the different Provinces, the Transvaal Gold Law, the Transvaal Townships Act, the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885 have not been altered, so as to give them full rights of residence, trade and ownership of land. Some of them are dissatisfied that full interprovincial migration is not permitted, and some are dissatisfied that on the marriage question the Relief Bill goes not further than it does. They have asked me that all the above matters might be included in the passive resistance struggle. I have been unable to comply with their wishes. Whilst therefore they have not been included in the programme of passive resistance it will not be denied that some day or other these matters will require further and sympathetic consideration by the Government. Complete satisfaction cannot be expected until full civic have been conceded to the rights resident Indian population. I have told my countrymen that they will have to exercise patience and by all honourable means

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at their disposal educate public opinion so as to enable the Government of the day go to further than the present correspondence does. I shall hope that when the Europeans of South Africa fully appreciate the fact that now, as the importation of indentured labour from India is prohibited and as the Immigrants Regulation Act of last year has in practice all but stopped further free Indian Immigration and that my countrymen do not ascribe to any political ambition, they, the Europeans, will see the justice and indeed the necessity of my countrymen being granted the rights I have just referred to.

So while if the generous spirit that the Government have applied to the treatment of the problem during the past few months continues to be applied as promised in your letter in the administration of the existing laws, I am quite certain that the Indian community throughout the Union will be able to enjoy some measure of peace and never be a source of trouble to the Government.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) M. M. S. MDHI.

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(8th. May. 1916.

PERSONAL.

Dear Colonel Phang,

The "Star" of the 26th. ultimo contained a report of the proceedings of the Krugersdorp Town Council which refused an application for a Municipal license by Messrs. Maloney Linnell & Co., one of the most important Indian firms in South Africa, under section 90 (e) of the Local Government Ordinance, and also in terms of the agreement entered into between the Government and Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Indian community.

Have you any idea how this extraordinary belief has gained ground, for that it has been assumed from at least two other Municipalities in the Transvaal. Bodepoort indeed has gone to the extent of refusing to renew licenses.

You will recognize that a most difficult and delicate situation is being created by this action on the part of Municipalities, and I am extremely anxious that no unnecessary difficulty should be created by reason of the apparently irresponsible action of certain Municipalities in the Transvaal.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd). Polak.

Colonel Phang,  
acting Sec. for the Interior.  
(Cape Town.)

"1"

709.

10th. May, 1916.

The Acting Secretary for the Interior,

PRETORIA.

Sir,

In the "Star" of the 20th ultimo appears a paragraph stating that the application for a Municipal licence by Messrs. Salomon Ismail and Co., was refused by the Krugersdorp Council under section 90 (e) of the Local Government Ordinance and also in terms of the agreement entered into between the Government and Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Indian community.

My Association addressed a communication therein after to the Town Clerk of Krugersdorp asking him to be so good as to refer my Association to the agreement upon which the reliance was placed, to which a reply has now been received referring my Association to you for the information desired.

My I know if you are in a position to give my Association this information.

Thanking you in anticipation.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Chairman.

"J"

C.T.1605.

710.

(UNION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA,

Department of the Interior,

Old Supreme Court Buildings,

Cape Town, 18th. May, 1916.

Dear Mr. Polak,

With reference to your semi-official letter to me of the 3th. instant and a similar letter from the Chairman of the British Indian Association dated the 10th idem in regard to the question of Indian licenses. I write to say that what the Municipalities are referring to is presumably a paragraph in Mr. Gandhi's letter of the 7th. July 1914 addressed to Mr. Gorges on the subject of vested rights which Mr. Gandhi defined as follows :- "By vested rights I understand "the right of an Indian and his successors to live and trade "in the township in which he was living and trading, no matter "how often he shifts his residence or business from place to "place in the same township". The intention of this definition would appear to be that those Indians who had licenses to trade would not be interfered with even though they removed their place of business to another stand, but that no new licenses would be issued to them in regard to additional trading facilities and also that no new-comers would be granted new trading licenses. I may say for your information that a deputation the Krugersdorp Council interviewed me some time ago on the question of these licenses and I told them in the course of conversation that the Union Government had nothing whatever to do with the question of Municipal licenses and referred them to the Provincial Administration should they require any definite decision on this matter of licenses but it was stated to them at the time what view Mr. Gandhi personally held as regards the rights of Indians at the time of the settlement. and I presume the reference quoted in Mr. Gandhi's letter of the 10th. Instant no doubt had a bearing on this question.

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I am not replying to the official letter addressed to this office by Mr. Gachalia as I presume this semi-official letter to you will supply the information needed.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) E. B. SHANK.)

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"K"

712.

(Phoenix, Natal.

7th. July, 1914.

Dear Mr. Jorjes,

I have not got a moment to submit by note upon the Gold Law. As you know, after mature consideration, I refrained from pressing for the insertion of a special clause defining "vested rights" in connection with the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act, because I felt that any definition in the correspondence might result in restricting the future action of my countrymen. However, so far as my interpretation of "vested rights" is concerned, I think that I should reduce it to writing. General Smuts was good enough to say that he would endeavour to protect vested rights as defined by me. The following is the definition I submitted to Sir Benjamin Robertson, who, I understand, submitted it to General Smuts. My letter to Sir Benjamin containing, among other matters, the definition, is dated the 4th. March, 1914. "By vested rights I understand the right of an Indian and his successors to live and trade in the township in which he was living and trading, no matter how often he shifts his residence or business from place to place in the same township". I am fortified in my interpretation by the answer given by Mr. Harcourt in connection with the matter, in the House of Commons, on the 27th. June, 1911 :- "Complaints against that legislation (the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act) have been made and are now being investigated by the Government of the Union of South Africa, who have lately stated that there is no intention of interfering with any business or right to carry on business acquired and exercised by Indians prior to the date of the legislation".

I have also now traced the note by Mr. de Villiers, which I alluded to in our conversation. It is contained in a White Paper published in London in March, 1912, and runs the following :- "No right or privilege which a coloured person has at the present time is taken away by the new Act (Act 35 of

1926)". And again, "Section 161 which before the bill was introduced into Parliament formed the subject of questions in the English House of Commons and of despatches from the Secretary of State to the Governor, has been amended in Committee solely to safeguard any rights which a coloured person may at the present time have of occupying land in mining areas. Certainly, prior to the passing of the Gold Law, no restrictions were, to my knowledge, placed upon the movement or the trade of British Indians in the Gold Areas.

There can, therefore, be no justification for any restriction now, especially in regard to those who are already settled in their respective townships.

I am,

Yours truly,

(Sgd). A. N. Gandhi.)

H. L. Gorges Esq.,  
Pretoria.

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"L".

114.  
23rd. May, 1916.

C O P Y

(The Secretary,

Transvaal Municipal Association,

JONAH BENESBURG.)

Sir,

My Association has observed recently what appears to be a concerted action on the part of the Transvaal Municipalities to refuse to issue Municipal Licenses to Indian applicants, and my Association has reason to believe that this procedure has been adopted by agreement amongst Municipalities, possibly by resolution of your Association. My Association has also deduced from its observations the probability that such decision must have been reached by reason of some misunderstanding as to the nature of the Settlement reached between the Government and the Indian community of the Transvaal in 1914, and that surmise has been confirmed by the newspaper report of the proceedings of the Krugersdorp Town Council in refusing the issue to the Indian applicant of a Municipal license, not only on one of the grounds mentioned under section 90 of the Local Government Ordinance, 1912, but also in terms of the agreement entered into between the Government and Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Indian community. On behalf of my association I thereupon communicated with that municipality asking them to furnish my association with the grounds upon which they based their statement and I received a reply referring my association to the Department of the Interior with whom I accordingly communicated. My Association has now received a reply stating that in all probability the basis of the statement made at the Meeting of the Krugersdorp Town Council was a paragraph appearing in a letter addressed personally by Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Gorges, then Secretary for the Interior, on the 7th, July, 1914, and upon reference thereto it appears to my association to be clear that a complete misunderstanding has arisen as to exactly what was

Kr./

Mr. Gandhi's attitude at that time.

In order to place the matter upon a proper basis I have sought the permission of the Department of the Interior to communicate to you which I do herewith for transmission as a private document not for publication, to the various Municipalities that are members of your Association, for Mr. Gandhi's letter of the 7th. July, 1914. From an attentive perusal of this document you will observe, in the first place, that Mr. Gandhi throughout is discussing the position of Indians under the Gold Law and Townships Act, for at that time and in the absence of certain judicial decisions that have since been given, the position of Indians in certain areas was considerably jeopardized by the actual threatened operation of the Gold Law at the Lands of the Government, and Mr. Gandhi's definition of "vested rights" applies only in regard to its relationship to the Gold Law and the Townships Act. It had no direct or indirect reference whatever to the issue or non-issue of trading licenses, and certainly none as to licenses issuable by municipalities which was not in his contemplation or that of my Association at that time.

You will observe that in any event Mr. Gandhi's statement was one of his own personal views, and that he expressly safeguarded himself from saying anything that could bind the Indian Community, especially having regard to his approaching departure from South Africa.

It must be quite obvious to your Association that the Indian community cannot possibly be a party to such restrictions of licenses as has evidently been contemplated by the Municipalities if only for the fact that provision must be made for those Indians who are born here, been brought up in this country, though of course, this is but one of the many reasons why the Indian community will decline to be a party to such an agreement as has evidently been agreed upon in the absence of any reference to themselves.)

I have therefore, to request that your Association will be so good as to do what is necessary to place the facts hereinbefore referred to in a suitable manner to the notice of the various Municipalities that constitute your Association.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd. ) A. J. GARDNER.  
Chairman.

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"M"

717.

5th. July,

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PERSONAL.

Dear Colonel Shawe,

I have pleasure in enclosing herewith the Memorandum for which you asked me with reference to the present position regarding the ownership of fixed property by Indians in the Transvaal. If there are any points in connection with it that you would care to discuss with me, I shall be in Pretoria on Friday morning I shall take the which opportunity of calling upon you to discuss briefly an important and somewhat urgent matter arising out of the interview with Sir Thomas Watt last January by a deputation of the Transvaal British Indian Association.

Yours truly,

(Sgd.) Jolok.

Colonel Shawe,

Acting Sec: for the Interior,

P R E T O R I A .

"H".

PROHIBITION OF OWNERSHIP OF FIXED PROPERTY

BY ASIATICS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

The ownership of fixed property in the Transvaal by Asiatics is prohibited by Section 2 paragraph (a) of Law 3 of 1885 as amended by the Volksraad Resolution, Article 141 published in the proclamation dated the 14th. January 1887. The paragraph as amended reads as follows :-

"They 'Asiatics' may not be the owners of fixed property in the Republic except in such streets, wards and locations as the Government shall appoint sanitary purposes as their residence"

Although various areas have been appointed by the Government for the residence of Asiatics, known as Asiatic Bazaars, the law does not compel them to reside in such bazaars, nor has any provision been made for the acquisition by Asiatics of sites in such Bazaars.

Erf. No. 375, had been made purchased, in 1885, by the late Aboobaker Aood, of Durban, but transfer had not been effected in his favour at the time of the coming into force of Law 3 of 1885. Deeds were at once devised by individual Indians, acting upon legal advice, to acquire all possible rights in fixed property, have the right of registering such property in their own names, which was prohibited.

The firm of Mahomed Ismail & Co., of Mlerksburg, purchased certain Government erven at public auction. At first the Republican Government wished to cancel the sale but eventually consented to the sale, provided that the property was registered in the name of the Mining Commissioner and held by him in trust for the virtual owners. Similarly an erf was bought by the late Aboobaker Aood at Sanderton and registered in the name of the Mining Commissioner. Provision of the law was thus first suggested by the Government themselves before the Anglo-Boer War. Other Indians bought property, which was registered in the name of private European persons, and it has been held that such ownership in trust/

trust quite local, as the European owners were the legal owners, the Indian virtual owners having merely a personal right against the European registered owners, and that when the virtual owners purported to buy or sell fixed property, in law they bought or sold only the non-registered rights, and not the dominion in the property.

The leading cases on this point are :-

Lucan's Trustees versus Ismail and Anod, T.S. (1900).  
329, and Khawisa versus Anood T. S. S. (1913) 307.

Ref. 375 criteria above referred to was subsequently registered in the name of Henry Solomon Leon Polak, and was held by him on behalf of the Indian heirs of the late Aboobaker Anad to whom he had advanced a bond for the full value of the property. In the year 1907, purporting to act in terms of section 21 thereof which was designed to cover this case, he applied to the Supreme Court for an order cancelling the transfer to himself, and authorising the Registrar of Deeds to re-register the property in the names of the legatees. This application was refused (Polak versus Registrar of Deeds T. S. (1907) (1084).

In order, therefore to give full effect to the intention of the Legislature in connection with this particular property section 19 of Act 36, 1909, was specially enacted, and the property has since been transferred to the heirs heretofore referred to.

The practice had thus for some years grown up of registering transfer in the name of the European nominal and legal owner, who regarded himself as a trustee on behalf of the Indian virtual owner, to whom, as a rule, he advanced a bond for the full value of the property so sold, and to whom he also gave a power of Attorney to deal with the property, which said power was sometimes made irrevocable. This, in effect, the Indian owner was practically able to sell fixed property, but without any responsibility. In the event of a difficulty desiring to take steps for the recovery of a debt or the settlement of a claimance created on a property so sold, action would have to be taken  
Inst/

against the proposed law - that if no such person were available in the country, the Municipality would frequently be without a legal remedy.

Another mode of legally evading the prohibitions of law 3 of 1935 had been adopted by using the facilities provided by the Companies Act, Transvaal, No. 31 of 1929. Under this Act, any two persons may become members of a private company with limited liability, and upon the registration such company is in law a separate and independently persons unaffected by the status of its members. Thus, though (a) an Asiatic may not have fixed property registered in his name he may hold 999 shares out of 1,000 in such a company, and (b) his wife, married to him according to Mohammedan law (which marriage is not recognised as lawful in the Transvaal) may hold the remaining share, and the company so registered will be able to take legal title to property openly purchased by the company, and in its own name. It is not necessary for any European to be a member of such a company. The anomaly of the position is obvious. The disadvantages attaching to these various methods of legally evading the prohibitions of law 3 of 1935 were (1) additional and unnecessary expense to the virtual owners, and (2) the removing from them of a sense of responsibility (a) by familiarising them with the idea of evasion of the law; (b) by lessening their sense of civic responsibility as owners of fixed property, particularly in respect of payment of rates and improvement of sanitary conditions, and (c) in regard to their creditors. It is not suggested that this sense of irresponsibility is usually shown, but that the existing conditions tend to create it.

In Natal, even the most ignorant and illiterate ex-indentured Indians may be the legal owners of fixed property. In the Cape Province there is no prohibition. In the Transvaal, however, the wealthiest and longest-established Indian merchant may not be the registered owner of his business premises, whilst a man owner of the status of a hansi was prohibited, and he so desired, from being the registered owner of his own residence.

political events in which the Indian community was involved from 1906 onwards, there is no doubt that strong pressure would have been brought to bear much earlier upon the Government, with a view of removing this disability, which, though in practice it does not wholly disable Indians from owning fixed property, nevertheless constitutes a legal disability of a serious and humiliating character.

The simplest, most effective, and most reasonable way of removing the anomaly would be to give the limited Transvaal Indian population the same legal right that is possessed by the relatively enormous Indian population of Natal, by repealing section 2 paragraph (b) of Law 3 of 1905, as amended, whilst at the same time, and in order to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding or the maintenance of any existing disability, providing that property owned by Indians may be fully occupied by them, their servants or employees, or person to whom they may let such property. Indians, in practically every instance, invest their savings with a view either to become the owners of their own business and residential premises, or to derive an income from the rental thereof, and not for merely speculative purposes.)



20th. September, 1916.

The Acting Secretary for the Interior,

P R O T O C O L S .

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a short memorandum indicating some of the disabilities created by and inconsistencies revealed in the Asiatic Registration Acts of the Transvaal and the present Immigration Laws. I venture to hope that it will shortly be possible for the Honourable the Minister to introduce into Parliament an amending Bill that will remove the majority at least of these anomalies and disabilities. At the same time, I venture to submit that it might avoid undesirable criticism if a paragraph could be incorporated in any such Bill, repealing those provisions of Law 3 of 1885 prohibiting the ownership of fixed property by Asiatics, in view of the circumstances set forth in my recent memorandum on this subject. In my conversation with Sir Thomas Burt on Monday last, I informed him that there was a case pending in the High Court, in which judgment has been reserved by Mr. Justice Gird, in the question whether a company whose members were wholly Asiatic should become the owner of fixed property, having regard to the terms of Law 3 of 1885. I observe from to-day's papers that the Learned Judge has declared that, in his opinion, there is nothing in the Law to prevent this. I have not obtained the full text of the judgment, but a valuable summary appears in the "Star" of to-day's date.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servants,

(Sgd.) British Indian Assn.

ENC:

(Extract from letter from E. M. Lenchik Esq., to W. S. J. Polak Esq., August 1917.)

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With reference to the correspondence dated May 23rd. 1916 regarding the interpretation of the term "vested rights".

In my letter of the 7th. July 1914, addressed to Mr. Georges I entirely concur in the opinion therein expressed.

I think that my letter is not capable of bearing a double interpretation, and as stated therein, it cannot in any case be acted upon without its being accepted by the community.)

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1917. 2007. MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF KRUGERSDORP.

APPEAL FROM MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF KRUGERSDORP.

A judgment of considerable interest to the Reef Municipalities has been delivered by Mr. Justice Mason in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, in a case in which the Municipal Council of Krugersdorp applied for an order interdicting T. W. Beckett & Co. from permitting a residence of Indians or coloured persons, on certain stands which they own in Market Street in Krugersdorp.

The learned Judge said: There is no question that the order must be granted against the respondents, but it is to be qualified, he thought, by the words "other than the bona-fide servants of the respondents".

Discussing the question of costs, his Lordship said the applicants had obtained, not all the asked for, but a very substantial portion of their claim. It was contended that the proper course to have adopted would be to include the Indians so as to eject them, and that this order could not have really any operative effect because it did not act as an ejectment of the Indians. He did not understand that all the Indians in these shops had a large amount of stock, but that at any rate, some of them had and he did not think it could be contended that the tailor who occupied the shop, with two cousins, had £5,000 worth of stock. The substantial point was this: Here was an application part of which was successful. It was true that no letter of demand was issued. If, therefore, the respondents desired to avoid the costs, their proper course was this, as soon as they received notice of the application, to say, "We do not contest the application; we are prepared to give you our assurance that no Indians will be permitted to reside on the premises and you need not go to court at all". If they had given the assurance there would have been a great deal to be said for the contention that no costs should be given against them. But there was nothing in the nature of a tender, and a tender was as much obligatory on the respondents, if they wished to avoid the costs on the application, as/

as in ordinary actions. In the circumstances, especially seeing that the respondents had had the matter adjourned in order to be able to contest the matter, it seemed impossible to avoid the ordinary rule that the respondents must pay the costs of the application.

With reference to the question of giving time, the Learned Judge did not see how the Court could, in an application of this nature, grant time. The occupation by these Indians and coloured persons was illegal. The respondents were interdicted from allowing that occupation to continue, so far as they were concerned. That was all that was asked for. He did not think that the Court would be entitled to say the respondents could allow these people to occupy so as to recoup them for the loss which they had sustained owing to their misapprehension of the true of law, even though state fostered to some extent by the applicants. He did not think the Court could grant relief in that way.

The order would be that the respondents be interdicted from permitting the residence of Indians or coloured persons on the site of the stands; or in the shops thereon, whether their occupation thereof, otherwise than bona-fide servants of the respondents, and they must pay the cost of the application.

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To,

THE SPEAKER,

THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF THE  
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

In Parliament Assembled.

THE PETITIONERS' NAMES ENDED.

HAJEE HABIB,

MOOLJEE G. PATEL.

Being members of the Committee of the Transvaal British  
Indian Association.

and

ISMAIL AHMED PATEL

Being Chairman of the Krugersdorp Branch of the  
Transvaal British Indian Association.

RESPECTFULLY REQUEST :-

Petitioners are British Indians residing and carrying on  
business in the Transvaal.Certain of the petitioners have suffered and are still suffer-  
ing under disabilities hereunder set out, Petitioners represent  
the British Indian Traders having established business at Krug-  
ersdorp and further they represent by formal and unanimous  
resolution, the British Indian Association, a Corporate body  
charged with safeguarding interest of the British Indian Com-  
munity of the Transvaal.Petitioners point out that British Indians in the Transvaal  
suffer under severe disabilities imposed on them merely by  
reason of their race and colour. The Indian community has  
patiently borne the burdens of the oppressive laws and regu-

lations. From/

time to time they have represented their grievances to the Government Departments concerned in hopes that eventually the justice of their claims might be recognised and relief accorded them.

So far from this being the case, efforts are now being made and in several instances have been successfully employed. Having for their object the total and final ruination of the Indian Traders in the Transvaal and especially on the Witwatersrand Gold Fields. The sequence of the legislation and events leading up to the present critical position with which the Indian community in general and the Indian Trader more particularly is faced is briefly as follows :-

(a) Under Law No.3 of 1885 (Transvaal) Indians were prohibited from acquiring the ownership, in land in the late South African Republic and this law is still on the Statute Book. This Law provides inter alia as follows :-

Section (2) b "They may not be the owners of fixed property in the Republic". This provision is not retrospective."

Section 2 (c) "Those who settle in Republic for trade or otherwise shall be registered in a register to be kept exclusively for that purpose by the Magistrate of the respective districts, according to a form to be prescribed by the Government."

Section 2 (d) "The Government will have the right to indicate to them for purposes of residence certain defined streets, wards and locations".

Section (e) further more provides that the registration fee contemplated by this section would be £25. (By Volksraad Besluit of 18th August 1886 Articles 1418 and 1419 - This fee was reduced to £3."

Petitioners desire to point out that under the provisions of Act No. 3 of 1885 their right to trade, subject to registration and payment of the prescribed fees, was unrestricted and until the passing of the Act 35 of 1908 (Gold Law), your petitioners continued to enjoy this practically unrestricted right to trade. By this Act, however, serious disabilities were imposed upon  
Petitioners/

whereby in an indirect manner, the rights they until then enjoyed were either curtailed or taken away as will appear more fully from the following sections.

Section 130 - "No, right may be acquired under this Act by a coloured person and the holder of a right acquired under Law No. 18 of 1908 (i.e. the previous Gold Law) or a prior Law or under this Act shall not transfer or sublet any portion of such right to a coloured person nor permit any coloured person other than his bona-fide servant to reside on or occupy ground held under such right.

A penalty of £5 per day follows contravention of this section. Section 131 - "No coloured person shall be permitted to reside on proclaimed land in class A (which class includes the whole of the Witwatersrand Gold Fields) except the bazaars, locations, mining compounds, and such other places as the Mining Commissioners may appoint."

A penalty of one month's imprisonment follows contraventions of this section.

Petitioners point out that although the provisions of Section 130 and 131 of the present Gold Law have not, to their knowledge been enforced by the Government against any person affected thereby, it would appear that municipalities and individuals are able to avail themselves of these sections whenever they desire to benefit themselves: as for instance by ruining Indian competition in trade.

In this connection petitioners beg to point out a specific instance of which details are attached to this petition.

A British Indian who had held a trading license for an appreciable number of years at Krugersdorp and who held in connection with his business a stock of approximately £5,000 was compelled to forthwith close his business by Order of the Court obtained in January of this year at the instance of the Krugersdorp Municipality under the provisions of Sections 130 and 131 of Act

Petitioners are credibly informed that this is merely the commencement of a general campaign for its object the ruination of the Indian Traders in the Transvaal and in connection herewith your Petitioners beg to direct attention to the following further aspects.

(The Local Government Ordinance No. 9 of 1912 (Transvaal) empowers Municipalities to control and issue certain classes of trade licenses, and in particular grocer's licenses.

The Ordinance provides that the Council may refuse to grant or renew any license which it is empowered to issue on certain ground including inter alia. "That the Applicant is not a desirable person to hold such license.")

Petitioners find that Transvaal Municipalities have recently systematically refused to issue or renew grocer's licenses to Indians and their refusal is based on section 90 (e) of Ordinance 9 of 1912 and petitioners submit that the provisions of this section are as a pretext enabling Municipalities to refuse to issue or renewal of licenses to Indians.

Petitioners have ascertained that in no instance whatever in the Transvaal has a license been refused to a European applicant under the provisions of Section 90 (e). Petitioners beg leave to lay before this Honourable House specific instances in which trading licenses have been refused to Indians and in which such licenses have been ordered by the Magistrate to be granted on appeal under section 90 of the Local Government Ordinance (Transvaal).

Petitioners have good reason for apprehending that a general campaign in this respect is also in progress having for its object the ousting of Indian in the Transvaal. The fact that the decision of Transvaal Municipalities in places where the grant or renewal of trading licenses to Indians are concerned have of late been frequently reversed on appeal appears to have led the Municipality for their purposes to avail themselves of a law under which there is no appeal, and in so far as certain

proclaimed areas/



areas are concerned Municipalities are having enforced the provisions of Section 130 and 131 of the Transvaal Gold Law.

Petitioners point out that if the provisions of Sections 130 and 131 of the Gold Law be enforced against Indian Traders a matter of between 300 and 350 British Indian Traders in the Transvaal will be directly affected and probably ruined and that a special of close on two million pounds sterling invested by them will be in jeopardy.

(The Petitioners beg to direct attention to the Provision of the Townships Amendment Act No. 34 of 1908 (Transvaal) in terms of which restrictions similar to those contained in Sections 130 and 131 of the Transvaal Gold Law are introduced in the Title Deeds of land acquired under the Gold Law so soon as such lands are converted into Freehold Title; and that similar provisions are also inserted in the Titles of all Townships laid out under the provisions of the Townships Amendment Act.

Petitioners are gravely concerned with the retention and safeguard of those rights to trade which they have hitherto been allowed to enjoy and which since the settlement arrived at with the Government in 1914, when General Smuts was Minister for the Interior they were given to understand would in no way affected be.)

WHEREFORE your Petitioners pray that your Honourable House will be pleased to take their case into favourable consideration and allow them to be heard through the medium of their counsel Doctor F. E. T. Krause, K.C., and Mr. W. P. Schreiner at the Bar of the House or grant them such relief as it may deem be fit.

AND your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

Dated at Cape Town, this 24th day of February, in the Year One thousand Nine Hundred and Nineteen.

HAJEE HABIB.

MOOLJEE G. PATEL.

I. A. PATEL.

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C O P Y  
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RESOLUTION PASSED AT A MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE  
TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION ON THE 13th. APRIL,  
1917, MR. A. M. CACHALIA (PRESIDENT) PRESIDING.  
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THAT the Committee of this Association has observed with great concern the Reports in the local press suggesting that an attempt is proposed to induce the Government to introduce amendments or alterations in the existing Company Law of this Province with the Object of precluding British Indians from becoming subscribers to or Shareholders in private Limited Liability Companies, as they are at present entitled to do in Law, and that this Association emphatically protests against any derogation of the existing rights of British Indians in this respect.

(Sgd.) A. M. CACHALIA,  
Chairman.

(4th. March, 1918.

The Honourable the Minister for the Interior,  
CAPE TOWN.

Sir,

Under the directions of my Committee I have the honour to submit to you the protest of this Association against the proposal alteration of the Company Law of this Province (Act 31 of 1909), as threatened by the motion of Mr. Blackwell M.L.A.)

My Association is a very representative Indian body and is virtually the central Indian Organisation of South Africa.

My Association submits that the step suggested by Mr. Blackwell is illiberal, reactionary in conflict with the spirit of the times and is calculated to produce for reaching dissatisfaction and friction.

The disability against fixed property being registered in their name under which the British Indians of this Province labour dated back to 1885. My Association have long entertained the hope that in not very distant future this old law would be repealed or at least amended in a spirit of liberality and toleration.

(Under the Company Law of 1909 Indians have been able to form themselves into Associations and so Incorporated to be shareholders in Companies owning fixed property.

It is submitted that this has not been without advantage to the state in that it has kept money in the country that otherwise would have gone abroad for fixed investment.

Many private Companies with exclusively Indian Membership have been established for charitable purposes only and the revenues derived from fixed property held by such Companies have been devoted only to promoting education.)

The step suggested by Mr. Blackwell's motion would it is submitted be a violent interference with such rights as the British Indians of this Province still retain and in conflict with the understanding arrived at between the Government and Mr. Gandhi after the passive Resistance struggle and by virtue of which existing rights were to be preserved.

My Association observes that tendency in regard to legislation within the Union is towards uniformity and submits that in this connection the example of the Cape should preferably lead be followed. Reactionary legislation in the one Province leads in their respectful opinion to the danger of similar reactionary legislation in other Provinces.

My Association are advised that as recently as the year 1916 Sir Thomas Watt held out hopes to my Association then represented by Mr. Polak that Law 3 of 1885 might reasonably be expected in the near future to disappear from the Statute Book or at least to be amended and brought more into line with modern views.

My Association earnestly appeals to your Government to resist the proposed alteration of the Company Law or any other proposed alteration of the Company Law or any other proposed step in the direction curtailing such right and liberties as have been preserved to British Indians lawfully residing in this Province.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,

"U"

733.

No. C. T. 629.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Department of the Interior,

Cape Town,

7th. March, 1918.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th. instant, conveying a protest from the Transvaal British Indian Association against the alteration of the Company Law of the Transvaal (Act No. 31 of 1909()), as proposed in the motion of Mr. Blackwell, M.L.A.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. B. SHAW.

Acting Secretary for the Interior.

(NOTE ON INTERVIEW BETWEEN MR. H. HAMEL  
AND  
MR. H. S. L. POLAK)

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Mr. H. Hamel was one of the witnesses examined by the Select Committee of the Union Assembly appointed to enquire into the grievances and disabilities alleged by the Transvaal Indian community. Hereto is appointed an extract from Mr. Hamel's evidence.

He refers to a certain interview that I had with him on July 14, 1914, in regard to the matter of one A. M. Bhyat, a prominent Indian trader of Heidelberg, who had opened a large branch store at Boksburg and against whom civil proceedings had been taken under the Gold Law by the Union Government. Owing to the fact that Bhyat had been one of the most influential and enthusiastic of the passive resistance leaders, it was felt that everything should be done to prevent his ruin, if he were compelled to leave Boksburg, which would be regarded by a large number of the Indian population as a means of punishing one who had been so prominent an opponent of the Government as he.

My interview with Mr. Hamel was arranged at Mr. Gandhi's request and after consultation with Bhyat, Mr. Hamel is a minor official in the Ministry of Mines, having no executive authority, and I went to see him, not as the representative of the Indian community, but as Bhyat's legal adviser, nor did I give him at any time to understand that I was speaking to him in any other capacity. I have not with me any notes or details connected with this conversation, but my recollection of the circumstances is fairly clear.

I told Mr. Hamel that Bhyat's case was, for the reasons mentioned/

mentioned in his Minute, to be dealt with as a special one, especially as Bhyat had been advised that, in law, his defence was a strong one. It was desired not to put Bhyat to the expense and risk of litigation at a time when the resumption of passive resistance might easily occur if the Indian community got the impression that the Government wished to proceed vindictively against Bhyat.

I also told Mr. Hamel, I do not recollect whether this was in reply to an inquiry of his or not, but it certainly was in the course of desultory conversation ranging over a number of topics, that the general question of the operation of the Gold Law and the Townships Amendment Act had not been specially dealt with in the Settlement, as it had not been made the subject of passive resistance, but that it was understood that those people who were already in any centre should not be disturbed, and that they should be left to move from place to place in such centre without molestation. I added that there was a general feeling that, having regard to the condition then prevailing, Bhyat's action in going to Boksburg and risking the enforcement against him of the Gold Law had been unwise and had complicated the situation; but that I did not suppose that there was likely to be, in the then state of European feeling, anything like a general migration of Indians from place to place, and particularly to Boksburg, whose hostility was well understood; and that without prejudice to their general rights in the matter, Indian opinion was at the time, for obvious practical reasons, opposed to this and would not look upon it favourably. (I gave no assurance of any kind that it was part of the settlement that there should be no migration from town to town or district to district in the mining areas.

I gave no understanding that Indians would not, under the settlement, apply for new trading licenses in such areas. It is in the highest degree improbable that I should or could have done so, because (1) I had no authority to do so: (11) I was not representing the Indian community but a private individual:

(III) Mr. Gandhi's letter of July 7th, 1914, of which I had a copy was then only seven days old; (IV) I was fully acquainted with the terms of the settlement as contained in the correspondence between Mr. George and Mr. Gandhi of June 30, 1914 and I had been closely consulted by Mr. Gandhi in the negotiations for the Settlement and the drafting of his open letter to the Indian community appearing in "Indian Opinion" of July 29, 1914, and knew his mind intimately on this and cognate subjects; (V) the Indian community has consistently refused to recognise the limitations of the Gold Law, which they sought by every means to reduce to a dead letter either by judicial decisions or by administrative arrangement or by similar legal remedies to those which had have inoperative prohibitions contained in Law 3 of 1915, regarding the ownership of fixed property. )

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(ASIATICS (LAND AND TRADING) AMENDMENT ACT.)

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Following is the text of the Asiatics (Land and trading) Amendment Act (Transvaal), 1919, as appearing in the Union Gazette Extraordinary of the 3rd. instant. His Excellency the Governor-General having given his assent :-

Be it enacted by the King (or next Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows :-

1. Those provisions of sections one hundred and thirty and one hundred thirty-one of Act No. 35 of 1908 (Transvaal) which relate to the residence on or occupation of ground held under a stand license on proclaimed land by coloured persons and any provisions similar thereto contained in the conditions of any deed of grant or freehold title in a Government Township (as defined in Act No. 34 of 1908 (Transvaal) issued under the last mentioned Act shall not apply :-

(a) To any British Indian who on the 1st. May 1919, was, under the authority of trading license lawfully issued, carrying on business on proclaimed ground or on any stand or lot in such township, or to the lawful successor in title of any such Indian in respect of such business; or

(b) to any person bona fide in the employment of such a British Indian or his successor in title, so long as British Indian or successor in title continues so to carry on business on the same ground or stand or lot on which or on any other ground or stand or lot in the same township in which it was being carried on the first day of May, 1919;

(2) Those provisions of Law No. 3 of 1885 (Transvaal), and any amendments thereof heretofore enacted which prohibit a

person/



person belonging to any of the native races of Asia from being an owner of fixed property in the Transvaal subject to certain exceptions specified in such amendments shall, subject to the same exceptions be construed also as prohibiting any registration of a mortgage over fixed property in favour of a person belonging to any of the native races of Asia, otherwise than as security for a bona fide loan or investment in the ordinary course of business and also prohibiting the ownership of fixed property in the Transvaal by any company or other corporate body in which one or more persons belonging to any of these races have a controlling interest and the registration of such a mortgage in favour of such a company or corporate body otherwise than as security as aforesaid .

The provisions of this section shall apply as from the first day of May, 1919, provided that in respect of any fixed property acquired by any such company or corporate body before the first day of May, 1919, the aforesaid provisions of Law No. 3 of 1885 (Transvaal) shall be construed as if this Act had not been passed. Any such company or other corporate body which may have acquired the ownership of fixed property since the first day of May, 1919 shall dispose thereof within a period of two years from the commencement of this Act, or within such further period as any superior court having jurisdiction where the property is situate on application may allow, and on the failure of such company or other corporate body so to dispose of such property then and in that case such property shall on the petition of any member of the public be sold by order of such a court.

3. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Asiatics (Land and Trading) Amendment Act (Transvaal), 1919.)

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MUNICIPALITY OF KRUGERSDORP.  
)))-----(((

H.E.

Town Clerk's Office,

Krugersdorp.

23rd. August, 1916.

1733/49.E./16.

To Cassim Musam,

44 Commissioner Street,

Burgershoop Krugersdorp.

Sir,

Application for Pedlar's License

With reference to your application as above and to your interview with the Council at its meeting on the 22nd. instant, I beg to advise you that the following resolution was thereafter adopted, viz :-

" That after duly considering the application of Cassim Musam for a Pedlar's license and after hearing the applicant in support of his application the Council hereby decides by virtue of section 91 of the Local Government Ordinance (No.- of 1912) as read in conjunction with section (09e) of the said Ordinance to refuse the said application as in the opinion of the Council the applicant is not a desirable person to hold such a license."

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) FREDERICK A. COOPER.

Town Clerk.

## LIST OF QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO APPLICANTS FOR TRADE LICENSES.

- A.
- (1) Name in full.
  - (2) Where born?
  - (3) Age?
  - (4) Married or single?
  - (5) Family?
  - (6) Where residing?
  - (7) Family - where residing?
  - (8) How long has applicant resided in S. A.
  - (9) Give details of residence.
- B.
- (1) In the case of an Indian Registration No. to be given
  - (2) In the case of a Native Pass No. to be given.
- C.
- (1) License applied for?
  - (2) Situation of premises?
  - (3) Has applicant a knowledge of the business?
  - (4) Has applicant ever held a similar license?
  - (5) If so, in what Municipality?
  - (6) Has applicant previously held a Municipality license in this Municipality?
  - (7) If so, of what nature and during what period?
  - (8) Did the applicant hold a license on the 1st. May, 1919?
  - (9) Are assistants to be employed in the conduct of the business?
  - (10) If so, how many?
  - (11) Wages to be paid to assistants?
  - (12) Where will assistants reside?
  - (13) Nationality of assistant?
- D.
- (1) Is the applicant aware of the agreement entered into between Gen. Smuts on behalf of the Government and Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Indian Community in 1914?
  - (2) Is the applicant aware that under the Gold Law a coloured person is not permitted to reside in Proclaimed Townships, with certain exceptions set forth in Law 17 of 1919?

GENERAL REMARKS.

1204. COL: WYLIE: Just in glancing over these telegrams you have put in I see they are from the Indian communities at Johannesburg Pretoria and Potchefstroom. Does that mean that you are representing their case to-day? -- Yes.

1205. So that we will not have to go into it afresh at Pretoria and Potchefstroom? -- Possibly there may be other associations apart from this. The point I wish to emphasise now is that with the evidence we shall give and with the evidence of other associations who claim to represent the Indian community you have practically a full statement of their case put before you on behalf of the Indian community in general although it may be split up or divided into different associations or bodies. Now having handed in that statement I also wish to -- and they have asked me to -- incorporate in the statement which they have prepared and presented to you and which you already have before you the evidence which I tendered before the Select Committee last year. I wish to make that part and parcel of the statement of the evidence before you. That is the evidence tendered by myself and I think you will see that the main evidence was given by myself, but you will see that Mr. Alexander and Mr. Ritch appeared too. That sir, you will find on pages 46 to 87 of the report of the Select Committee "Disabilities of British Indians in Transvaal". That is the evidence which we tendered before the Select Committee. Of course, in that evidence we did not deal with the general question so fully as we have dealt with it in the statement handed in to-day and also as they wish to deal with the general question and the general aspect of affairs in the evidence tendered to-day. So that after putting in that statement and this particular evidence I purpose to indicate to the Commission the procedure which I wish to adopt in order to give it all the assistance which I can and to curtail the evidence and make it as short as possible. I propose to call certain Indian witnesses in order to give you evidence with regard to the facts and not to leave the Commission only with statements that are based on hearsay evidence and which, to a great extent, are merely comment on general facts which may be known to the speaker. After that, sir, they have asked me specifically, seeing that it is perfectly clear, and especially judging from the evidence.

which Mr. Phillips has given to you on behalf of the South Africans' argue, that there was some confusion with regard to the law on the subject - they have asked me to place before you as best I can a historical survey, as shortly as possible, of the law and of the policy which, according to the law, the Government appears to have followed from time to time. I think that will put the matter in a concrete form before you. The first witness I propose to call is Mr. Fairdean.

1806. I see that there are a great many letters included in this statement of yours? - My summary will start from the London Convention, and I will then deal with the law of 1865 which is the first law of the Transvaal which deals specifically with Asiatics. (Of course there is our old Grondwet of 1858 when the old immigrant farmers came into the Transvaal, but that is a law not against Asiatics, but really against the native races where they laid down the political doctrines viz :- that in the State they did not wish to have any equality between the native races and the immigrant farmers. That is merely a constitutional doctrine which they laid down in the old days. That is really the foundation stone. Of course, that goes further back into the Cape Colony and has to deal with the great trek and also the causes of the great trek when these immigrant farmers came into the Transvaal and the Free State and Natal. They had never been enemies in those days; they were only dealing with natives but even there, to a great extent, the natural prejudice which has been extended in after years to the Indians - the natural prejudice against the coloured man originated, but entirely different circumstances gave rise to the prejudice against the Indian trader. In those days I understand from history that the prejudice was against the barbarian and the methods of the barbarians and the way in which they treated the white population and murdered and stole and so on. But it is the way the prejudice against the native races as barbarians arose, but the prejudice which was grafted on to this prejudice as a colour or a race prejudice as far as the Indians are concerned had an entirely different origin. It was a question of trade competition to a great extent.) As regards the law of 1865 I will come to that later and hope to deal with that clearly and I hope that/

that will be of some assistance to you in arriving at what the different policies of the different governments were from time to time in respects of the Indian community - I will now call Mr. Naidoo.

MR. P. K. NAIDOO - examined :-

1207. CHAIRMAN : What is your full name? -- Paragon Krishnan Naidoo.

1208. DR: KRAUSE: Now, Mr. Naidoo, what is your position here in Johannesburg? -- I am a general agent, but I hold office as honorary secretary of the Transvaal British Indian Association.

1209. MR: HOFMEYER: How long have you been here? -- I came here in 1898 with my parents. I came from Kimberley at the time.

1210. DR: KRAUSE: Did your parents come direct from India? -- I was born in Durban. I came to the Transvaal in 1898 with my parents from Kimberley?

1211. - How long have you been in Johannesburg? -- With the exception of five years I have been all the time in Johannesburg.

1212. CHAIRMAN: - Are you a Christian or a Mahomedan? - I am a Hindoo.

1213. DR: KRAUSE: - Are you a married man? -- Yes; I have a wife and three children.

1214. - Where do you reside in Johannesburg? -- I reside in a cottage in Market Street.

1215. MR: HOFMEYER: - Whose cottage is it? -- It belongs to an Indian company.

1216. DR: KRAUSE: - You say you are a general agent at the present moment? -- Yes.

1217.- Have you worked in offices and at other occupations before you took up the occupation of a general agent? -- I was a general dealer at one time and apart from that I worked in the office of Mr. Ritch, the lawyer, for a number of years, and I was connected with Mr. Gandhi ever since he started the passive resistance movement in the Transvaal.

1218. - So that you are well acquainted with the agitation which was started originally by the Indian community in regard to restrictions imposed upon them by the laws of the South African

public? -- I am.

1219. - And which continued after the British occupation? -- Yes.

(1220. - Now you can tell the Commission something about the annual British Indian Association? -- Yes.)

(1221. - By whom was this Association started -- There was an Indian Political Association prior to 1903. There was an Indian association in existence here when Mr. Gandhi came here, and he converted that body into the British Indian Association and from that year until the present day it has been voicing the feelings of the Indian community.)

1222. - What proportion of the Indian community would you say that it represents? -- Safely 95% of the Indian population of the Transvaal. Apart from that I am also general secretary of the South African Joint Congress Committee and Mr. Asvat is the Chairman of the Association and is also chairman of that body which represents the entire Indian community of the Union. Here is the notice under which that convention was convened. That was in 1919.

1223. - With regard to the efforts made by the British Indian community to get the restrictions imposed on them by the law altered can you tell us as far as you know what these efforts have been from the earliest days. I think you first have some petitions which were presented? -- Prior to the Boer War there had been a lot of agitation against the Asiatic trader here from time to time. That agitation might call the alien element here approached the South African Republican Government in order to restrict the Asiatics to locations under Law 3 of 1885, but the South African Republican Government did not enforce that law and allowed the Indians to settle here. In 1896 the agitation became very acute.

(1224. - COL: TYLER: You say that prior to the Boer War there was no agitation? -- Yes.

1225. - Can you say what date that was? -- I remember in 1892. -- My recollection goes back to that -- I remember when I was quite a little youngster a huge meeting was held by the British Indian community and a petition sent to Sir Hercules Robinson, the governor of the Cape, asking him to intervene on behalf of the Indian

community. The year 1892 is as far back as my recollection goes.

1226. - DR. KRAMER: Will you speak further from your recollection as to what other steps were taken from your knowledge to get these oppressive measures altered? -- Before the Boer War we had no other movement except to appear before the British representatives here and lay our case before him and he used to interfere on our behalf. He used to prevent, more or less, the authorities from interfering with us or removing the Indians to the locations. As a matter of fact the Indian community in the Transvaal -- I for one, although I have been here for 32 years have never lived for one day in a location. Somewhere in 1898, if I am not mistaken, the agitation became very acute and a very large number of Indians at Pretoria were refused licenses and somewhere about 40 of them were arrested. When we approached Sir Cunynham Greene, who was the British representative then, he advised us not to pay money to be bailed out or to pay the fine if we were fined and the following day these merchants were allowed out and not interfered with. It was a common thing for an Indian to go and tender his money for a license and if the license was refused he would continue his business undisturbed. That was before the Boer War and then came the great agitation. Mr. Bakeman, the editor of the "Transvaal Leader" moved very strongly in the question and with regard to the agitation the papers reported every day that the Indians were being ill-treated, driven from pillar to post and that sort of thing. Then came the Boer War. After the British occupation all these obnoxious laws were particularly bad letters before the Boer War were revived and put into full force and we protested against this to the Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain during his visit to South Africa when the Indian community presented to him a petition which I will put in. (This was in 1903.)

1227. - That is a petition which was presented to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain on his visit to South Africa? -- Yes, and for a year or so there was, I think, no difficulty until the Peace Preservation Ordinance came up.

1228. - COL. WYLLIE: Was there any written reply to this petition?



-- There was a written reply, but, unfortunately, I cannot trace it, I will still try to see if I can find it. There was a written reply

(1229. - DR. KRAUSE: Now we come to the Peace Preservation Ordinance. That is the next law that was passed. Is that not so?

-- Yes.

1230. CHAIRMAN: - What year was that? -- That was in 1902. The Peace Preservation Ordinance -- a permit under that Ordinance was issued to Indians to reside here in the Transvaal and also in the Free State, but that was, I think, unfortunate mistake. In 1903. Lord Milner called upon the Indian community to register themselves by taking out registration certificates in terms of the law of 1885 upon payment of a fee of £3, and he made it quite clear that that would fill a threefold purpose. One, that it would afford protection to the male adult Indian population and to the children of those Indians; secondly, that it would furnish statistics as to the number of Indians in the Transvaal; and thirdly, that it would prevent any illegal entry of Asiatics into the country. What they meant by illegal entry of Asiatics into the country was that no Asiatic not here before the Boer War or who was not here on the 31st. May 1902 was not legally entitled to reside in the Transvaal.

1231. DR. KRAUSE: Did the Indian community in consequence of representations made by Lord Milner in his advice to the Indian community comply with the law. Did the Indian community accept the position in that spirit? -- Yes, they did, and they took out registration certificates.)

1232. - And what was the next step? - In 1904, just a little before responsible government was granted to the Transvaal, there was a very big agitation against Asiatic trading here so the Receiver of Revenue, after feeling the acuteness of the agitation stopped issuing revenue trading licenses and then came the Habit Motan case. Immediately after that and under Crown Colony Government a bill was introduced here calling upon the Indians to re-register. The Indians protested very strongly against it but in spite of that the bill was rushed through and sent to London for royal assent. The Indian community protested and communicated with London pointing out that the bill was unnecessary and the cause of great complaint

and as they had complied with the advice of Lord Milner that law was unnecessary. I hand in a copy of the petition which was sent to Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Alles, who were deputed to make representations on behalf of the Indian community against the Ordinance of 1906. That bill was vetoed by the late Sir Henry Campbell - Bannerman as Prime Minister, and when full responsible government was granted to the Transvaal in 1907 the very same measure was rushed through both houses without exception and received the royal assent.

1233. CHAIRMAN: It received royal assent that time? - Yes.

That is Act No. 2 of 1907. That is the Asiatic Law Amending Act of 1907. That was practically the first law that was passed by responsible government; that was the first really effective law, the previous one was a revenue measure.

1234. DR. KRANSE: What happened in consequence of this particular Act? - In consequence of this particular Act we had no option but to adopt an attitude of passive resistance in order to protest against it and a very large number of the Indian community, including Mr. Gandhi, were sent to prison. Eventually a settlement was arrived at and an understanding formed between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi as the mouthpiece of the Indian community and Act 2 of 1907 was repealed and a measure introduced to allow Indians to effect voluntary registration. That new Act was called Act No. 36 of 1908.

(1235.- But before that there was another act in 1907? -- Yes, that Act No. 8 of 1907 did not provide the necessary penalty clause and the Immigrant's Restrictions Act No.15 of 1907 was brought in

1236. MR. BAYTER: Providing a penalty clause? -- Yes. It having received royal assent in December -- somewhere about the 10th. of December -- on the 23rd of December Mr. Gandhi, myself, and a few others were arrested and brought before Mr. Jordan and an order of deportation was made against us that we should leave the country in 4 days, and, having failed to comply with that order, we were sentenced to two months' imprisonment without hard labour. That was the first time.)

1237. DR. KRANSE: How long did the passive resistance movement continue on and off? -- It continued from 1907 to 1914.

1238. - You say a law was passed in 1908? - Yes.

1239. - That particular law to which you are referring? -- Act No. 36 of 1908.

1240. - Was that law passed in consequence of the passive resistance movement carried on by the Indian community? -- Yes.

1241. - And what, I understand, provided for the voluntary registration of the Indians? -- Yes.

1242. - Doing away with the obnoxious as far as compulsion is concerned and also the finger print trouble? -- Yes; it was optional under that Act.

1243. - MR. HOPKINSON: Was it a compromise? -- It was a settlement arrived at, but that settlement was not carried out.

1244. - MR. HRAUSE: It was to validate the registration of certain Indians who failed to comply with the provisions of Act No. 2 of 1907 and further to make provision for the registration of Asiatics? -- Yes.

1245. - MR. HOPKINSON: Was Act 36 of 1908 a compromise? -- It was a settlement arrived at, but that settlement was never carried out.

1246. - MR. HRAUSE: In what respect was that settlement not carried out? - An undertaking was given that Act No. 2 of 1907 would be repealed, but as that was not done we had to revive the passive resistance movement.

1247.- Then I understand that the passive resistance movement continued until 1914? -- Yes.

1248.- Then in 1914 I understand that some settlement was arrived at? - Yes, in the meantime, while the agitation was going on, the Townships Amendment Act and the Gold Law were brought in. These two laws were brought in. That was in 1908.

1249.- MR. HOPKINSON: Both in the same year? -- Yes, both in the same year.

1250.- That is in 1908? -- Yes.

1251.- MR. HRAUSE: The Townships Amendment Act is Act No. 34 of 1908? -- Yes.

1252.- And the Gold Law is No. 35 of 1908? -- Yes, although the Indian community was engaged in a very big struggle then and the

leaders and others were continually sent to gaol, and were in and out of gaol we did not lose sight of the provisions of the Gold Law and the Tenements Amendment Act. We foresaw the danger which was sticking but in regard to sections 130 and 131 and the British Indian Association immediately recorded its protest by petition to the local parliament here and also by addressing a letter to the Colonial secretary at Pretoria. They are annexed to the state and put in; you will find them there. Then during those days when those protests were lodged there were certain assurances given that the Indian rights would not in any shape or form be curtailed in the new law, and therefore we had no need to worry about them.

1253.- MR. BAXTER: From whom did you get these assurances? -- The Attorney General, Mr. de Villiers. The Colonial Secretary drew the attention of Mr. de Villiers to this matter and Mr. de Villiers gave an assurance to the effect that no right which the Indian community was enjoying under the old law would be interfered with under the new Gold Law.

MR. KRANSE: The old Gold Law was No. 15 of 1898 and according to that Law there were no restrictions placed upon Indians as far as trade was concerned upon the Gold Fields. The interpretation of that particular Gold Law was given in our Courts and you will find that sir, in the case which is quoted by me in my evidence on page 50 of the Report of the Select Committee. I think that is the Khotas case.

COL. WILKIN: Was that not in connection with the restriction of residence?

MR. KRANSE: The old Gold Law remained as far as the rights of Indians were affected. The Gold Law did not take away any of these rights. It did not deal with trade. It only dealt with the acquisition of mining rights. If you will look at my evidence given before the Select Committee on page 50 you will see how the headnote reads. It was section 92 of Law 15 of 1898. This is the headnote :-

" The fact that section ninety-two of the Gold Law of  
" 1898 prohibited any but white persons from being the  
" holders of stands granted under the section, held, not  
" to prevent coloured persons from acquiring and exercising

" leasehold rights to such stands. Section one hundred  
 " and thirty-three of the laws, prohibiting coloured  
 " persons from being licensed holders or from being in  
 " any way connected with the working of the diggings,  
 " refers only to such licenses as diggers' and claim  
 " licenses, and does not prohibit such persons from  
 " holding general dealers' licenses to trade on diggings.  
 " Section one hundred and thirty of Act of 25 of 1908  
 " provides that the holder of a stand acquired under Law  
 " 15 of 1908 shall not permit any coloured person to  
 " reside on or occupy such stand. Where a coloured per-  
 " son was occupying such a stand under a current lease  
 " entered into with the holder before taking effect  
 " of the Act, and not due to expire until 1915, held  
 " that the holder was not 'permitting' such coloured  
 " persons to reside on or occupy the stand within the  
 " the meaning of the section. "

so that the Gold Law No. 15 of 1908 did not prevent Indians from  
 acquiring leasehold of stands or exercising their right of trading  
 on proclaimed land. The first law to do that was Act 33 of 1908  
 of which Mr. Maitoo is now speaking.)

MR. HOFMEYER: You will probably remember that all the stands  
 issued here at the very first were on two years lease.

DR. KRANKE: - Yes.

MR. HOFMEYER: - Nobody thought that this would be anything but a  
 prospecting camp.

DR. KRANKE: -- Yes.

MR. HOFMEYER: The next step was a six years' lease; the next  
 step was 15 years; and the next step a 99 years' lease.

DR. KRANKE: -- Some were 45 years.

MR. HOFMEYER: I am speaking of the Government titles -- that is  
 in connection with stands of diggings or stands in townships.

DR. KRANKE: So that when this headnote says that they could  
 acquire leasehold that appears to me to mean that they could acquire  
 equal rights with anybody else because there was nobody who had a  
 higher tenure than leasehold.

(1934.- DR. KRANKE: It is perfectly clear that under Act 33 of  
 1908 there were no restrictions on Indians with regard to the  
 occupation of stands on proclaimed areas? -- Mr. de Villiers'  
 assurance to the public was mentioned in a white paper published in  
 London in March 1912. I am quoting from the letter addressed to  
 the Secretary for the Interior by G. Gandhi on the 7th. of July 1914

which will be found of page XVII of the Select Committee Report, and the reference is as follows :-

" No right or privilege which a coloured person has at the present time is taken away by the new Act (Act 35 of 1908). And again; Section 131, which before the Bill was introduced into Parliament formed the subject of questions in the English House of Commons and of despatches from the Secretary of State to the Governor has been amended in Committee so as to safeguard any rights which a coloured person may at the present time have of occupying land in mining areas. "

It was clear that the provisions of the Gold Law would not be exercised against them, but they would enjoy the same privilege as they enjoyed prior to its enactment.)

1255.- That is the Gold Law of 1908? -- Yes.

1256.- You say the passive resistance movement continued until 1914? ) Yes. The points on which the passive resistance movement continued -- It was not over the Gold Law or the Townships Amendment Act only -- there were other matters to which we had pledged ourselves not to submit until they were removed -- these points were first of all the removal of the 25% tax under Act 2 of 1907; the right of South African born Indians to enter the Cape Province ; The recognition of Indians wives (under the Searle judgment an Indian wife was only considered to be a concubine; she had no status here, and the Indian community protested against that;) and, apart from those, the exemption barrier -- that is that those who came here under exemption certificates that they need not apply with section 33 of the law in making an entry into the country. A settlement was arrived at eventually in 1914 by the introduction of the Indians' Relief Bill in connection with which Sir Benjamin Robertson took a very big part.

1257. - The point you have given here is that borne out by the letter which Mr. Jorges wrote to Mr. Gandhi on the 30 th of June 1904 ? -- Yes. That is borne out clearly by that letter. That is on page XIII, schedule "A" of the report of the Select Committee.

(1258.- I want you to make this very clear to the Commission, that at the time the Smuts-Gandhi settlement was arrived at was there any idea of coming to a settlement with regard to your disabilities under law 3 of 1885 of your disabilities under the Townships

Amendment Act or under the new Gold Law of 1908? -- They were all outstanding matters but in this letter you will see, as Mr. Gorges says they will administer these laws in a sympathetic manner.

1259.- COL: WYLIE: That correspondence was placed there with Mr. Gorges' reply to Mr. Gandhi's letter. Was there any reply to that letter from Mr. Gandhi in which he says "There are still outstanding points, etc."

DR: KRAUSE: - So far as I can remember that there was no reply to that.

COL: WYLIE: It stops at that then.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes, I think so.) There are several letters to which I will draw your attention later, and in connection with the statement handed in I may specially mention that there is a letter from Col. Shaws and a letter written by Mr. Meyer in 1916 and certain letters giving an explanation and defending the attitude of Mr. Gandhi under date the 7th July, 1914 which has been referred to before the Commission. They have made a great point of that.

COL: WYLIE: I just wanted to see if you could enlighten us on that point.

DR: KRAUSE: No, I don't remember as far as I have been informed that there was any other letters.

1260. DR: KRAUSE: On page XLV Mr. Gorges, after setting out the matters which were taken up in connection with the passive resistance movement said :

- " With regard to the administration of existing laws,
- " the Minister desires me to say that it has always been,
- " and will continue to be the desire of the Government
- " to see that they are administered in a just manner with
- " due regard to vested rights.

? -- (Mr. Gandhi went to Capetown at that time when the settlement was affected and he had a conversation with General Smuts and Mr. Gorges and he laid before them the general case of the Indian community, pointing out the various laws which adversely affected them, and he pointed out that if these laws operated they would ruin the Indian community, and subsequently Mr. Gorges addresses this letter to Mr. Gandhi after discussion with General Smuts setting out these eight points and stating that the Government was not only prepared to concede this demand but would go out of its way to administer the

Gold Law and the Township Law with due regard to vested rights. Well we understood vested rights to be the rights which the Indians were enjoying prior to the Gold Law.

1261. - MR. HOFMEYER: What right had you to think that? -- It was thoroughly discussed. Every time we saw a fresh measure brought in-it was discussed by the committee. We had to revive the passive resistance movement on these occasions and finally we gave instruction to Mr. Gandhi that he would have to cover this ground and we fought for the removal of the Gold Law, the Townships Amendment Act and the repeal of Law 3 of 1935, but it was impossible to get that and eventually the Government gave an assurance that these laws should be administered in a sympathetic manner and with due regard to vested rights. It was impossible for us to continue the passive resistance movement further and to continue going to gaol one after the other for several months, and therefore, we accepted the settlement arrived at.)

1262. DR. KRAUSE: On page XV of the Select Committee Report Mr. Gandhi says :

" The passing of the Indians Relief Bill and this  
 " correspondence finally closes the passive resistance  
 " struggle which commenced in the September of 1935 and  
 " which to the Indian community cost such physical  
 " suffering and pecuniary loss and to the Government  
 " such anxious thought and consideration.  
 " As the Minister is aware, some of my countrymen  
 " have wished me to go further. They are dissatisfied  
 " that the trade licenses laws of the different Provin-  
 " ces, the Transvaal Gold Law, the Transvaal Townships  
 " Act, the Transvaal Law 3 of 1935, have not been alter-  
 " ed so as to give them full rights of residence, trade  
 " and ownership of land. Some of them are dissatisfied  
 " that full interprovincial migration is not permitted,  
 " and some are dissatisfied that on the marriage question  
 " the Relief Bill goes on further than it does. They  
 " have asked me that all the above matters might be in-  
 " cluded in the passive resistance struggle. I have been  
 " unable to comply with their wishes. Whilst therefore  
 " they have not been included in the programme of passive  
 " resistance, it will not be denied that some day or  
 " other these matters will require further and sympathe-  
 " tic consideration by the Government. Complete satisfac-  
 " tion cannot be expected until full civic rights have  
 " been conceded to the resident Indian population.  
 " I have told my countrymen that they will have to  
 " exercise patience and by all honourable means at their  
 " disposal educate public opinion so as to enable the  
 " Government of the day to go further than the present  
 " correspondence does. I shall hope that when the Euro-  
 " peans of South Africa fully appreciate the fact that  
 " now, as the importation of indentured labour from  
 " India is prohibited and as the Immigrants Restriction  
 " Act of last year has in practice all but stopped further/



"further free trading and migration, and that my  
 "countrymen do not aspire to any political ambition, they  
 "the Europeans will see the justice and indeed the  
 "necessity of my countrymen being granted the rights  
 "that I have just referred to.  
 "It is desirable in the generous spirit that the  
 "Government have applied to the treatment of the  
 "problem during the last few months continues to  
 "be applied as promised in your letter in the  
 "administration of the existing laws, I am quite  
 "certain that the Indian community throughout  
 "the Union will be able to enjoy some measure of  
 "peace and never be a source of trouble to the  
 "Government. "

So that was specially reserved and you only came to a settlement  
 because that was the best you could get in that settlement? -- Yes.

1263. MR. GANDHI: When Mr. Borges used the term "vested  
 rights" what did that convey to you? -- It conveyed to me the  
 rights and privileges we were enjoying.

1264. You must have discussed something? -- I was not at the  
 discussion; Mr. Gandhi was there.

1265. But you know all about it? -- Yes, and we took it to  
 refer to the rights of residence and trading without any interference.

1266. Then comes a general expression -- a general statement  
 that your vested rights will be observed? -- Yes.

1267. How must we understand those vested rights that you had in mind at  
 the time; that you had been discussing and that had been agitating  
 your mind? -- The right that Indians should be allowed to enter the  
 country and enjoy all the rights of trade and residence in the  
 country.

(1268. Vested right means something else. Vested right means  
 something that particular persons have enjoyed for some time past,  
 and then it became rooted or vested? -- In an individual case there  
 might be certain particular rights vested on them, but they might have been  
 enjoying, but as a community -- the community as a whole -- we were  
 enjoying the right of free trading and free residence in the coun-  
 try without any restriction and that we looked upon as the vested  
 right of the Indian community.

1269. COL. BYRNE: You claim that right as the vested right of  
 yourselves and of your successors for all time? -- Yes.

1270. Then why was not that reflected in the correspondence in  
 1907? -- It was discussed but those were the specific points set

forth. A right that I enjoy was naturally a right that my sons would enjoy.

1271. MR. HOPKINS: This is a very vague expression -- "vested right" -- what was actually reflected: You see the whole of your community was holding or occupying land in contravention of the law of 1855. This expression to my mind appears to mean that if any contravention of the law of 1855 had taken place -- somebody had held a piece of land and lived on it for a long time and exercised certain rights on that land -- he was not to be disturbed. That right was open to anybody -- to any member of the Indian community to acquire land, that right was plainly open then.

1272. COL. WYDIN: You had no companies then? -- Yes, we had companies in existence then.

1273. CHAIRMAN: But a number of people held land apart from companies? -- Yes, they were holding land in the names of Europeans.

1274. MR. HOPKINS: You cannot have a vested right in contravening the law. Nobody can have a vested right in transgressing the law. I cannot have a vested right in murdering people or in other ways transgressing the law? -- Quite so.

1275. COL. WYDIN: That was not a vested right, it was a subterfuge to evade the law; it was not a vested right, but a wrong: ? -- The Government allowed us to do that.

1276. MR. HOPKINS: Now what were the vested rights here referred to. Was it not that an Indian settled on a piece of land say, in Rustenburg since 1867 that they were entitled to deal with him sympathetically. There was no vested right in the whole community to do as they liked? -- There was no intention to protect only a few who had established themselves in the country. It was fully discussed that the whole of the Indian community were concerned because there was only a few and no possibility of any fresh emigrants coming into the country and that the rights they had enjoyed of freedom of trading and residence in any part of the Transvaal were to be considered the vested rights of the whole of the Indian community. (That is how we understood it.)

1277. MR. HOPKINS: You say that is how your people understood it. did you at any time know that Mr. Gandhi had written a

letter -- I think it is the letter of the 14th July which appears on page XVI of the report of the Select Committee. Now there is a letter written by Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Gorges. It is evidently a personal letter and in it he says :

" I have not got a moment to submit my note upon  
 " the Gold Law. As you know, after maturer consideration  
 " I refrained from pressing for the insertion of a special  
 " clause defining "vested rights" in connection with the  
 " Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act, because I felt  
 " that any definition in the correspondence might result  
 " in restricting the future action of my countrymen.  
 " However, so far as my interpretation of "vested rights"  
 " is concerned, I think that I should reduce it to  
 " writing. General Smuts was good enough to say that he  
 " would endeavour to protect vested rights as defined  
 " by me. The following is the definition I submitted to  
 " Sir Benjamin Robertson, who, I understand, submitted  
 " it to General Smuts. My letter to Sir Benjamin  
 " containing among other matters, the definition is  
 " dated the 4th March, 1914: 'By vested rights, I  
 " understand the right of an Indian and his successors  
 " to live and trade in the township in which he was  
 " living and trading, no matter how often he shifts  
 " his residence or business from place to place in  
 " the same township.' I am fortified in my interpreta-  
 " tion by the answer given by Mr. Harcourt in connection  
 " with the matter, in the House of Commons on the 27th.  
 " June, 1911 :--

" Complaints against that legislation (the Gold  
 " Law and Townships Amendment Act) have been made and  
 " are now being investigated by the Government of the  
 " Union of South Africa, who have lately stated that  
 " there is no intention of interfering with any business  
 " or right to carry on business acquired and exercised  
 " by Indians prior to the date of the legislation."

" I have also now traced the note by Mr. De  
 " Villiers which I alluded to in our conversation. It  
 " is contained in a white paper published in London in  
 " March 1912, and has the following :-  
 " No right or privilege which a coloured person  
 " has at the present time is taken away by the New Act  
 " (Act 35 of 1908). " And again : "Section 131, which  
 " before the bill was introduced into Parliament, formed  
 " the subject of questions in the English House of  
 " Commons and of despatches in the English from the Secty.  
 " of State to the Governor, has been amended in committee so as  
 " as to safeguard any rights which a coloured person may at  
 " the present time have of occupying land in mining areas.  
 " Certainly prior to the passing of the Gold  
 " Law, no restrictions were, to my knowledge placed  
 " upon the movement of the trade of British Indians in  
 " the gold area. There can therefore be no justification  
 " for any restriction now, especially in regard to those  
 " who are already settled in their respective townships."

(Did you people know of this particular letter which had been written to Mr. Gorges by Mr. Gandhi on the 7th July, 1914 ? -- Not until it was produced at the Select Committee; that was the first time.

1278. CHAIRMAN: That is the Select Committee last year? -- Yes.)

1279. DR. ERAUSE: Since then there is a letter written by Mr.

Shawe to Mr. Polak which appears in annexure "J" of the statement handed in dated 18th. May 1916 : -- Yes.

1280. CHAIRMAN: Where was Mr. Polak then? -- In Johannesburg

1281. DR. KRAUSE: You will also in annexure "H" and "I" -- "H", I think, see a letter written by Mr. Polak to Col. Shawe although it is not signed in the copy here? -- Yes, Letter "H" is dated 18th. May and was written by Mr. Polak to Mr. Shawe.

1282. Annexure "I" is a letter written by the Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association to the acting secretary for the Interior under date 10th. May, 1916? -- Yes.

1283. What is his name? -- Cachalia.

1284. That is written to the secretary of the Interior also in respect of the same matter? -- Yes.

1285. And then you have a letter to Mr. Polak which replies to both these letters, viz: the letter under annexure "J" in which Col. Shawe says this : "

" I may say for your information that a deputation  
 " of the Krugersdorp Council interviewed me some time ago  
 " on the question of these licenses and I told them in the  
 " course of conversation that the Union Government had  
 " nothing however to do with the question of municipal  
 " licenses and referred them to the Provincial Adminis-  
 " tration should they require any definite decision of  
 " this matter of licenses but it was stated to them at the  
 " time what view Mr. Gandhi personally held as regards the  
 " rights of Indians at the time of the settlement and I  
 " presume the reference quoted in Mr. Gandhi's letter of  
 " the 10th. inst. no doubt had a bearing on this question. "

It was a personal expression of opinion by Mr. Gandhi and if you look a little further you will find in annexure "L" the attitude taken up by the British Indian Association. That is in the letter addressed by the Chairman of the British Indian Association to the Secretary of the Transvaal Municipal Association, this is dealing with this particular subject rights and with the interpretation of vested rights given to it? -- (No answer).

MR. BOYD: When did Mr. Gandhi leave South Africa?

DR. KRAUSE: About July 1914; that was his last letter just before he left. Now if you look at page 2 of annexure "L" you will find the attitude taken up by the Indian community in respect of that matter because it was said that this settlement bound the Indian community because they held a full knowledge of that statement or

the definition of it given by Mr. Gandhi at that time and in the letter to which I have referred it states :

" In order to place the matter upon a proper basis I have sought the permission of the Department of the Interior to communicate to you which I do herewith for transmission as a private document not for publication, to the various municipalities that are members of your association, for Mr. Gandhi's letter of the 7th July 1914. From an attentive perusal of this document you will observe in the first place, that Mr. Gandhi throughout is discussing the position of Indians under the Gold Law and Townships Act, for at that time, and in the absence of certain judicial decisions that have since been given, the position of Indians in certain areas was considerably jeopardized by the actual threatened operation of the Gold Law at the hands of the Government, and Mr. Gandhi's definition of "Vested interests" applies only in regard to its relationship to the Gold Law and the Townships Act. It had no direct or indirect reference, and certainly none as to licenses issuable by municipalities which was not in his contemplation or that of my association at that time. You will also observe that in any event Mr. Gandhi's statement was one of his own personal views, and that he expressly safeguarded himself from saying anything that would bind the Indian community, especially having regard to his approaching departure from South Africa. "

(1286. DR: HOSKINS: Up to what point was Mr. Gandhi representative and, as such, competent to bind the Indian community, there is the last document in which Mr. Gandhi speaks on behalf of the Indian community? -- It is dated 30th June 1914, that is the last letter he wrote on behalf of the Indian community.) That appears in the report of the Select Committee on page XV. It is also annexure "G" in our statement, and in giving that definition Mr. Gandhi expresses some difference. He says (see page XVI of the Select Committee report) "I have not got a moment to submit a note upon the Gold Law". It was merely a private communication from Mr. Gandhi and had nothing to do with the settlement and he continues :

" As you know after maturer consideration, I refrained from pressing for the insertion of a special clause defining 'vested rights' in connection with the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act, because I felt that any definition in the correspondence might result in restricting the future action of my countrymen. However so far as my interpretation of 'vested rights' is concerned I think that I should reduce it to writing. "

1287. DR: HOSKINS: It has been interpreted, sir, before your mission to mean that in future no new licenses should be issued at any time to any Indians. That is the interpretation which has been faced upon it. Now you say, Mr. Haidoo, that this so-called definition that was called the Gandhi settlement embodying the settlement

uly 1914 was sprung upon you at the Select Committee? -- Yes,  
 1288. And the Indian community as a whole had not had that  
 particular portion brought to their knowledge previously? -- Never,  
 it was not published in "Indian Opinion" until after it was produced  
 to the Select Committee. That is excepting those two letters of 1914  
 his letter was not published until 1919.

1289. Are you aware whether the Government ever gave your  
 community any warning of the letter or its contents? -- None.

1290. Is that borne out by what Col. Shaws told the Select  
 Committee? -- Yes.

1291. He admits that in the evidence which he gave before the  
 Select Committee? -- Yes.

1292. Now I think we have dealt with the passive resistance  
 movement up to 1914? -- Yes. In 1916 there was a motion brought  
 before the House of Assembly at Capetown by Mr. Blackwell to the  
 effect that the Companies Law should be altered to prevent Asiatics  
 acquiring fixed property. No sooner was that brought to the notice  
 of the British Indian Association than they protested against it,  
 and then Mr. Polak had several interviews with the minister in  
 regard to law 3 of 1885 and how the companies law overrode that.

1293. MR. HONEYER: Whom did he interview? -- Sir Thomas Watt  
 and also Colonel Shaws.

1294. DR. KRAUSE: The Company Law, Mr. M. Idoo was passed in  
 1909? -- Yes.

(1295. Now I just want to correct one statement which was made.  
 It was stated before the Select Committee, I think by Colonel Shaws  
 and also the point has been made before this Commission that  
 Indians started to register their Companies in defiance of the Mutsa-  
 landhi agreement and that immediately after the Mutsa-landhi  
 settlement they showed such a disrespect for the law that they  
 started to register these companies. That would be after 1914. Can  
 you tell us whether registration of companies for the purpose of  
 acquiring property by Indians had already taken place at the time of  
 the Mutsa-landhi agreement? -- Yes.

1296. It had nothing to do with the Mutsa-landhi settlement? --

- Nothing whatever, as a matter of fact the first company registered here in 1911; that was the beginning.

1297. MR: HOFMEYER: Was that a Johannesburg Company? -- Yes, that was a Johannesburg Company.

1298. Do you know the name? -- I think Mr. Max Cohn was the man.)

1299. DR: KRAUSE: I think you will see in my evidence given before the Select Committee, acting on the information of Mr. Alexander, I put it at 1909. Mr. Alexander gave the information before the Select Committee that in 1909 a Company was registered? -- That company was the Transvaal Land Investment Company.

1300. MR: HOFMEYER: That Company was Mr. Gandhi's own Company up at Warmbaths? -- I know that that Company has not been registered

DR: KRAUSE: You will find it on page 71 of the report of the Select Committee at the top of the page. I was giving that evidence in the presence of Mr. Alexander and on the information which Mr. Alexander gave me. I said that it was in 1909. I said :

" This was in 1909, long before 1914. (Mr. Bernard Alexander). It was before the Townships Registrar in Johannesburg; I think it was Mr. Fleischer, but I am not certain whether it was he. (Dr. Krause) It was a generally known thing to the public, and consequently the Government must have had cognisance of it. In regard to the question of Indians shifting from town to town I have seen the letter to Mr. Gorges in which it is said that some Indians are dissatisfied that full inter-provincial migration is not permitted. I understand that the point raised was that difficulties were placed in the way of Indians to go from one Province to another, but the question of migration or movement in the province itself was never denied nor was that right ever questioned. I can only tell you, of course, what they tell me. These are the facts which have been communicated to me, and I find nothing in the correspondence about inter-town migration. The limitation that a successor can only be a man living in the same township as a person he succeeds is not justified by anything in the correspondence. The Mr. de Villiers referred to in the letter of the 7th. July must be Mr. Jacob, de Villiers, who was Minister of Mines in the Transvaal Responsible Government. The letters confirm absolutely the statement which I have made -- that it was never the intention of the Legislature to take away any rights of the Indians or any of the privileges which they were enjoying up to that time. "

May I also refer to page 28 of the report of the Select Committee to show that Col. Shawe's own statement is wrong and showing that companies were, at any rate, registered in 1913.

CHAIRMAN: What did Colonel Shawe say? -

DR: KRAUSE: His contention was this -- and the contention before your Commission has been -- that the chief thing showing disregard of the laws by the Indian community was this -- that immediately after the Smuts-Gandhi settlement which bound them to remain in the status quo ante they started to break the law by registering themselves as limited liability companies in order to hold property, and that occurred after the Smuts-Gandhi settlement.

CHAIRMAN: There were only three in existence at the time.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes, but it only showed that the idea of the registration of companies existed and was actually carried out long before the Smuts-Gandhi settlement. I can show you where Col. Shawe says that. I will find it in the statement I have handed in. I will find the exact passage for you later.

MR: HOFMEYR: The mere fact of a company being registered proves nothing; it might have been registered for any purpose. It might have been registered for the purpose of flying aeroplanes.

DR: KRAUSE: No; it was to acquire property.

MR: HOFMEYR: Are all these trading Companies?

DR: KRAUSE: Yes.)

1301. COL: WYLIE: They would probably do like a company formed for a special purpose; it has one particular object but that is wrapt up in 50 other objects and you do not realise or really know which particular object is in view -- Mr. Justice Ward held that a company composed solely of Asiatics could not be fined as a purely Asiatic personnel. It is of independent personnel and therefore it is quite legal and within the law to acquire fixed property and the British Indian Association immediately drew the attention of Col. Shawe and Sir Thomas Watt to that judgment, and Mr. Polak, as Secretary of the British Indian Association forwarded to him a history of how Indians began to acquire fixed property in this country, first in the names of Europeans and then subsequently in the names of limited liability companies, and pointing out that the Association did not see the necessity of retaining Law 3 of 1885 on the Status Book and would be glad to see it removed. That was in 1916, and subsequently Col. Shawe wrote to the association



1916, and subsequently Col. Shawe wrote to the Association to the effect that there was no intention on the part of the Government to interfere with the Company Law but to let it remain as it was. That is in annexure "M" dated 5th. July 1916 to which there is a memorandum attached.

1302. CHAIRMAN: There is no signature attached to that letter. Who wrote it? -- That is from Mr. H. S. L. Polak.

1303. MR. BAXTER: Have you a letter from Colonel Shawe? -- I will come to that. There is only an acknowledgement "I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of such and such a date, etc."

1304. You say there was an answer to that? -- I am going to that just now. I would like to make it quite clear to you. On the 20th September 1916 we again wrote to the Secretary for the Interior on the subject and the letter will be found in Annexure "O".

1305. DR. KRAUSE: By whom is that letter signed? -- Also by Mr. Polak.

1306. COL. WYLIE: It concludes? "I have the honour to be your obedient servants." -- That is a mistype. It should be "Your obedient servant". He deals with Mr. Justice Ward's decision to which I have referred and also drawn the attention of the Minister to a report of that judgment appearing in "THE STAR" of the same date and asks that Law 3 of 1885 may be removed from the Statute Book.

1307. DR. KRUSE: Do I understand that the attitude the Indian Community took up was this, especially after the judgment -- that they were not doing anything illegal in registering these Indian companies for the purpose of acquiring fixed property? -- Quite so they were not doing anything illegal. It was done openly, confessedly and it was in accordance with the judgment of Mr. Justice Ward.

1308. And this particular question of whether a company consisting solely of Indians could acquire property under the old law -- that question as going to the Privy Council. It is sub-judice now. -- Yes.

1309. That question has been before the Appellate Division? They have argued it and judgment has been reserved.

1310. MR: HOFFMEYER: There is a slight difference in that case. It is not so? The case that has gone to the Privy Council is this: whether a company consisting solely of Indians can hold title to land and one of the conditions of which is that no Indian shall occupy that land - whether, therefore a company can acquire a nationality because it is purely composed of Indians. Is it occupation by Indians in the guise or cloak of a company. That is the point that has gone to the Privy Council from our Appellate Court.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes. That is the Vreederop Act. That is the Madrasai case but under the Gold Law we have a case before the Appellate Court which is still pending.

1310a. COL: WYLIE: What is the case where they registered a company practically in defiance of Mr. Justice De Villiers judgment? -- That is another case.

1310b. The one that is going to the Privy Council is the appeal from Mr. Justice De Villiers judgment which deals with the Vreederop lands ordinance. The one before the Appellate Division at the present moment is dadoo's case, and that is under the Gold Law and that question will be tested. That question is whether Asiatics can form themselves into a company to acquire land? -- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: The question is whether the registration of these companies is legal or not.

DR: KRAUSE: At any rate the decision of our Courts so far is that it is legal. That is in 1916 according to the judgment of Mr. Justice Ford.

CHAIRMAN: But the judgment of the Judge President is rather in conflict with that.

DR: KRAUSE: You have the two judges. It is not before a higher Court yet.

MR: HOFFMEYER: Right through all these cases runs the difficulty of interpretation of residence and occupation because these are the terms used throughout the laws of the Transvaal.

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connection with the acquiring of fixed property by Indians. In 1918 the Municipal Council of Krugersdorp brought an action against Messrs. T.W. Beckett & Company, who had let their premises to an Indian trader, and judgment was obtained against them, and no sooner was that judgment obtained than the whole trouble began again. The Golw Law was put into operation in different parts and the Indian community was threatened with ruination. British Indian Association through its representative petitioned Parliament that Counsel might be heard before the Bar of House. That was ruled out of order, and then the Select Committee was appointed, and the evidence laid before it, which has been submitted here.

DR: KRAUSE: On page 9 of the Report of the Select Committee will be found the reference to which I drew attention. This is just to correct a mistake conception in the evidence of Col. Shawe. He says:

" The evasion of the Law 3 of 1885 by the establishment of limited liability companies among Indians for the purpose of holding property commenced some time after the agreement in regard to vested rights had been come to. "

That is a misconception it is a mis-statement of fact, as you will see from Schedule "(E)" of the Report of the Select Committee, at p.111 in 1913 these companies were registered. I suppose he was referring to one particular company he knows of Mr. Alexander was the attorney who acted in that matter.

COL: WYLIE: Did you say that it was in 1911 or 1900 ?

DR: KRAUSE: The contention which I wish to place before your Commission whether it was 1909 or 1911 I do not at the moment recollect, but I will try and get the name of the Company and I will get Mr. Alexander to get me exact date from his records, but the point is this - that this statement that the Indian community started disregarding the law in defiance of an agreement arrived at, and that they started registering these Companies after the agreement is incorrect, because it is clear they started registering these companies before that agreement and they registered these Companies quite openly and the Government knew full well what they were doing at the time, as you will see from correspondence before you.

1313. DR: KRAUSE: The Indian community, apart from their opposition and I should say their wilful disregard of these oppressive laws - otherwise did they respect the laws of the land? Yes; we respect the laws of

land, except such laws that are brought up to oppress us: it is human nature to resist any oppressive measure. Any oppressive measure will be resisted by any human being, because we cannot help but do that - resist those laws. If there be a just law application to one and all alike, without being particularly directed against the Indian community think the Indian community will be found ready to conform to the laws of the country.

1314. The Select Committee was appointed for the purpose of going into this matter? -- Yes, and I should like to also dwell upon Mr. Hamel's statement before the Select Committee, Mr. Hamel has laid special stress on a certain interview he had with Mr. Bhyat and Mr. Polak in 1916. On that occasion I wish to make it clear to the Commission that Mr. Polak did interview Mr. Hamel, accompanied by Mr. Bhyat but he did not represent Indian community as an attorney; he was representing his client there and Mr. Polak had no right as an attorney thereto make any such statement on behalf of the Indian community.

1315. I think Annexure "V" brings out the whole point, I do not think we need labour that point very much. These are the notes of the interview between Mr. Polak and Mr. Hamel under annexure "V"?- And he has not only repudiated it but cabled to the Association and it has been set out in that annexure that he represented Mr. Bhyat as a lawyer and not as representative of the Indian community.

DR: KRAUSE: For the purpose of clearness I would like to hand in that cable because it will show the attitude the Indian community has taken

COL: WYLIE: This cable is to show that Polak confirms the statement which has been submitted and approved of by him.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes, that is Annexure "V" the cable from Mr. Polak reads:  
 " Statement for Commission received to-day suggest following alterations on page thirty eight paragraph four between words appeal and from insert following words on facts as well as on procedure stop same paragraph and renewals to be treated as such not as new licenses stop post judgment referred bottom thirty one also copies and paragraph emphasising general law abiding character Indian Community with supporting figures if possible stop authorities you express my behalf confirm before Commission all reference in statement to myself stop paragraph fold law refer fully Gandhi's letter to Barnes Indian Opinion Sept mber twenty sixth last Polak. "

COL: WYLIE: He approves of it subject to the alterations referred to-

DR: KRAUSE: Yes.

1316. And it has been given effect to? Yes, since that judgment I would point out to the Commission that under the Local Ordinance No. 9 of 1912 Indian traders of long standing in this country, traders who, have been in the country between 25 and 30 years, have been subjected to no little persuasion under this Ordinance No. 9 of 1912.

1319. BY MR. BAXTER: Since that judgment?— Since 1916 at least since that law which had inadvertently been passed over by Col. Shawe to the Municipal Association. I was wrong when I said since 1912— it was since 1916. When the Municipal Association waited upon Col. Shawe was in 1916 he accepted Mr. Gandhi's letter to him of 1914, in regard to vested rights. They wrote to the Municipal Council and the Municipal Council referred them to Col. Shawe.

(1318. COL. WYLIE: So the position this— that after 1916 subsequent the Ordinance No. 9 of 1912 was put into force to prosecute Indian traders? -- Yes.

DR. KRAUSE: The interpretation which was given to the so-called Smuts-Gandhi settlement, and with regard to this definition of vested rights— that no new license should be granted to Indians— they were obsessed with that particular idea, and in order to give effect to that so-called settlement the Municipality had power to do so under Section 90 (a) of Ordinance No. 9 of 1912. That was the weapon employed.)

COL. WYLIE: But in so far as Johannesburg is concerned the Municipality have no say except in regard to three things, all you have to do is to get a general dealer's license, and it was there that the trouble arose, not with the Municipality but the Revenue Officer.

DR. KRAUSE: No, sir, that was in Motan's case in 1904. Although the Johannesburg Municipality have the power under the Ordinance to make bye-laws in respect of the licensing of grocers, as we call them they have not taken unto themselves that power, but the Municipality of Krugersdorp and certain other Municipalities have taken unto themselves that power and they have passed the necessary bye-laws. Where these bye-laws have not been passed they merely take out general dealers licenses, and therefore they were not affected in any shape or form. That is the point. But to give effect to this definition section 90 (a) of Ordinance No. 9 of 1912 was the weapon which was invoked.

MR. HOFMEYER: We must be very careful about that because there has been a lot of misunderstanding about that. At the Cape we have been appealed to that those powers under the section you quote shall be applied there. At the Cape the municipalities grant all licenses.

DR. KRANSE: Yes.

MR. HOFMEYER: How are you quite sure that any municipality which wishes to pass bye-laws to that effect may obtain powers to deal with all general dealers licenses?

DR. KRANSE: No, I said grocers licenses, section 90 (a) of No. 9 of 1912 reads as follows :-

" The council may refuse to grant any license to carry on a trade or business which it has power to license in accordance with its bye-laws on any of the following grounds...."

MR. HOFMEYER: How we are very familiar with those grounds; and that section proceeds :-

" ...and in the case of applications for a license to carry on any trade or business wherein articles of food or drink are produced, prepared, used or sold for human consumption..."

Now where is the general power to which you refer- the authority to pass bye-laws including grocers licenses.

DR. KRANSE: For example, the Pretoria Municipality have altered it- "...for the sale of food or drink..." They have put it that way.

MR. HOFMEYER: There are special powers to deal with kaffir eating houses, pawnbrokers, swimming baths, and all the rest of it- the usual municipal enterprises, but where is this general power to which you have referred?

DR. KRANSE: I can find it for you I know it so well I may say this sir, and you will see that in my evidence before the Select Committee which will explain the matter to you fully.

MR. HOFMEYER: The Town Council has the power to make bye-laws for prohibiting and preventing the introduction into the municipality of food unfit for human consumption, diseased animals, diseased meat, and so on. That would be done at your abattoirs that you deal with that... "...for licensing and regulating tea rooms cafes"... and so on.

DR. KRANSE: Yes; and placed where food and drink are sold, in Pretoria they have dropped the word "grocer" and substituted "license for the sale of food on and off the premises" Unfortunately I have not got the law before/

before me. May I refer you to page 73 of my evidence before the Select Committee. Under the general powers granted to the municipality by Ordinance No.9 of 1912 the Municipality has the right to make regulations for the licensing of tea rooms and all places where food or drink is either manufactured or sold, Under that particular power municipalities have taken to themselves the right to make bye-laws to license what we call "groceries". In Pretoria their bye-law which mentioned the word "grocers" has been altered to "licenses for the sale of food or drink to be consumed off the premises. I think you will see in this Ordinance 9 of 1912 under Section 191 that the law itself makes a distinction for food which is sold for consumption on the premises and food which is sold consumption off the premises. Section 91 provides

" The council may refuse a license in respect of any premises....  
 " where articles of food or drink are sold or offered for sale for  
 " consumption on the premises....."

This section specifically mentions the consumption of food or drink on the premises, so that the Municipality has the right to make bye-laws in respect of the regulating and licensing of places where food is either sold for consumption on or off the premises. Under that particular power, sir, they have taken to themselves the right of licensing grocers. They use the words in the bye-laws "Grocers licenses" but in Pretoria they have dropped the word "grocers", as I have stated. Now if you will refer to my evidence on page 73 of the Report of the Select Committee you will find where this particular question has cropped up, but it has not come to a decision yet, at the bottom of that page, I said:

" There is a case which was decided in the Transvaal High Court,  
 " Maserowitz and Maserowitz versus the Johannesburg Town Council, in  
 " 1914. It was a question whether the Municipality could or could not  
 " refuse to grant a cycle dealer's license. The trouble arose in  
 " respect of the refusal of the Municipality to grant a license. Mr.  
 " Justice Mason, who gave the judgment, defines the duties and powers  
 " of Town Councils, in which he says; it is not, of course, easy to  
 " specify the powers which are necessary or incidental to municipal  
 " government, which varies so much with both place and time, but  
 " they may be grouped generally under the heads of Public Health  
 " and sanitation, the control of streets, traffic and public places  
 " the regulation of buildings, management and control of what are  
 " known as the public service utilities, such as water and light-  
 " ing, the prevention of fires and similar objects in which public  
 " combination is necessary for effective results, or individual act-  
 " ivities require local supervision. " In other words Mr. Justice  
 " Mason holds that the local Government Ordinance is ultra vires in  
 " respect of these very licenses which were decided. I mean to say  
 " that the Central Government is the right authority to deal with  
 " matters affecting trade and commerce and it is not for the local  
 " Government authorities to try and oust Indians from trading. This  
 " is a matter which/

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" which we consider should be dealt with by Parliament, and you  
" should not allow Municipalities, as Mr. Gandhi prophetically re-  
" marked in his letter, to use laws and call, in the assistance of  
" provisions which were never intended that way as means of  
" oppression against Indians.."

Now Mr. Justice Mason, sir, in his judgment specifically mentions, as you will see if you look at the Report - he specifically mentions as one of the licences which ought not to come under the jurisdiction of the Municipality grocer's licenses, because he says that is a matter which regulates trade and commerce, and the only power which the Ordinance intended to give the municipality was not to regulate commerce but food, health, sanitation and so on, and on that particular point he made that might be considered more or less as obiter dicta in connection with the so-called general dealer's license, which he said was ultra vires of the Municipality on that point. That has not been brought to final decision yet, but the point I wish to emphasise again is this - that (the Municipalities have used this power which they allege they possess for the purpose of preventing trading by Indians, and that I think is the point which Mr. Faidoo wishes to emphasise when he says that the Municipalities after accepting the interpretation of vested rights which has been referred to as meaning that no more new licenses should be granted to Indians used this provision - (90 (e) of 9 of 1912 as their weapon to attain that object.

1319. Is that not so? - Yes; but they did not confine themselves only to new licenses, but began to deal with traders who had been established for 20 years or more. Take the case of Mahomed Ismail who has been established at Germiston for 25 years; the Municipality knew he was living there and the premises were inspected and found to comply with the municipal regulations, but after these years now they hold that the man is living in a room attached to the shop and therefore he is not entitled to a license.

CHAIRMAN: Do you mean to take up the stand point that the Municipalities have no right to deal with grocers' license at all?

DR. KRATZ: In so far as it deals generally with trade or commerce that is the judgment of Mr. Justice Mason.)

MR. FORTMYR: Of course the decisions of the Courts have given very wide interpretation to the provisions of the Union Act as to what the



Provincial Administration is entitled to do? - I do not think the Court has gone as far as that.

(CHAIRMAN: In the Johannesburg Municipality the grocer deals under General Dealers' license :-

DR: KRAUSE: Yes; the Municipality have not taken the power to control grocers' licenses.

MR: HO-MYR: But as soon as they find it desirable to do it they can pass these bye-laws under the general authority given them under No 9 of 1912?

DR: KRAUSE: Yes.

COL: WYLIE: Although the Municipality of Johannesburg has not done so. I understand that other Municipalities have done so? -

DR: KRAUSE: Yes; Krugersdorp, Boksburg, Ermelo, Germiston, Potchefstroom- they have all passed bye-laws in respect of this matter.

CHAIRMAN: But your contention is that they have not the powers? -

DR: KRAUSE: Yes; in view of this particular decision that I have noted to you the submission is that they have not the power and even if they have the power they certainly should not have the power, and certainly not have the power for the purpose of oppression against Indian or if you give them that power then this particular section ought to be altered. (It reads this way "The council may refuse to grant any license...on...the following grounds...that in the opinion of the council the applicant is not a desirable person to hold such license.") That was the point in connection with the Ermelo case- the case of Mohamed Ismail.

MR: HO-MYR: That is the case reported only about a week ago? -

DR: KRAUSE: Yes; that is the same man. I refer to that case. I appeared for that man a day or two ago in Ermelo. We will get the evidence and submit it to you. It says here 90 (e) that the council may refuse to grant a license if in their opinion the applicant is not a desirable persons. Now our Courts hold that Section 90 compels the Municipality only to refuse on specific grounds. That is perfectly clear because the specific ground for such refusal are laid out here but when once the Municipality come to the conclusion that a specific ground exists in their opinion then in that case the Court cannot go beyond that particular/

particular decision, or that particular opinion, if the Municipality acted bona fide. If the Municipality acted mala fide or did not bring its mind to bear upon real issue in respect of the application or allowed itself to be influenced by improper motives or as a matter of fact what amounted to a nonconsideration of the question entirely when the Supreme Court would interfere and grant relief, but the difficulty in that case is that you must allege mala fides on the part of the Municipality, and must be able to show clearly that the Municipality took into consideration matters which they ought not to have taken into consideration or did not bring their mind to bear on the matter which they specifically had to consider; and the difficulty we had was this- that the Magistrate although we had the right to appeal to him, only sits us an administrative officer and not as a judicial officer and as such there is no appeal from the Magistrate's decision. and further, the Magistrate sitting as an administrative officer you cannot compel any witness to appear before him, and then before the Municipalities have adopted this attitude (especially the Krugersdorp Municipality) at first they appeared but the result of their appearance was that it was shown that the only reason they had for the refusal of the license was that in the opinion of the council the applicant was an undesirable person to hold a license because he was an Indian, and for no other reason at all, and the Magistrate then came to the conclusion (when he had these men confronted) that that was not a decision on the question at issue, because the question was whether the man was a desirable person, to hold a license, and because a man had, we will say, a squint eye, or a crooked nose, that was not sufficient reason for saying that he was undesirable to hold a license, nor because he was an Englishman, a Dutchman or an Indian; they did not consider the way to administer the law, and the Magistrate held the contention of the appellant, but then they found that the Magistrate sitting as an administrative officer could not compel them to appear and they do not appear, all they do is to hand in the Minute of the Council in which it is recorded that in the opinion of the council the applicant is not a desirable person to hold such license, and the clerk comes and states that they had considered the matter and came to that conclusion- namely that in the opinion of the council

applicant is not a desirable person to hold a license. In the Ermelo case in which I also appeared (I also appeared in the Potchefstroom case) the Town Council candidly admitted, and it was given to me as one of their pleas (I will hand it to the Commission later on) that the reason they refused to grant the license was on social, moral and other grounds, that (an Indian living in close proximity to the white population was not desirable and therefore this individual being an Indian was not therefore a desirable person to hold a license.) The Magistrate therefore upheld their decision, and there is no appeal from his decision, I tried an appeal to the Superior Courts by way of a mandamus but the Court held that it was an attempt on my part to bring under review the decision of an administrative officer, and that an error in the interpretation of the law by the Magistrate was not such an irregularity as would entitle me to obtain a mandamus. We have not the opportunity of testing that before the Appellate Division, but what we say is this- that we quite agree that the Cape people are right in asking for specific grounds or refusal, but with regard to this particular specific ground which has been used, according to the contention of the Indians, as a mode of oppression to take away their rights- (it is recommended that the words "that in the opinion of the council" be deleted from 90 (e), and it be provided instead hereof there they must find as a fact on the evidence produced before them that the applicant is an undesirable person to hold a license and give us the right to appeal to the superior Court to prove whether the man is or is not a desirable person, because you cannot test a man's opinion, especially if you cannot know that he has acted mala fide)

BY MR. BAXTER: Has the Indian community never tested the question as to whether the Municipalities of the Transvaal have the power to make these regulations?

MR. KRAUSE: No sir, they have not tested that. As you will see from my evidence, they intended to test that, but unfortunately this new legislation came in, and then this Commission was appointed, and the whole thing was in a state of flux, as it were, and they did not know exactly what remedy to adopt. I have a copy of the Ermelo judgment.

COL. WYLIE:

COL: WYLIE: I think we have already had that put in by one of the witness

(DR: KRAUSE: The point is the Ermelo judgment was this- that the Magistrate said that he was only an administrative officer, and he was able to give judgment the other way because he could not say that the people had not bona fide come to that decision.

COL: WYLIE: It was as in the case of the Benoni liquor case where Chief Justice Solomon said that so long as the administrative body replied their minds to the question at issue whether they were wrong or not the Court could not review that decision.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes; that is the essence of the judgment; and therefore we say that if you give the Municipality the right to refuse licenses then it must be on specific grounds and those specific grounds must be supported by evidence not on opinion, but specific fact on which evidence has to be produced, and then we ought to have the right to test that in a Superior Court of appeal) as any other matter can be tested you cannot test it nor, although I have done it in a case at Krugersdorp where the whole of the Committee appeared before the Magistrate on an appeal against their refusal of a license on the ground that the applicant was in the opinion of the Council not a desirable person to hold a license, and after judicious cross-examination I got the gentlemen to admit that the only reason they had for their refusal to grant the license was that the man was an Asiatic. The Magistrate said: "Now here we have five of you, three were against the granting of the license, but it appears that of those three this gentleman was actuated by prejudice, because he considered the applicant had no right to hold a license, as he was an Asiatic, and therefore I count his vote on the other side, and order accordingly that the license be granted" In this case at Ermelo Mr. Pett and Mr. Smuts both admitted that they did not want the license granted because they did not want an Indian in close proximity to the white people, they candidly admitted that and that that was the reason which actuated them. There was another little reason put forward, but it was merely camouflage, and that was that Mr. Ismail Mohamed had three rooms at the back of his business premises, one of which was connected with the business"

business premises, but there was no entrance from that room to the business premises at all that from the sanitary point of view it did not effect the business at all, that place was inspected, and was admitted that it has no effect on the business premises, so that real ground of refusal was their objection to an Indian living in the proximity to white people.

MR. BOFFMYR: What was the nature of that license?-

DR. ZRAUSE: For the sale of groceries - tins of milk, and so forth, and for consumption off the premises) and it is peculiar, sir, if you will look at Mr. Phillip's evidence - I obtained from the attorneys in the Braudo case the exact reasons which were given on behalf of the council, and that were the insidiosa verba which you will find in Mr. Phillip's evidence here "on social, moral, economic and other grounds on which they objected to the presence of the Indian amongst the white community" I only discovered it last night, and I have no doubt, sir, that the attorneys drafted their "plea" (as they called it) from his (Mr. Phillips') Congress speech. I was struck by it when I read it last night. At any rate - it is perfectly clear that that is the attitude of the Municipalities at the present moment who have evidently joined the so-called "South African League"; that is the attitude they have adopted. It is a question of policy, and they have quite candidly admitted that this is their policy - not to grant these licenses because they want to have segregation of the Indian community. It is common cause.

1320. CHAIRMAN: Is there anything you wish to add? - I have nothing further to add except to put in the enquiry from which the Krugersdorp Council submits to applicants for trading licenses, and that statement submitted by the Transvaal British Indian Association to the local Government Commission, which reads as follows :-

KRUGERSDORP MUNICIPALITY

- " List of question submitted to applicants for trade licenses.  
 " A. (1) Name in full?  
 " (2) Where born?  
 " (3) Age?  
 " (4) Married or single?  
 " (5) Family?  
 " (6) Where residing?  
 " (7) Family where residing?  
 " (8) How long has applicant resided in S.A.  
 " (9) Give details of residence?

- " B. (1) In the case of an Indian, Registration No. to be given.  
 " (2) In the case of a native Pass No. to be given.  
 " C. (1) License applied for?  
 " (2) Situation of premises?  
 " (3) Has applicant a knowledge of the business?  
 " (4) Has applicant ever held a similar license?  
 " (5) If so, in what Municipality?  
 " (6) Has the applicant previously held a Municipality license?  
 " (7) If so, of what nature and during what period?  
 " (8) Did the applicant hold a license on the 1st day 1919?  
 " (9) Are assistants to be employed in the conduct of the  
 " business.  
 " (10) If so, how many?  
 " (11) Wages to be paid to assistants?  
 " (12) Where will assistants reside?  
 " (13) Nationality of resident?  
 " D. (1) Is the applicant aware of the agreement entered into  
 " between Gen. Smuts on behalf of the Government and  
 " Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Indian community in 1914?  
 " (2) Is the applicant aware that under the Gold Law a Coloured  
 " person is not permitted to reside in Proclaimed Town-  
 " ships, with certain exceptions set forth in Law 17 of  
 " 1919?

" GENERAL REMARKS: "

" Statement submitted by the Transvaal British Indian Association,  
 " to the Local Government Commission 13th. February 1920.

" On behalf of the Transvaal British Indian Association which  
 " represents almost the entire Indian community of the Transvaal, I  
 " beg to thank the Commission for having given us an opportunity of  
 " submitting the many disabilities my community is subjected to in  
 " the Transvaal. My association has no doubt that our representa-  
 " tions will receive the fullest consideration at the hands of the  
 " Commission.

" As voiceless and voteless members of the Union resident within  
 " this Province, we beg to record our respectful but most emphatic  
 " protest against any further powers being extended to the local  
 " Municipal bodies. The demand for full local autonomy, if conceded  
 " to the Municipalities will without doubt, be recklessly and  
 " arbitrarily exercised against the resident British Indian popula-  
 " tion in the Transvaal.

" Even as it is, under the local Ordinance of 1918, the Municipal-  
 " al councils of various districts have most arbitrarily exercised  
 " the powers vested in them by virtue of sections 90 and 91 of the  
 " above Ordinance.

" On numerous occasions the Municipal Councils have purely on the  
 " ground of the applicant being an Indian refused to grant grocer's  
 " licenses.

" The section referred to above not only empowers the council,  
 " to decide that, in their opinion the applicant is an undesirable  
 " person, but to refuse to assign reasons for the decision arrived  
 " at. I beg to further point out that the Ordinance provides only  
 " for an appeal against the Council's decision to an administrative  
 " Magistrate whose finding in such appeals are final. The Ordinance  
 " contains no provision for appeal to a higher tribunal. Under these  
 " 2 sections members of the Indian community have been subjected to  
 " until hardships. The case of Olokefstrom excepted (copy of judg-  
 " ment wherein is attached hereto marked "A") the appellants in all  
 " cases were invariably successful, such success giving rise to sev-  
 " ere criticism being directed against the Councils, by the presiding  
 " Magistrates.

" I attach herewith (marked "B") copy of another judgment viz.,  
 " Faka Ltd. vs. Boksburg Municipal Council; this firm notwithstanding  
 " it having complied with all the requirements of the Municipal  
 " By-laws, and in spite of the judgment; is being oppressed at  
 " every conceivable opportunity, recently the appellants were again  
 " refused/

" exercising those rights. My association in due course petitioned  
 " the local and the Imperial Governments pointing out the far-reaching  
 " effects of the sections in question upon Indians in regard to their  
 " trading and residential rights, on such proclaimed areas. (Following  
 " upon this Act, came the Township Amendment Act of 1908, by virtue of  
 " which the Government Townships Syndicate are empowered to embody  
 " a restrictive clause in the grants issued by them.) Against this  
 " Law also my association in season recorded its emphatic protest,  
 " at a time too when the community was engaged in a life and death  
 " struggle for the recognition of certain basic principles. It did not  
 " lose sight of the danger that was ahead. It will be observed that  
 " since the promulgation of Act 34 and 35 of 1908, they were not en-  
 " forced to the letter, and Indians were almost encouraged to establish  
 " themselves wherever they choose, either for residence or for trade,  
 " until the year 1917 when the Krugersdorp Municipality instituted an  
 " action under the Gold Law against a European firm, Messrs. F. W.  
 " Beckett & Co., for having let the premises to an Indian at Krugers-  
 " dorp. Being successful in this action, the Indian residents at  
 " Krugersdorp and elsewhere were threatened with further similar  
 " actions, and my association was obliged to petition the Union Parlia-  
 " ment for relief. At great expense my Association laid its case  
 " before the Select Committee, which was appointed by Parliament to  
 " enquire and report upon the disabilities embodied in the petition of  
 " the British Indian Association, and the result was the outcome of  
 " Act 37 of 1919. Since the promulgation of this Act, an adverse  
 " Supreme Court decision was delivered against the Indian community, depriving  
 " them of a right to own landed property by forming themselves into  
 " private limited liability companies and as mortgages.

" In view of the above facts and the attitude of the  
 " various Municipal Councils, I beg to record my Association emphatic  
 " protest against further powers being granted to Municipal Councils  
 " Those people as it appears, are devoid of any Imperial sentiment, as  
 " trade rivals of the Indian community, naturally are issued with deep  
 " seated anti-Asiatic prejudices.

" As for the cry of undercutting and low standard  
 " of living as compared with the European, my Association respect-  
 " fully begs to point out that the Indian competitor competes only  
 " with the person from whom he obtains his wares. If not with aliens  
 " and it needs no special efforts to demonstrate that the Indian  
 " can hardly become a prosperous merchant if he resells his wares  
 " below the price he has paid for them.

" There is also another cry that the Indian sells  
 " his labour in a cheaper market than his white fellow worker. The  
 " remedy here lies in the hands of the Government. I strongly advocate  
 " legislation fixing a minimum wage in all ranks of labour.

" There is also another cry that the Indian scale  
 " of living is lower than that of the white man. As there are amongst  
 " the European - particularly the poorer classes - so are there amongst  
 " the poorer classes of the Indian community. I venture to point out  
 " that the well-to-do Indians' household is as well appointed as that  
 " of a European of an equal standing, but I admit that the poorer  
 " classes of my community do live unbecomingly. Why not introduce  
 " legislation regulating the number of occupants for rooms and given  
 " a strict sanitary control.

" Is it because of a certain number of the Indian  
 " community, owing to economic conditions, do not live up to the  
 " standard of the average white man, that the whole community should  
 " suffer? I do not see the justice nor the equity of branding a whole  
 " nation for the failings of the few.

" If at all the anti-Asiatic White League's desire is to kill  
 " what they term 'unequal competition' it would be more honest, if  
 " they endeavour to raise the Indian community, for when they bear such  
 " an antipathy, to approach to their own standard of living. This  
 " would be attained only by extending them the fullest civic rights,  
 " and by encouraging them to participate in life that would lead them  
 " to that standard of living.

" I beg further to point out that if the rising generation of  
 " the Indian community is to adopt the ideals and mode of life of the  
 " Europeans of these continent, better facilities should be afforded to  
 " them in every direction. It would be necessary for them in order to  
 " contain their great traditions by means of education and with that  
 " law to equip themselves both in the vernacular as also in English  
 " languages. The present meagre system of schooling is wholly inadequate  
 " provisions should be made for the erection of such schools as  
 " would impart to them proper training on approved modern lines.  
 " Nothing tends more to react adversely in the minds of children than  
 " segregation of exclusion and that is what impressed upon their  
 " minds is very difficult to eradicate in after days. I am opp-  
 " osed to all manner of segregation. This great problem of race  
 " encomios has been most satisfactorily solved in Australia, Canada,  
 " and New Zealand, and to-day I am glad to say harmony exists among al  
 " and the cry of unfair competition is non-existent in those dominions  
 " we have and it is difficult to ask if it could be so in Australia why  
 " it could not be in the Transvaal, and for that matter in the Union, on  
 " reliable authority the Indian has proved himself a worthy citizen.  
 " Nothing but sound intellectual training will ever make of any person  
 " worthy subject and citizen. I should like further to mention that  
 " the Indian community has totally accepted the close door policy, and  
 " the limited number of Indians which does not exceed 14,600 are not  
 " likely in any way, if fair opportunities are afforded to them to become  
 " a menace to the European population of the province. I take the  
 " opportunity of flatly contradicting the allegation that a large number  
 " of Indians are filtering illegally in the country from Natal and  
 " Lourenco Marques. This is a gross exaggeration and a libel on the  
 " community. I am prepared to donate the sum of £50/-/- to any  
 " charitable Society if any such illegal entries could be traced  
 " doing business here. As a matter of fact my Association which has  
 " undertaken not to countenance any such entries, has on many occasions  
 " acted as the informant in cases of surreptitious entries.

" Further serious allegations, which is total unfounded  
 " that of Indians taking advantage of helpless white women. My Assoc-  
 " iation is now aware of any such cases. There may be an exception in  
 " remote and obscure corner, but to charge a community which stands  
 " second to no other nation in the world in moral character is so unjust  
 " that I cannot for the moment think of a more grave indictment.

" Before concluding I should like to touch upon how the  
 " Indians' need in the local hospital is neglected. It was proved in  
 " the recent epidemic the Superintendent will bear me out that no econo-  
 " mic is provided for Indian patients, excepting a few beds being  
 " located for them in the native ward. There is nothing that an  
 " Indian adores more than placing his womenfolk in places where other  
 " classes are likely to come into contact with them. Of course there  
 " are exceptions to this rule, particularly amongst the indigent clas-  
 " ses the more refined classes have a great repugnance to such condi-  
 " tions. It is because of the want of proper accommodation and privacy,  
 " the latter which is a virtue of the Indian, that very few take ad-  
 " vantage even of the present unsatisfactory arrangements. Represent-  
 " ations have been made to the Hospital Board which has sanctioned a  
 " ward for the exclusive use of Indians, and pleas, passed, but the  
 " movement owing to the indifference of the Provincial Council, has made  
 " no further progress. In the matter I appeal to the Commission for  
 " immediate relief.

" In conclusion I may say whether for good or evil the Indian

"EMPIRE"/



" Empire has been connected with the British Empire for nearly two cen-  
" turies. Whether India has profited by British rule or not is not for  
" me to argue, and for specific purposes the Indians was enticed to come  
" to this continent under contract to sell his labour. In his wake  
" became the free man, and he was encouraged to remain here and to estab-  
" lish himself. And to-day the burning question to be faced is whether  
" the Indian is to be allowed and encouraged to become a worthy citizen  
" or is to be despised at every turn and oppressed, so as to become  
" a drag not only to himself but to the country also. I can see this  
" to respect only appeal to the fair sense of justice of the Commission  
" and for the consideration of the brotherhood of nations.

" The following are suggested for the solution of the problem  
" affecting the community.

- (1) " 'To meet the cry of unfair competition in the labour market  
" 'it is suggested that legislation should be forthwith introduced  
" 'regulating all classes of labour and establishing the principle  
" 'of a minimum wage.
- (2) " 'For the solution of the question of trade competition the  
" 'remedy would appear to lie in the Indian mercantile community  
" 'being given a proportionate representation on the various  
" 'Chambers of Commerce.
- (3) (3) " 'To elevate the Indian to the European standard of living and  
" 'mode of sanitation the various avenues of existence should be  
" 'freely thrown open to him and he be encouraged to adopt himself  
" 'to them.
- (4) " 'In regard to segregation my community is totally opposed to it,  
" 'segregation means nothing short of degradation. By doing so it  
" 'will only calculate to retard the progress of the society so  
" 'segregated. It is therefore suggested that not only should an  
" 'Indian be at liberty to choose his residential site (of course  
" 'under strict sanitary control), but he should further be helped  
" 'on to qualify himself to accept his share of the responsibility  
" 'and obligations of citizenship.
- (5) " 'I would venture to advocate the abolition forthwith of all  
" 'the slums in the heart of the town which are let to Indians  
" 'at exorbitant rents, such tenements being wholly unfit for  
" 'human habitation.
- (6) " 'It is requested that the Commission duly recommend the  
" 'amendment of section 90 of the local Ordinance 9 of 1912  
" 'having reference to the present refusal of the Municipal Coun-  
" 'cils to assign reasons for their decisions, and make provisions  
" 'that hereinafter definite reasons shall be assigned in all  
" 'adverse decisions and further provisions be embodied for  
" 'appeals to a higher tribunal.'

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(With regard to the illegal residence of Indians in the country, there are always a difficulty in this respect as it is said that there are always large numbers of Indians who have come into the country and reside here illegally. In this connection, I wish to point out to the Commission that the Transvaal British Indian Association gave an undertaking to the Government that they would not countenance any illegal entry into the Union. In 1915 it came to the notice of the Transvaal British Indian Association that a number of Indians were coming into the country through Delagoa Bay, and the British Indian Association was instrumental in bringing about a searching inquiry into the position, and we put a stop to that state of affairs. Then again in 1916 and 1917 there was a European carrying on illegal traffic in forged permits. The British Indian Association in that instance also stopped in and went out of its way in this matter, incidentally spending about £150 in order to bring that man to justice, and he was punished.

1320. COL: WYLLIE: What is his name? I think his name was Charles Grady (?); he forged the signature of Mr. Chasney and was carrying on a traffic in these false permits. In 1917 there was another Indian who started that traffic by issuing forged permits, and again the Association took action, laid a trap for that man and he was brought and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment, and it was put a stop to. In fact it can be confirmed not only by the Department itself, but by the police that in every instance where a case came to the notice of the Association the matter was brought to the notice of the authorities.) Of course there may be a few illegal entrants in isolated parts, in remote corners of the Transvaal, but apart from that there are none, because under Act 36 of 1908 we cannot do any business unless the legislation certificate is produced, not even a bicycle license is granted without production of the registration certificate.

1321. DR: KRAUSE: I want you to explain to the Commission the attitude the Transvaal British Indian Association takes up with regard to the immigration law and the further entry into the Union of Indians that is the attitude taken up in that connection by the Association you represent? - The closed door policy has been accepted.

1322. I have here a pamphlet issued by Mr. Polak quoting a speech by

General Chauts at the Imperial Conference, and this is what he said in 1917:

" There is still a difference of opinion on administrative matters of detail, some of which are referred to in the Memorandum which is before us (submitted on behalf of the Government of India), but I feel sure, and I have always felt sure, that once the white community in South Africa were rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India, all the other questions would be considered subsidiary, and would become easily and perfectly soluble. That is the position in which we now are - that the fear which formerly obsessed the settlers there has been removed, the great principle of restricting immigration for which they have been contended is on our Statute Book with the consent of the Indian population in South Africa and the Indian authorities in India, and that being so, I think that the door is open for now a peaceful and statesmanlike solution of all the minor administrative troubles which occurred and which will occur from time to time.."

That is the attitude which your association takes up in regard to that?

Yes; we have accepted that principle. Under the Immigration Law there is no further likelihood of any further Indian immigration.

CHAIRMAN: You are quoting from an article that appeared in the "Contemporary" Review" of October 1917?

DR. KRAUSE: Yes.

1323. DR. KRAUSE: Will you continue, Mr. Haidoo? - Apart from that we have accepted the restriction regarding inter-provincial migration, and even those born in the Union are also restricted to the respective provinces. We have accepted that principle and we are not going to press for the open door. We have accepted Act 36 of 1908 and the position cannot be altered under any circumstances until it is repealed.

1324. Those are the things you have accepted - the closed door policy no more entries into the Union, and as far as the restriction of inter-provincial movement you have also accepted that? - Yes.

1325. CHAIRMAN: You accept non inter-provincial migration also? Yes.

1326. DR. KRAUSE: So that the only thing you are contending for is equal rights with the white population within the Province in which you have been allowed to settle and become citizens? - Yes.

1327. COL. TYLER: "We have accepted the closed door and the inter-provincial migration restriction, and all we contend for now is equal rights for the Indians who are here and their descendants". Is that right? - Yes.

1328. DR. KRAUSE: Yes; that is the position which they took up? and there is...

there is no likelihood under any circumstances of the Indian population, of the Transvaal particularly, increasing; and of those who have taken up their residence in Transvaal at least 75% of them have decided to make this their permanent home.

1329. COL: WYLIE: "Is this statement of the acceptance of these conditions, which I have just quoted, for the whole of the Union or merely for the Transvaal? - Merely for the Transvaal. On behalf of the British Indian Association I desire to draw the attention of the Commission to page 32 of our statement where there are set forth certain recommendations made for the repeal of certain laws which will meet the case of the Indian community of the Transvaal. That is all I have to say.

(DR: ERASURE: Do you wish to put any further question to Mr. Malaco before I call any further witnesses?

CHAIRMAN: I think he has gone fully into the whole thing. This p. 32 of your statement contains suggestions as to legislation you recommend should be enacted.

COL: WYLIE: I do not think there is much to ask him because we have discussed the question of vested rights already, and his evidence has been a statement of fact, and then he has finished up with documentary evidence in nearly every instance, so I do not think there is anything further.)

DR: ERASURE: Yes, sir,; then if it is your desire I can at once make my statement on the law and then call other witnesses in regard to statements in connection with unfair competition and other things if that is your desire.

CHAIRMAN: We think it would be convenient at this stage if you will just lay the whole case before us, and the witnesses you can take either later this afternoon or to-morrow morning.

DR: ERASURE: Yes; As your Lordship pleases with regard to the law itself, if you will refer to the evidence I have before the select Committee you will find that to a very great extent I have dealt with the law generally, but I propose on behalf of the Transvaal British Indian Association to deal more specifically with the policy of the Government and the intention of the legislature as I find it laid down

in the law, and to make my statement on their behalf in that respect to you. As I indicated to you this morning, the first law dealing with any class of colour legislation of that description, although it does not affect their civil rights in this respect, but their political rights, is the old Grondwet of 1853. I remember the Dutch very well because I think it reads :- "Het volk wans geen..." referring specifically to political rights at that time. I am only referring to that, sir, in order to show the original of class or colour legislation in the Transvaal. Of course at that time, I think you will admit, and it has already been admitted - I do not think there were any Asiatics or Indians with which that Law could deal; it only deals with natives and barbaric races, when the old voortrekkers came into the Orange River. The next point was that after the War of Independence you will remember, sir, the London Convention. I will deal with the London Convention which was then passed. That was in 1844. Article 14 of the London Convention reads as follows :

" All persons other than natives conforming themselves to the  
 " Laws of the South African Republic (a) will have full liberty  
 " with their families, to enter, travel or reside in any part of  
 " the South African Republic; (b) they will be entitled to hire or  
 " possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops and premises (c)  
 " they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any  
 " agents whom they may think fit to employ...."

and therefore according to the London Convention the open door policy and free and equal rights to all persons other than natives was conceded between the British Government and the late Transvaal Republican Government. The first step in legislation affecting the Indians was this well-known Law 3 of 1855. Now according to the interpretations which have been given to this law, and the object of this law, I think it is perfectly clear, and I think you will find it definitely stated by Sir James Rose-Innes in the case of Natan, which you will find in the Select Committee's Report, which I have quoted, and I have quoted very fully from that judgment; at page 49 of the Select Committee's Report you will find this definite statement made by Sir James Rose-Innes. That was in 1904, and this was a case brought against the Transvaal Government where they refused to issue licenses to Indians. Therefore the question of trading was particularly brought before the notice of the courts, against the government itself, and the courts were called

you will find that Law 37 of 1919 is an economic measure dealing with trade, dealing with commerce, and not as the Law of 1883 where they had all these rights of trade and commerce under that particular Law, and that Law was only assented to for the purposes of sanitation and nothing else. Now, sir, the matter remained in that particular position until, I think, 1908 when the Company Law was passed, which did not materially effect their position, and before that you will remember we have a series of Laws; and I think I had better now introduce the Gold Law in order to show how the policy of the Government gradually changed. First the Gold Law of 1908. Under the Gold Law of 1908 you will remember the decision which I have already quoted to you - I think it is Khota's case, which was decided in 1909. You will find that in the Transvaal Supreme Court Reports, 1909 - *Khotas v. Colonial Treasurer*; and it is remarkable that also in this case, sir, it was against the Government. Both these cases *Habib Motas* and the case of *Khotas* - they were both against the Government, so that the Government had full cognizance of the facts which have transpired. Now Law 15 of 1908 - that is the Gold Law, referring to this particular decision, did not affect the rights of the Indians to trade and acquire premises for occupation for purposes of trade. As Mr. Hofmeyr pointed out to you this morning, in the early days we did not know anything about freehold, we only knew leasehold, and the Court distinctly lays down that we are entitled to hire premises for the purposes of trade and to occupy premises for the purposes of trade; and the only thing taken away from the coloured races, including the Indian community, was the right, as it says here, to such licenses as diggers' licenses, and claim licenses, and does not prohibit such persons from holding general dealers' licenses to trade or diggings.

CHAIRMAN: I think it was held that that Law referred merely to licenses to dig.

DR. KRATGE: Claim licenses, diggers' licenses, prospecting licenses, and so forth - everything in connection with gold mining; in other words the right to dig and so on was specially preserved for the white community. You will remember that in the early days in order to take out a prospecting license you had to hand in proof that you had paid poll tax, and only white persons paid the poll tax, and under that Gold Law it

79a.  
specially stated that every white person was entitled to take out a prospecting licence after having paid his poll tax and so on. After the law of 1898 you will remember we have the laws of 1907 and 1908 dealing with immigration. I am not now dealing with the Peace Reservation Ordinance; that has already been fully dealt with this morning; and the Passive Resistance Movement then started. At any rate I am only now dealing with 1907 and 1908 Laws to show that the passive resistance movement which then started when the first attack was made by the Government in these Laws on the rights of the Indians, that it was immediately resented by the Indian Community and steps were immediately taken by them to protect what they considered to be their rights, and the rights which they were considered to have in those days. I would like to point them out to you, under Law 3 of 1898, to be the following: they had no right to acquire fixed property except in locations. Therefore they were not absolutely deprived of the right to acquire fixed property in the Transvaal. They were only deprived of the right to acquire fixed property in certain areas. That is definitely laid down in the Law, itself. The reason I am stating that point is this: that a general statement seems to have been made and many people seem to be under that impression; that in no case was the Indian allowed to acquire fixed property at all.

COL: "YIE: I thought that was amended by a Volksraad Resolution: "Only in such streets, etc., as the Government for the purposes of sanitation shall assign them..."

DR: "KRAUSE: There it does not specifically only refer to locations: it says "... streets and wards..." and in looking at the section now I think I put it too narrowly. I think I am correct in stating that they were not allowed to acquire land generally, but they were entitled to acquire land in such places the Government would allow them to acquire land; and therefore although the words "...for the purposes of sanitation" were inserted as mere camouflage the right to acquire property was conceded to the Indian community, although not to its fullest extent.

COL: "YIE: Then what is the meaning of that word "habitation"?- Do you construe that word "habitation" as meaning residence.

DR: "KRAUSE: Yes; I think that is how it has been interpreted by the Court/

Court. I have it here in the translation by Jeppe: "to live in" That is at page 135. I have his translation here. In Jeppe they translate it as "to live in" and therefore a distinction is made in the law in regard to premises occupied for the purpose of trade, that what you occupy for the purpose of trade is not necessarily your residence or habitation. They were certainly entitled under the Law of 1885 to trade wherever they liked.

CHAIRMAN: To acquire ownership whenever they were allowed to reside?

DR: KRAUSE: Yes; whether it is in a location or not in a location provided at least they had the consent of the Government that they had the right to acquire ownership on the place in which they were living.

COL: WYLIE: The words here are: "such place as the Government shall assign them".

DR: KRAUSE: The words I have it here: "except in such streets, wards and locations as the Government for the purposes of sanitation shall assign for them to live in": those are the words I have.

COL: WYLIE: It says here: "save only in such streets and locations as the Government shall for sanitary purposes appoint for their habitation."

DR: KRAUSE: That is a different translation. I think you have an old translation before you. This is the latest official translation we have. I have Vol. 1 of the State Law of the Transvaal (Jeppe) With regard to that other translation I may say that our Courts have already expressed their opinion that in many respects it has been found to be faulty. In paragraph (d), sir, you will find that the same thing seems to be more or less repeated, but that is only repeated in so far that it gives the right to the Government to assign certain areas, streets, wards or locations for them to live in. The one deals with fixed property, and the other deals merely with the right of the Government to assign these places to them. It seems to be a little tautological or complementary to the other; (d) gives the Government the actual right to do so, and (b) gives the right to the Indian.

COL: /



COL: NYLIE: That addition to subsection (b) was added by the Volksraad Resolution of August 1886, whereas subsection (d) is the original Law.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes; that is so, but you will remember that the 1886 Resolution was passed for the purpose of bringing it into line with the London Convention.)

CHAIRMAN: Subsection (d) is also amended by the Volksraad Resolution of 12th August 1886.

COL: NYLIE: You have not got the original one have you?

DR: KRAUSE: I can bring the original Dutch version.

COL: NYLIE: Now this one - which is "printed by authority", is exactly the same as Jeppe.

DR: KRAUSE: I have the original Dutch.

COL: NYLIE: It is more academic than anything else, but it is very interesting under (d) it says - "as amended by the Resolution..."

DR: KRAUSE: This is the original (Dutch) Resolution: "De rogering.. and that is how the other original (b) formerly read "Zij...." The addition is in the translation of Jeppe: the words "for the purpose of sanitation" have been added by Jeppe.

CHAIRMAN: That came in by the Resolution of the Volksraad.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes; that came in by the Volksraad Resolution in 1886.

COL: NYLIE: That was following the correspondence of the Colonial Office.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes; the words "for the purpose of sanitation" are in addendum, and not in the original: they were not there.

CHAIRMAN: There is the Despatch of the 24th July 1904 in which reference is made to this very point. You see, before the Transvaal Republican Government passed Law 3 of 1885 the Imperial Government was asked whether they could do so or whether it was a violation of the terms of the London Convention and after some correspondence it was agreed that those words "for the purpose of sanitation" were to be inserted, and then there was no objection to the Law.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes, sir, now that is exactly the view I put before the Select Committee, and the way in which I arrived at that particular conclusion/

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conclusion, which is now evidently borne out by the Despatch referred to was this:- I especially drew attention to the Select Committee to the fact that the word "coolie" was prominently used in this Law and I pointed out that from the historical, or other information that we had of persons who lived at that time, (because one of the persons who was in Pretoria at that time and even owned fixed property was Abbobaker) that at that time there were very few of what we call the superior class of Indian in the Transvaal, and there was never any complaint against the superior class of Indian or Trader, and therefore the Volksraad in no sense included that class of Indian under the term "coolie" because those who know anything about the conditions in India will understand the sense in which the word "coolie" is employed. And at that time we were afraid of an influx of Indians from Natal where the Indian is called a "coolie" but if you apply the term to a respectable Indian he considers it an insult. And that is the reason the Imperial Government must have assented to the promulgation of this Law, because it was pointed out that it was merely for sanitary purposes and nothing else, and therefore it could not apply and the Indian community did not understand it as applying to the superior class of Indian, when that Law did not effect, and was never so intended to apply for the superior class of Indian was not only occupying premises for the purpose of trade, but was actually living cheek by jowl with the European community, and no steps were taken to remove him. As you will see from the Law of 1885 it is only a permissive right given to the Government and not a right which the Government is called upon to exercise at once; it is only a right which the Government may exercise at any time.

COL: VYLLIE: It is not a prohibition in law.

DR: BRANDE: It is a permissive right given to them which they might exercise for purposes of sanitation and nothing else, and if there is no reason for the Government to exercise the powers conferred upon them by law for the purpose of sanitation then of course the whole Law is inoperative. That is the position they took up and I think it is perfectly clear from the law itself. The other right, sir, which is guaranteed/

guaranteed to them under this Law of 1885 was the unrestricted right to trade, provided of course they paid the registration fee and had themselves registered with the Magistrate; the registration fee at one time, I think, was 25, and afterwards was reduced by the Volksraad Resolution to 23 that is under the Volksraad Resolution of the 11th August 1886 when it was reduced to 25. Therefore in 1885 those were the only disabilities from which the Indian community and, in fact, all Asiatics in the Natal, suffered from in this way; and they considered that was the Charter of Rights guaranteed to them from that particular time - 1885. Now sir, from that onward the Government started tinkering at those rights and the Indian community resented it. There was no particular tinkering at their rights under Law 13 of 1895, the Gold Law; there their rights were preserved, although the rights of gold diggers and so forth were specifically reserved for the white population. And the next restrictive legislation we have, you will remember, is in 1907 and 1908 apart from the Peace Preservation Act of 1903 which was merely a War measure, introduced immediately after the War. Therefore the next restrictive legislation is that of 1907 and 1908. The Asiatic Law Amending Act No. 2 of 1907 I think it is called - yes; well, practically that was the first Law passed, as I pointed out this morning, under Responsible Government, and the other one which was passed at a later date, namely Act 15 of 1907, the Immigration Restriction Act. That was a complement, sir, to the Peace Preservation Ordinance of 1903; it specially repeals the Peace Preservation Ordinance of 1903. Now then, sir, the passive resistance movement started. There was a Validation Act in 1900, and a Relief Act in respect of the same matter in 1914. The passive resistance movement continued, as you know sir, until 1914. I have omitted to refer to the Gold Law of 1908, but I think it is advisable for me before dealing with the other revisions of the Gold Law to indicate to you very shortly what the Indian community understood by the so-called Smuts-Gandhi agreement, because I think a great deal of misconception with regard to that has arisen, and that to a certain extent has partly been cleared up before you already this morning. On the 30th June 1914 you will remember, sir, that Mr. Gordon in his letter to Mr. Gandhi in

Cape Town specifically sets out 8 points upon which the agreement had been arrived at, and what is remarkable is this (and this is what I want to draw your attention to) that nothing there is mentioned about trade or any matters of that description. On page xiii of the Report of the Select Committee, he says :-

"...I am desired by General Smuts to state with reference to those matters...."

Referring to the matters dealt with in the Indian Relief Bill, which brought to a conclusion the passive resistance movement, and that that matter sets out that eight points, specifically, on which an agreement has arrived at, and which were specifically present to the minds of the persons who took part in the passive resistance movement, and were in fact what they contended for. And then, sir, follows what has given rise to all the misconception. Mr. Gorges, continues, as follows:-

" With regard to the administration of existing laws, the Minister  
" desires me to say that it always has been, and will continue to be  
" the desire of the Government, to see that they are administered in  
" a just manner with due regard to vested rights. "

that is a general statement, which is made with regard to other points.

COL: WYLIE: That agreement had reference not to the Transvaal alone but to the whole Union, and the laws of each Province are different?

DR: KRAUSE: Yes; but this is a general statement, an undertaking given by the Government - that with regard to the existing laws which had special application to Indians they would be administered fairly and justly with due regard to vested rights.

COL: WYLIE: That arose out of the recommendation of the last Commission.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes; and that is how Mr. Gandhi in his letter of the 30th June 1914, to Mr. Gorges understood it, because he says there :  
"They are dissatisfied that the trade licenses laws of the  
"different Provinces, the Transvaal Gold Law, the Transvaal Town-  
"ships Act, the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885, have not been altered so  
"as to give them full rights of residence, trade and ownership of  
"land. Some of them are dissatisfied that full inter-provincial  
"migration is not permitted, and some are dissatisfied that on the  
"marriage question the Relief Bill goes no further than it does.  
"They have asked me that all the above matters might be included in  
"the passive resistance struggle. I have been unable to comply with  
"their wishes. Whilst therefore they have not been included in the  
"programme of passive resistance, it will not be denied that some  
"day or other these matters will require further and sympathetic  
"consideration by the Government..."

There is a specific statement there made by Mr. Gandhi that these matters were not included in the passive resistance movement, and it has

been interpreted sir, that this clause in Mr. Jorge's letter did include all this.

(COL: WYLIE: Your argument hitherto has been all these laws in the Transvaal held up to the passive resistance movement. I think the real cause of the Passive Resistance was the £3 tax, and the marriage laws.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes, that is right, and the finger print regulation; those were the three causes. The Passive Resistance movement, sir, (I am speaking from my own knowledge and from my own recollection) was really a movement which the Indians undertook in consequence of the fact that they felt they were being treated like an inferior race, and in other words that their national dignity and honour were being attacked by the measures proposed, namely their marriage laws, the fact that they had to give finger impression - they felt that it was derogatory to their pride as human beings, because this provision was only applied to criminals and not to free citizens. That was the reason why the Indians took part in the Passive Resistance movement so generally, and therefore other Indians would not have felt the necessity of it otherwise.)

COL: WYLIE: In fact, if I remember rightly, it started here and spread to other centres?--

DR: KRAUSE: Yes, and further, in that letter written on the 7th July 1914, by Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Jorge, I think it will be seen that his definition clearly refers to the Gold Law and the Townships Amendment Act.

COL: WYLIE: And there was no reply to that letter?--

DR: KRAUSE: No, and it is perfectly clear that it is his personal expression of opinion, although the Indian community appreciate everything that Mr. Gandhi has done, but it was never brought to their knowledge and when it was brought to their knowledge, by the correspondence handed to you this morning, you will immediately see that they had no knowledge of that, and as a matter of fact I do not think this letter had ever seen the light of day until it was produced to the Select Committee last year; and therefore it cannot be said that the Indian community accepted an agreement of which they had no knowledge. They certainly did not acquiesce in it. Now sir, we come to the Gold Law of 1908. Now sir, I am not in possession of everything which occurred between/

between the Imperial Government and our Government when the Gold Law was passed, but I understand, and so I have been told, sir, that certain correspondence did pass between the Imperial Government and the Union Government on this particular subject, and no doubt you will have an opportunity possibly of either calling for those papers or possibly that information of an official nature will be placed before you by some other witness, and therefore I can only deal with the Law as we find it and understood it and the action the Indian community took in order to prevent the passing of this particular Law. Now, sir, if you will refer again to the evidence I gave before the Select Committee- I was at great pains to find out, because I was a member of the Transvaal at the time this particular Law was passed, and I took part in the discussion. If you will refer to my evidence on page 32 of the Report of the Select Committee where I quoted from Hansard (I went to the trouble of getting hold of Hansard at the time- and I think, sir, if I just read that you will find that the statement as I gave it from the official records was a correct one, and no doubt it may be supplemented later on from any official information you may be able to obtain, (I say this:

" I find in the Transvaal Hansard of 1908, on page 717, a speech  
 " made by the then Minister of Mines, Mr. de Villiers, in introducing  
 " the second reading of the present Gold Law. This was on July 30th.  
 " 1908. Mr. de Villiers then only dealt with the principles of  
 " sections one hundred and thirty and one hundred and thirty one. The  
 " speech was a long one, and I do not think it necessary to quote it  
 " at length. But even in those days the Indians were quite alive to  
 " the fact that their rights were being attacked. The section to  
 " which the Indians particularly objected was that which touched on  
 " the question of residence. They never realised, however, that  
 " section one hundred and thirty was going to extend the meaning of  
 " one hundred and thirty three of the old law and was going to deal  
 " with the question of their acquiring trading rights or licenses.  
 " The objection which was made by the Indians at the time was  
 " against second one hundred and twenty-eight which is now section  
 " one hundred and thirty one, and which was rectified because Mr. de  
 " Villiers himself expressed the opinion that it went too far. Mr. de  
 " Villiers there said: 'I think this section goes too far. It deals  
 " with the residence of coloured persons or proclaimed areas but  
 " the matter can be dealt with in Select Committee. I think we  
 " should protect the rights of coloured people who have already  
 " acquired these rights'- and Mr. Hosken there interrupted with  
 " 'hear, hear...')

COL: WYLIE: In the Select Committee did you try to put this right?

MR: KRAUSE: Unfortunately I was not in the Select Committee.

COL: WYLIE: You did not deal with it when the Report came out?

MR: KRAUSE: No; as a matter of fact the matter simply slipped through.

As a matter of fact, sir, we were dealing with the Gold Law; we were

not dealing/

"open in the future the Indian community would be deprived of the right to occupy premises for the purposes of their trading. Their right to trade was not interfered with, and if you grant and concede the right to trade you must also grant the right to occupy. If the right to trade is given but the right to occupy premises is refused, then it seems that you are giving with the one hand and taking away with the other."

CHAIRMAN: They could not occupy; they could not be there in the day to sell their wares.

DR: KRAUSE: Occupation means control of premises, being in possession or control of premises to the exclusion of anybody else, and they could not rent or lease premises from anybody; no white person was allowed to sublet them; no white person was even allowed to permit the, to occupy premises and you will remember sir, that it goes further: it not only excludes more contradictory rights, but it prohibits any person from permitting such occupations or allowing such sub-letting and so forth. Now sir, nobody realised as I say that such a drastic measure had been taken, and that in future, because that means in future, no Indian would be allowed in the area marked Class A. which is the whole of the Reef, the whole of the Witwatersrand area for the purpose of trading or for any other purposes.

COL: WYLIE: Does that area include the whole of the area of Johannesburg.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes, it means the whole of the Reef including Klerksdorp it includes all proclaimed areas.

MR: HOFMEYER: It is all in the schedule, and the Mining Commissioner could easily supply us with a man sewing the whole of the proclaimed area.

DR: KRAUSE: Yes, now it is curious, Sir- (a case occurred in Klerksdorp shewing how after all the Indians were not the only breakers of the Law. In Klerksdorp there was the firm of Mahomed Ismail & Co. I think Mr. Noser refers to that in his evidence before the Select Committee the peculiar circumstances which arose in connection with that case at Klerksdorp. It appears that the Government sold a large number of stands under the Mining Law in Klerksdorp, and Mahomed Ismail & Co., purchased these stands; it was a sale of Government stands, and afterwards the Mining Commissioner or refused to grant them licenses, and eventually it was decided that transfer should be placed in the name of the mining/

dealing with the trading rights of Indians or anything in that respect we were dealing with the old Law, and the rights of Indians were not before us at the time. Our attention was directed on the main question the great question that agitated our minds at that time was the right of prospecting on private ground and Companies' locked-up ground and beyond that; those were the things that occupied our attention at that time.

Q: "WHEE: You were not a professional geologist then?"

DR: "WHEE: Unfortunately we were not, but I have it in the statement that the Indians did protest and certain resolutions were made by the Imperial Government, which we doubt will be placed before you at a later date. If you compare Law No. 15 of 1899 with Law No. 3 of 1885 you will see a very serious encroachment was made on the rights which Indians up to that time had enjoyed. Under Article 130 & 131 of No. 35 of 1908 if you will look at that section (130) you will see that it is a very drastic one"...save as is provided in section 24 no right may be acquired by coloured person"...The old law of 1885 had a similar provision, but the rights under this Act referred to rights relating to gold mining, prospecting and such things, Section 130 (1), is as follows

"130 (1) save as is provided in section twenty four no right may be acquired under this Act by a coloured person; and the holder of a right acquired under Law No. 15 of 1899 or a prior law or under this Act shall not transfer, or sublet, or permit to be transferred or sublet, any portion of such right to a coloured person, nor admit any coloured person (other than his bona fide servant) to reside on or occupy ground held under such right."

and Section 131 (1) says this :-

"131 (1). No coloured person shall be permitted to reside on proclaimed land in districts comprised in Class 4 except in Lazars, locations, mining compounds, and such other places, as the Mining Commissioner may permit."

So here, Sir, the right to which the Indians, under the law of 1885 were entitled as a corollary to their right to trade, namely to occupy the premises in which they were trading was taken away absolutely, the right of occupation for the purpose of trading was destroyed, and it was made a penal offence.

Q: "WHEE: They could not trade unless they occupied?"

DR: "WHEE: Quite so, and I put it very shortly in my evidence

before the Select Committee, I said there:

"...nobody realised definitely at the time that with one stroke of

the/



"pen in the future the Indian community would be deprived of the right to occupy premises for the purposes of their trading. Their right to trade was not interfered with, and if you grant and concede the right to trade you must also grant the right to occupy. If the right to trade is given but the right to occupy premises is refused, then it seems that you are giving with the one hand and taking away with the other."

CHAIRMAN: They could not occupy; they could not be there in the day to sell their wares.

DR. KRAUSE: Occupation means control of premises, being in possession or control of premises to the exclusion of anybody else, and they could not rent or lease premises from anybody; no white person was allowed to sublet them; no white person was even allowed to permit the, to occupy premises and you will remember sir, that it goes further: it not only excludes more contradual rights, but it prohibits any person from permitting such occupations or allowing such sub-letting and so forth. Now sir, nobody realized as I say that such a drastic measure had been taken, and that in future, because that means in future, no Indian would be allowed in the area marked Class A. which is the whole of the Reef, the whole of the Witwatersrand area for the purpose of trading or for any other purposes.

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Mining Commissioner.

MR: HOFMEYER: What year was that?--

DR: KRAUSE: That was in the year 1888.

MR: HOFMEYER: That is very common?

DR: KRAUSE: - Yes, but the Mining Commissioner was authorised in that case to act as Trustee on behalf of the Indian who had bought these stands and the reason I am pointing that out is because as you will remember the Indians gradually developed that particular doctrine, and they, themselves got white persons to act as trustees for the purpose of holding land on their behalf, and not only that, but they went under the Company Law to acquire land for the same object. In the case of Clerksdorp, that I have quoted, the Mining Commissioner himself was appointed to hold the land here in trust for the Indian. That is a very early example - 1888, where the Government actually acted as trustee for the Indians in connection with the acquisition of fixed property. Now, notwithstanding that the Gold Law of 1908 was passed no steps were taken to disturb the Indians in the rights which they thought they were always entitled to enjoy.)

MR: HOFMEYER: What about the issue of licenses and the removal of licenses?---

DR: KRAUSE: Licenses were issued by the Government and renewals were issued by the Government even when the Municipalities obtained the right to issue licenses to Indians, that same position obtained, and this happy state of affairs continued until the Municipality of Krugersdorp started the agitation; and the first way in which they started the agitation was to refuse licenses to the Indians under section 90 (e) of Ordinance No.9 of 1912. And now it is perfectly clear that we have the reason why they did so, and availed themselves of that right, because when a communication had been made to them, I think by Col. Shaw, that there was an agreement between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts to the effect that no new licenses should be granted in future, which of course I submit was an entirely wrong interpretation of the statement which had been received by the leaders of the Passive Resistance movement. At any rate they arrived at that conclusion and refused licenses under subsection (e) of Section 90 of Ordinance No.9 of 1912. I have dealt with that point this morning, and I

and I need not cover that again this afternoon. I have also referred to the request of the Indian community that the section should be altered that it should be ascertained as a question of fact, where an applicant, being an Indian is refused a license on the ground that he is in the opinion of the council not a desirable person to hold such license, that the applicant is an undesirable person; that the right of appeal to the Magistrate should be abolished and that there should be right of appeal to the Supreme Court in the ordinary way, or at any rate have the right of appeal to the Magistrate for the purpose of saving expense, and also have the right of appeal to the Supreme Court where rights were attacked. And the reason the Indian community make bold to submit that request is that they fear that Municipalities as they generally are constituted by individuals who are trade rivals, who have their own axes to grind to a great extent, and that the licensing of trades and commerce is not a matter which ought to be delegated so much to the municipality but is a matter which we submit should be dealt with almost entirely by the Central Authority, with the exception of things which affect the health of the community, narrow things which affect the health of the community, the sanitation of the community and the general welfare of the community inter se, but general questions of policy and general questions of trade should not be delegated to the municipality. That point has been dealt with in the evidence which you have before you in regard to the Ermelo and Potchefstroom cases where the attitude and policy taken up by the South Africans' League - where the municipalities have taken up the definite attitude that as a matter of trade policy they will not have Indians residing in close proximity to the white community. That is a matter for the Central Government to deal with and not each little community on its own.

COL: SYLVE: I thought that what you really wanted is this - that while the municipalities might have the issue and control of licenses, the principles on which those matters are to be dealt with by law shall be laid down by the Union Parliament, not under a Provincial Ordinance or bye-laws issued by a municipality.

DR: KRUGER. /

DR: KRAUSE: I think they would even object to the Provincial Council laying down the law on the subject.

COL: THIES: I did not say that. As you object to it that this matter should fall under the Provincial Council and you desire that the law on the subject should emanate from the Union Parliament

DR: KRAUSE: Yes, as I pointed out, in the judgment of Mr. Justice Mason in the case of *Amorowitz vs. The Johannesburg Town Council*, where he deals with the scope of the activities of the Council, he there comes to the conclusion that the questions of trade and commerce are question for the whole of the community and not a particular local authority for therefore should be dealt with by the Central Authority instead of by the local authority. Now, sir, the Municipality of Krugersdorp did not succeed in enforcing their particular policy on the Indian community by availing themselves of Section 99 (e) of Ordinance No. 9 of 1914. Having failed in that, in so far that the Magistrates, not only one, sir, in Krugersdorp, but I know of two Magistrates who failed to uphold the contention of the Municipality and they came to the conclusion that the licensing were being refused for the reason that the applicants for the licenses were not undesirable in themselves, but because they were undesirable in so far that they were of a particular class of the community, namely the Indian or Asiatic class, the Municipality thereupon cast about to find other means whereby they could get rid of the Indian trader and they then hit upon this Gold Law Sections 130 and 131, and there they had the Indians bear. The law, as I pointed out to you, sir, distinctly states that he shall not occupy these premises, and the result was hopeless, and acting on my advice and other counsel's advice the only remedy which we had then was to appeal to the Government as the Central Authority and to point out to the Government that ruination would be brought upon the whole of the Indian community if this law was definitely enforced. It was pointed out that hitherto the Government had never enforced that law, but had allowed us to continue in the manner in which we had been trading, and that it was never for one single moment/

moment contemplated that any municipality would have the locus standing to come before the court and that the matter, but they brought the case as representing the ratepayers and property owners in the township, relying upon the provisions of those two sections- 130 and 131, and the Indian community recognising that they were beaten had to appeal to the Government and to Parliament, and then sir, started the whole procedure which led up to the appointment of the Select Committee. I do not think I need go into that matter at all; but the point I would like to emphasise is that the Select Committee was specifically appointed for the purpose of dealing with the question which I have already mentioned to you. Unfortunately Sir Thos. Watt brought in an amendment to the terms of reference to the Select Committee to include the question of the acquisition of land by Asiatics through the formation of Companies and by nominees, and (you will see, sir, that the Law 37 of 1919 makes provision with regard to that. Now sir, what the Indian community say is this - that that certainly was a breach of faith on the part of the Government to bring further restrictions into this law and they say that they are further restrictions for this reason; the first section legalise what the Government always undertakes would be legalised, namely to allow the Indians to occupy and carry on their trade in the manner in which they have been occupying and carrying on their trade, but section two, however, imposes further restrictions on the Indian community in so far that according to the decision given by Mr. Justice Ward, they were entitled to form themselves into private Companies for the purpose of acquiring land; they were entitled to do that according to law, and the Government had set them an example in 1888 by appointing, in the cases I have referred to a Mining Commissioner as trustees for land acquired by an Indian, this establishing the Indians' right to hold fixed property through a trustee. The question with regard to the acquisition of land through Companies was still sub-judice and I do not think speaking on behalf of the Indian community that it was proper for the Minister, while the thing was still sub-judice to immediately rush in legislation for which there was no real demand on particular agitation. The matter is still sub-judice in respect of the past. And in the future their rights of course have been curtailed. They cannot do so in the future.

COL: WYLIE: That law of 1817 does not in any way affect existing companies?

DR: KRAUSE: No.

CHAIRMAN: Their rights are preserved, whatever the court may say.)

DR: KRAUSE: We are waiting to see by the Appeal Court which of the Judges is right, so sir, you will see that there is no doubt that ever since the law of 1885 the rights of the Indians have from time to time been restricted and curtailed so much that at the present moment they have been placed in this position, and they accept this position; as Mr. Madoo, has said, they agree to the closed door policy, they agree with the Government to do their best as far as they are concerned to prevent any further immigration into the Union, and they also agree to restrict interprovincial migration; but what they claim, and what they claim very strongly, is that they should be restored, at any rate - now that they are in a British Colony and no more in the South African Republic - that they should be restored and give full rights of citizenship in so far that they can enjoy with the white community all those rights which the white community enjoy, in other words, sir, equal rights for every civilised being in the Union.

CHAIRMAN: They practically ask for what they have at the Cape?

DR: KRAUSE: Yes; you see, they point out this. I did not go into it very fully, but now you mention it, you will find it in my evidence before the Select Committee, the point out that all these fears expressed by persons who are either actuated by trade jealousy, race prejudice or other motives, whatever these motives may be. Of course they may be perfectly bona fide, and I do not wish to cast aspersions on the persons who have views contrary to the Indian community; all these rights which they so fear, if they are to be exercised by Indians in the Transvaal, are actually exercised by Indians in the Cape and Natal unrestrictedly, and no particular harm, sir, has resulted to the white community at all.

COL: WYLIE: I do not think you will say that if you visit certain localities in Natal, which were flourishing white towns and where there is no white man now.

DR: KRAUSE. I suppose the white man has been prepared to leave it to/

to the Indian in that respect. At any rate in the Cape and Natal there is no danger of fear of danger to the persons living there, from the Indian community; and after all what I want to point out is that they are very small community, the rate of increase from outside is cut off, and it is only the rate of increase from the inside that you have to deal with, whereas the white community can recruit their numbers from overseas and other provinces as much as they please. Therefore for the white community to come along and say that there is an Indian menace - whereas there are only 11,00 Indians (men, women, and children in the Transvaal), to speak of an Indian menace is a big white colony such as we are at the present moment, with the possibility of increasing to any number we may please (and they are restricted solely to the ordinary natural means of increase recognised by human beings) seems to them, sir, to be an absurdity and an exaggeration of the case against them.

COL: YLIE: One witness yesterday said that he was in favour of "compulsory persuasion" - I think that was probably what was applied to some of the white traders in certain parts of Natal.

DR: FRANKS: Possibly so; I do not think I need say anything further with regard to the policy which was adopted by the Government from time to time as reflected in the laws you have before you. If I have dealt quite fully with all the points, sir, you will find them supplemented by what I said before the Select Committee. I do not think I made many inaccuracies or mistakes in regard to the statements I put before the Select Committee, although we were not then in possession of all the information with which to guide and assist us.

CHAIRMAN: You said something about some schedule - some list of traders that you would hand to the Committee, which appeared to me to be rather a useful thing. Was it with regard to the number of licenses issued?

DR: FRANKS: No, it was the amount of capital involved which would have been lost if these were prevented from carrying out their trade. (The amount of capital invested by Indians in the Transvaal is about 28,000,000 of which about 16,000,000 is in the traders - land, etc., and the amount of capital invested, of which we have statistics/

MR. M. M. DADOO - examined :-

1330. CHAIRMAN: What is your full name?- Mahomed Mamoojee Dadoo.

1331. DR: KRAUSE: You are a trader from Krugersdorp?- Yes.

1332. Now for how long have you been in Krugersdorp?- I have been in Krugersdorp from 1904; that is 16 years.

1333. That is before the Krugersdorp Town Council came into existence? -- Yes, I think so.

1334. What premises were you occupying in Krugersdorp. Are you occupying the same premises still?-- I started with one business first. That business is closed now; and then I had another one.

1335. You afterwards formed yourself into a private company?- Yes, Dadoo Limited.

1336. CHAIRMAN: What year was it that you became Dadoo Limited?-- The property was bought 10 or 12 years ago in Mr. Polak's name and then transferred to Dadoo Limited.

1337. DR: KRAUSE: When did you form yourself into a limited liability company?-- in 1915.

1338. What kind of business do you carry on there?- General dealers.

1339. Have you any other business in any other part of the Transvaal? -I have a wholesale business in Johannesburg.

1340. Now as a wholesale firm where do you get your goods?-- I import from London, America, and India and I buy goods from Jo'burg merchants, also, I am a direct importer and I also buy from the wholesale merchants in Johannesburg, who deal in particular lines.

1341. In Krugersdorp you are carrying on a retail business, are you not?-- Yes.

1342. Let us take your retail business in Krugersdorp. What stock do you carry there?-- £50,000.

1343. And what stock do you carry in your wholesale business in Johannesburg?- Between £60,000 and £180,000. Of course the value of the stock varies.

1344. Who are the persons from whom you purchase as a wholesale firm in Johannesburg?-- Indians as well as Europeans.

1345. Do a large number of persons buy from you as a wholesaler?-- Indians are my largest customers.



1346. In Krugersdorp do you do an Indian or a white trade?-- All white trade in Krugersdorp.

1347. In your Krugersdorp business how many assistants do you employ?-- Between 17 and 18 assistants.

1348. Are these all Indians?-- Yes, all Indians.

1349. Do you employ any white man?-- No white men at all.

1350. These Indians you employ do they live on your premises do any live at other places?-- They live in one of my other places.

1351. Do you supply board and lodging?-- Board, lodging, washing, shaving, smokes, everything.

1352. You keep a special cook for them do you not?-- Yes.

1353. What do you pay your assistants?-- £15 is the average wage apart from board and lodging and everything else. I am putting a list of wages paid by me in my Johannesburg business.

1354. Have you any white men employed in Johannesburg?-- No, they are all Indians.

1355. Is this a list of the wages paid to your employees in Johannesburg?-- Yes, one is £30, one £20, and one £15, and so on.

1356. And then you have your boys and you reckon that the 7 of them cost you for food £3 per month each, board, lodging, light, etc. cigarettes £3.

1357. CHAIRMAN: That is well over £15; according to this it averages nearly £16:-- Yes.

1358. DR: KRAUSE: You produce a list of your expenditure for the month of March 1920, for your Krugersdorp business?-- Yes.

COL: WYLIE: Has Dadoo got his books here?

DR: KRAUSE: I have just sent for them. these are extracts from his books.

COL: WYLIE: That last list handed in with regard to Krugersdorp summarises the establishment charges for the whole month.

1359. MR: HOFMEYER: Who made up this list?-- My book-keeper.

1360. Why have you put down for the month of March, this item regarding "General Dealers license"?-- My book-keeper must have made a mistake.

1361. You must not come here with mistakes in your statements. You put in three licenses for one year and then you tell us that this is

your list of expenses for March?— I expect he has included that because it was paid in March; the figures were taken out by my book-keeper.

1362. What reliance can you place on the rest of your figures?— You happened to pay that in March and that is probably why you put it in here?— Yes.

1363. CHAIRMAN: What is the rent paid for the month of March?— at Krugersdorp I pay £52.10/—.

1364. MR HOFFMEYER: In your statement you say "Rent £47.10" You had better this list book, make a proper list and return it to us.— Yes

1365. Get the Secretary to check it with you. After we go away from here, in a few weeks time when we go through the papers and find your statement incorrect we cannot then call you to explain?— Quite so.

1366. DR: KRAUSE: You are a married man, are you not?— Yes.

1367. And your wife— is she out in this country?— She is in India, just now on a visit.

1368. How long has she been away?— 2 years and 6 months now.

1369. How many children have you got?— Four; two here and two in India

1370. Where do you live in Krugersdorp?— I have one place I reside in at Krugersdorp, and then I went to India with my family and my manager resided there now and I am residing in Johannesburg.

1371. CHAIRMAN: The residence you bought is apart from your business altogether?— That is a place I bought for residence.

1372. Next door to the business?— No, it is far away from the business.

1373. DR: KRAUSE: Where do your children go to school?— They go to the Government Indian School here.

1374. And they also now live with you in Johannesburg?— your two children?— Yes.

1375. How many servants did your wife keep when she was here?— One boy and one girl.

1376. To attend to your family and yourself?— Yes.

1377. How old is your eldest child and how old is the youngest?— One eleven and the other 7; they are here. The others in India are 4 and 9 years old. When my wife was here my household expenses were £25 to £30 per month; that was for food and housekeeping; that is the household expenses for myself, wife and four children. It was really three children/

children and a baby.

1378. How many rooms have you in your residence?-- Six rooms, 1 kitchen and a bathroom.

1379. Was your house just like any European's house?-- Yes it was a fine house.

1380. It was a nice house?-- Yes.

1381. Do you get your books audited?-- Not every year.

1382. MR. HOPMEYR: You are a limited liability company, are you not?-- Yes.

1383. In Johannesburg and in Krugersdorp?-- It is only the property that is a limited liability company-- not the business.

1384. When did you get your books audited last?-- In 1912 or 1913.

1385. Then you do not know what stock you have got?-- I take stock every year.

1386. MR. KRAUSE: Allegations are made that the Indian trader (you are a whole as well as a retail Indian trader) undersells the white trader, that in other words there is unfair competition between the Indian and the white trader. How what is the average gross profit that you reckon you make in your retail business?-- In the retail business I reckon on an average profit of 25% that is, taking soft goods, hardware and everything else.

1387. In the grocery department, what is the average profit you make there?-- In grocery about 12½

1388. And on soft goods and so forth?-- Some 15%, some 35%, some 40%, some 45%. I would put the average at 25%.

1389. When you speak of gross profit is that on the turnover or on your cost?-- That is on cost price, but the expenses have to be taken off that.

1390. How what do you make in your wholesale business?-- I reckon 12½ to 15%.

1391. MR. HOPMEYR: Also gross?-- This is the profit on soft goods. That is on the cost price but I have to pay expenses from that.

1392. MR. BAXTER: Is this from actual experience?-- This is what I sell my goods at.

1393. MR. KRAUSE: Let me put it to you this way. Your goods cost you landed at 50%. Do you add to that up to your selling price 12½ to/

15% on that?-- Yes that is therefore the gross profit.

1394. You are conducting "Dadoo's Great Sale" at the present moment. Is that not so?-- Yes; I produce my circular which bear no cost price as well as my selling price, and I also produce my invoices.

1395. I think a point was made with regard to the price at which you are offering Boer meal. I think it was stated that Boer meal could not be obtained under 71/6 wholesale. Now at what price did you buy Boer Meal?-- 62/- I bought at 62/- landed Krugersdorp and sold at 75/- of course there has great fluctuation in the price of mealies and mealie meal.

1396. MR: HOFMEYER: Somebody showed me an invoice from the Paarl in which Boer meal was entered at 54/-?-- Yes; there were contracts some time ago at that figure.

1397. What is the railage from Paarl?-- The Railway rate is 3/6 per bag I think.

1398. MR: BAXTER: Would it not be possible for the witness to have prepared an audited statement showing the realised profit in his different departments and my book-keeper takes out all the figures.

1399. I am an old business man myself and these general statements convey nothing to me?-- (No answer.)

DR: KRAUSE: I quite understand that, at any rate, sir, this will give you some indication as to the way in which he does his business. Those are the prices (producing circular price list) at which he sells as advertised, and there are the invoices showing his cost prices, to show that there is no unfair competition or underselling.

1400. COL: TYLIE: Is this a clearness sale to get rid of stock?--Yes.

1401. Winter was beginning and this is the end of the season sale. I produce my books and show my wages account for March 1920.

1402. DR: KRAUSE: He has taken for your information a list of the European merchants in Krugersdorp in 1920. I think a statement was made here that there were only 2 European traders there. This statement is taken from the directory, and this is a list of the different classes of traders there at the present moment- totalling 165, altogether in

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the different classes of trade; that is, European traders, and this is a list of Indian merchants which is taken from the actual shops, showing the total in Burghersdorp and Krugersdorp.

1402. MR: HOFMEYER: How many times do you calculate your turn over your stock in a year?-- I take my stock once a year, in May.

1403. How many times will you sell out and back again, some merchants will sell out all their stock two and a half times during the course of a year, or the value of their whole stock of goods- they turn over their whole capital two or three times a year?-- I have not calculated it in that way.

1404. DR: KRAUSE: The witness has also prepared a list of merchants in Krugersdorp in 1904, showing the number of traders (Europeans) who abandoned their business between 1904 and 1920. The list of Indian merchants existing to-day in Krugersdorp is taken from the stores, themselves, but the other list with regard to European traders is taken from the Directory?-- Yes.

1405. MR: HOFMEYER: I have a list showing you the total number of sales from 1st April 1918 to 31st May 1919, that is 13 months, amounted to 284, 690, 15, 6.7- Yes, that is the wholesale and retail business.

1406. Now you say that your stock in Krugersdorp is worth £50,000?-- Yes.

1407. So that you have turned that over about 1½ times. Yes, but the wholesale and retail business were done in Krugersdorp. I closed up my wholesale business in Krugersdorp a year ago. This year my turnover in Krugersdorp will be about £55,000.

1408. What premises have you got in Johannesburg?-- I am at the corner of Market and Korte Streets.

1409. Are those premises taken in the name of the Company?-- Yes.

1410. And at Krugersdorp also?-- Yes, that is Dadoo Limited.

1411. The premises you have are in the name of the Limited Company-- Yes.

DR: KRAUSE: Mr. Dadoo is willing to put an auditor on to the work so as to have prepared a proper resume of the information you require.

MR: BAXTER: I would like an auditor's certificate of the realised profits in groceries and Foodstuffs and on drapery during the last

trading year in the wholesale business, and also in his retail business.

1412. MR. HORNBY: Has the Cost of Living Commission ever made any inquiries from any Indians here about the selling price of a particular article. We read for instance that occasionally a well-known firm is the subject of inquiries in connection with the name of a certain article; the Commission sends for the trader in such a case, ascertains the actual cost of the article, and if the selling price shows a very large margin of profit, the trader is reported to have been profiteering. How has the Cost of Living Commission ever sent for you or any of your fellow traders, calling for information in this connection?-- Not to my knowledge; none of us have been called before either the Cost of Living Commission or the Cost of Living Committee. The complaint is not that we are overcharging, but that we are underselling.

MR. W. S. BRUCE - examined.

1413. CHAIRMAN: What is your full name?-- Kasoo Ismail Patel.

1414. DR. KRANSH: Are you a merchant here?-- I am a wholesale merchant.

1415. Where are your premises?-- At 49A Market St. Johannesburg.

1416. For how long have you been a wholesale merchant here?-- I have been four years in Johannesburg.

1417. Before that time where were you trading?-- In Klerksdorp and Bloemhof.

1418. Have you any business in Klerksdorp or Bloemhof at present?-- I have sold my business in Klerksdorp, but I still have one store in Bloemhof, - a retail business.

1419. And here in Johannesburg you are carrying on a wholesale business?-- Yes.

1420. What stock do you carry in Bloemhof in your retail business?-- about 220,000.

1421. And in Johannesburg in your wholesale business?-- At the last stocktaking in December - my stock was 2150,000.

1422. Are you a married man?-- Yes.

1423. Is your wife alive?-- She is here.

1424. How many children have you got?-- six.

1425. What is the age of the eldest?-- About 18.

1426. And the youngest?-- About 1½ years.

1427. How long have you been in the Transvaal?-- I have been in the Transvaal for about 20 years altogether.

1428. All the time in the Transvaal?-- Yes, I have been all the time in the Transvaal except for 3 months when I went to India for a holiday. All my children were born in the Transvaal, except my big son.

1429. In your retail business at Bloemhof, how many employees have you there?-- 14.

1430. Are they all Indians?-- Yes, they are all Indians.

1431. And in Johannesburg, how many assistants have you?-- I have about 13 assistants.

1432. All Indians?-- No, two are Europeans and 11 are Indians.

1433. What work do the Europeans do?-- Ledger work, and one is a correspondence clerk.

1433/

speaking, but last year things were very bad and people sold for cost price,-- not only Europeans, but Indians also. For instance a European bought calico at 30/- my calico cost me 40/-, the European could sell at 35/- but I must sell at 45/- to come out on it. In general lines in wholesale business we reckon on a margin of 10% to 15% profit, but in small lines we have to make 25% to 35%. This is a general rule of the business and all merchants make these profits on an average.

1447. MR: BAXTER: If you keep your books departmentally I would like to see the results in the various departments?-- I do not keep my books departmentally, I am only a soft goods merchant, I do not keep departmental accounts; my wholesale business is only in soft goods and groceries.

1448. DR: KRAUSE: In your retail business at Bloenhof you stock everything, groceries, soft goods, hardware everything?-- Yes; I am trading there as a general merchant.

1449. Do you, and must you, in the conduct of your business, make reasonable profits in order to exist?-- Yes, you must.

1450. And speaking generally on groceries, you make 10% to 25%-- Yes.

1451. And on your soft goods you make 25% to 35%? Yes.

1452. And in your general wholesale trade from 15% to 33%? - Yes.

1453. That is the average profit in normal times?-- Yes.

1454. Where do you import your goods from, perhaps the Commission would like to know that?-- Some lines we import direct, some lines we buy locally.

1455. Where do you import from?-- England, America, Japan and India

1456. Where do your children go to school?-- my two daughters are learning at home because there is no accommodation for girls to go to the school. My son is about 6 years old; he is too young to go to school, and my other son is helping me in my shop; he went to school in India; he was educated in India and now he is assisting me in my shop.

1457. What is your particular nationality?-- I am a Mahomedan.

1458. MR: HOFFMEYER: What is this list you have put in, with regard to the wages paid?-- That is with regard to my Johannesburg business.

1459. You said that you had 13 assistants?-- Yes, in the January month.



1460.- But you only show 13 here?-- In the January month I had 13.

1461.- Did you ever carry on a business at Krugersdorp?-- No, but I carried on business at Mlerksdorp.

1462.- Was there not a firm named Patel, who started at Krugersdorp and gave it up again?-- That is another man.

1463.- Not you?-- No.

1464.- COL: WYLIE: I think that last year there was a big speculation in calico amongst the Indians?-- Yes.

1465.- And that led rather to disastrous results. Some of them being compelled to sell at very low prices in order to meet their drafts?-- About 6 to 18 months ago we had to do that in order to get in some cash money.

1466.- You, yourself, had to part at a cheap rate with some goods, had you not?-- Yes.

1467.- And did that reduce the profits in your business?-- Certainly.

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- MEMORANDUM -

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Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations provides for the grant of mandates by the Council of the League to certain Mandatories of the League over the former enemy colonies and territories "which as a consequence of the late War have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them."

It is understood that the character of the Mandate in each case has been or will be settled by the Council, varying with the state of development of the inhabitants, the geographical situation of the territories, the economic conditions, and other matters of primary importance.

**CLASS "D" MANDATES**

Class "D" Mandates include, among others, the Mandate over what is known as Tanganyika Territory, which has an Indian population of 15,000. This Mandate is to be granted, upon certain conditions, to Great Britain, and the text of the draft Mandate was recently published in the "Times". Article 7 reads as follows:-

The Mandatory shall secure to all nationals of States members of the League of Nations the same rights as are enjoyed in the territory by his own nationals in respect to entry into an residence in the territory, the protection afforded to their person and property, the acquisition of property, movable and immovable, and the exercise of their profession or trade, subject only to the requirements of public order, and on condition of compliance with the local law.

Further, the Mandatory shall ensure to all nationals of States members of the League of Nations, on the same footing as to his own nationals, freedom of transit and navigation, and complete economic, commercial, and industrial equality, provided that the Mandatory shall be free to organize essential public works and services on such terms and conditions as he thinks just.

Concessions for the development of the natural resources of the territory shall be granted by the Mandatory without distinction on grounds of nationality between the nationals of all States members of the League of Nations, but on such conditions as will maintain intact the authority of the local Government. The rights conferred by this article extend equally to companies and associations organized in accordance with the law of any of the members of the League of Nations, subject only to the requirements of public order, and on condition of compliance with the local law.

From the text of this Article, it seems clear that strict equality of opportunity is provided for the nationals of States that are members of the League, as regards commercial, industrial, and economic matters. It is not, however, so certain that equality of opportunity in political matters is also provided for. Thus, the Government of India, in a very recent despatch to the Secretary of State for India, express their doubts in the following language, prefacing their remarks with a comment upon the point that the local Indians do not desire special or preferential treatment for themselves in the new territory:-

"We agree with Sir Benjamin Robertson that the position which the East African Indians have taken up is right; and we believe that it will be generally supported by public opinion throughout India. We have opposed and will continue to oppose unfair discrimination against our nationals overseas. We desire no discrimination in their favour. We ask for no more than equal rights. We can be satisfied with nothing less. . . .

. . . In conclusion, we must refer once more to the point which we urged in our despatch of the 25th December, 1919, that administrative conditions in Tanganyika Territory should be such as to afford an absolute guarantee that Indians will stand on a footing of unquestioned equality with other settlers, of whatever nationality. The Mandate guarantees economic equality, but as we understand, makes no provision for political equality. On the contrary Article 11 of the Mandate authorises the Mandatory to constitute the territory into an administrative union with the adjacent territories under his own sovereignty or control. In view of recent events, we may perhaps be pardoned if we regard with grave misgiving the possibility of administrative union with the adjacent territory of Kenya Colony. If there is no political equality we fear that even the guarantee of economic equality may prove to be illusory. Experience elsewhere has shown how easy it is to subvert nominal equality by administrative action. We need only recall the exclusion of Indians from the uplands of Kenya 'as a matter of administrative convenience.' As the Government of Bombay have expressed it, in their letter No. 12267, dated the 9th December, 1920, which is appended to this despatch:-

"They consider it absolutely necessary in the first instance to know what form of government will prevail in German East Africa and what class of people will have power to legislate and to conduct the administration. While it is true in theory that under the Mandate every resident of an original member of the League of Nations will have equal rights in the new territory every thing will depend in practice upon the people who exercise the governing power."

In our despatch of the 25th December, 1919, we suggested the desirability of associating representatives of the Government of India in the preliminary discussions regarding the system of administration to be set up in the Territory. But Lord Milner replied, in Colonial Office letter No. 1795-1920, dated the 6th March, 1920, that as the system of administration had already been settled our proposal could not usefully be considered. We understand, however, from a subsequent letter from the Colonial Office, No. 15886-20, dated the 12th April, 1920, that Lord Milner referred only to the organisation of Government departments and staff, and

not to the political rights of the inhabitants of the territory. We may say here that we fully recognise that the well-being and development of the native peoples should, under the conditions of the Mandate, be the first principle of the administration of the Territory. And we may perhaps add that Sir Benjamin Robertson was convinced by his experience in East Africa that it was not desirable, during the period of tutelage, that the Government should in any way be controlled by alien settlers, of whatever nationality. At the same time, our interests in Tanganyika Territory both actual and prospective are large. Their extent has not always perhaps, been fully realised.

We regard it as essential that there should be adequate safeguards against the development of a system of Government against which might be apathetic or even hostile to our legitimate aspirations. We must, therefore, repeat our request that we should be consulted. In paragraph 29 of our despatch, dated the 21st October, 1920, regarding the position of Indians in Kenya Colony, we referred to the suggestion that a Royal Commission should be appointed to consider the whole question of the administration of the East Africa territories. The future form of Government in Tanganyika Territory would naturally be among the matters referred to such a Commission. We would again urge that a Commission should be appointed, and should include representatives of the Government of India. We would again submit that it is not possible to arrive at a statesman-like solution of the East Africa question without full consideration of all the interests involved and full knowledge of the facts."

It is urged, therefore, that effective steps be taken, in preparing the final draft of this Mandate, to ensure complete political equality for His Majesty's Indian subjects and those of the Native States of India in the Tanganyika Territory, so that their status and opportunities may be in no way inferior to those of the nationals of the Mandatory or of any other State that is a member of the League.

#### CLASS "C" MANDATES

Class "C" Mandates are those which are to be granted in respect of "territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory", subject to certain safeguards in the interests of the indigenous population.

It is understood that certain of these Mandates have already

been granted, and in particular those over South-West Africa to the Union of South Africa, German New Guinea and certain Pacific Islands south of the Equator to the Commonwealth of Australia, and German Samoa to the Dominion of New Zealand.

Now each of these British Dominions, members of the League, has adopted legislation and methods of administration within the territory of the Dominion of a character hostile and detrimental to the rights and interests, whether as to immigration, residence, trading, ownership of land, the exercise of the municipal and political franchises, or otherwise, of the inhabitants of Asiatic countries, and in particular those of Japan and India, equal members of the League.

The text of the Mandates that have been granted to these three Mandatories enable them to administer the Mandated territories as integral portions of their own territories, and to extend this anti-Asiatic type of legislation and administration to the mandated territories. It follows that not only is the position of, among other Asiatics, Indians as regards the mandated territories worse than under the German regime before the War, but that this has been effected with the approval and authority of the Council of the League itself. In other words, the League of Nations has adopted as one of its principles, so far as territories administered under "C" Mandates are concerned, a policy of differential treatment, upon racial considerations, and a denial of equality of opportunity, as regards the nationals of certain States, members of the League, whilst the nationals of certain other States, and in particular, those of the Mandatories themselves, also Members of the League, are granted a superior and privileged position under the League, in ~~contrast to the mandated territories.~~

It is to be noted that the class "C" Mandates were secretly drafted and not published until they had been actually granted to and accepted by the Mandatories, with the result that the people of India were in complete ignorance of what had transpired and the

but the Government of India is not so sanguine of political equality. In a recent despatch to the Secretary of State for India, it bluntly says: "If there is no political equality, we fear that even the guarantee of economic equality may prove to be illusory. Experience elsewhere <sup>(esp. in Kenya)</sup> has shown how easy it is to subvert nominal equality by administrative action."

Equivocal, however, as is the political status of Indians under the terms of the mandate for Tanganyika Territory, there is no doubt whatever of its character under the C mandates which have been granted to three of the Dominions. Under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the territory held under C Mandates may be administered by the Mandatory as an integral part of his territory, and he is empowered, by the League of Nations, to enforce his own legislation and administration in the mandated areas. These Mandates were secretly granted, and, so far as India is concerned, their terms have only just <sup>recently</sup> become known. India now learns for the first time that, under them, Indians may be excluded from South-West Africa by the Union of South Africa, Samoa by the New Zealand Government, and New Guinea by the Australian Government, and any special or differential legislation already in force in any of these three Dominions may be enforced against Indians resident in the Mandated Territories. In other words, not only is the position of Indians, as regards territories governed under C Mandates, worse than it was under German rule, but it is worse with the knowledge and with the authority of the League of Nations itself, of whose Assembly India, an original Member of the League, is an equal Member. To India, therefore, the League must now stand as a body that extends its own authority to the adoption by its Mandatories of a policy of racial discrimination against which, at least in principle and until the recent instance of East Africa, His Majesty's Government has itself for years strongly objected. It would be difficult to imagine anything better calculated to undermine Indian confidence in the idea of the League of Nations, which is only too widely regarded as a gathering of the white nations under the dominance of the white

injury that had been done to their rights and interests. It is, however, known that the Imperial Japanese Government, upon the publication of the terms of these Mandates, caused the following declaration, addressed to the Council of the League, to be published:-

"From the fundamental spirit of the League of Nations and as the question of interpretation of the Covenant, His Imperial Japanese Majesty's Government have a firm conviction in the justice of the claim they have hitherto made for the inclusion of a clause concerning the assurance of equal opportunities for trade and commerce in 'C' mandates. But from the spirit of conciliation and cooperation, and their reluctance to see the question unsettled any longer, they have decided to agree to the issue of the mandate in its present form. That decision, however, should not be considered as an acquiescence on the part of His Imperial Japanese Majesty's Government in the submission of Japanese subjects to a discriminatory and disadvantageous treatment in the mandated territories; nor have they thereby discarded their claim that the rights and interests enjoyed by Japanese subjects in these territories in the past should be fully respected."

The attitude of Japan in respect of the recognition of the rights of her nationals is obviously one that cannot leave India unmoved in a matter so profoundly affecting her status as an original member of the League and an equal member of its Assembly. Already attempts have been made to sow suspicion in the East that the League is nothing better than a union of the European peoples, with the Anglo-Saxon communities at their head, for the better organization of imperialist exploitation of the material resources of the world in the interests of the capitalist nations of the West. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to secure the confidence of the principal Eastern peoples in and their support for the ideals of equality of national opportunity and of national brotherhood for which the League claims to stand. Nothing, however, is more seriously calculated to deprive the League of this confidence and support than the provisions of the "C" Mandates, under which the League in effect denies to the peoples of India, Japan, and other Eastern countries that are members of the League equal participation in rights and opportunities of all kinds in the territories administered in terms of these Mandates on its behalf. It is, accordingly, most earnestly recommended that the "C" Mandates already granted to the three British Dominions aforesaid be revised, so as to confer complete and exact equality of opportunity of every kind without exception to the nationals of all States, members of the League.

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INDIANS ABROAD  
AND THEIR FUTURE.

(By Hy. S.-L. Polak, Hon. Secretary, Indians Overseas Association).

There is no phenomenon more clearly discernible in the political life of India during the last twenty-five years than the growing interest of the Indian people in the position and treatment of Indians resident in other parts of the Empire. From the time that Mr. Gandhi, in 1896, toured India with his story of the ill-usage and humiliation of Indians in South Africa until the present day, the question of the status of Indians in the Empire has become steadily more acute. It was the late Mr. Gokhale who declared prophetically that the crux of the whole problem lay in India itself. He saw clearly that the status of an Indian abroad could <sup>not</sup> be raised unless there were an improvement in the status of an Indian at home. Indeed, there has been a well-defined reciprocity, in the matter of status, between Indians at home and <sup>their compatriots</sup> abroad; for just as the growth of national self-respect in India has stimulated a similar growth among Indians abroad, so have the disabilities imposed upon <sup>the latter</sup> Indians-abroad stirred into increased activity the resentment amongst the people of India against their impotence and inferior position in the affairs of the Empire. The feeling has rapidly gained ground that the conditions hitherto prevailing in the British Dominions, Colonies, and Protectorates, under which Indians have been reduced to a position of political, social, or economic helotry, can no longer be tolerated.

There has been, on the part of the governing authorities in India and in England, a clearer perception that this was a situation that would have to be met by something other than words, though it must be added that the positions of the two authorities have been very different. In the early days, the Indian Administration was little better than the automatic instrument ~~in India~~ of British policy in <sup>India</sup> that country. Accordingly, where Parliament decided, in the



'thirties of last century, that the system of indentured emigration of Indian labour should continue, the Government of India was obliged to carry out the policy imposed upon it from England. How little the British Government foresaw the dangers of concessions to economic greed or racial prejudice may be seen in the untoward results to Indians in the countries concerned and the widespread injury to India of the indenture system, on the one hand, and the multiplied instances in which the Home Government yielded to Colonial and Republican demands in South Africa, until, with the absorption of the Boer Republics and the growth of Dominion independence, it was too late for the Imperial Government to secure in the Dominions the acceptance of the more liberal policy that, ~~with increasing insistence,~~ the Government of India, increasingly responsible to and (in this respect, at least) representative of Indian opinion, sought <sup>essentially</sup> to enforce in the interests of the Indian settlers. Even now it is apparent that the old inter-departmental conflict is not at an end. It has for long been evident that the main purpose of the Colonial Office has been to reduce to a minimum the possibilities of constitutional conflict with the growing and powerful self-governing Dominions, by making concessions to Dominion sentiment and pursuing a policy obviously destined to promote the special interests of the white settlers and their descendants, as a ruling race. The <sup>policy</sup> ~~attitude~~ of the India Office, on the other hand, under the pressure of outraged opinion in official and non-official circles in India, has been to urge measures of amelioration, with a view to secure the removal of Indian disabilities in the Dominions.

[But the Colonial Office has come more and more under the obsession that what the white settler demands must be right and therefore conceded, and that Department has, therefore, <sup>extended</sup> ~~transferred~~ the policy of racial differentiation imposed upon it by the Dominions to parts of the Empire where the Imperial Government is solely responsible for public administration, its policies, and their consequences, as in the case of Kenya Colony, and Protectorate and Uganda, in East Africa. The Government of India and the India Office, on the other hand, are ~~the~~

be washed in public only when no private washing places are available and the washing has become inevitable.

But recent happenings in South and East Africa, Fiji and elsewhere have produced a grave accession of feeling in India, and it is being realized that, without a proper outlet, the present discontents can only be aggravated by the spectacle of the relative ineffectiveness of existing official methods of handling this highly dangerous question. Accordingly, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay has addressed to the Government of India, through the Commerce and Industry Department, at present in charge of Emigration affairs, a resolution urging on the Government of India and the Secretary of State the necessity of creating a separate portfolio or department, in charge of an Indian member, for dealing with questions relating to Indians abroad. The Association, referring to South Africa, urges the need for more strenuous and uninterrupted efforts for securing justice to Indian settlers and apprehends a plentiful harvest of serious controversy on many points in the disappointing report, just issued, of the Commission appointed by the Union Government for investigating the question of certain Indian disabilities. Doubtless, for electioneering reasons, this Report, which should have been long since published, reposed in the pocket of General Smuts until the result of the polling was known, as it would have been unwise to provide a weapon ready to the hand of the bitterly anti-Asiatic Nationalists. Similar considerations in regard to East Africa, for the settlement of whose problems a Royal Commission is urged, Fiji, and British Guiana, add force to the Bombay Association's demand and it hopes that the question of Indian status and rights in overseas Dominions and Colonies will be an item of serious consideration at the forthcoming Imperial Conference in London, and that Indian interests will not suffer for lack of sympathy, knowledge, or national outlook.

It is obvious that the Member for Commerce and Industry, who has several other important problems to deal with, cannot, with the present organization of his Department, devote the required time and attention

\* It remains to be seen whether, or not the acute problem will be perfunctorily discussed & side-tracked at all. It is certain that Mr. V. S. S. Sastri, the representative of the Government of India, will do his utmost to secure a proper discussion. Should he fail in his endeavours, the consequences to the Empire may well be disastrous.

cases, they have failed to satisfy Indian public opinion, both as to thoroughness and as to sympathetic understanding of the situation, as in the cases of the MacNeill-Chimman Lall inquiry into the indenture system and the Marjoribanks-Maracayar inquiry into the conditions of Indian labourers in Ceylon. In one case, that of Sir Benjamin Robertson's recent tour in South and East Africa, the results, from the Indian point of view, have been vastly more satisfactory, and Sir Benjamin has shown himself to have interpreted with substantial accuracy the national sentiment on the subject. For the outstanding feature of the present situation in India is the intense pride of Indians in their Motherland and in their countrymen's efforts abroad. A blow aimed at the meanest coolie in Fiji, a right stolen from the humblest hawker in the Transvaal, are as deeply resented in India as if these injuries had been done to the highest in the land; every Indian feels that it is India that has been aimed at or robbed. Though the present demand may not be fully responded to, the day will ~~sure~~ undoubtedly come, in the not distant future, when India will insist not only upon the establishment of a special department, under the control of an Indian, for the protection of Indian interests abroad, but <sup>will demand</sup> upon the appointment of official representatives, of consular rank, to large Indian centres of population, as in South Africa, Mauritius, Fiji, and the West Indies, whose main duty will be to stand up for their countrymen on every occasion, and to interpret and represent India abroad, a task in which they should be energetically assisted by the High Commissioner for India in London. *Indeed, the Emigration Bill now before the Indian Legislature especially contemplates the establishment of such a consular service.*

One other aspect of the problem calls for special consideration. It must be remembered that India is an original and an equal member of the League of Nations. India's dismay, therefore, was great when, last July, in the House of Lords, Lord Kilner, in defending his policy of racial differentiation and segregation which was already being enforced in Kenya, declared that, so far as it was possible, he intended to apply it to Tanganyika, as well. Fortunately, article 7 of the Tanganyika mandate appears to provide for, at any rate, economic equality;

British peoples. Japan has lodged a declaration with the Council of the League with the object of safeguarding the rights and interests of Japanese nationals ~~and~~ regards territories governed under the C Mandates, and it seems essential that India should lodge a similar declaration. It is not sufficient that some sort of private understanding between India and the self-governing Dominions concerned may be reached, at the forthcoming Premier's Conference. There should be an official act, equivalent to that of the Japanese Government, whereby the rights and interests of Indian <sup>and</sup> Nationals are formally safeguarded by their Government. Moreover, should the self-governing Dominions not prove amenable on this question, India should be <sup>left</sup> given a free hand to lodge ~~its~~ <sup>her</sup> protest direct with the Council of the League. There should be no room for suspicion that India is but a tool of Great Britain, <sup>who</sup> ~~which~~, herself afraid to press the matter upon the self-governing Dominions, will not allow India to protect <sup>her</sup> ~~its~~ interests in such ways as circumstances permit.

6th January 1921.

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes,  
Member for Commerce,  
DELHI.

V3-1:45(X73P15).  
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Sir,

I have the honour to communicate for submission to the Government of India the following resolution passed by the Committee of this Association held at a meeting on the 18th December last.

1. The resolution runs as follows:-

Resolved:- On a consideration of the general situation regarding Indians outside India, and having regard to the increasing complexity of the problem regarding Indian settlers in the British Self-Governing Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates and elsewhere and also having regard to the deepening interest of the people of India in that problem and the fortunes of those settlers with reference to their rights as citizens of the British Empire, this Committee is of opinion that a representation be made to the Government of India, and to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, urging the necessity of creating a separate portfolio or department to be held by an Indian member of the Government for dealing with questions relating to Indians abroad, and for keeping the Government and the people of India in close touch with the general condition and their political, social and economic well-being.

2. I need hardly point out that questions relating to Indians abroad, have loomed largely on the political horizon in India during the last few years. The disabilities under which Indian settlers in South Africa have been suffering have culminated in a scheme of repatriation which though voluntary at present is bound in the near future to take a serious turn for the worse under the irresistible pressure of the Anti-Asiatic Leagues so prominently at work with the object of expelling the entire Indian population from the Union of South Africa. This Committee is assured that the attitude of the Government of India is in perfect sympathy with the just and equitable rights of Indian settlers in all countries flying the British flag

and that they are doing their best under the circumstances to resist the rising tide of race prejudice and racial jealousies. In the opinion of this Committee the need of more strenuous and uninterrupted efforts, better informed and much more insistent than hitherto, is becoming patent if Indians are even to have justice done to them in South Africa. The whole question of Indian disabilities is, as the Government of India are aware, in the hands of a Commission appointed by the South African Union Government, whose report is shortly expected. My Committee apprehends a plentiful harvest of serious controversy on many points in the forth-coming report.

3. Coming to East Africa, the Government of India have now been fully aware of the uphill work that awaits them for securing bare justice to the Indian community settled in the territories now, subject to the Government of Kenya, for centuries past. The descendants of people who have taken a large part in civilizing the colony and developing its resources in a manner which makes it a desirable rendezvous for European exploiters at this late date, are denied the rights which they had enjoyed without molestation for centuries past. I do not think it necessary to go over the whole ground, so recently covered by the numerous representations made from this office and by the East African Indian deputation lately on a visit to this country. The Government of India have themselves expressed in their despatch just published, the desirability of appointing a Royal Commission to enquire into the whole question of the administration of Kenya and have requested His Majesty's Government to include the Indian question, in the terms of reference. They have also requested to be represented on that Commission, and my Committee feels confident that such a Royal Commission will be appointed with or without further pressure by the Government of India. This also is a matter which will require special and strenuous efforts which a separate portfolio or department will be better able to achieve.

4. Important questions relating to Fiji are also lying before the Government at the present moment. This Committee recognises the difficulties under which the Government of India have to work in pushing forward their case before His Majesty's Government and the administrations of sister states of the British Empire, but it also feels that it is absolutely necessary to infuse more light and more life into the working of those administrations in question relating to the rights and liberties as well as the general well-being of the Indians committed to their care. The Indians now residing in these Islands have gone there by the invitation of the Fiji Government; they have spent the best years of their lives in the service of the Colony and helped to develop its resources in a manner which should have been rewarded by a much better treatment than that accorded to them under the present regime, which impels as many as thirty thousand of them to seek immediate repatriation to India at an immense sacrifice. This is a situation which no Indian can contemplate without intense anxiety and indignation, and my Committee regrets very much that the Government of India do not see their way to inquire into the matter and insist upon the Fiji administration to do justice by their Indian subjects labouring for bread in foreign lands out of touch with their kith and kin and deprived of the normal protection usually extended to them by the Government in their own paternal country. My Committee is reliably informed that the grievances which created the late disturbances and which culminated in the use of force and shocking restraints on the liberties of Indians, were at the bottom economic and could have been more sympathetically and therefore more successfully dealt with by an administration which knew its duty to the citizens of sister states of the British Empire. While Indians are being repatriated in their thousands from Fiji, attempts are yet made to see further recruits from India for the purposes of the sugar plantations of the Island. The Government of India are, my Committee understands, deeply anxious to secure the best terms for would-be-recruits if

any; and it seems that there is enough work to do for a separate department in insisting upon the removal of old grievances and adjusting the future relations of Indians in Fiji with the administration of the Island.

5. My Committee understands that British Guiana still continues to be a candidate for fresh recruits of Indian labour in the interest of large schemes for the economic development of the colony. My Committee is aware that under the new movement for the promotion of agricultural and industrial activities in India, more labour is bound to be assimilated in this country itself, but it also feels that such field for the emigration of the surplus population of this country as is afforded by the sister states of the Empire, should by no means be neglected; but on the other hand everything possible should be done that can be done, by a National Government, keen on securing the well-being of its citizens in any part of the Empire or of the world.

6. My Committee further feels that the question relating to the status and rights of Indians in the Dominions and the Colonies of the British Empire and elsewhere, will surely be an item of serious consideration at the meeting of the Imperial Conference to meet in London this year, and my Committee wishes to be assured that Indian interests may not suffer for lack of sympathy, knowledge or National outlook.

7. My Committee therefore feels justified in making the suggestion embodied in the resolution quoted in para 1., of this letter and solicits the most sympathetic consideration of it at your hands.

I have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) Jehangir Bomanji Petit.

From THE IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION, 259, Hornby Road,  
Fort, Bombay, India.



MEMORANDUM ON SOME PROBLEMS  
RELATING TO INDIANS OVERSEAS

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Introductory.

At no time have the disabilities of Indians Overseas rankled more deeply in the minds of Indians or called more insistently for redress than to-day. They are more numerous and varied and are spread over a wider geographical area than ever before. They affect, in one way or another, larger interests and more classes of the Indian population than any other subject of more than passing moment. Most of all, Indians at home, under the stimulus and surge of nationalism, which is the most unmistakable phenomenon in present-day Indian life, are more acutely conscious of these disabilities than they have ever previously been. The situation, strongly irritating even before the war, has now become serious and even dangerous, for the general belief prevails in India - and much evidence is adduced in support of the belief - that the disabilities suffered by Indians Overseas are due to concepts of racial superiority, colour-prejudice, and political domination offensive in the highest degree to the sensitive pride of race and national self-esteem animating ever widening circles of the people of India.

It is, therefore, imperative that His Majesty's Government should concentrate every effort upon a sincere and persistent attempt to find a solution of one of the most difficult problems of the time, one, moreover, fraught with the utmost peril to the Imperial connexion. Perhaps no other of India's unsolved problems more frequently prompts the question - "Has the phrase Civis Britannicus Sum any meaning for an Indian?" If the greatest question of the day for all Indians is - "What is my status - at Home, in the Empire, Abroad?" - the highest duty and most solemn obligation of Imperial statesmanship is to discover a satisfying answer.

Before this can be done, a frank inquiry must be instituted into the realities of the situation, as distinguished from its theoretical implications, and this Memorandum confines itself to an examination of the

present position of Indians Overseas, its immediate dangers, and some suggestions for remedial action.

General.

There are upwards of one million Indians settled in countries beyond the confines of India. They are mostly emigrants from British India, but some, especially of the trading and clerical classes, are subjects of the Native States. By far the greater number of the emigrants, from Madras, Upper India, and the Central Provinces, are of the labouring classes, and the majority of the Indians settlements abroad owe their establishment to the desire of planters and trading concerns to secure a continuous, reliable, docile, and inexpensive labour supply for the economic and industrial expansion of the British tropical colonies and dependencies. This labour emigration from India, now some 65 years old, originated with the recently abolished indenture system, designed as a substitute for negro slave-labour, and to this very day, the world's attitude towards Indians abroad is strongly tinged by the recollections and associations of a system that has branded them, no matter what their personal status, as coolies, and India as a perennial reservoir of cheap coolie labour.

This attitude, too, is affected by a misconception of the real state of affairs. It is supposed that the Indians who have gone abroad done so voluntarily, under the compulsion of overpopulation, terror in the tropics, or the desire of a better life. It is forgotten that the vast and widespread emigration from India has been in the past and to a very large extent comparatively modern in its character, and that it is still of a highly artificial character, deliberately recruited by the Governments or corporations of European origin. Nor is it true that India has a considerable surplus of population that can be sent to any European employer. The population is illiterate, uneducated, and unorganised. The

be absorbed in indigenous occupations and must therefore seek an outlet abroad. The fact is that the real problem in India, when reduced to its correct proportions, is how to distribute the surplus population of certain congested areas in other areas that are under-populated. Nor is it generally understood abroad that, with the rapid growth of Indian industrial enterprise, there will be an ever louder outcry that labour for the new industries is insufficient.

As a matter of fact, where Indian labour is allowed to flow along the normal channels of emigration, almost invariably it proceeds to neighbouring tropical lands, where it does not come into competition with white labour. Almost the only type of Indian emigration that may be truly described as free and voluntary is that of the few thousands of traders, clerks, officials, and artisans from Western India, and, with the exception of the special case of Indians in East Africa, it is questionable whether most of these would have emigrated, had it not been for the opportunities provided for them of supplying the needs of their compatriots of the labouring classes - opportunities that, in some instances, have extended to supplying the needs of the native and the European inhabitants of the countries in which they have settled.

Included in this large overseas population is an increasing proportion of Indians locally born, with no personal knowledge of India or Indian conditions, and, in many cases, approximating to Europeans in outward habits of life, and ordinarily using European modes of thought and the English language.

#### Indian Labour Emigration.

In every country to which Indians have emigrated as recruited labourers, they have suffered intense hardship and shame under the indenture system or systems in important respects indistinguishable from it, so far as the effects upon the emigrants are concerned. Those who have made any impartial study of the subject are agreed that there is no true parity of contract between the Indian labourer and his European employer. The former is ignorant, illiterate, ill-equipped, and unorganised. The

latter has all the advantages of wealth, language, education, equipment, organisation, and all the other well-recognised requirements of modern commercial and industrial enterprise. In addition, he is more than adequately represented on the local legislatures, and ordinarily he has the ear of the local administrations, which he can at times even dominate. Besides this, by his commercial affiliations and the political and social influences that he can command at the heart of the Empire, he exercises power both in the Imperial Parliament and at the Colonial Office.

Indians are, accordingly, increasingly of opinion that no further emigration of Indian labour should be permitted, save of a purely voluntary character, and especially to the distant lands of the Empire which still suffer from the sequelae of the indenture system. They feel that the Government of India cannot properly supervise this emigration or guarantee the welfare of the emigrants. They are unanimous that the labourers do not and cannot get a "square deal" in the prevailing economic and political conditions, notwithstanding the specious representations made by the Colonial employers. Moreover, they believe that a continuance of the emigration of cheap labour inevitably compromises India in the eyes of other countries and increases the difficulty of reaching a solution of the question of the relations between India and the self-governing Dominions. They refuse to allow India, in the future as in the past, to be regarded mainly as an inexhaustible coolie-reservoir, and they decline altogether to believe that, under existing conditions, true and representative Indian colonisation is either possible or the real object of the employers. Indeed, the latter, in their moments of confidence, admit unhesitatingly that what they really want is labour and not colonisation, and, to be of any use at all, it must be cheap. They have never concerned themselves with the moral issues, and are quite indifferent to Indian patriotic objections. They are as willing to use cheap Chinese or Javanese, as cheap Indian, labour, and the more docile and unsophisticated it is, the better. Their preference for Indian labour is primarily based upon the fact that India is within the Empire, and in their view, a country for exploitation in their own financial interests; the knowledge that

there will be no foreign complications; and the belief that, with judicious pressure from the Colonial Office, the Government of India can be cajoled into acceptance of some camouflaged cheap labour scheme presented in the guise of being "in the interests of India", or that Indian public opinion, by a flattering appeal to national pride, can be persuaded into viewing favourably, under the pretence of developing certain ideally-situated British tropical lands as Indian colonies, enjoying political equality, the reopening of the emigration question. It must, nevertheless, be recognised that all such schemes are to-day looked upon in India with the utmost suspicion, and the motives of their promoters are subject to the most rigid scrutiny.

Colonial Office Responsibility.

The position of Indians Overseas, and particularly in those British territories under the direct control of Downing Street, is the acid test of British sincerity on the question of India's Imperial status, and it is, therefore, incumbent that His Majesty's Government should be able to face the Dominions and foreign States with a clear conscience. Can it?

It is necessary, at this stage, to take account of a complaint and a grievance of the first magnitude. No-one in India believes in the good will, sympathy, or good faith of the Colonial Office. On the contrary, it is the general belief that this Department of State is solely or mainly concerned with the welfare and prosperity of the European settlers in the tropical colonies and dependencies (apart from those of the indigenous inhabitants), and that not merely has it neglected and even sacrificed Indian interests but that it has been the main instrument in exploiting Indian labour and humiliating the Indian people; that it systematically misrepresents the true Indian position in these colonies and dependencies; that it fails to protect the unrepresented Indian settlers against unjust administration and the ill-treatment of the European settlers, and, indeed, that it sides with the latter, and particularly the planting element, against the Indian labourers; and that it coldly resents complaints and all attempts to secure redress. It is, in fact, not too much to say that, but that the

India Office, under the instigation of the Government of India, of late years, and also of its own volition, having become increasingly sensitive to Indian public opinion on this of all questions, has repeatedly intervened on behalf of Indians Overseas, the Imperial Government would to-day be denounced and condemned from one end of India to the other because of the innumerable acts of omission and commission on the part of the Colonial Office that have so seriously injured Indian racial prestige and the national self-respect.

It is charged against the Colonial Office that it has completely failed to note the tendency of affairs in India, and that it has not sought to adapt its attitude or its methods to meet the requirements of the policy laid down in the declaration of August 20, 1917, and now embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919. One of the first reforms, urgently needed, is an entirely new orientation of Colonial Office policy and procedure on the subject of the treatment and status of Indians Overseas. Unless the Colonial Office recognises the meaning of the new spirit in India and the new aspirations now animating the Indian people, the Imperial Government will be hopelessly compromised and discredited, for Indians will not be slow to discern the unedifying conflict of policies pursued by the two great Departments of State, those of the Colonies and India, the consequent division of counsels, and the impotence of the Cabinet to give reality to the Indian policy laid down by it 3½ years ago, or to implement the pledges given to India with the utmost solemnity by a long succession of British sovereigns and statesmen.

#### Two Bad Cases.

The cases of Fiji and East Africa are conspicuous illustrations of the manner in which the Colonial Office has grossly mishandled the situation, and, in the effort to prefer the white settler and foster enterprises in which European capital is invested, has made itself a party to the infliction of grave injustice upon the Indian labourer or trader and of injury to enterprises carried on with Indian capital.

Fiji owes the major part of its prosperity to Indian labour. The

Native Fijians have never yet been induced to undertake agricultural labour of the kind needed on the estates. The Indian population exceeds 10,000. The sugar industry is the most important carried on in the Colony, mainly under the economic control of the Colonial Sugar Refinery Company, a corporation with a notorious history, with headquarters in Australia. This Company is largely responsible for the hideous conditions prevailing in the Colony among the Indian labourers, an exposure of which by Messrs. J. Andrews and W.W. Pearson, some years ago, eventually resulted in the total prohibition of indentured recruitment in Fiji. The wages paid by the Company were notoriously low, though it was simultaneously making immense war-profits for its absentee shareholders. Towards the end of 1919, the economic position of the Indian labourers got so bad, owing to an inequitable rate of pay, and the rapidly-increasing cost of living, that, after a demand for higher wages that remained unheeded, large numbers of the labourers (Government employees first of all) went on strike and so remained for over a month. No real attempt was made by the local administration, during this time, to meet the wishes of the strikers, it being apparently thought that, under the pressure of hunger, these unprotected people would return to work as before. The Government were warned that the leaders might not for long be able to keep the strikers under control unless redress were granted, but no heed was given to the warning. Nevertheless, the strike remained peacefully for some time longer until, according to local Indian evidence, the employers got alarmed and desperate and induced the local administration to take more drastic measures to break the strike. The Indians were provoked into minor acts of violence by these measures, and the authorities, it is alleged, took immediate advantage of the situation and handled it in a brusque and tactless fashion, with the consequence that rioting on a large scale broke out. The Fijian Government, saying that the situation had now got beyond its powers, but evidently unwilling to make any concessions, proclaimed martial law, subjected all Indians, whatever their social rank, to intense humiliation at the hands of the white, half-caste, and Fijian populations, and what has been described as a Punjab reign of terror on a minor scale was let loose on the

Indian community. Military and naval forces from Australia and New Zealand were hastily summoned, and under the threat of violence from the guns and rifles of these Dominion forces, the labourers, who had lost their most trusted Indian advisers by deportation without trial or even public charge (save the convenient one of "agitation"), were compelled to return to work - without redress.

It is significant that when a New Zealand Parliamentary deputation subsequently went to Fiji and its Labour members sought to investigate the situation for themselves, the present High Commissioner in England, who led the deputation, used (but unsuccessfully) all his powers of persuasion to prevent their doing so, and the independent report of Mr. Holland, the principal Labour Member, is a document that, in many respects, challenges both the accuracy of the Fiji Official despatches and the bona fides of the activities of the Colonial Sugar Refinery Company, as well as supports in a high degree the case for a Commission of Inquiry demanded by the Indian settlers. It is noteworthy, too, that in at least one important respect, the New Zealand article in the Round Table for August, 1920, flatly contradicts the Governor's narrative of events and thus supports the Indian allegation that episodes occurred of which the official despatches contain no mention. The subsequent attitude adopted towards the Indian population by the administration, the recollection of the purgatory of the martial law regime, the failure to secure redress of grievances or the reopening of the question of the events of the strike-riots and the manner in which they were dealt with, and the deportation of the Indian leaders has filled the Indian population with such consternation that, no longer believing in the goodwill of the local administration and having lost their confidence in British justice, thousands (numbering, it is said, one-half of the Indian population) are selling up their effects at any cost in order to escape to their Katherland. The Colonial Office has consistently supported the local administration and has steadily refused to grant an inquiry. But Indian opinion is as steadily determined to secure it, and if the Imperial Government values its good name among the Indian masses, it will facilitate to the utmost extent an independent inquiry and will take



1 necessary steps to grant redress to these sadly injured people and restore confidence in the local administration. The Fiji affair took place at the very time that deputations from these (led by the Bishop of Polynesia) and from British Guiana were in India arguing the reopening of Indian labour migration. The effects of these events upon public opinion in India can better be imagined than described.

#### East Africa.

The case of East Africa is, in many respects, even worse. The connection between India and the East African coast is very ancient and the volume of trade between the two has been considerable for upwards of three centuries long before any European set foot on these shores. Indian traders had secured the confidence of the Arab rulers and the native populations, and they had carried their trade well inland along the caravan routes. We have the authority of Sir John Kirk for the statement before the Sanderson Inter-departmental Committee on Indian emigration to the Crown Colonies and Dependencies (1909) that "but for the Indians we (the British) should not be there now. It was entirely through being in possession of the influence of these Indian merchants that we were enabled to build up the influence that eventually resulted in our position." In his book "My African Journey", Mr. Winston Churchill, the present Secretary of State for the Colonies, bears similar testimony to the important function of the Indian population in what then was known as British East Africa. He says: "It is the Indian trader, who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go, or in which no white man could earn a living, was, more than anyone else, developed the early beginnings of trade, and opened up the first slender means of communication." Even as late as last year, Dr. P. Chalmers Mitchell, the special correspondent to the "Times", was so impressed by the important character of the commercial services rendered by the Indian Community, that he wrote to the "Times" as follows: "The retail trade is almost wholly in the hands of the Greeks as far as the coast, and to the South, of Indians. Indian and Japanese products are selling British. . . . The goods are adapted for local European and

ative requirements. . . . Indians are rapidly gaining control of the very, hides and other markets. There are branches of Indian banks in every centre." As a matter of fact, the Indian population outnumbered the European by three or four to one. It pays the major part of the local taxation and conducts the bulk of the commerce of the country. Eliminate the Indian trader and immediate insolvency would face the colony. Ever since the administration of the country was transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, complaints of preferential treatment of the white settlers have come forward from the Indian colonists, many of them descendants in the third generation of original settlers. It has been stated by Mr. Sandbach Baker, a member of a deputation that waited in April, 1920 upon the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and an old settler in East Africa, as follows: "When the Uganda Railway was made, the principal idea of this was, that it would create in East Africa a very fine country for the surplus populations from the congested districts of India. May I tell you why I know this? When the Government was approached to make the Railway they were rather reluctant to do so on account of the cost, so Sir F. Freegard, General MacDonald and Mr. Gerald Portal were asked to see the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, the Liverpool C. of C., the Glasgow C. of C., and the Birmingham C. of C. They came to Manchester first, Mr. Arthur Hutton, Chairman of the Cotton Growers' Association, and myself as representing the Chamber were deputed to meet them . . . . This resulted in recommending the Government to make the Railway almost solely on account of releasing the congested districts of India, otherwise it would not have been proposed by us. Liverpool, Glasgow and Birmingham Chambers did the same. British East Africa was at that time under the Foreign Office."

Nevertheless, the greater part of this area was, in 1908, practically served by administrative <sup>action</sup> ~~sanctions~~ for European settlement on grounds of legal administrative convenience. The excuse had no substance, for there was no question of administrative convenience. What was really meant was that whilst the Colonial Office would not sanction legal differentiation, it was prepared to authorize administrative differentiation. The practical

result for the Indian population was, however, the same, and from that time onwards, the European settlers have done their utmost to bring pressure to bear upon the Colonial Office and the local administration in order to retain complete control of the political, social and economic development of the country with the result that for all practical purposes, Indians are disfranchised, and a policy of commercial and residential segregation, both in urban and in rural areas, has been officially adopted by the Colonial Office, and so far as may be, is being enforced by the local administration, the latest illustration being that of the Public Health Bill that has just been passed by the Kenya Legislative Council. The Select Committee protested against the inclusion of the Segregation clauses in a measure of this kind. The principal medical officer strongly opposed the inclusion of the clauses on the ground that they were unnecessary in a public health measure, though it has throughout been the pretence that reasons of public health were the principal excuse for the segregation policy. The Governor, however, insisted that the clauses should remain in the Bill and himself voted in favour of this procedure, though he knew, at the time, that the whole question was the subject of <sup>re-</sup>consideration by the Cabinet. It is unnecessary to go into further detail on the general problem in Kenya since this has been admirably dealt with by the Government of India in its Dispatch recently published.

There is, however, one other remedy that should be adopted in addition to that suggested by that Government. It is that Indians should also be adequately represented in the Governor's Executive Council, both in Kenya and in Uganda. The Indian interests involved in these territories are too important and valuable to be trusted wholly to an Executive Council composed entirely of Europeans. One only has to realise how the segregation policy came to be adopted; the emphasis that was given to the political report of Professor Simpson, whose alleged facts as to the responsibility for outbreaks of plague have been demolished quite recently by the principal health officer himself; and the sudden alteration of the currency from the Rupee to the Florin in the interests of the European

settlers and without any consultation whatever with the Indian colonists, realise that the latter, in existing circumstances, are entirely at the mercy of the former. If, in a colony in which they were pioneers, where they are to-day in a majority, whose system of law is mostly Indian, where their commercial interests are preponderant, Indians are to be relegated to a position of political subordination and social inferiority, there is no doubt whatever that Indians in India will have lost their last shred of belief in British justice when a conflict of interests between white settlers and Indian settlers arises. They will believe, on the contrary, that racial prestige, colour prejudice, and economic jealousy will unite to the detriment of Indian interests and that there is no hope or possibility of redress in existing circumstances. They ask how it is possible, any longer, for His Majesty's Government to protest in good faith against the imposition of racial disabilities and the adoption of a policy of segregation in the self-governing Dominions and particularly in South Africa, as it has done for years, when in East Africa the Colonial Office has already adopted and enforced that very policy and they demand insistently to know whether or not the Colonial Office policy has the sanction of the British Cabinet. A satisfactory answer is urgently called for.

The Self-Governing Dominions.

The Self-Governing Dominions are on a different footing. For all practical purposes they are independent nations within the Empire, a status which India itself hopes to achieve in the shortest possible time. It is recognised that in the nature of things His Majesty's Government cannot control the Dominions' Governments but can only employ diplomatic action. As a matter of fact, however, whereas the Foreign Office is ready and willing to take up with foreign States, complaints with regard to the treatment of Indians in those States, as for example, in the matter of a recent complaint from the Phillipine Islands, the Colonial Office declines to make such representations to the Dominions unless it is pressed to do so on a specific point by the India Office. It should be

as much the duty of the Colonial Office to take up the complaints of or on behalf of Indians in the self-governing Dominions with the Governments of those Dominions through its diplomatic channels, as it is that of the Foreign Office in the matter of representations to Foreign States. It can surely not be argued that the position of a self-governing Dominion is superior to that of a foreign State, and that it is, therefore, immune from representation or even criticism. On the contrary, it ought to be possible for one British country to make representations to another with greater ease and deeper understanding than in the case of a Foreign State. If His Majesty's Government, through the Colonial Office, prefers not to make these representations, then it is suggested that they may be made either directly by the Government of India to the Government concerned, or through the medium of the Prime Minister. The Imperial Conference is not always a satisfactory channel of communication or instrument for the exchange of ideas if only because it meets but occasionally.

At the 1917 <sup>and</sup> '18 Conference, a policy of reciprocity as between India and the self-governing Dominions was adopted and confirmed. Nothing is known in India as to the extent to which the Dominions have given effect to their undertakings at these Conferences or of the steps, if any, that have been undertaken by the Government of India under the reciprocity resolution to satisfy public opinion in India from the point of view of the National prestige. It is suggested that a Committee of the Imperial Legislature may be set up after the next Imperial Conference, to consider the recommendation of steps to give effect to that resolution, otherwise the tendency <sup>will</sup> ~~would~~ grow in India to disbelief in the effectiveness of India's representations at the Imperial Conference or the sincerity of the resolutions there adopted.

#### South Africa.

Point is lent to this remark by what has happened in South Africa since the last Imperial Conference. At the 1917 Conference, General Smuts made a very definite pronouncement in regard to the future treatment of the resident Indian population. He admitted that the fears of

unrestricted immigration no longer existed, and that, therefore, nothing stood in the way of a gradual improvement of the Indian position. In 1918 Mr. Burton paid a high tribute to the law-abiding character of the Indian population, and promised to use his influence in the same direction. But in 1918, the War ended, and, with the conclusion of hostilities, the aggressively anti-Asiatic element, which had been compelled to keep silence during the War, resumed its freedom, and launched an energetic campaign in the Transvaal against the Indian Community upon the allegation that the Gandhi-Smuts' settlement had been broken by the Indians, and, as a result of this violent campaign, the Union Parliament was obliged to pass <sup>legislation</sup> ~~measures~~ depriving Indians in the Transvaal of the rights that they had exercised in one shape or another, as shown by Sir Benjamin Robertson in his Memorandum to the Langg Commission, for over a generation. With the object of going still further in the interests of the hostile European population, not only in the Transvaal but of the whole of South Africa, the Union Government appointed a Commission, presided over by Justice Langg, to consider the whole question of Indian trade and land ownership in the Union. The Report of that Commission is still awaited. The evidence led by the South African League was of a thoroughly dishonest and unconvincing character, and Sir Benjamin Robertson had no difficulty in showing that not only <sup>has</sup> the Indian Community ~~had~~ not broken the Gandhi-Smuts' settlement, but that, in the light of <sup>his</sup> Gandhi's letter to General Smuts, dated June 30, 1914, they would have been entitled to press for the removal of many existing disabilities and that, in fact, it had been the Union Government that had broken its pledges.

Recent Provincial Legislation in Natal has given to the Durban Municipality powers of racial differentiation which, if enforced, will operate to the serious disadvantage of Indian Citizens. The Ordinances complained of were sanctioned by the Governor-General in Council, in spite of Indian protests. The Maritzburg Licensing Authority has secured Municipal by-laws which enable it to refuse to renew trade licences to a firm composed of a licence-holder and his son, and even to renew licences to the heirs of a deceased licence-holder. If this practice be extended.

It is obvious that the days of the Indian trader in Natal are numbered, for, within a relatively short period, all Indian licences will become extinct. Indeed, at a recent Congress of the South African League, this policy was expressly recommended, and a long series of strong anti-Asiatic resolutions, <sup>was passed</sup> including one aiming to deprive Indians in Natal of their potential right to become enrolled as Parliamentary voters if they can prove that they came from a country enjoying Parliamentary institutions. This threat is a very real danger, for if given effect to, it would deprive the Natal Indian population of the opportunity of improving its status, and in particular, it would result in the permanent disfranchisement of the Natal-born Indian population.

It is essential that Indian rights in South Africa should be restored, at least to what they were at the time of the Gandhi-Smuts' settlement, and that the Union Government should undertake gradually to remove the existing disabilities which are so heavy a burden upon the Indian population. Mr. Gandhi's letter of June 30th, 1914, indicates clearly the road along which the South African Indian population intends to travel.

#### Australia.

A recent Privy Council Case shows that one of the anti-colour Statutes of <sup>Queensland</sup> ~~Queensland~~, namely the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, remains unrepealed. Indian sugar cutters married to Australian wives and with families born in Queensland, have been prosecuted for being engaged in the sugar industry without being in possession of an education certificate or a certificate of exemption in lieu thereof, though they were employed under exactly the same conditions, as to hours and pay, as white workers under the Colonial Wages and Arbitration Law.

#### New Zealand.

The disturbances in Fiji and the unsettlement of the Indian population there, have had their reactions in New Zealand, which has recently strengthened its Immigration Law against Indian immigrants. It is

generally recognised that New Zealand has hitherto been one of the Dominions least anti-Indian, and the recent legislation, therefore, coming, as it does, immediately after New Zealand military intervention during the Fiji disturbances, has greatly shocked Indian public opinion.

Japan and the Dominions.

India has watched with growing alarm the anti-Japanese agitation in Australia and New Zealand, which has resulted in the passing of legislation adversely affecting the interests of Indians, since these Dominions do not differentiate in favour of Asiatics of British nationality. India is undoubtedly hostile to any undertaking that may bind her to support Australia and New Zealand against Japan. On the contrary, she feels a racial solidarity <sup>with</sup> Japan on the colour question, the significance of which it would be impossible to exaggerate, and so long as the Dominion attitude towards India remains what it has been in the past the Dominions cannot count upon Indian support in any action that they may desire to take in regard to Japan.

Mandated Territories.

The utmost alarm was aroused, both in Tanganyika Territory and in India by Lord Milner's statement in the House of Lords last July, that, so far as it was possible, he intended to authorise the enforcement of the segregation policy in Tanganyika as well as in the British Territory. It is, therefore, satisfactory to note that, if the terms, <sup>as</sup> published, of the Tanganyika Mandate to Great Britain are correct, it will not be possible to give effect to Lord Milner's policy in the Mandated Territory. In any case, that should be clearly understood. If this be a correct statement of the position, then, by contrast, the position of Indians in the neighbouring British Territory of Kenya is worse than in Tanganyika <sup>both now and</sup> ~~and worse than that of His Majesty's Indian subjects when that territory was under German rule.~~

The position as regards the C Mandates is, however, very different. Under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the territory



held under C Mandates may be administered by the Mandatory as an integral part of his territory, and he is empowered, by the League of Nations, to enforce his own legislation and administration in the mandated areas. These Mandates were secretly granted, and, so far as India is concerned, their terms have only just become known. India now learns for the first time that, under these Mandates, Indians may be excluded from South-West Africa by the Union of South Africa, Samoa by the New Zealand Government, and New Guinea by the Australian Government, and any special or differential legislation already in force in any of these three Dominions may be enforced against Indians resident in the Mandated Territories. In other words, not only is the position of Indians, as regards territories governed under C Mandates, worse than it was under German rule, but it is worse with the knowledge and with the authority of the League of Nations itself, of whose Assembly India, an original Member of the League, is an equal Member. To India, therefore, the League must now stand as a body that extends its own authority to the adoption by its Mandatories of a policy of racial discrimination against which, at least in principle and until the recent instance of East Africa, His Majesty's Government has itself for years strongly objected. It would be difficult to imagine anything better calculated to undermine Indian confidence in the idea of the League of Nations, which is only too widely regarded as a gathering of the white nations under the dominance of the white British peoples. Japan has lodged a declaration with the Council of the League with the object of safeguarding the rights and interests of Japanese Nationals as regards territories governed under the C Mandates, and it seems essential that India should lodge a similar declaration. It is not sufficient that some sort of private understanding between India and the self-governing Dominions concerned may be reached, at the forthcoming <sup>Premier's</sup> ~~Empire~~ Conference. There should be an official act, equivalent to that of the Japanese Government, whereby the rights and interests of Indian Nationals are formally safeguarded by their Government. Moreover, should the self-governing Dominions not prove amenable

on this question, India should be given a free hand to lodge its protest direct with the Council of the League. There should be no room for suspicion that India is but a tool of Great Britain, which, herself afraid to press the matter upon the self-governing Dominions, will not allow India to protect <sup>its</sup> ~~her~~ interests in such ways as circumstances permit.

#### Foreign Countries.

There are relatively few Indians resident in Foreign States. There are a certain number in the United States and the Philippines, but the United States Immigration Law has been designed to exclude Indian immigration. Indians are in a position inferior to that of Japan, which has been able to secure <sup>the</sup> privileges of the so-called "Gentlemen's" Treaty. It is generally felt amongst ~~the~~ Indians that His Majesty's Government does not desire Indians to go to the United States, and <sup>that</sup> for this reason it took no official steps to safeguard the rights of Indians and to secure for them privileges as to immigration at least equivalent to those secured by the Japanese Government for its Nationals. It is known that ~~xxxxxx~~ when the Immigration Bill was before Congress, and unofficial representations were made with a view to secure the rights of white British subjects for Indian immigrants, the Indians who made the representation were met with the reply that the United States could not be expected to do more in the matter of Indian immigration than Canada, South Africa and <sup>the</sup> self-governing Dominions had shown themselves willing to do. It will thus be seen that, just as the example of Great Britain in Kenya may be quoted against this Country when it may make representations to the Union Government on behalf of the Indians resident within the latter's jurisdiction, so the United States and conceivably other countries may use the example of the self-governing Dominions as an excuse for a policy adversely affecting Indian interests. It is, however, significant that neither France nor ~~Holland~~ Holland nor Portugal in its Colonies, has differentiated against Asiatic immigrants, and Indians are freer to go to the Colonies of these Countries and to reside,

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ade and own land there than they are as regards the neigh-  
tish self-governing Dominions. Whatever may be the justi-  
r the United States immigration policy on the Continent of  
ere surely can be none for a similar policy in regard to th  
nes, where the majority of the Indians are of the trading class  
ere the climate is tropical, and the inhabitants coloured and

Conclusion.

It is recommended that the entire Department of the Government of India charged with problems relating to emigration, should be immediately reorganized, and, if possible, transferred to the Portfolio of one of the Indian Members of the Government of India. If this be not practicable, then it is suggested that, as an indication of the importance attached by the Government of India to this question, it be transferred to the portfolio of the Viceroy himself, with a high official of Indian birth in immediate charge. At the same time, frequent opportunities outside of the Imperial Conference should be sought to enable the High Commissioner for India to confer informally with his colleagues from the Dominions on subjects of controversy that may, from time to time, arise. Direct communication between the Government of India and the Governments of the Dominions, or through the Prime Minister's Department has already been suggested.

Finally it is strongly recommended that agencies of a semi-Consular character be established by the Government of India in all the principal centres where there are considerable Indian populations, for example, East Africa, South Africa, the West Indies and British Guiana, Mauritius, Ceylon, Malaya, and Australia, New Zealand and Fiji.

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### TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Dropping Obstruction?

THE Swarajist leaders are at present engaged in a conference with Mahatma Gandhi on the subject of "Non-co-operation and the Councils." It is said that the Swarajists expressed themselves as willing to revise their position in any particular; if such revision would revive the former cordial relations between the two sections of the non-co-operation party and would lead once again to fruitful co-operation between them. But they made one condition: that abstention from the legislatures is absolutely out of the question. Short of resigning their seats from the legislative bodies, they would do anything, they declared, to meet the wishes of orthodox non-co-operators. And it appears they were told by Mahatmaji precisely what we had ventured to tell them in all humility: that there is no intermediate course between boycott of Councils and a policy of responsive co-operation therein. If boycott is ruled out, the next best thing is, according to the tenets of non-co-operation, honestly to use the legislative machinery to promote the constructive programme. To play the part of a wrecker, to oppose everything irrespectively of its merits, is much too vandalic and unidyllic to pass for non-co operation. Mahatma Gandhi has thus advised the leaders of the Swarajist party to abjure the method of indiscriminate obstruction and, if they cannot come out of the Councils, to extract therefrom the maximum advantage they can for the furthering of all the movements non-co-operators have at heart—Swadeshi, temperance, &c.

Adopt Responsive Co-operation.

THIS advice we hope will sink in the Swarajist mind. If you are to be within the Councils your duty is

to strive your utmost to make the Councils as little harmful and as potent instruments for good as you can possibly make them. The Swarajist policy however proves injurious in whichever of the ways the Government decides to meet it. If the Government accepts the popular vote and decides to act upon it, the result is the closing down of schools, hospitals, &c. If it rejects the vote and decides to continue and develop such public utility institutions, then the result is the substitution of an autocratic for a parliamentary government. Either way the pursuit of Swarajist tactics of wholesale opposition lands us in one kind of mischief or another. Non-co-operation, i. e. standing apart altogether from a machinery which you think is penetrated through and through with satanic quality, has something idealistic and noble about it. Responsive co-operation, i. e. taking what you can get and pressing on to get more till you get all that is due to you, has something of solid worth about it. But the policy of blind opposition in Councils, which the Swarajists favour, has the merit neither of idealism nor of practical beneficence. It is at once sordid and sterile. Their association with Mahatma Gandhi will, we fervently hope, lead the Swarajist party to drop uniform obstruction and to promote the constructive programme. And it is to be hoped that they will not interpret the constructive programme in a too narrow way. Everything that goes to build up the country is part of a constructive programme. The extension of schooling and medical facilities is as much included in it as the promotion of Khaddar and the prohibition of drink. Such a modification in the Swarajist attitude affords the best chance for many a long day for a thorough unity of effort in the attainment of Swaraj.

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It is reassuring, though nothing less was expected, that Dewan Bahadur Rangachariar declared on landing in England as member of the Crown Colonies Committee that so far as his Committee was concerned, a compromise on general principles was out of the question. Under the Tory Government last year, the India Office fought shy of general principles, such as equality of citizenship, &c. and tried to persuade the Indian deputations not to dwell on them. But they rightly refused to do so and we are glad the same will be the attitude at least of the Indian members of the Crown Colonies Committee. Mr Rangachariar also expressed the true Indian feeling when he said that whether in Kenya, Fiji or anywhere else, Indians did not want in any way to prejudice the interests of the natives—by stealing first their lands and then their limbs, for example. We may in this connection mention that Mr. Sastri sent the following telegram to the Indian members of the Committee when about to sail: "India's hopes and good wishes are with you. Be strong. Our cause is just and must win some day if no ignoble compromise now bars the

way." To which H. H. the Aga Khan replied, "Gratefully appreciate your good wishes. Will do utmost." To Mr. Hope Simpson and Sir Benjamin Robertson Mr. Sastri cabled: "India prayerfully trusts you will preserve her self-respect and Britain's honour. The Empire cannot long survive the extension of the colour bar beyond South Africa." Mr. Hope Simpson has cabled back to say that he will do his best.

\* \* \*

**THE Land Revenue Bill introduced** by the Home Member in the Madras Legislative Council was summarily rejected in the first reading by 63 against 18 votes, the Ministerialists and the Opposition joining hands against Government. The reason was this. To give effect to the Parliamentary Joint Committee's recommendation that land revenue settlement should be brought under the purview of the legislature, the Government asked the Board of Revenue to draft a bill. That was ready in 1921 and an influential committee of officials and un-officials wrote a unanimous report on it, making some amendments in the draft bill. As some of the prominent members of the present Council were members of that committee, if the bill had been introduced as recommended by them, it would have had an easy passage. But the Government took upon themselves—under pressure from Delhi, it was freely said—to make a most vital change. The committee had provided that all proposals for introducing re-settlement rates should be brought before the legislature for adoption, amendment or rejection, as it considered fit. The new bill provided instead for such proposals being laid on the table for at least two months while the Council was in session and for the Government passing final orders after taking into consideration any opinions expressed in the Council on the proposals. No wonder the Council grew indignant over the change and gave a most decisive vote, in order that a better bill may be introduced. The indignation was all really against the Government of India, for the former Home Member, Sir Muhammad Habibulla Khan, had signed the committee's report. The new bill was an improvement over the present Revenue Manual only in one respect.—it had fixed the maximum increment at a re-settlement at 3 annas in the rupee instead of the present 4 annas. If the bill had been passed there would have been some immediate relief to a certain number of ryots. But the principle at stake, the right of the legislature to have the final say in the matter of resettlement rates, was much more important than their interest and the Council did well in standing up for it.

\* \* \*

**Mr. Horniman.** A VERY curious position has been reached by the Legislative Assembly demanding by a majority vote the rescission of the deportation order against Mr. Horniman and the Bombay Legislative Council voting against it. There is no doubt that the former vote represents the public opinion in the country and the latter flouts it in an outrageous fashion; but it is too much to expect that any Government, having at its back the vote of a popular though unrepresentative body, will set it aside in order to do elementary justice even to a distinguished journalist. It does not require, on the part of one who takes up cudgels in Mr. Horniman's behalf, an identity of political views with him; and so we can only deprecate the red herrings drawn by Sir Maurice Hayward across the path of the legislators in Bombay when he dilated upon the opinions and the charac-

ter of Mr. Horniman. If he mismanaged the *Bombay Chronicle*, it is the *Chronicle's* affair; if he abused Moderates, it is the Moderates' affair. Whether, in the opinion of the public in India, Mr. Horniman's politics was sound or unsound, the public at any rate does not desire that the Government should intervene to set matters right. The Indian people have long overpassed the need of such spoon-feeding at the hands of Government, and are agreed that Mr. Horniman should be restored to liberty.

\* \* \*

**IF the Bombay Government declines to admit Mr. Horniman into**

**The Angora Deputation.** India in the *Chronicle's* interest, the Government of India refuses leave to the Angora deputation to leave India for Turkey in the interest of the Ottoman Government. If the deputation is going on a religious mission, it should, says the Government, be exclusively Moslem in its composition: it should undertake to abstain from Turkish politics, &c., &c. But surely these things the Indian Government can leave to the decision of Turkey. Or does it think that because, in the matter of the Khilafat, the deputation takes a view different from that of the Angora Government, the latter will be either so mean and undemocratic as to refuse entry to the deputation or so unimaginative and panic-stricken as to fear any serious mischief from its participation in politics? The Indian Government need not be too solicitous of Angora: the latter knows what it is to its interest and would welcome the opportunity afforded by the deputation to confer with Indian Moslems. The Indian Government is sadly mistaken in thinking that what the Angora deputation wants is British protection in a foreign country. The deputation runs no risk in visiting Angora. It is quite safe there and it only wants that the Government of India should not interfere to prohibit it from leaving the country. Here again it is not necessary that one should entirely support the deputation in its aims in order to advocate its cause. All that we are concerned about is the principle that perfect freedom should be allowed for every legitimate adventure, and by no stretch of imagination can the deputation be regarded as anything but a legitimate venture.

**A true Satyagraha.** It is certainly not creditable to

the Hindu States of Travancore and Cochin, which are far ahead of other States and of British India in educational matters, that they should deny the right of way in public roads to low caste Hindus, who would cease to be under any such disability the moment they espoused Christianity or Muhammadanism. Not that we would defend such disability on any class of human beings, but its existence in Hindu States against Hindus is particularly incongruous. If in the portion of Malabar which is under British rule, where social customs are the same as in Travancore and Cochin, this right of way is conceded with the acquiescence of the caste Hindus, surely similar acquiescence may be expected of the caste Hindus in these States, and no breach of the public peace need be feared as the result of the prohibited castes using the roads. We can understand privileged classes wanting the disability to continue but not progressive modern States. We wish the Kerala satyagrahis every success and trust they will continue to court arrest in small batches and resist every provocation to violence, whether offered by caste Hindus or subordinate servants of the States.

## INDIA AND THE KHILAFAT.

It was only natural that the deposition of the Khalif and the abolition of the office of Khalif by the Turkish Assembly should have come as an almost unbearable shock to Indian Mussalmans, after the vigorous agitation they had conducted through the Khilafat committees. But now they are gradually recovering from the shock and beginning to appreciate the Turkish view-point. Very little indignation was expressed against the Turks in the resolutions of the recent Khilafat conference at Calcutta. The first resolution asked the Mussalmans 'to act with patience and prudence instead of becoming unduly excited,' believed that the views and objects of the men in authority in Angora were not yet clear and needed further elucidation (!) and until they were 'ascertained beyond a shadow of doubt and in full detail,' the Mussalmans should 'abstain from forming final opinion and refrain from doing any thing likely to disturb unity and jeopardise the solidarity of the Mussalmans of the world'. Another resolution tells the Turks that, whatever might be their own opinion and whatever they might have done to the Khalif, their Government is the central Islamic Government and therefore the true Khilafat, and if the men in authority in Angora at present are unwilling to accept the responsibilities of the Khalif, "then it is the duty of the Muslims of the world to invite the attention of their Turkish brothers to the necessity of reformation and to take all possible steps in this behalf." 'Reformation' is rather vague; perhaps what is intended is that a nominal Khalif should be appointed to satisfy orthodox sentiment—some one whose name could be mentioned in prayers. But as the Turkish Government will not endow him with any political powers, such a Khalif (His Holiness and not His Majesty) would not be acceptable to non-Indian Mussalmans generally. Since no mention is made of a possible non-Turk Khalif, the only interpretation that we can put on these resolutions is that they mark a stage in the transition of opinion towards the acceptance of the Turkish decision—which transition is very welcome indeed.

This movement of opinion is also reflected in the press. The *Muslim Outlook* of Lahore has been publishing articles from a gentleman who has been in Turkey, Egypt, Syria and other Mussalman countries, in which he has strongly defended the action of the Turks. He relates how difficult he found it to defend the idea of common allegiance by all Mussalmans to the Khalif, when in the late war, Mussalman soldiers in Allied armies—Indians, Arabs, Moors—pressed on the then Khalif on every front, though he had declared a *jihad* and called upon all true believers to fight the enemy of Islam under his banner. More vigorous and effective still is defence of the Turks by the Sahebsa Aftab Ahmed Khan who was till recently in the India Council, and who is now Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University.

He puts the Turkish case very forcibly and points out how the Sultans of Turkey and Khalifs misruled and oppressed the Turkish people, (without admonition or interference from Indian Mussalmans) nor were willing or able to help other Mussalmans against European aggressors—in other words, unable to discharge the functions of the Khalif. The Turkish people believe, says Mr. Aftab, that under the Khilafat they never had and never will have any chance for full national regeneration, without which their free and independent existence in Europe is no longer possible. Regarding the suggestion that has been made by some that Kemal Pasha should himself accept the office of Khalif, Mr. Aftab Ahmed truly observes:

"In this imperfect world the intoxication of temporal power alone is enough to upset the balance of a human being, but when the authority of some spiritual office is also superadded, then the rights and liberties of the people are never safe. It is perfectly true that our holy Prophet and his four immediate successors showed how the two offices can be combined for the benefit of the people, but all subsequent history tells a different tale."

Speaking of the fascination which Indian Mussalmans have for the word Khilafat, he says, "There is no tyranny so subtle as that of certain words and phrases which catch imagination, dislodge reason and cause confusion of ideas and expose their victims to influences which lead to ruin and disaster. Such appears to be the fate of Indian Mussalmans in connection with certain phases of this question of the Khilafat." Finally he warns his correligionists against the interested propaganda of the European nations, particularly the Allies, who have special reasons not to love Kemal Pasha or his victorious and progressive Government overmuch. We believe Indian Mussalmans have already seen through this propaganda, since they have refused to countenance any non-Turk Khalif, though several are in the field, and have not shown the least inclination to take up the suggestion of having an Indian Khalif in the person of H. E. H. the Nizam. Kemal Pasha has explained in his own tactful and inimitable way, how the Turks have transformed the Khilafat into an abstract idea and assimilated it in the Government, so far as Turkey is concerned. That is obviously what the other Mussalman countries also are invited to do, i. e. recognise the due protection of all religions as the function of a secular state and do away with a personal defender of the faith. Turkey has recognised that the world has outgrown a theocratic state or super-state and Indian Mussalmans are beginning to recognise it.

## THE WHITE MAN'S TRUST!

MR. J. H. THOMAS, the Colonial Secretary in the Labour Cabinet, speaks often enough about "native trusteeship", but to him apparently it is but an empty phrase. He has been plied in Parliament with questions regarding the Master and Servants Ordinance, the Registration of Natives Ordinance, & c. which spell for the East African wards of the

whites a form of semi-slavery, but Mr. Thomas apparently regards all such pleas for humanitarianism as inspired by a mawkish sentimentality, to which only imbeciles would pay any heed. If on cardinal labour principles he is so utterly unsound, it is hardly a matter for surprise that, where his information is derived exclusively from official sources, he is altogether engulfed by the bureaucratic spirit. On March 6 Mr. Morel endeavoured to expose in the Commons some of the monstrosities inherent in the system of taxation which obtains in Kenya. By this system the whites who are best able to pay make the least contribution to the public revenues, while natives who just live on the borderland of starvation are made to bear, over and above the cost of the native services, the largest share in the cost of the development of the country in the white interest. What percentage of the receipts from native taxation is in fact devoted to European requirements, the Kenya officials have not yet made public, and will perhaps never do, but occasionally you get an official or two to tell you privately but plainly that a considerable part of the money derived from native sources is really expended on European interests. I have seen many leaflets recommending Kenya for white settlement, in which the most seductive feature of this modern Arcadia is made out to be the absence of an income tax and a land tax. The absence of these two taxes is no doubt a very great scandal, but the full measure of the iniquity of this system of taxation will not be apparent until one is further told that the deficiency in revenue is made up by clapping on the natives a tax which makes a large proportion of them work on European farms for nearly three months in a year. The gross partiality of this arrangement Mr. Morel tried to bring out by asking the following question in the House of Commons:—

Will the Secretary of State for the Colonies take steps to review the incidence of direct taxation upon the native population of Kenya, which in effect involves the able-bodied male population in work upon European farms and plantations for three months out of the year; and will he take steps to secure that the principle be adopted that at least one-fifth of the direct taxes paid by the natives shall be returned to them in technical education, medical service and agricultural instruction?

To this Mr. Thomas returned the following answer:—

I cannot accept the suggestion that a native cannot pay his tax by working on his own account. Active steps are being taken to extend native education and increase native agricultural production, but I do not think any fixed percentage can be laid down. The proportion suggested by my Hon. friend was very nearly reached in 1922 and if veterinary services are included, was exceeded.

As to the effect increased native taxation has on the native labour supply, it is hardly worth while to engage in a controversy with the Colonial Secretary: it is well laid in the official Labour Commission's Report of 1912-13, to which it is enough to refer him. But on the latter portion of

Mr. Thomas' answer, it is necessary to dwell for a few minutes. Before proceeding, however, to examine its accuracy, I must mention two facts. First, that the native pays not only in the form of the hut and the poll taxes, which Mr. Morel apparently had in mind when he put the question, but in two other ways—through customs duties on imports for native consumption (and it must not be supposed that their incidence is at all light) and through the tax in the shape of free labour in the Reserves, a part of which, e. g., on motor roads, is really for the benefit of the Europeans. The second fact to be borne in mind is that the test which Mr. Morel applies here is too easy, viz. that one-fifth of the proceeds of direct taxes from the native should be applied to the education and medical services in the Reserves. The real principle of allocation of revenues that ought to be applied is the one embodied in "A Plan for Government by Mandate in Africa" published by the League of Nations Union. As the Kenya Government professes to be conducted on the trusteeship plan, like countries administered under the League of Nations' mandate, there is no reason why Article XVII on Revenue therein should not apply to Kenya: "The Mandatory should, so far as possible, allocate all revenues derived from direct taxation of Africans to the native Government, to be spent by them subject to advice and approval of the Resident Advisers. The whole of the revenue of the Mandatory, from whatever source arising, should be expended for the sole advantage of the inhabitants of the territory." The principle therefore that should govern the Kenya Government's policy is not that one-fifth of direct taxes should be applied to education and medical help, but that all the revenue should be applied solely to native interests and that the whole proceeds from direct taxation should be spent by the natives as they desire. But the Kenya Government does not come up even to the low standard mentioned by Mr. Morel. Mr. Thomas affirms that it does, but I propose to show below that it falls far short of it.

The Hut Tax and the Poll Tax were estimated to produce in 1923 £500,365: leaving the cost of labour on roads &c. which natives are liable to supply out of the reckoning for the moment, the question is whether on native education and medical relief one-fifth of £500,000 or £100,000 is expended. It is most surprising that Mr. Thomas should have answered the question in the affirmative, whereas the fact is that to these two services only a quarter of this amount is devoted for the benefit of the native. In 1922 the Kenya Government spent 270,478 shillings on Arab and native education through its own agency, and it gave 217,920 shillings by way of grants to Missions. Now, of the 2014 children in attendance in Arab and native schools, about 400 are Arabs; so we may take it that of the 270,478 shillings disbursed by it through its own agency, 216,380 shillings were spent on the natives, which with the 217,920 shg.

grant makes a total of 431,300 shgs. or £21,715. So much the Kenya Government spent on native education (not only technical and agricultural education but literary education as well) in 1922. And how much did it spend on medical facilities for the natives? It is difficult to give exact figures, but in 1921 only £6,666 was spent on medical work in Native Reserves (£2,372 for the subsidizing of Missions and £4,294 spent by the Medical Department itself). Thus to these two services of the most vital importance to the natives it would appear that only £28,381 was spent, which bears a proportion, not of 20%, but 5.7% to the proceeds of the Hut and Poll Taxes. Mr. Thomas says that if veterinary services are included, the expenditure would exceed 20%. The amount spent on veterinary services in Native Reserves in 1922 (including the salaries of European veterinary officers) was £10,374. Thus the inclusion of these services would bring up the total of expenditure in the native interest to £38,755 and raise the percentage of direct taxation applied to these purposes from 5.7 to 7.7. The amount that is actually spent on the three services mentioned is thus little over one-third of what Mr. Thomas says is being spent. It would be well if the Colonial Secretary would explain his figures in detail. I feel certain that his arithmetic is very seriously at fault somewhere. These bald figures perhaps convey to the reader a very imperfect idea of the Kenya Government's grave neglect of the native. He will have a better idea of the medical and sanitary condition of the native when I put before him just two facts, that of every 1,000 children born 40 die within the first twelve months of life (whereas the infant mortality rate for England for the year 1921 was 83 per 1,000), and that when army recruitment went on, the Government had an average of about 33% absolute wrecks among natives. One cannot too strongly censure the utter callousness with which the Government of Kenya has treated these three subjects of the utmost advantage to the native: education, medical help and veterinary work. It is best to adduce the evidence of the whites themselves. On May 4, 1920, C. W. R. Lanes said in the Kenya Legislative Council: "With regard to the first (education), beyond the grant of a few rupees by Government nothing was done to educate the natives in the Reserves. With regard to the second (medical relief), the Nyanza Province consisted of five districts. The whole Province had only one Medical Officer whose time was taken up with the European community in Kisumu. It naturally fell that the native got very little medical attention, if at all. The five districts mentioned were visited at frequent periods by small pox, plague, &c., which naturally carried off thousands of natives. Thousands of pounds were spent annually in combating the diseases of animals outside the Native Reserves and as far as he was aware not a penny was spent on combating the disease of human beings inside the Reserves!"

Another European member, A. C. Hoey, added "The Elgai Reserve was visited occasionally by an officer, and then only for the collection of taxes or to see what labour he could get."

I would repeat here a suggestion which has been made before. For administrative purposes the Government has separated native from non-native areas: why should not the Government effect a similar separation in the native and non-native budget? Why does it not decide that all the money raised from native reserves should be spent therein? There is nothing impracticable in this suggestion; it has been put forward, not by visionaries but by practical administrators. Then it will be easy to find out whether the native gets a proper share in the contribution he makes to the country's finances. As it is, the manner in which huge amounts are wrung from him for the purpose of devoting them to European interests redounds to the unspeakable shame of England.

S. G. VAZE.

#### THE RETROCESSION OF BERAR.

AS an old Berari revisiting the province of my birth, I have been interviewing old friends and other persons, including well-known Non-co-operators, Swarajists, Liberals and Moderates, on the subject of retrocession—a subject in which I naturally have a keen interest. I have, besides, talked with many plain people, merchants, farmers, labourers, etc., who have nothing to do with politics; and all with whom I have talked with one voice agree that a return to the old Moghalai under which Berar was for so long is wholly undesirable, not to say disastrous: that it would very seriously affect the prosperity of the province, and disturb the present sense of commercial security, which has brought about a large increase in production and trade since the cession of Berar in 1902.

Moreover, every one of all these people declared that no one has a word to say in favour of retrocession except a few Muhammadans who feel it their duty to uphold the Nizam as a cor-religionist; and an occasional Hindu who rejoices in perverse eccentricity, or else, having nothing himself to lose, may even be able to roast his brinjals in the burning houses of his neighbours. And whenever I have mentioned Mr. D. K. Thakur's and Mr. Saiyyad M. Rahman's blithe letters of espousal to the *Chronicle*, I have been met with cynical smiles and told that such letters are too patently an easy bid for notoriety as well as for more solid favours; while in Mr. Rahman's case there might also be mingled a very natural zeal for Islam.

Every one agrees that the Nizam's offer of autonomy is in itself proof that he has no hope of the Berar people consenting to the change without some such honeyed bait—if it is left to their self-determination, as of course it must be, since the time is past when one ruler may present another with several millions of human beings, as he might



present a herd of cattle or a day's shikar. As to the offer of autonomy, it is considered rather as a good joke and one not to be considered seriously, as it is on the face of it patently absurd, and too transparently "thin." There is a Marathi proverb which may be translated: *Our boy is a darling, but the neighbour's boy is a little wretch!* In this case it is the neighbour's boy who is to be the pampered pet and he naturally feels a little suspicious of a promise of sweetmeats which the son of the house has never enjoyed. When little Haidarali has been given some *gulabjamuns*, then little Berari Lal may feel more confident that he too may get a share.

Mr. Raghavendra Rao's visit to Akola week before last was the occasion of a big meeting of protest against retrocession at which the offer of autonomy (especially in the light of Mr. Raghavendra Rao's recent experience of the beautiful state of autonomy existing in Haiderabad itself) was repudiated as an impossibility. An opposition meeting called in Akola was attended by a bare two hundred, most of whom were Mohammedan schoolboys. At the Yeotmal meeting a vote of distrust was passed, but at the meeting held in Khamgaon, it was decided after much discussion to take no action until the Viceroy replied to H. E. H. the Nizam's letter, and then only if his reply were at all favourable to retrocession. Influential Non-co-operators and Swarajists felt it would be *infra dig.* to appear to cling to the skirts of a nurse the need of whom they daily repudiate, and to cry out before they were hurt. If a tiger is securely locked in a strong steel cage, it were surely previous to be disturbed at his roaring for release as long as the keeper shows no inclination to open the door—especially if one is not on good terms with the keeper and has been urgently pressing his discharge as a useless and oppressive interloper. He might altogether misunderstand a premature protest, smile in his sleeve, or get conceited. It would be time enough to make an outcry if he began fitting the key into the lock, and that—every one is convinced—he is much too shrewd to do.

The Government is not such a fool, they say, as to hand over a crore and a half of good revenue for the asking. "Would I refund a rupee of my profits to a customer because he wanted it?" said a shrewd old Marwari friend, "I would not give up four annas! And is the Sarkar mad enough to give up 150 good lakhs, when it need pay only a 25 lakhs lease, only because the Nizam Sahib would like it? Will even a fish give back a ruby he has swallowed? No, no, the world is of quite another sort, and we need not be anxious." "And why would Moghalai be such a calamity?" I asked. "Too many royal birthdays, too many royal visits, too, too many *nazaranas!*" He laughed, "How should we poor Marwaris make a living?" I well remember hearing old Berar Kunbis tell of the old days before the cession of Berar and say how they, or their fathers, dare not

show any sign of prosperity lest their taxes be increased. To swagger abroad in a Palthani turban, with a fat gold *baki* in the right ear and silver anklets and bracelets on, would have been disastrous. "It is only now we dare to dress like that," they would say. "In the days under the Moghalai we always had to pretend we were poor even if we did well, or we were troubled by all sorts of bloodsuckers."

But people fond of bashing the Government are most of all apprehensive of the curtailment of their freedom of speech, which would be inevitable on retrocession. A well-known Non-co-operator assured me that the day after the retrocession was accomplished would infallibly find him in prison, since his only alternatives would be to shut his mouth (a temperamental impossibility), or to sell his property and leave the province, which would entail heavy loss since the emigration, which certainly follow retrocession, would bring down would land values—unless indeed the editors of the *Chronicle* would be sporting enough to make good their promise to move into Berar, and buy up the lands and houses of the departing! It is worth remarking, by the way, that ever since 1902 there has been a steady if slow immigration from Haiderabad State into Berar, indeed even since 1853 when Berar came partially under British control.

Mr. G. B. Bapat, editor of the *Prajapaksha*, a tart and peppery little Swarajist weekly, told me he had written several times to the *Chronicle* strongly contradicting their airy-fairy declarations of the fond eagerness of all Berar to re-enter the Moghalai, but that, so far, not the slightest notice had been taken of his letters. He therefore took pains to collect and publish in his double issue of March 2nd, the opinions, unanimously against retrocession, that appeared in the *Kesari*, *Karmavir*, *Manvantar*, *Mauz*, *Udaya*, *Dnyanprakash*, *Jagriti*, *Nava Kal*, *Lokamanya*, *Maharashtra*, *Hitavada*, *Voice of India*, the *Swarajya* of Madras, the *Searchlight* of Patna and the *Tribune*. For lack of space he was unable to quote the opinions, similarly unfavourable, of still many more Indian newspapers of very differing political stripes. But the *Chronicle*, happily chronicling in the simple obscurity of Bombay, has never heard of any of all these. How great must be the tranquillity of Medows Street! Not so great, unfortunately, can be either the obscurity or tranquillity of Haiderabad, and H. E. H. the Nizam must be rather sad at the distrust and dissent with which his offers have been met. At least it must comfort him that the offer of any other Indian prince would meet with the same response, since all are agreed that they would no more willingly consider a cession with any other Indian State, even the most advanced, since what they want is democracy, not a change of masters. Dr. M. N. Parasnis, a prominent Non-co-operator of Khamgaon, said to me that the British Government was an evil also as well as the Nizam Sarkar, but that since it was without doubt a much lesser evil, it

became necessary, in a world so unideal, for Berar, however reluctantly, to choose it in preference to Moghalai until self-government become possible.

BERAR.

### SOME GOKHALE LETTERS.

BY C. F. ANDREWS.

WHEN I was in England, last Christmas, I spent the Christmas season with my brothers and sisters in Birmingham, near to the settlement of the Society of Friends called 'The Selly Oak Colleges.' This settlement owes very much indeed to those of the Quaker families, who have been connected with Birmingham for some generations past. They are the Cadburys, the Hoylands, and the Sturges. It was a great joy to me to meet members of these families, and to share their hospitality at the Christmas season of peace and good-will. Of all the communities in the west, who have endeavoured to bring peace and good-will back to mankind, both during the horror of the war, and afterwards during the Armistice and the Peace, these members of the Society of Friends have done the most. I think that it should be also known, that they have instinctively felt the saintliness of Mahatma Gandhi and in no way misunderstood him. From the very first, they were eager to secure his release; and letters have come pouring in to me since his release was announced in the papers, telling me of their joy at the good news.

I had no idea that Mr. Gokhale had ever come closely into touch with these good people in Birmingham. One day, however, at a meeting which I addressed, an elderly gentleman got up to thank me and told the audience that he and his sister had been intimate friends of Mr. Gokhale, and that the latter had stayed at their house while he was in England, and had also corresponded with them. This old man was a member of the Sturge family. He and his sister were each of them nearly eighty. They had never married. Every day of their lives had been given to good works; and in the course of doing good they had not forgotten for one moment the counsel of the Sermon on the Mount, that the left hand should not know what the right hand did. It was a happiness at Christmas time to me to go and visit them in their home, where Mr. Gokhale himself had been, and we talked a long while about him.

On my departure, I asked Miss Sturge, if she had any letters still left, which Mr. Gokhale had written to her. Among many which were only of a personal interest, she chose three, which dealt with public affairs, and very kindly gave me leave to publish them in India.

It is clear to me, that the *Servant of India* is the rightful paper for their publication. One of them is actually addressed from the Servants of India Society, Poona, the house where I am sitting at the present moment while I write this introduction to the three letters which now follow:—

(i)

September 10th 1909.

"I was laid up with malaria fever. This fever clung to me obstinately till the end of August, and it is only during the last ten days that I have been again able to attend to work or correspondence. The Curzon-Wyllie murder has no doubt done considerable injury to our cause; but it has, I find, shocked back many of our extremists into a greater sanity of judgment. Our problem is indeed an enormously difficult one,—I sometimes think that no country in the world was ever called upon to face such a problem as ours. Endless divisions and sub-divisions in the country; the bulk of the population ignorant and clinging, with a tenacity of which only those who are of them can have an adequate conception, to old modes of thought and sentiment; which are averse from all change and which do not understand change; seventy millions of Mahomedans more or less hostile to national aspirations, and all power lodged in the hands of a fleeting body of foreign officials, most of whom generally represent your Tory principles at their worst,—this is the situation to-day.

Out of this mass, an India has to be evolved, strong, free, united, democratic and qualified to take her proper place among the nations of the world. It is a task that may well appall, and I don't know if it will ever be accomplished, but we can all work towards that end and after all there is much in the words of one of your most beautiful hymns—"One step enough for me."

(ii)

Servants of India Society, Poona City.  
December 9th, 1910.

"The present year has been a tremendous rush for some of us in this country, and my health, too, all the while, has not been of the best. The new Councils and their enlarged functions have led to a considerable increase in the work and responsibilities of unofficial members; and till these new things attain their proper level, a few of us must be prepared to bear more than their proper share of the burden. Then, too, my Society has this year made exceptionally heavy demands on my time, which I have been barely able to meet. The new Councils are now in fair working order throughout the country, and despite many and obvious defects, I think they will enable us to put the bureaucracy repeatedly on its defence and to introduce the light of public criticism into places where it has been till now all darkness.

I think this is an important step in advance at our present stage and is bound to lead to others more important than this before long. In any case I am content to make the best we can of these Councils and then prepare the ground for what must follow.

The year has seen three important publications on India. Ramsay MacDonald's book, Valentine Chirol's letters in the *Times*, and Monsieur Chailley's book in two volumes. Of these Mr

MacDonald's book shows the most understanding of the Indian problem; the other two books are also suggestive in their way, however much we may disagree with them. I don't think anything of permanent interest has been published in this country in this field, which it would be worth your while to read.

My Society is doing very well indeed. Two months ago, a branch consisting of six members, was opened at Madras for work in Madras Presidency. This week another has been opened for work in the Bombay Presidency and the Central provinces. It consists of seven members and four permanent assistants. I now feel quite assured of a career of great usefulness for the Society".

(iii)

63, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta,  
January 25, 1912.

"The King's visit, about the wisdom of which there were serious misgivings at one time in several quarters, has proved a big and unqualified success. There is no doubt that he has the rare and happy knack of saying the right thing in the right place, and in a country governed as India is at present, the utterances of a Sovereign have exceptional importance. His speech on Education in reply to an address from Calcutta University has given great satisfaction throughout the country and many regard it as a new educational charter for the people. The reversal of the partition has been a master stroke of policy; and though the officials in India have nothing higher in view, when they speak of provincial autonomy, than freedom from control of the Government of India for themselves, the policy of decentralization announced is bound to have far-reaching results. It places us in a position of considerable strength for working for provincial self-government for the people. The educational grant, too, though not large, is a source of much satisfaction.

I am glad to say I have decided to pay a brief visit to England this year. My object in going this year is to secure parliamentary support to a Bill, which I have introduced in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, aiming at making Elementary Education in this country gradually free and compulsory. The Bill has been enthusiastically supported by the public in all parts of the country, but the bulk of the officials are against it, and I fear the Council will throw out the Bill next March. We will then raise the question in Parliament, and after that I intend re-introducing the Bill here next year and at the same time have a big agitation in its favour in the country."

#### THE DELHI SESSION.

(By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

DELHI, 25th MARCH.

"EMASCULATED" by the Government and spurned and rejected by the hot-tempered Assembly, the Finance Bill sought haven in the house of correc-

tion, the elderly Council of State, who extended an almost unanimous welcome to it in soft words of sympathy. Nothing was to be done to the bill, no amendments pressed, which might compel a second surgical operation from the certifying powers of the Governor-General. Instead, every effort was made to wash off the effects of the cruel conduct of the Assembly and nurse the bill back to comparative health. The offender was suitably taken to task, but in cautions and sometimes in almost apologetic terms. The Assembly had received provocation, but its rejoinder was much too precipitate. The Labour Government was entitled to great consideration and time. Government thought the conduct of Pandit Motilal inconsistent. Both he and Lord Olivier offered to co-operate with each other and the latter expressly asked for time to consult the Government of India and yet the Pandit refused to hold his hand from striking down the Finance Bill.

So the Council indicated its entire disapproval of the conduct of the Assembly by passing the Finance Bill, with only one dissentient and thereby assuring the British politicians and financiers that there was wisdom, statemanship and friendliness to England, at least to the Labour party, left in India still, which it will be well advised to conserve and promote.

On Monday last, Dr. Gour unsuccessfully moved an adjournment of the Assembly to discuss the Class Areas Bill in South Africa, the progress of which seems to be unhampered by the eloquent pleadings of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. On Tuesday, Dr. Geur took another step in his efforts at the codification of Hindu law, by successfully referring to a select committee his bill to define the liability of a Hindu coparcener, but his most important achievement of the day was his motion for leave to introduce a bill for the repeal of the much detested Criminal Law Amendment Act, which was carried, despite strenuous Government opposition, by 58 votes to 39, and this when Pandit Motilal had left Delhi, after warning that the motion should not be exposed to the risk of being defeated, owing to the absence from Delhi of a number of Nationalists. The moral significance of this appalling defeat of the Government cannot be exaggerated.

The Assembly wound up its first session by carrying against the Government a motion for the adjournment of the house to censure the Government for imposing certain conditions for the grant of pass-ports to the Indian Khilafat delegation to Turkey and other Islamic countries. The conditions would prevent the Ali brothers and Pandit Motilal from joining the deputation. Government were charged with antipathy towards Islam, the Khilafat and Turkey in thus refusing passports. It was contended on the other hand that no Government need undertake the responsibility of protecting such of its citizens abroad who were guilty of preaching insubordination to troops at home. The non-co-operators who refused to acknowledge the State were now asking the very same State to

protect them abroad! Sir Malcolm denied that the Government were actuated by anti-Muslim motives in placing such restrictions on the Ali brothers and others. The motion, however, was carried, Government not challenging a division.

A bird's eye view of the whole session reveals certain outstanding features. Party discipline among non-officials was one of them. Never before was such party organisation, cohesion, and party loyalty under the most trying circumstances witnessed in the annals of the Indian Legislature, old or new. It may be doubted whether party organisation is itself good, in which individual members do not keep themselves open to persuasion but vote under party mandates. But in India, where the irremovable executive does go in for a Government party of officials and some nominated non-officials, kept solidly together by official discipline, tradition or patronage, the non-officials have no alternative but to band themselves into a party and vote as a party. The second feature was that, within the four walls of the Assembly chamber, the business was entirely controlled by the non-official party. The Nationalists could pass or turn down any measure in spite of Government opposition. The third feature is that the Executive Government have been unable to secure the co-operation and consent of the Legislature for their administration. If the Government had been able to add just a dozen more members to their present supporters, they would have commanded a majority, but that they could not. They have forfeited the support even of such Liberals as Messrs. Ramachandra Rao and Venkatapathi Raju. It is impossible now to profess that the Government has the Legislature behind it; rather it has to shoulder the whole responsibility of administration despite an adverse Legislature.

In spite of the preoccupation of the Assembly with the question of constitutional advance and the disinclination of the Swarajists to consider any other topic, the Independents, with the voting assistance of the Swarajists have rendered a good account of themselves in matters of administrative policy. The problem of the age of consent have been satisfactorily solved. Resolutions were adopted to remedy the grievances of the Sikh community, of railway passengers, of the Indian coal industry, and of Indians against the composition, duties and privileges of the Auxilliary and Territorial forces. Resolutions were also passed to secure that the Assembly is consulted before Government place large contracts and that tenders for the purchase of stores for Governmental purposes are called in India.

The question of constitutional advance has, however, overshadowed every other topic. And where does the last session leave us in this matter? One cannot help feeling that the cause of Indian constitutional advance has received a set-back from the action of the Assembly, who refused to give Lord Olivier the time he asked for. With the power to reject the budget secure in their hands

the Nationalists might have stayed their hand and given the new Labour Government a chance. After Lord Olivier's statement, two courses were open to the Nationalists. They could throw out the budget, display their obstructive policy and thus claim to have kept their election pledges, but thereby weakening, nay even antagonising the Labour party in England. On the other hand, they could have refrained from the display, perhaps displeased their constituents but facilitated the constitutional advance, on which they had set their heart. They chose the worse alternative.

I must not forget the last function in the Council of State. Sir Alexander Muddiman, the first President of the Council, occupied his place there for the last time. He received very warm and high appreciation of his conduct in the chair, which was all very well deserved. Before parting he shook hands with every member of the house. Sir Alexander bade them au revoir only to meet them again in a different capacity as Home Member of the Government of India. My commission as your special Parliamentary correspondent has also come to a close and let me bid you, dear Editor, au revoir.

#### CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRISLAU, 5th MARCH.

It is a curious thing about the 'debut' of socialism on the governmental stage. In Germany, when the socialists had absolute power after the revolution to carry their ideas into practice they have let slip every opportunity of making a start with the nationalisation of the means of production even in certain industries where circumstances seemed to be decidedly favourable to such plans. That means they have dropped the most important points of their programme under the governmental table. After the eight hour working-day, their only achievement, has been done away with too, as is to be feared, the whole socialist episode will in future be looked upon in German history almost as a long looked-for thunderstorm on a burning June day which did not bring rain and left the air as close as it was before. In Italy the socialists have turned out a greater failure still. Under the ministry of Signor Nitti they were offered an opportunity of throwing over the whole old system, including monarchy, and of taking the reins of government into their hands. There seems to be little doubt that Nitti himself favoured this scheme and would have put his great energy, experience and intelligence at the service of the new movement. But the Italian socialists recoiled from it. They preferred to go on in their humdrum way until Signor Mussolini took the wind out of their sails and finally upset their boat altogether. In England things seemed to take a better turn. There some of the most advanced of political thinkers belonged to the Labour party, the flower of the left wing of the Liberal party had passed over to them, people had joined the

who have the immortal merit to have remained sober and unshakable in those very days of the autumn of 1914 when almost all the rest of Europe had lost its reasoning faculties altogether and given way to the chauvinistic intoxication brought about by the declaration of the war. One of these people was Ramsay Macdonald. His premiership then seemed to promise for Europe almost as much as if Mr. Morel himself had taken things in hand.

The first socialist leader of the British empire! A new chapter of history seemed to begin. It is true that nobody expected him to call the millennium into existence at once, he would not be able—so much appeared clear—to start a new chronology like the great French revolution, that gave up counting the years after the birth of Christ and commenced counting anew with the first year of the liberation of mankind. But what everybody seemed to have a right to expect was a thorough change of political methods. Has it come to pass? The newspapers have just been publishing a correspondence between M. Poincaré and Mr. MacDonald which answers this question in the negative. It is true that Mr. MacDonald is somewhat more outspoken than his predecessors. He leaves no doubt as to the true opinions of his countrymen. But this after all is only a question of formulation. His predecessors may have couched their notes in more "diplomatical" terms (in the old sense) but there can be no doubt that they meant the same things. And M. Poincaré answers exactly in the same way as he used to. Although there is scarcely anybody in Europe who does not know of the Franco-Russian treaty of 1916 which decided on the partition of Germany and the complete deletion of big commercial and economic power—in spite too of the Dariae report and numerous other proofs for the real plans of France—he denies categorically that any reasonable Frenchman had ever had the idea in his mind to take away one acre of the German soil, he shuts both his eyes to what is going on in the occupied district and affirms his good faith and sense of justice. Now it is difficult to see what Mr. MacDonald promises himself in exchanging letters of this sort with the French Premier. The newspapers say: a cleansing of the atmosphere. But it is curious, and it seems to remain unnoticed, that this or a very similar sort of cleansing the atmosphere has gone on for more than four years already and that M. Poincaré never objected to it because it did not prevent him in the least from pursuing his imperialist ways. There have been tried in reality much more efficient means already to cleanse the atmosphere, like Mr. Lloyd George's Conference of Genoa, without M. Poincaré denying them his blessing.

For there is, no doubt, only one thing which he dreads—we should know it by now—as the devil dreads the crucifix in the medieval legends, and that is the open discussion of the reparations question and the Versailles treaty in an international conference. This he has always resisted and will resist, because the whole weak-

ness of the moral position of France would become obvious on such an occasion. Everything else is of minor importance to him. This—and this only—would mean the beginning of the end of French imperialist policy. To write letters to the British premier is an agreeable pastime to him, to hold conferences with him cannot spoil his quietness of mind. For meanwhile he pursues his aim. He counts with the possibility that he can protract the negotiations with his English adversaries long enough to reach it. What value then, one feels inclined to ask, has this supposed cleansing of the atmosphere, as long as there are not the slightest signs to be observed that the silent war that is carried on against Germany and the endeavours to Frenchify the Rhinelands, the Palatinate and the Saar-district have come to a standstill?

As a matter of fact, this war rages as cruel as ever. An example may serve to show it. The "Reich" has succeeded in making an end of the terrible inflation and creating a new currency. But the success of this "Rentenmark" is more than doubtful if the Reich does not achieve the balancing of the Budget. To reach the balance, however, heavy rates and taxes are necessary. Now to raise them in the occupied district has been forbidden by the French authorities. The same people that were untiring in telling the world that the Germans had created the inflation on purpose in order to escape the incurred obligations, prevent her with an obvious cynicism from collecting her taxes in her richest provinces, which she wants in order to regain her economic health. At the same time Germany is charged with gigantic sums for the occupation troops there. If this is not a sign of malafides it is impossible to find one. But Mr. MacDonald thinks that people who act like this, might be advised and brought to their senses like irritated children. As a matter of fact, there seems, as indicated above, to be only one way left—to convoke an international conference to discuss all those questions freely that France has hitherto forbidden to discuss in public. That this would lead to a crisis is undoubtedly true, but it would be a crisis of recovery. It is not true that it would lead to a war. The nations of the world are thoroughly tired of making war, to-day perhaps more so than ten years hence. Mr. MacDonald appears like a man who tries to cure an ulcer with warm water. But there are ulcers that must be lanced.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

#### REVIEW.

LABOUR IN INDIAN INDUSTRIES. By G. M. Broughton, O. B. E., M. A. Oxford University Press, London. Pp. 214. Rs. 6.

By publishing a small monograph on the subject of 'Labour in Indian Industries' by Miss G. M. Broughton, the Oxford University Press have supplied a

long-felt want. The conclusions of the book are, indeed, hardly likely to take any student of Indian Economics by surprise. To few such, for example, can it be a piece of news that to Bombay belongs the unenviable distinction of having probably the worst slums in the world; (though a few, at least, will be shocked at the revelations made by Dr. Barnes, which the author refers to on p. 120, and according to which a room of the size of 15 x 12 ft. 'was the home of six families; no less than 30 persons occupied the room and three of the women were expecting to be delivered'). It is also common knowledge that the density of population of Bombay is higher than that of London; that its infantile death rate stands at the appalling figure of 55.6 per cent; that as a result, its labour is unstable, discontented and difficult to manage. Nevertheless, the book before us is a very careful piece of work; it brings together in one convenient place information which the student would otherwise have to seek in various reports and official publications; and in spite of some repetitions, the arrangement of the material is excellent. The book has earned for its author the D. Sc. degree of the University of London.

The author devotes the first chapter to a general survey of her subject, and the whole of the remaining part of the book may be said to be a commentary on this chapter. The great question with regard to Indian industrial labour is, she points out, how to secure stability and efficiency. In England and other countries the Industrial Revolution produced an industrial class; in India labour is amphibious; it lives partly on industry and partly on agriculture. The reason for this state of things is to be sought partly in the love of the Indian labourer for his ancestral land, partly in the unhealthy and repulsive conditions of factory life; its results are inefficiency, and lack of combination. The efficiency of labour cannot be great when the entire staff of a factory changes hands once every eighteen months (see p. 18). Nor can one expect a solid Trade Union movement to grow out of such fluid elements. As the author says, powerful organisations of employers have come into being in India, but there is as yet nothing comparable to them in the labour world.

The solution of the question obviously lies in improving the conditions of labour so as to make it worth the labourer's while to stick to his work, and the author devotes an interesting chapter to the ameliorative measures pursued by the state, the employers, labour organisations and social agencies. She describes how much has been done, but how much more still remains to be done. This part, and indeed the whole book, deserves the attention of our legislators and all who are interested in labour problems.

R. P. P.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

OUR readers will no doubt read with interest and a measure of satisfaction the report of Lord Olivier's Branbury speech which we have reproduced elsewhere from the *East African Standard*, the organ of the Kenya white settlers. That speech has naturally created a great stir among the settlers, and one sees much indignant writing in the *Standard*. In one article we find:

In fact, he took the "White paper," and told his hearers—"Gentlemen, you see this paper? It is called a white paper. It is not a white paper, it is a black paper!"—and his audience believed him.

This speech and the appointment of the Crown Colonies Committee are together described as "the betrayal of Kenya", and the *Standard* warns the settlers to gird up their loins and "be prepared again"—which of course means being prepared for armed resistance—against Indian claims and "Labour's dangerous aims." And it has the hardi- hard to describe Indians as preaching disloyalty in Kenya!

\* \* \*

Mr. Duncan's  
Speech.

THERE was one distinguishing feature in the speech which Mr. Duncan, Minister for Interior in South Africa, made on the second reading of the Class Areas Bill. He admitted plainly that its sole object was to protect the white trader and artizan from Indian competition. The Indian community in South Africa was not growing; on the other hand it was diminishing, owing to immigration being prohibited and repatriation being encouraged. But the Indians there, said he, were improving in efficiency and skill, and therefore had to be segregat-

ed both for residence and trade purposes. After this avowal he need not have troubled himself to say that there was no idea whatsoever of ruining Indians or making it impossible for them to live decently; or that the Smuts-Gandhi pact was not violated. Mr. Gandhi on this side has emphatically declared that the pact has been violated, and indeed no one here has ever had so much faith in the honour of the South African Government as to attach any importance to what its spokesmen say. The Boer spirit is that of race dominance. What the Boer cares for is its maintenance. Means are absolutely immaterial—fair or foul, with or without honour, pledges or pacts notwithstanding. That spirit was voiced by Sir Abe Bailey who said in the debate that rather than consent to social, political or economic rights to Indians, South African Europeans would go out of the Empire and that they wanted to repatriate Indians, compulsorily, if the voluntary method did not succeed. Yet they are vain enough to speak of justice and decency.

\* \* \*

Asiatic Commission's opinion.

THE Asiatic Enquiry Commission, the personnel of which was by no means pro-Asiatic, examined the proposals for compulsory segregation and emphatically pronounced against them. In doing so they observed:

"As was said by the Chief Justice in Montan's case if the commercial dealings of the Indian Trader were to be restricted to the location, in which he lived situated outside the town proper, and peopled only by men of his own race, then he might for practical purposes as well not trade at all. The result is, however, precisely what is aimed at by some of those who are responsible for the suggestion. Several witnesses who advocated compulsory segregation both as to trade and residence candidly stated that they supported it only as a means to an end, that end being to drive the Asiatics out of the country."

The Commission inspected some locations in Transvaal where racial segregation is in force, and this is what they say regarding the state of things within the municipal limits of Johannesburg:

"There are two locations, one for Asiatics and the other for Natives. They adjoin one another and are separated from the European portion of the township by a single street. But no effort seems to be made to keep the inhabitants of the two locations apart. We found as many natives and Cape coloured people as Indians in the Asiatic location. The members of the Commission were guided through the location by the Municipal Medical Officer of Health and made a close and thorough inspection of its conditions which were found to be appalling. It is difficult to conceive of a worse slum existing in any



part of the world. We found the inhabitants crowded and huddled together in small hovels amidst indescribable filth and leading a most insanitary mode of life. And this was the state of things existing within the Municipality of Johannesburg, the wealthiest and the most popular town in South Africa and within a little more than a mile of its magnificent Town Hall.....the place continues to be a serious danger to the public health in Johannesburg. It is said to be the favourite haunt of illicit liquor dealers and criminals of the worst character. In the circumstances it is not surprising to find the Indian Community point to the so-called bazars or locations as examples of what may be expected if they are to be relegated to such places at the behest of Municipalities in the Transvaal. Any attempt to enforce compulsory segregation would result in failure and would lead to a resurgence of the Passive Resistance Movement."

\* \* \*  
 "Official Resignations".  
 THE above observations of the Commission were urged on the attention of Mr. Duncan recently in a closely reasoned memorandum against the Class Areas Bill by a deputation of Natal Indians. Apparently it did not have any effect on him. The Government of India, strengthened by the opinion of the legislature, are no doubt going to make or have already made a strong representation. Let us hope that as a result the Bill will be vetoed after being passed by the legislature. Otherwise the Indian Community is bound to start passive resistance, and we are glad to be told that preparations are already afoot. In such a contingency what should the Government of India do? Should it content itself as hitherto with sending dispatches or should a stronger line be taken? Mr. Sastri hoped in the Council of State recently that a time would come when the Viceroy and his Executive Council would resign as a protest against the unjust treatment of the people of one part of the Empire by the Government of another part of the Empire. This frightened some people and made the Indian Members of the Viceroy's Council uneasy. But we hope Mr. Sastri's reasoned article which is published elsewhere will convince them that his suggestion is not wild or revolutionary as imagined by some people, but a recognised mode of expressing one's strong disapproval of a policy and drawing public attention to it. When the occasion demands it we hope the Indian members will act together and resign in a body, so that the British Government may be made to respect Indian feeling to a greater extent than at present.

\* \* \*  
 Vaikom Satyagraha.  
 WITHOUT compromising principles, the conscientious objectors or Satyagrahis of Vaikom are attempting to be as reasonable as they could. They are peacefully courting arrest in batches of threes, so that there is no show of force and no desire to embarrass the Government of Travancore. To remove all misapprehensions about their object they have issued a statement to the press that their object is only to assert the right of way of the depressed classes to a public road in which a temple is situated and not to enter the temple

itself. That road is not a private road as the representatives of orthodoxy misinformed Mr. Gandhi, but a public one maintained by the State out of public funds through a secular department. Every citizen has the right of way to it in the eye of law, and if it is denied to some people, the denial is illegal and illegitimate. Some time ago the Travancore State threw open its public schools and public service to the low castes against old usage and a person belonging to one of these castes is now presiding over a civil court in the State. When that has been done, it is simply ridiculous on the part of its officials to deny the right of way to a public road to those castes. The Satyagrahis readily suspended their movement for a few days when a responsible offer was forthcoming to bring about an amicable settlement. They have resumed it only after the negotiations have failed. When that is so, we cannot understand how a paper like the *Indian Social Reformer* could pour ridicule on them.

\* \* \*  
 A Chief Appreciated.  
 KATHIAWADIS resident in Bombay presented an address to H. H. the Chief of Rajkot on the eve of his departure to England, in appreciation of his enlightened administration and the constitutional reforms he has introduced. It will be remembered that some time ago he issued invitations for a conference of Chiefs, which, however, was discountenanced by the Political Agent and did not therefore materialise. That shows that he is actuated by a progressive spirit. In the address mention was made of the fact that he had conferred a liberal franchise on his subjects, so that nearly 50 per cent. of the adult population was enfranchised and that Rajkot was the first Indian State to confer the vote on women. Practically full responsible government is said to be obtaining there, in proof of which it is mentioned that during the absence of His Highness on the present tour the affairs of the State will be managed by a Council of three persons two of whom are non-official elected representatives of the people, differing in no respect from Ministers in British India. Rajkot is a small State; nevertheless the Chief Sahab is entitled to the fullest credit, for the small Chiefs are as jealous as, if not more than, the big ones about power and prestige. May we hope that Rajkot's example will be widely followed?

\* \* \*  
 Polling Statistics.  
 IN reply to an interpellation by Mr. R. G. Pradhan of Nasik at the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council, various statistics were given by Government showing the total number of voters in each electoral constituency and the proportion of them that went to the polls in November last. Omitting special constituencies, almost all of which were uncontested except the University, the total number of voters in all constituencies, Mahomedan and non-Mahomedan, urban and rural, was close upon 6,12,000, out of whom about 2,94,000 or

48% exercised their franchise. Thus with all the keen contest that the Swarajist candidates had with those of other parties everywhere, even half the number of voters did not go to the polls. But the state of things in urban areas was still worse. The six cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Karachi, Poona, Surat and Sholapur, which form separate urban constituencies, did not send to the polls more than 39.6% Moslems and 37.6% non-Moslems, while from rural areas and small towns 48.5% Moslems and 47.9% non-Moslems went to the polls, which shows that both classes of voters were equally keen. With regard to the University seat, as is well-known, there was very keen contest, both the candidates made a tour of the whole of the presidency, and the result was that 2,828 out of 4,677 graduate voters, or 60.4%, registered their votes. As compared with the late elections in Great Britain, where 74% of the electorate (including a large proportion of female voters) voted at the polls our results are disappointing.

The Note and  
the Beam.

It will be remembered that some time ago British manufacturers raised a howl against the Indian High Commissioner in London for placing an order for a few locomotives with German manufacturers because their quotations were lower, and the British manufacturers asserted that as they were working even without profit just to keep the men employed, the German locomotives were bound to be inferior in quality and not worth the money. Nobody here attached any importance to this interested criticism, but piquancy certainly is lent to it by a question in the House of Commons by Viscount Curzon, from which it appears that not only the Governments of India and some of the Colonies, but public bodies in England like the Manchester Corporation and the (London) Metropolitan Water Board are preferring continental manufacturers to British ones, owing to the difference in price, which in some cases, according to Viscount Curzon, was as much as 30 per cent. Mr. Sidney Webb gave the only possible answer:

"If the British manufacturer cannot do his business more closely to the bone than that, I think that the British engineering industry is seriously open to criticism as, in fact it has been criticised by official bodies."

Depressed Classes'  
View.

IN presenting a farewell address to Lord Willingdon the spokesmen of the depressed classes said that they would far rather have European officials in charge of public affairs than Indian Ministers. It is easy to condemn this statement as unpatriotic, but one must remember the provocation which the Non-Brahmin Ministry in Madras has given them by crippling the Labour Department, at the instance of landed interests. The Department was enthusiastically helping members of depressed classes to acquire house-sites in Tanjore District, which did not suit the landlords who wanted to keep a check on their agricultural labour by threat of eviction from houses. Lord Willingdon has often described his Ministry as having formed a 'happy family' with him. But the happiness, if it really existed, was acquired at a sacrifice and the sacrifice was not made by the Non-Brahmin Ministry.

#### A. GOOD OPPORTUNITY.

THE Swarajists of Bengal, under the lead of a visionary of a highly poetical but narrow mind, have got into a quandary. Wishing not to wreck the transferred services, they have, however damaged them. Wishing to avoid harm to their countrymen, they have been the unwitting means of several hundreds of educated Bengalees being in imminent risk of unemployment. Wishing to earn the goodwill of their electors, they have almost certainly incurred their odium. As happens on such occasions, interested criticism is flagrantly inconsistent. If any official or liberal politician had even remotely hinted at a Governor being unconstitutional, he would have been ridiculed as a purblind student of political institutions and the very idea of an Indian constitution held up as an instance of the morbid self-delusion of optimists. As soon, however, as Lord Lytton, harassed by deluded politicians and anxious to protect the administration from their mischievous pranks, sends for the saner elements in the Legislature and takes counsel with them how the C. P. imbroglio can best be avoided, they turn on him with rage and rend him to pieces for what they call an unconstitutional act. A cursory perusal of the Act and the Rules under which a province is governed will show that a Governor has many important duties and responsibilities thrust upon him, that he regularly presides and votes at his executive council and is answerable both for policy and for measures. If the rules of debate exempt him from personal attacks in the council, it is merely the recognition of the rank and special distinction of the head of the administration. It does not follow that he is a person apart and aloof from the course of affairs, that he must preserve an air of equal indifference to the proper working or the debasement of the political machinery, to the wholesome or unwholesome state of the proceedings of the legislature, to the efficiency of the great services or their disorganisation and demoralisation. When events take a sinister turn in the political sphere, it is his interest and business, as it is nobody else's interest and business, to use all available means for restoring the normal course. It is a commonplace that in the Indian constitution such as it is, the Viceroy and Governors are King and Prime Minister combined, arbitrators between the two halves of the Government and regulators of the legislative bodies, without being of them. It is a great public advantage that in personal and social relations the head of a province should make no distinction and keep his table and his drawing room open to men of all parties alike. The hospitality of the State is a common blessing and from it none may be excluded who possesses standing and character. Within our experience we do not know that this standard of impartiality has ever been violated in India. But is a fantastic misapplication of this rule of propriety to extend it to a meeting at Government

House called together expressly for the purpose of shielding the administration and public interest from a grave danger. Those who willfully caused the danger have no place there.

We go further. In our opinion, Government, whether at the centre or in the provinces, expects the impossible when it expects a regular and constant following. No self-respecting politicians, who have obtained the confidence of constituencies, would agree to be reckoned among the supporters of Government of which they cannot shape the policy and control the projects. The Anglo-Indian Press and the official world generally must have a very low estimate of the calibre of the liberal politician in the country to be annoyed with him on the ground that he does not consistently—slavishly would be the better word—support a Government which stands ostentatiously aloof from all parties and schools of thought, which still governs in complete isolation, which boasts of its exclusive responsibility to the Imperial cabinet and Parliament and which often thinks nothing, as in the very recent instance of the salt duty, of defying all Indian opinion. There is no likelihood of the present Governments or their immediate successors—nurtured in the exercise of autocratic and nearly irresponsible power and still retaining the belief that that is the right and proper state of things for India—spontaneously recognising the changed aspect of affairs brought about by the establishment of an electorate and large popular houses of legislature. The difficulty of the Bengal Government, wherever the blame of it may rest, is a providential stroke of misfortune. Let our independent and liberal friends turn it to good account while it lasts. Let them give nothing for nothing, treat with Government on an honourable footing and obtain from them, before giving them assistance, a promise that they will yield to all their reasonable wishes and not pose even under the semi-democratic regime of to-day as a superior agency appointed by divine authority to rule according to their own lights. What the Bengal Government is compelled to learn to-day other Governments, not excluding the one at Delhi, will learn sooner or later, if only the independent and liberal legislators stood on their dignity and legitimate rights and did not hold themselves and the interests of their constituents too cheap. The Government's difficulty is the liberal's opportunity.

#### OFFICIAL RESIGNATIONS.

DURING the debate on the Class Areas Bill of South Africa in the Council of State last session, I happened to suggest that the difficulty in the way of the Indian case was so enormous that I could not see any prospect of arresting the attention of the British public until the advent of that great day when a Viceroy and his executive council would throw up their exalted offices on the express ground that they could no longer govern

India in the name of His Majesty, if His Majesty's Government could not protect Indians from ill-treatment at the hands of another class of His Majesty's subjects. Sir Muhammad Shafi thought it necessary to reply at some length the next day. His main point was that resignation would betray cowardice and amount to an admission of defeat. His Punjabi spirit would not tolerate such a proposal and he must repudiate it with scorn. I prefer to overlook the immediate application of my remark to himself and to his colleagues, though I had been careful to disavow it. It is necessary, however, to point out that, if his self-defence was well grounded, every resignation of office would be wrong. Sir K. Srinivasa Iyengar, member of the Madras executive council, resigned office because the local legislature refused him leave to introduce an irrigation bill. In a Minister it would have been taken as a matter of course, but the public applauded the action specially, as it indicated a voluntary submission to the legislature on the part of one who owed no responsibility except to the Crown. To members of executive councils all over India it would naturally have appeared a highly inconvenient precedent. But one does not remember that Sir K. Srinivasa Iyengar was blamed for cowardice in any quarter. When Messrs. Chintamani and Jagat Narain resigned last year from their positions as Ministers, some critics called them excessively sensitive, while others said that they had not adequate cause of action, but no whisper was heard of lack of courage. Personally I not only gave my thorough approbation, but greatly rejoiced to hear that at least one gentleman declined to take office after them, while the conditions remained unchanged. When the unaccountable prolongation of the martial law regime in the Punjab drove Sir Sankaran Nair out of the Government of India, a chorus of applause greeted his resignation of office in Indian circles, with muttered imprecations from Anglo-Indians; but if any one had hinted of Sir Sankaran's precipitate flight from the scene of battle, he would have been laughed to scorn. The cases of Sir Bampfylde Fuller and Lord Curzon were much debated at the time, because, while they regarded themselves as champions of a principle in danger, considerable sections of the public attributed their relinquishment of office more to personal pique than to anything else. But of neither did his worst enemy say that he abandoned his post in fear. Going yet further back in our history, the famous case of Lord Northbrook presents a meritorious instance of a Viceroy giving up his exalted office rather than be compelled to pursue a provocative policy towards Afghanistan which he considered improper, or to repeal the low duty on cotton imports which he and his council regarded as an unjust sacrifice of the interests of India to those of Lancashire. Who would dare to suggest a faintness of heart in the case of this high-souled Englishman? The equally honourable case of Sir Charles Trevelyan before him is an instance of recall rather than of resigna-

tion. In one attendant circumstance, it affords a striking parallel to the recent retirement of Mr. E. S. Montagu; the immediate cause of offence was the irregular publication of his protest against the piling up on the heads of the poor people of Madras of oppressive taxes, the most odious of which at the time was an income-tax. The high character and conspicuous ability of Sir Charles secured him a further spell of conspicuous office under the Crown. May we not look forward with confidence to a renewed career of distinction to Mr. Montagu? Even the tongue of envy has forborne to impute deficient moral courage in either case. In fact, Sir Muhammad Shafi may rest assured that not even in a college debate would he be stigmatised as a coward if he had thought it necessary to retire before his time whether on account of South Africa, or for some equally valid reason. On the contrary, there are circumstances common enough in the official world when a man may justly be accused of timidity or a feeble sense of public spirit for continuing in the service of Government. The public opinion of the great organised services is not a trustworthy guide for non-officials who obtain what may be called political appointments. Even in these services, however, as in two instances quoted above, there are limits beyond which compliance with orders from above becomes impossible to those whose conscience is fully developed. Two years ago, when the hope of developing our constitution by means of conventions was stronger than it is to-day, I remember unfolding to some English politicians a line of advance that had occurred to some of us as a practical anticipation of responsibility in the Central Government. This was to the effect that the executive councillors of the Viceroy chosen from the public life of the country should voluntarily assume responsibility to the Assembly; that is, should, as a rule of honour, submit their resignations whenever they would have done so if they had been regular Ministers chosen from the elected representatives of the people. The idea seemed to find favour. I see now what a lot of crude thinking in high circles would have to be eliminated before a convention of that kind could become established. Besides the fear, of which Sir Muhammad Shafi seemed to be a victim, there are certain other considerations that deter people from giving up office. One of these is the fear that Government would only find a successor too easily. Another is that that successor will not be so good as yourself. Against the latter fear no provision can possibly be made, for it is a morbid form of self-love which is part and parcel of our nature. The former arises from a misapprehension. No resignation, unless it be that of a whole battalion of officers, is ever recommended in the hope that Government would be put to a serious difficulty in filling up the vacancy. The effect intended is generally the satisfaction of one's own conscience or the vindication of a high principle. In cases similar to that which has given

rise to this discussion, an added motive is to disturb the general attitude in inattention, indifference or callousness on the part of those in whose hands lies the remedy of a great wrong or grievance. It is well known, for instance, that the British public is seldom roused to a sense of its duty to India till there is a mutiny, wide spread famine or catastrophic event of that kind. Such a mode of arresting public attention is beyond the reach of those who seek calculable results on the ordinary political plane. A surrender of high office as incompatible with honour or duty is an event comparable to a cabinet crisis and in the case of the Viceroy's council or of the Indian part of it, transcending a cabinet crisis as a portent of Imperial significance. No sordid or selfish consideration can attach to it. No desire to intimidate or paralyse administration can be supposed to inspire it. It can only mean that a great wrong has long defied ordinary treatment and now cries out for an extraordinary remedy.

The question—how can the Class Areas Bill in South Africa be affected by the rousing of the conscience of His Majesty's Government and the British public?—was not raised by Sir Muhammad Shafi. In fact he seemed to imply that the results wished for could be attained by persevering in the kind of representations that the Government of India have hitherto been making on the subject. Still, though he might not have raised it, the question must occur to any one who has followed the subject so far. I regret I cannot pursue the subject very far here. Two or three observations must conclude this article. In the first place, once the British public are convinced of the essentially unjust and invidious nature of the colour bar, they will not allow it to be applied as it is today under their authority in Kenya or any of the Crown colonies and dependencies. Secondly, South Africa being thus morally isolated, India should be left free to deal with her and for this purpose, if for nothing else, she must be raised to the full status of a self-governing dominion. Thirdly, India should be allowed freedom to examine the possibilities of the Covenant of the League of Nations in order to bring the conduct of South Africa before the bar of the world's public opinion, seeing that the "lesser league of nations" has confessed its impotence to deal with such internal squabbles.

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

#### NATIVE TRUSTEESHIP COMMITTEE.

THERE will shortly be two Committees at work in England on Kenya: first, the Committee appointed by the Government of India to confer with the Colonial Office with a view to revising the White Paper policy towards Indians, and, second, the Committee to be appointed by the Colonial Secretary for investigating the question as to how the principle of "native trusteeship" should be applied to Kenya. The first has already commenced work in London and is the one through which

we in India expect to see justice done to us. But in fact the second one, to which very little attention is paid in this country, is of greater consequence inasmuch as it will handle bigger problems, and may, if its personnel is well selected and its inquiry thorough and comprehensive, do more good to India than the Committee appointed in terms of the Imperial Conference resolution. For the Indian Committee presided over by Mr. Hope Simpson, has after all to negotiate afresh on the same old facts, and our hope of a better success this time depends on the grater show of political strength that we can make. But the African Committee will bring to light in an authoritative manner, almost for the first time so far as England is concerned, the cruel exploitation to which the original inhabitants of Kenya are subjected by the white settlers, and if, on the very basis of the White Paper policy which the Europeans hug to their bosoms, the Committee condemns the present methods of European farming, it will redeem the native Africans from semi-slavery and rescue Indians from white domination. Thus it may be that a Committee which is not directly concerned with Indian grievances will prove a more efficacious, though a less immediate, means of our obtaining a satisfaction of our demands. It is of course possible to be too sanguine even about this Committee, but in any case it will be a serious mistake on our part to disinterest ourselves in the proceedings of this Committee when we have such a splendid opportunity of hoisting our enemy with his own petard. The Committee, to command public confidence, must be composed of men like Messrs. E. D. Morel and John Harris and Lord Olivier. Officials or white settlers should have no place on it, but they, as well as the Africans and their champions, should be allowed to put forward their respective views before the Committee.

The charge which we have to bring against the whites' policy towards the natives is pithily expressed in one sentence by Mr. Morel: "There is no doubt that what between the taxation imposed, the whittling away of the native reserves, the Master and Servants Ordinance, and the Labourers Ordinance, you have a condition of affairs in Kenya which approximates to forced labour of a very bad kind." (House of Commons, March 3, 1924.) This is a charge which the white settlers will find it most difficult to disprove, and without pressure of one sort or another on the natives the farming operations of the whites in the uplands cannot continue. This is the cardinal factor in the situation, which we must utilise to our utmost advantage. In fact every time the cry of "Africa for the Africans" is raised, the Kenya Government and the Colonial Office experience a difficulty in justifying their proposals, and the selfishness of their general policy stands exposed. For instance, a grant-in-aid for railway expenditure in Kenya and Uganda, which came up for debate in the House of Commons, on February 25 and March 3 last, the Colonial Secretary could hardly

defend against attacks based on the principle of native interests being paramount. The railway extensions in question are ostensibly for the purpose of the development of cotton-growing. Now this is an object from which we need not withhold our sympathy, as cotton is a native-grown crop, and whatever tends to raise the status of the native from a wage earner to a primary producer must be welcomed. But the fact remains that the proposal of railway construction was considered by the Colonial Office primarily in the interest of England. Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the former Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, informed the House that the proposal came from the Unemployment Committee of the late Cabinet "for the purpose of securing orders for railway materials for shops in this country and so to relieve unemployment that something more should be done in East Africa for the opening up of the country by means of railway development." Mr. Thomas also had to recommend the vote to the House on the ground that "the building of these railways means immediate orders at home," and he added, "Let it be quite clear that the conditions are that the materials are to be ordered in this country." The development of cotton-growing is thus at best a secondary concern, but is even this secondary object steadily kept in view? Three feeder lines are to be constructed in Kenya ostensibly for the development of cotton-growing, for which £1,000,000 is set aside, but these lines seem to be made not so much for cotton-growing, as "in order to pass through great estates owned by the most influential people in the Colony." Sir Robert Hamilton, late Chief Justice of Kenya, thus described them: "There is a proposed line to Kitale, which is not in a cotton-growing country but in what might be called a white area. There is a proposed branch line to Solai, which is in a white area also, and to Nyeri, which is in a white area and not in cotton-growing country." All these branches will have the result of merely "increasing the wealth of European *concessionaires* at the expense of the public." As to the main extension of the Nakuru-Turbo line, intended to open up the Uasin Gishu plateau, it "was taken off," said Sir R. Hamilton, "about 50 miles further back at Nakuru, on the floor of the Rift Valley, and a new line was built parallel with the old line at a distance of only something like 10 miles from the old line. It ran along for .55 miles parallel to the old line to a point near the Mau escarpment, which perfectly easily could have been reached from the old line at much less expense." The line was thus diverted from its natural course so that it might go through territory, Mr. Hope Simpson observed, "which has been granted to European *concessionaires*, and granted on very favourable terms. There is one estate which, I believe, was granted on a quit rent of 1/4 d. an acre in perpetuity, and that grant was of 100,000 acres of land. Through that land this railway passes, with the result that the land is being offered to other settlers at from £2 to £6 an acre. Further on,

the railway passes through forest land, which is also granted to European *concessionaires*, and the net result of this traverse from the floor of the valley to the top of the plateau is to put into the pockets of European *concessionaires* large amounts of money owing to the expenditure on railways." There is of course no arrangement whereby the unearned increment in the value of the land will go to the benefit of the Colony instead of into the pockets of those who own the land." It will thus be seen that Mr. Hope Simpson was perfectly justified in describing this as a "scandal." This is but an instance of the way in which "native trusteeship" is in fact being interpreted by the Europeans.

When this ideal found mention in the White Paper and was used to counter Indian claims, it was hailed by the whites as but embodying in a formula the invariable practice of the European settlers, but now that the implications of the principle are fully brought out and insisted upon, the whites have begun to realise that this principle will be not their salvation but their undoing. Mr. A. Davis, the former editor of the *Leader*, draws attention to the serious peril involved in giving even lip-homage to the doctrine of "native trusteeship." It is high time, he says, that the colonists stoutly asserted their "inalienable right to control and to possession." "Why pretend," he says, "any other trust but to their posterity and those kith and kin who succeed them? In brief, why not point the way that this is a British colony and is never (as far as we can see) going to develop into a black preserve?" He states plainly why the whites gave countenance to the pronouncement last year. He observes: "In order to counter the Indian attack upon our colonisation the delegates fell in with the Imperial manoeuvre to sidetrack the issue upon another principle—more dangerous to future peace than the Indian peril—that of 'Africa for the Africans,' meaning the white Africans to be submerged—which they are not going to be." The *East African Standard* says the same thing. There is no need, it declares, for the appointment of a Committee for native trusteeship, according to this exponent of the settlers' views, only means in practice the development of the African so that he may become "a loyal and industrious asset to the British people." This is, in the conception of the whites, the highest position to which natives can aspire, viz. that they should become "loyal and industrial assets of the British peoples!" The "native trusteeship" Committee is thus capable of great possibilities for good directly for natives and, indirectly, for Indians, and we must make full use of it.

S. G. VAZE.

#### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, MAR. 13, 1924.

Sir Ali Imam and Sir Krishna Gupta have now arrived in London in connection with H. E. H. the

Nizam's claim for the restoration of Berar. The Government of India have still to communicate with the Secretary of State on the subject.

There have been several by-elections already, since Parliament resumed under the new dispensation. So far the most important has been that at Burnley, following the lamented demise of Mr. Dan Irving, who has been succeeded by that consistent failure at general elections but victor at by-elections, Mr. Arthur Henderson, who was "introduced" into the House by his two sons, surely a record in Parliamentary experience. Major Astor had an experience of another sort. He had inadvertently voted in the House without having taken the oath, and his seat was automatically vacated, he being still liable, unless and until an indemnity act is passed in his favour, to a heavy fine. He was yesterday re-elected for Dover without opposition, the Labour Party headquarters having signified their dissent from the proposal to oppose him. The latest by-election, and one that may well be of historical importance, is that for the Abbey Division of Westminster, a true-blue Tory constituency. Brigadier-general Nicholson was the former member. He died recently, leaving him surviving, as the lawyers say, a son who is quite undistinguished for public service. But he happens to be the son of his father and the local Conservatives were strongly of opinion that he should follow in his father's footsteps, in the matter of the representation of the division. The Conservative party, however, would have preferred Mr. Winston Churchill, who is standing as a "constitutional" candidate, with a strong anti-socialist bias. But the local organization would have none of this, with the result that the Conservatives are divided in their sympathies, if not in their allegiance to party headquarters. Mr. Churchill claims to have a great deal of party and non-party support, even though the official party chiefs have to shake their heads gravely at his candidature, which it is well known some of them would in private infinitely prefer. Mr. Churchill claims to remain a Liberal, but he is at loggerheads with the Liberal Party since they helped the Labour Party to come into office. That in his opinion was the great betrayal, and he is accordingly anathema to the official Liberals, who have put up an opposing candidate, Mr. Scott Duckers. Such conservatively inclined Liberals as Sir Edward Grigg are supporting Mr. Churchill, so that both Liberals and Conservatives are divided on the question of his candidature. There is yet another candidate in the field, Mr. Fenner Brockway, the well-known secretary of the Independent Labour Party, whose name is known in India through various press contributions.

Mr. Fenner Brockway has issued some interesting election literature in which, among other things, he points to the things that Labour has done during its six weeks of office. He speaks of the re-establishment of the prestige of Great Britain throughout the world and the creation of a new atmosphere in the realm of foreign affairs making

for the restoration of British trade; the recognition of the Russian Government; the preparation of a housing scheme by which houses will be made available at reasonable rents; support for a further extension of the Rent Restriction Acts; the extension of the Trade Facilities Act with a view to the stimulation of trade and employment, as an alternative to an indefinite continuance of the "dole"; the development of plans for the provision of work for the unemployed; the abolition of "gaps" in unemployed benefit; the rescinding of the inoperative Poplar Order and an undertaking to reform the Poor Law system; a definite undertaking to introduce a measure for a general 48 hours' working week; another undertaking to abolish the means limit for Old Age Pensions; the removal of ex-service men in asylums from Poor Law control; a further undertaking to diminish the size of classes in schools, to extend opportunities for higher education, and to abolish limitation of expenditure on meals for necessitous children; an undertaking to pass a measure for mothers' pensions, so soon as funds are available; the consideration of agriculture as a problem of first national importance, and as a first step, the announcement of a credit scheme to encourage scientific co-operation and the setting up of a Commission to inquire into the whole problem of the National Debt. I daresay that Mr. Brookway's opponents will have a good deal to say about the validity of some of his exclusive claims, but he is entitled to make the most of the situation. He quotes in favour of his candidature as a Labour representative Mr. J. L. Garvin's assertion that the average citizen is beginning "to wonder whether either Unionists or Liberals in their moral disarray are fit to govern and whether Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has not created a more reasonable and efficient administration than any of his rivals in the present state of their political education could be trusted to provide". The contest will be short and sharp. I am inclined to think that Mr. Churchill, who has the strongest personality of any of the candidates, is likely to win. But he has his own record to contend against, and his turn-coat past is being brought up against him by the "Morning Post", through the assistance of Mr. H. W. Massingham, who has joined the Labour Party, and is Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's principal unofficial helper in the conduct of foreign affairs.

Lord Olivier moved this week in the House of Lords for the appointment of a Joint Standing Committee of Parliament on Indian Affairs, with the same terms of reference as those of the last Committee. The message has come to the Commons, and the Committee, it is expected, will shortly be appointed. I understand that it is against the practice for members of the Government to be appointed to the Committee. Whether this practice will be strictly observed remains to be seen. It will be difficult to observe it so far as the Lords' representation is concerned, since the only peers that are not members of the Government are Lords Kimberley and Russell, who know

nothing about the subject and are not known to be interested in it. It is possible that one of the Labour peers appointed will be Earl de la Warr, who has been appointed one of the Lords in Waiting to the King. He is a young and enthusiastic social reformer, and has for long been keenly interested in India. His mother, Muriel, Countess de la Warr, an old friend of Mrs. Besant, and her prospective hostess here, is well-known in Indian circles for her quiet but practical sympathy with Indian work and propaganda in this country. She is a member of the Committee of the British Auxiliary of the National Conference of India, presided over recently by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and is a member of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. Lords Clwyd and Meston are fairly certain to be appointed, but the other members are not yet indicated. Col. Wedgwood and Mr. Spoor are not likely, in the circumstances, to have seats on the Joint Standing Committee. On the other hand, Mr. Hope Simpson and Col. Meyler may quite well be found there. The third Liberal will probably be either Sir Robert Hamilton or Sir Edward Grigg. The latter, however, is not in good odour just now, in Liberal circles in view of his public support of Mr. Churchill. The Labour members will include Mr. Lansbury, Mr. Snell and Mr. Scurr. The fourth member may be Mr. Jack Mills. Probably, the Conservative panel will now include once more Mr. Ormsby Gore, who is still very friendly save in the score of Kenya, where he has adopted a strong pro-native attitude which, he seems to think, necessarily implies one of hostility to the Indian claims, which he ought to know are in no way opposed to native interests but only to the egregious demands of the white settler oligarchy, to whose pretensions he is equally opposed.

Speaking at Swindon, the other night, Col. Wedgwood spoke some home truths to an audience that had helped to send the notorious Mr. Mitchell-Banks to Parliament. It was inevitable, he said, that, as the old prehistoric ideal of governors and governed broke down and were replaced by conceptions of the equal rights of citizens, violent friction should take place. Authority did not resign easily. We had tried to govern America too long, and the folly of George III and Lord North had cut us off from union with America. We had tried to govern Ireland too long, and a stupid and brutal war had left hatred between the races where concord and respect should have prevailed, had Gladstone and the progressive men of 1885 been allowed to have their way. Were we, he asked, going to sacrifice our future relations with Indians also, through the blindness of those who would not learn from history or understand the natural evolution of democracy? Thanks to the vision and understanding of another great though hated Liberal—Mr. Montagu—we had set India on the peaceful path towards self-government. The die had been cast; nothing that the old governors could do now could stop India securing some day Dominion. Home Rule; all parties were pledged to it.

But the relations between the two races during the testing-time would influence vitally the manner and temper of the separation. We were distrusted in India. We must get into touch again. We did not want to be governors; we wanted a union of free peoples. They did not want to be governed; they wanted to develop in safety and be sure of our goodwill. It could not be beyond the wit of man to devise satisfactory assurances and friendly relations between two equally inexperienced and equally struggling democracies. It illustrated the difficulties to be faced by peacemakers when one learnt that the speech of Mr. Mitchell-Banks, the member for Swindon, listened to with loathing and disgust in a Conservative House of Commons, was translated verbatim into Hindi and Urdu and circulated throughout India by the hundred thousand in order to create race-hatred as a sample of what Englishmen really thought of Indians. That must stop. We could not risk turning India into another Ireland.

The Cabinet Committee on India that has been set up has an unknown personnel, though probably it will be presided over by Lord Olivier. It should enable the friends of India within the Cabinet to make their influence better felt, and it is evidence that the Cabinet is seriously considering the steps to be taken to bring about better relations between the leaders of both countries. This was clearly indicated in Mr. Richards's reply to questions last Monday. But why did he make the stupid blunder of attempting to commit the Government to the view that no investigation into the need of constitutional reforms could be considered ahead of 1929?

#### REVIEW.

**INDIAN PHILOSOPHY VOL. I.** By R. S. RADHA KRISHNAN, King George V Professor of Philosophy, University of Calcutta. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London, 1923) 21 s. net.

A FAIRLY good number of Indian thinkers and scholars have recently been devoting their time and energy to the study of Sanskrit Literature in the light of modern criticism and writing books on Indian Philosophy in English. In our opinion none of them has succeeded to such an extent as Professor Radha Krishnan. His book under review is very well written. He has treated the various periods and schools of Indian Philosophy with care and sympathetic insight, and has throughout scrupulously avoided the partisan spirit. Dealing with a variety of subject-matter he has adopted the western method of criticism and of balancing and arranging facts. In fact, in doing so he has sometimes gone too far, losing sight for the moment that every system of philosophy should have its own method and that it is no use trying to stretch certain characteristically Indian points of view to purely western ones.

"Philosophy in India is essentially spiritual" says the learned author in his introduction. In other words, we can safely assume that some of the teachings of the Vedas and the Upanishads cannot possibly be understood in the true sense of the word without spiritual realization. To a mere intellectual man they do not convey more than surface meaning: unless the heart is purified, mind controlled, senses subdued and an intense desire for higher spiritual life is cultivated no one can fully realize the inner significance and meaning of any of the ancient scriptures which are mostly written in the form of aphorisms—sūtras.

In the second chapter of the Vedic period, while discussing the teaching of the Vedas the author has appropriately quoted Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh, the great Indian scholar-mystic, who "is of opinion that the Vedas are replete with suggestions of secret doctrines and mystic philosophies. He looks upon the gods of the hymns as symbols of the psychological functions. Surya signifies intelligence, Agni will, and Soma feeling." Instead of accepting this interpretation as by far the most sensible, intelligible and compatible one with the ancient symbolical method of spiritual culture, the Professor "hesitates to take his lead" and prefers to be guided by the modern views of the European scholars and the traditional interpretation of Sayana who was admittedly learned in the Vedic lore but was not reputed to be deeply spiritual also. It is one thing to be a scholar and another thing to be a spiritual seer, who alone can unravel the deeper and underlying meaning of some of the seemingly meaningless terms and phraseology. In the same period the fourth chapter on the philosophy of the Upanishads is exquisitely designed and executed. Its exposition is the best that we have yet seen. The treatment is not only sympathetic but comprehensive. We may add it is also free from preconceptions. A few suitable quotations from this chapter will bear out our statement.

IX "The infinite is not beyond the finite but in the finite." "The identity between the subject and the object was realized in India before Plato was born."

XI Creation—"Anand cannot be the end of evolution unless it was also the beginning of it."

XV The Ethics of the Upanishads.—The Upanishads require us to work but disinterestedly. The righteous man is not he who leaves the world and retires to a cloister, but he who lives in the world and loves the objects of the world, not for their own sake but for the sake of the infinite they contain, the universal they conceal."

"The false asceticism which regards life as a dream and the world as an illusion, which has obsessed some thinkers in India as well as in Europe, is foreign to the prevailing tone of the Upanishads. A healthy joy in the life of the world pervades the atmosphere."



The whole philosophy of the Upanishads tends towards the softening of the divisions and the undermining of class hatreds and antipathies. God is the inner soul of all alike."

The second part of the book deals with the Epic Period from 600 B. C. to 200 A. D. Chapter V gives a short and clear account of materialism which is supposed to be the result of 'intellectual stir' in ancient India. This school of thought affords no inferior parallel to some aspects of materialistic philosophy in vogue in western countries. In every age there were men who looked upon the outer phenomenal world as the only reality and were thus content to enjoy their life to its fullest capacity.

Chapter VI of this period is devoted to the Pluralistic Realism of the Jains and we find that the author has successfully assimilated and explained the subtleties of Jaina doctrines. Most of the books of Jainism are still untranslated into English, and the Professor has made good use of books that are available. The life of Vardhamana deserves to be fully delineated.

Chapter VII deals with the Ethical Idealism of early Buddhism. Then follow two chapters on 'Buddhism as a Religion' and 'the schools of Buddhism', with which the first volume concludes.

Whatever importance may be attached to what is called historic sequence, it stands to reason that the various aspects of Buddhism as religion and philosophy should have been placed one after the other forming one complete whole. In any case to treat of Buddhist Philosophy before the epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata or the Theism of the Bhagavadgita, does not appear to us to be a good arrangement.

Chapter IX expounds in a most lucid manner the Theism of the Bhagavadgita and this, to our mind, is by far the best portion of the book. It points out the value and importance of the Lord's Song in Indian thought and its essential relation to the Vedas and the Upanishads. In the first part of this chapter the author has discussed the views of oriental scholars and savants on this sublime treatise and in the latter half he has dealt with it from the purely Indian point of view. In the course of this chapter he has made certain statements with which we do not agree. The Professor says, "It did not destroy altogether false modes of worship." But to barrow Christian phraseology, we may reply, it came to fulfil not to destroy. It was not meant to destroy anything because in the author's own words it is "universal in its significance and application".

Manu and his laws have not been fully discussed in this book.

While fully appreciating the merits of this great work and paying its brilliant author due meed of praise, we cannot help remarking that in his zeal for modernity he has leaned too much on the views of

western scholars and has not taken his stand on the fact that Indian philosophy, like Greek and German philosophy, must have its own characteristic genius and must necessarily differ in its outlook on life. The ancient Indian sages and thinkers were not content with mere intellectual satisfaction but tried to enter into the heart of a problem by means of direct spiritual realization—a method which is still tabooed and looked at askance by western people.

Indian Philosophy will not gain in importance and value by accepting the western method of criticism. There are certain passages in the course of the book which also reveal the author's independence of thought, his bold conception, and unusual insight into the meaning of certain problems of life and the light thrown on them by ancient thinkers. For all this Professor Radha Krishnan deserves our heartiest congratulations.

M. H. SYED.

#### MISCELLANEA.

##### LORD OLIVIER'S SPEECH.

The *East African Standard* of the 15th March contains the following report of a speech by Lord Olivier regarding India and Kenya:—

Speaking at a local Labour party meeting at Banbury, the district in which he lives, Lord Olivier, the Secretary of State for India, dealt with Indian problems as follows:—

He, as they would be aware, had been appointed Secretary of State for India—(applause)—and it just happened that he had come into the India Office at about the busiest week or fortnight of the year—when the legislative assembly for India was holding its first meetings, and he had had to be in constant communication with the Viceroy on matters of policy, etc. The greatest difficulty they had to contend with in connection with India at the present time was the increasing determination of the Swarajists, not only to abstain from taking part in public business, but taking up an attitude of obstruction.

As it was only four years since reforms were introduced to pave the way for complete self-government and Dominion status for India, it was surprising to find such a great amount of bitterness and distrust as was shown at the present elections. He had been at some pains to try to find out the real cause of this. The manifesto of the Swarajists, or self-rule party, based the whole of its policy of obstruction on the definite statement that they believe the British Government is entirely insincere in its intentions to remedy grievances and to give India a progressive constitution with a view to Dominion status.

They believed it to be the intention to retain India as a field for British capital as a subservient country. The speaker reminded them that not only was it the intention of the present Government to confer self-government upon India, but it had been the intention of the previous administration to carry on the reforms indicated by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. There was, he explained, the need for a transitional period, in which greater autonomy was given to the local legislators with the object of enabling them to acquire greater experience in administration, and the attempt to destroy this made it difficult to judge clearly how the system had worked or how it should be modified.

He had found a reason for the change of attitude. Dissatisfaction arose largely from local causes of irritation, etc., but generally the attitude appeared to have been influenced by two

things. One was the statement made by Mr. Lloyd George that the Indian Civil Service, partially British, would continue always to remain part of the settled form of Indian administration. This gave great offence, but the thing which had caused the greatest displeasure was the negotiations which took place last year with regard to Kenya Colony, in British East Africa. This colony had been largely made by Indians. They built its railways, developed its trade, and built up considerable prosperity.

Last year there was a conference with a view to a modification of the constitution, and in modifying the constitution the line was taken that distinction as regards British citizenship must be drawn in a British Crown Colony between different races; that was to say, the Indian race and the British race were to be regarded as citizens of different orders. This was an entirely new principle which they had never had before, except in such colonies as South Africa, where there was a policy of race ascendancy.

What shocked Indian sentiment was the principle of race distinction, that there should be two kinds of British citizens—one the white man and the other the Indian. It was this that had given most dangerous offence throughout India, and there was no subject which had so troubled the most liberal statesmen of India as this distinction drawn up in the reconstitution of Kenya. This was one of the troubles with which he and Mr. Tomas had to deal.

The Indians contended that we made them a promise of equal citizenship two years ago in Kenya, and had now set up racial distinctions. He was perfectly convinced that if they wanted to break up the British Empire they would go back on what had hitherto been their policy of making no distinction between citizenship on grounds of race or colour—(applause). In his own office he had been brought face to face with Indian problems at very short notice and the same remarks applied to other Ministers. Fortunately, one way or another, all of them were, more or less, accustomed to administration, being, contrary to the view generally held by the public, pretty well qualified and not the least afraid of their jobs and perfectly well able to occupy their positions. But to do all that was necessary in a fortnight, in time to allow Mr. MacDonald to make his appearance in the House with some sort of a programme was a somewhat feverish and hectic business.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

AT the time of our going to press a Royal Commission<sup>no report has yet reached India of the debate on</sup> no report has yet reached India of the debate on Viscount Curzon's motion regarding the policy of the present Government towards India, which was to take place in Parliament on Tuesday last. But a special cable sent on the eve of the debate by Major Graham Pole to the *Indian Daily Mail* says that the Liberal amendment to Viscount Curzon's motion, asking for the appointment of "a Commission with wide terms of reference to enquire into the facts on the spot, review the working of the Reforms, and report what action, whether legislative or administrative, is required to carry out the expressed intention of the British Government that the Reforms constitute a definite step towards ultimate Dominion Self-Government in the Empire"—will be supported by the Labour Party. The London correspondent of the *Voice of India* has also cabled that the appointment of a Royal Commission is a certainty. He adds further that "the Premier's denial of invitations having been sent to Mr. Gandhi and other leaders is only formal and the matter is under consideration in connection with the appointment of the Commission." We believe these forecasts by men who are in close touch with Labour and Liberal M. P.'s will prove correct, and hope that Messrs. Gandhi and Motilal Nehru or any other leaders of non-co-operators and Swarajists who may be chosen will agree to serve on the Commission, and the harmful policy of wrecking the councils will be abandoned. This Commission will of course deprive the unwanted official enquiry by the Government of India of all its importance. Our readers may here be reminded that a resolu-

tion urging the immediate appointment of a Commission of this kind was adopted by the Liberal Federation which met last Christmas in Poona, and that it was moved by Mr. Sastri and seconded by Dr. Paranjpye.

\* \* \*

THE proposal for a federation of all the East African territories, which is much talked about in Kenya in private circles, was formally put forward by Sir Sydney Henn in a resolution in the House of Commons on the 8th inst. He moved immediately for a co-ordination of policy on railway, customs, &c. so that it might lead eventually to a political union. A common policy in regard to certain services in these countries is no doubt desirable, but the "Kenyaisation" of the administration of Uganda, Tanganyika, etc. (as the federation proposal was rightly interpreted by a member of Parliament the other day) we must stoutly oppose. There is no reason to introduce into these countries the bitter race hatred which unfortunately prevails in Kenya to-day. Even now Indians are suffering unnecessary hardships because the White Paper policy which has been drafted with the peculiar conditions of Kenya in mind is supposed to be applicable to Uganda also, though the conditions there are entirely different. The acute controversy with which the problem of Kenya Colony is surrounded arises from the fact that the whites can permanently reside in that Colony. If the British Government cannot rise superior to a spirit of partisanship in the case of those Britishers who have made Kenya their home, why should it extend this spirit to those colonies where the whites can never be either a large or permanent element in the population? Our aim must be at least to isolate other colonies from Kenya and to resist all attempts to bring them under a common administration, dominated by the Kenya spirit. Of the same character is the proposal made in some quarters to detach the Highlands of Tanganyika from that country and amalgamate them with the Highlands of Kenya, endowing this white enclave with a separate self-governing administration. All these proposals, if given effect to, will have disastrous results, but we do not take them very tragically because Tanganyika being a Mandated territory, it cannot be brought under the same administration as other territories, and the non-inclusion of Tanganyika knocks the bottom out of the whole idea.

**Fasting at Vaikom.** WE trust the Satyagrahis of Vaikom will accept Mr. Gandhi's advice and abandon the foolish practice of *dharna*—fasting and sitting in the sun—in order to induce the Travancore Government to yield, as a result of which several volunteers swooned and had to be removed. In offering this advice Mr. Gandhi explains that fasting as a weapon of Satyagraha may be employed for reforming friends and those that love you, but not against tyrants and those that want to punish you. His fasting for reforming his followers when they became violent in Bombay and elsewhere was all right, he says, but there would have been no sense in his fasting for reforming General Dyer. Without admitting that fasting is legitimate or efficacious in reforming friends, one may agree with Mr. Gandhi that it will never reform a Government—call it tyrant or what you will—and ought not to be allowed to do so. Otherwise there would be no end to the tyranny that fasting would inflict. There is no analogy in the present case even with hunger strike. Those who go on hunger strike are aware that if their health suffers beyond a certain degree, the jail authorities, or whoever else are responsible for restricting their liberty, are bound to let them go. There is certainly heroism in fasting, but that does not justify, ethically or politically its employment in political struggles. If the Travancore police refuse to arrest the volunteers and at the same time not allow them to enter the street, the only right course for them, as pointed out by Mr. Gandhi, is to wait there in batches and try to tire out the police. The fault seems to be in the psychology of the volunteers and those that have led them hitherto. What they are after seems to be martyrdom in fanatical zeal, rather than the sober and firm assertion of a civic right. The hunger for martyrdom is natural in youths and in some abnormal persons who occasionally may prove to be geniuses. Nevertheless it is a feeling which ought to be kept under lock and key and brought out only very rarely. Since the above was in type the news has come that fasting has been abandoned.

**Shameful** WHILE this Satyagraha is going on at Vaikom to enforce the right of way of the low caste Hindus to a public road, it is not a little curious, nay audacious, that certain Brahmins of a street in Tinnevely should have prevented the servants of the municipality from repairing the street, on the ground that the coolies were low caste Hindus, and that they should have written to the authorities either to send coolies of the clean castes or not to repair the street at all, as if it existed solely for their own convenience. Of course the municipal council is not going to put up with their nonsense, and there has been a proposal to prosecute them; but it is certainly disgraceful that so late in the day these Brahmins should have assumed this attitude, and what is more, that they should have found some supporters in the municipal council. If these Brahmins wish to be so orthodox and ceremonially pure, why do they choose to live in municipalities, instead of retiring to inaccessible forests? We believe these

same Brahmins would have no objection to sit in a coach which is driven by an "unclean" Hindu or by a non-Hindu. And such an instance occurs, though happily only in an obscure corner, when our countrymen are subjected abroad by white colonials to similar indignities and the whole nation as a body is protesting against them! Oh, the shame of it!

**Medical Examination of Students.** THE Senate of the Mysore University has passed a resolution requiring every University student, whether male or female, to undergo a thorough medical examination twice during the course, once in the first term of the first year course and the second time in the second term of the third year, i. e., before the student leaves college. It should be explained here perhaps that the University course there for B. A. is one of three years, one year after matriculation being spent in a continuation class in a high school, a system which is recommended by the Calcutta University Commission. This is no doubt an improvement on the present state of things, but we fear that by itself it will not achieve much good result. When the first examination shows a student's health and physique to be below par—and we fear it will be so with a large proportion of students—there should be some arrangement which compels him or her to come up to the required standard within a reasonable time. We would suggest that those who fail to come up to the standard should not be promoted to the next higher class or allowed to appear for the degree examination. Another method would be to institute minimum tests which would show that those who pass them are physically fit. Such a test for American high school students suggests

Pull up (Chinning)	... 9 times.
Running high jump	... 4 ft. 4 ins.
220 yards run	... 28 seconds.

In our country where physical education is woefully neglected we want such tests in the colleges, as well as in the high schools. We hope the example of the Mysore University, even as regards medical examination of students, will be followed by the other Universities of our country.

**The Poona Seva Sadan.** THE following paragraph, appreciative of the Poona Seva Sadan, is taken from the latest quinquennial report on the progress of education in India:—"Remarkable success has attended the efforts of the Seva Sadan Society at Poona. Its activities are manifold. It has Vernacular and English classes, work-room classes, music classes, a college for the training of primary teachers, first aid and home nursing classes, and classes for the training of nurses and midwives with hostels attached to them. It has over one thousand women and girls in its Poona branch in the various departments of whom 190 live in the four hostels. A large number of those who attend the classes are married women of the working class who come in for two or three hours daily in the morning or evening. The institution has branches in Bombay and Satara. Its aim is to 'foster among women ideas of social usefulness and national service suited to the requirements of the country.' Credit for the wonderful success which it has achieved must largely be ascribed to the Secretary, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, of the Servants of India Society. The institution has no counterpart in any other part of India."

## TO EX-MINISTERS.

No one who lives in India, or visits it with eyes open can fail to gauge accurately the intense political feeling of ever-widening circles of people. Manifestations of this feeling are not the same as in England, nor can they be measured by the same standards. Especially is this the case with regard to the efforts made from time to time to interest the British public in Indian affairs or influence the action of Parliament, the Cabinet or the India Office. The great distance, the restricted means of the politically-minded classes and their comparative inexperience of the art of political campaigning account for the utterly inadequate efforts made at the seat of Empire to keep the authorities alive to the changing situation in this country. To these causes must now be added the new attitude of revolt at the very idea of having to seek political emancipation and communal salvation at the hands of another people, separated, not only by wide stretches of land and water, but by religion, language and culture. The non-co-operation movement, which has greatly strengthened, if it has not actually generated, this attitude of revolt, tends to choke the channels through which Indian discontent might find safe and legitimate discharge, such as is contemplated by the British polity.

The present juncture is one of those occasions when in the natural course of things India should have an agency of her own, equipped with ample resources, for conducting her propaganda with maximum efficiency in London. The Swarajists, having made an unprecedented stir in the legislatures of the land, will apparently do nothing to make this stir felt at the seat of Empire. The ill-effects of this mistaken policy may be checked in part if the other political parties in the country realise that the burden resting on them is increased in proportion. The Liberal party, badly beaten at the polls, must pull itself together at this crisis and deserve well of the country by serving her in a sphere where the field is free of competitors. When we bear in mind the nature of the mission, which the deputation about to leave for England has to fulfil, there is a consideration which gives the duty of the Liberals a compelling character. One of the main reforms to be urged on the London authorities is the establishment of complete provincial autonomy. The case for this political advance is often made to rest by party advocates on the complete failure of the dual system of administration in the provinces. Judicious criticism would base the claim rather on the imperfections and proved defects of an altogether novel and untried partition of administrative functions between agencies with different ideals and responsibilities. The theoretical reasoning by which this thesis may be maintained would require at every turn to be supported by the actual facts of experience afforded by the operation of the new scheme during

the last three years. In one sense this experience is, no doubt public property, but the key to its exact interpretation and appraisal is in the hands of a few members of the Liberal party who have been privileged, as Ministers in charge of transferred departments, to operate the machinery as it were from the inside. We must of course exclude those who are at the present moment actually in office; but there are quite a decent number in a position of comparative freedom, whom their countrymen may well expect to undertake in person the advocacy of the national cause on this momentous occasion. They were traduced and held up to public odium as self-seeking place-hunters, but they assumed great responsibility at the call of duty and, be it said to their lasting credit, proved the competency of the intelligentsia of this country to shoulder the burden of administration. They must now place their first-hand knowledge of the new regime at the disposal of those in whose hands, whether we like it or not, rests in part the political future of India. We trust they will volunteer their services as members of some political deputation or other, unless the circumstances of any particular case forbid even a brief absence from India. We will not at present add more. Individual reputation, party interest and the good of the country, all alike call aloud for their services.

So far public announcement has been made of the following names for the deputations: Dr. Annie Besant, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. A. Ranganadham Mudaliar, and Mr. R. Shanmugam Chettiar. The reader will see at once that all but one are Madrasis, and not one is ex-Minister. Of this last class Lala Harkishen Lal is already in England, and ill-health might deprive us of the services of Mr. Chintamani which would otherwise be of the utmost value, in fact almost unrivalled. The other names that occur to us are Mr. P. C. Mitter, Sir K. V. Reddi, Mr. M. S. Das, Mr. N. K. Kelkar, Mr. D. M. Chitnavis, Dr. Paranjpye, Pandit Jagat Narain. Although not ex-Minister, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, who was executive councillor in the new regime, would be a tower of strength with his uncommon ability and commanding position in the Liberal party.

## THE MADRAS HINDU RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS BILL.

LORD Willingdon is to be congratulated on having assured himself that the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Bill got into the Statute book before he relinquished office. It has not yet received the Governor General's assent, it is true, but there is no reason to suppose that it will be withheld. The Bill was passed by the legislative council in April last year, but there was a wide-spread agitation against it by the interests affected by its provisions, who raised the familiar cry of "religion in danger" and waited in deputation on the Vice-

roy, praying him to set it aside. At the same time a split occurred in the Ministerial party which weakened the position of the Ministers and particularly that of the Chief Minister who was responsible for the Bill, and as the elections were close at hand the latter did not care to spoil the chances of his party by appearing to push vigorously through its last stages what was undoubtedly disliked by a considerable section of the voters. In fact, at one time it looked as though the Bill had been abandoned. And it was only after the old Ministerial party had been returned once more to office, though weakened to some extent, that the announcement was made that the Bill would be returned in part to the council for reconsideration. It was actually returned with a message from the Governor only on the 17th March, a supplementary message was sent on the 1st April, the returned Bill with the message was considered and passed, a large section of the House taking objection to the procedure and terms of the message, and the Governor gave his assent to the Bill soon after, the whole business being got through in a few days. Not only the object and provisions of the Bill but also several constitutional points that cropped up during its recent discussion have combined to invest the history of its last stage with considerable interest for the general reader.

The alterations made by the Governor in the Bill were not many. One excluded the presidency town of Madras from its operations. This was considered necessary for a purely legal reason: that the local legislature was not competent to affect the jurisdiction of the High Court. The object of the other alterations was to restore the jurisdiction of the court, which had been specifically removed by the Bill with the object of lessening litigation. This is an important change. It had been pressed in the council last year when the Bill was under discussion and had been rejected. It was obviously restored owing to pressure from the Governor General at the instance of the critics of the Bill. It is an important deduction from the powers which the Bill had conferred on the Board. Nevertheless, it is not likely to affect the utility of the legislation, while it has the advantage of allaying the fears of some people who did not have sufficient faith in the impartiality of the Board. The position of the latter now is similar to that of the Board of Charities in England, on whose analogy the Board in the Bill has been created. In England though the courts and the Board of Charities have concurrent jurisdiction, the latter has proved so impartial and convenient from every point of view that nobody now resorts to the former. The object of the English legislation was identical with the object of the Madras Bill, viz. the regulation and supervision of the management of charitable institutions and the prevention of litigation, and it has been achieved by the gradual growth of public confidence in the Board of Charities. The same result may be expected in Madras when the public have had suffi-

cient experience of the Board created by the Bill. It will no doubt take some time for this confidence to grow, but the delay need not be regretted since it will enable the confidence to go naturally.

When the returned Bill was under discussion in the beginning of this month, the opposition did not much concern themselves with the alterations that had been made by the Governor but concentrated on the procedure adopted by him. Under Section 81 A of the Government of India Act the Governor had returned the Bill for reconsideration by the council with certain recommendations of his own. The objection was raised that the present council was different from the last council since a general election had intervened, and that a council which had not considered the Bill could not obviously reconsider it. The analogy of the British Parliament was quoted in support of the view that bills of one council had no life for a succeeding one. The action of the Governor therefore was *ultra vires*. The Advocate General and the Law Member, however, held the view—and this was accepted by the President of the council—that the character of the Indian councils was not the same as that of the British Parliament, for while the latter was determined partly by statute and partly by convention, the former was governed altogether by statute, and that the Government of India Act looked upon the Indian councils as corporate bodies with continual existence like municipalities or companies, unaffected by change of personnel. This view was further supported by the fact that before the amendment of the Government of India Act in 1919—which amendment only enlarged and widened the powers of the councils and did not alter their original character—the members of a legislative council were formally described as “additional” members of the Governor’s Council (the Executive Council) to assist in legislation. As the Law Member said, it may not be a convenient position, and it may be desirable to alter it, but under the existing law it is the position, whether one likes it or not. This is an important decision affecting all councils, and it remains to be seen whether any attempt will be made by Government or private members to have the position altered.

But, argued the opposition, after the Bill was passed by the council last year and while it was awaiting the Governor General’s assent, a general election had taken place at which the Bill was an issue before the electors and a mandate had been given them—at any rate some of them—to oppose the Bill outright. If the whole Bill was not returned to the council for reconsideration but only certain sections and clauses and they voted on them, it would mean that they approved of the principles of the Bill and the provisions of the other sections. It was therefore not fair, they said, to return only part of the Bill. In reply to this objection it was pointed out to them that since the acceptance by the council of the alterations proposed by the Governor was necessary for giving his assent to the Bill, they could bring in a blocking motion

or throw out the alterations and thus achieve their object. Accepting this suggestion, they brought in a blocking motion, urging the postponement of the consideration of the matter for a year, but after being talked to and voted upon the motion was defeated. The division list showed that the majority of the elected Hindu members, and indeed of all elected members, were in favour of the blocking motion; but they were not more numerous than the other elected and nominated Hindu members. After this defeat most of the opposition, walked out of the council, so that the amendments were passed *nem con*. Some members, however, remained neutral, though of the Ministerial party, as they did not approve of the amendments. It would not be correct to infer from this that the majority of the electors are opposed to the Bill, whether as passed last year or as now amended by the Governor. For a good number of those who voted for the blocking motion did so as a protest against the procedure adopted by the Governor; indeed, the proposer of the motion, the Raja of Ramnad, admitted in so many words that the alterations recommended by the Governor had made the Bill more acceptable to him—and he had supported it last year. If, instead of the procedure now adopted by the Governor, a new Bill had been introduced, the result in the present council would not probably have been different, but it would have entailed considerable delay and added to acrimonious discussion in the council, which for some time has been rather pronounced and it would have also artificially stimulated agitation in the districts. A chivalrous Government or a Governor anxious to follow closely the model of the British Parliament may have caused a new Bill to be introduced, but Lord Willingdon and his Ministers cannot be blamed for fully utilising the provisions of the Government of India Act.

Serious trouble was about to arise over the wording of the supplementary message sent by Lord Willingdon on the 1st April. (Perhaps the wording became unhappy on account of the date of its delivery.) The message said, "he is unable to allow discussion on any further amendments save those which are indicated in the message." It was at once pointed out that the Governor was interfering with the rights of the members to move amendments and also usurping the functions of the President, who alone was competent to allow or disallow discussion on any point. The Law Member, however, tactfully averred what would undoubtedly have been a very unpleasant discussion by suggesting the interpretation that the message did not mean to interfere with the rights of members or the privileges of the President, but only said that any other amendments than those proposed by the Governor would not be acceptable to him, and so it would only be waste of time to propose them.

### FORCED LABOUR CONDITIONS.

#### IS ANY MITIGATION CONTEMPLATED?

THE case of the natives of Kenya against the white settlers and their Government is that by a series of legislative and administrative measures a system of compulsory labour is put in force there, and a most important task before what one may call the Native Trusteeship Committee, which Mr. Thomas has promised to appoint, will be to examine the validity of this contention. Of the laws which contribute to this result, viz., forced labour, the two most important are the Masters and Servants Ordinance and the Natives Registration Ordinance. We now understand that the Governor of Kenya is at present considering whether one of these laws cannot be repealed, and since we may be certain that in the event of its repeal the whites will maintain that a new era has now dawned for the African native, we in India, upon whom the reaction of any change in the native policy is bound to be great, should be prepared correctly to appreciate the significance of this event. The news of the possibility of repeal is contained in the answer to the following question put in the House of Commons on February 18:

Mr. Morel asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the recent declaration of His Majesty's Government that the administration of the Colony of Kenya shall be based upon the principle of trusteeship for the native population he will consider the repeal of the Registration of Labourers Act which requires of the adult male inhabitants of the Colony the possession of identification papers, failure to carry which by day or by night is treated as a crime involving arrest and imprisonment, and which the Chief Native Commissioner has reported is detested by the native population; and will he take steps to rescind the Clause in the Masters and Servants Ordinance which makes desertion from the European planter or farmer a criminal offence cognisable by the police.

Mr. Thomas: The Governor was consulted last August about the Native Registration Ordinance and the Clause in the Masters and Servants Ordinance. He is considering the repeal of the Clause in the Masters and Servants Ordinance to which my hon. Friend refers. The registration certificate would remain only as a passport or certificate of identity and a record of employment. As such it will be of equal value to native workers and to their employers.

The repeal of the relevant sections in the Masters and Servants Ordinance is not yet decided upon; it is only under consideration. But when and if it comes about, will it put an end to forced labour or will it at any rate mitigate the worst evils of that system? To answer this question, we must review, however briefly, the past history of the labour conditions in Kenya. European settlement in this colony commenced immediately after the completion of the Uganda Railway in 1902 and at once there was a great demand for native labour which the Government took upon itself to supply. The result was that a tremendous pressure was put upon the natives, so much so that it was universally recognised that under official auspices forced labour was in use. In 1907, however, under instructions from England the system of official recruit-



ing for private employers had to be discontinued, and then labour difficulties became very acute. The serious shortage of labour that was experienced at the time was met by District Officers "encouraging" headmen to supply labour. This encouragement amounted to compulsion in practice, and there was thus little substantial difference between this system and that which obtained before 1907. Complaints arose both from employers and employed,—complaints of flogging, withholding of wages, bad and insufficient food, etc. on one side, and bad work, desertion, etc. on the other—and to meet them the Government passed the Master and Servants Ordinance in 1910. Though this law professed to be reciprocal in its application, in actual practice it rarely operated against the whites and even the most brutal form of ill-treatment of natives went unpunished. Nor were the employers by any means satisfied with the provisions of the law. Their contention was that while the Ordinance could enforce obligations attaching to the employers there was no practical remedy supported by the law against the desertion of labourers. And desertion was no doubt common. It could not be otherwise when wholesale compulsion was used in recruiting labour. Many of the men forcibly recruited intended from the beginning to run away, and even while they remained on the farms they did only the minimum amount of work that saved them from flogging. Such desertions can stop only when compulsion stops, but the white employers suggested the remedy of the enactment of a Pass Law.

The Government yielded to the pressure of the settlers, and, without putting a stop to virtual compulsion, gave them the remedy they were clamouring for. In 1915 the Registration of the Natives Ordinance was passed, which improved the form of registration of natives. There was even before some kind of registration in force, but for the purpose of tracing deserters it was useless. If the absconding person changed his name he could not be identified. Therefore in this new legislation the identification of the natives was provided for in addition to compulsory registration of all male natives above the age of 16 and the identification card was required to be carried by every native upon his person at all hours of the day and night, employers being forbidden to engage labourers who could not produce a previous discharge. But for want of sufficient official staff the Natives Registration Ordinance could not be put in force for some time, and therefore as a temporary measure till this measure could be applied, the Government also enacted another law (the Master and Servants Amendment Ordinance) making desertion a cognisable offence. Under the 1910 Ordinance the employer had to make a complaint to a Magistrate or Justice of the Peace and process had to be issued before an arrest could be effected. It was felt that "the delay caused by the necessity for a complaint to be made and the

issue of process by a Magistrate had been found to afford the accused an opportunity of disappearing so effectually that, in the absence of any general system of identification, he might never be found again". It was hoped that, "pending the application of the Registration of Natives Ordinance, 1915, the powers given by the Bill would do something to improve value of the Principal Ordinance by rendering the punishment of deserters more certain." The amending law therefore made desertion a cognisable offence, thereby enabling the Police to arrest without warrant. The italicised words in the above quotations made from the speech of the Attorney General who moved the first reading of the Bill, clearly show that the new measure was meant from its very inception to be temporary, and was intended to be dropped when the ordinance of 1915 would be put in force. The Governor is now contemplating to repeal only what it had been definitely promised would be repealed when they obtained this new power. This does not strike me, I must confess, as excessive generosity on the part of the Kenya Government. Nor does it appear to me that the abandonment of this power would effect a substantial amelioration of the forced labour conditions that exist in Kenya at present.

Universal compulsory registration, with the further requirement of carrying the identification card in a metal disc on the person, is itself in all conscience an objectionable feature, and the appearance of beneficence which it is made to wear in Mr. Thomas's answer is mere camouflage. It is said that the identification card will serve as a passport, and under it natives will be allowed unrestricted freedom to go from place to place. But for such a card, they would have to take out a pass every time they went on travel, but with this system of general registration and identification it is represented, this necessity would be obviated, and with one identification certificate they could move, from one end of the Protectorate to another without let or hindrance. But why is it made obligatory on the natives to take out passes if not in the white interest? It may be necessary for the purpose of securing a hold on the native population, but let it not be said that the natives themselves stand to gain by it. They do not; on the contrary they look upon the *Kipande* (as it is called in the native language) as a badge of slavery and rightly so. The truth of the matter is that there is not enough labour, both for native reserves and non-native areas in the Colony, and in the absence of any pressure the native will naturally prefer working in his reserve to working on white farms and therefore sufficient supply of native labour will not be available unless indirect, if not direct, pressure is used. And so long as pressure, whether direct or indirect, continues, desertions cannot be stopped by however stringent means. Even with the unconscionable power given by the Master and Servants Ordinance of 1916, desertions are by no means rare (in 1922 there were 882 convictions); without it the inherent character of the labour regulations

will continue intact, viz. forced labour will continue. Labour will become free only when the present method of white farming ceases to be in operation, i. e., in plain terms, when white settlement of the Kenya Highlands is in abeyance. If Mr. Thomas's Committee brings an open mind to bear on the question, I for my part have no doubt that it will come to this conclusion.

S. G. VAZE.

### PROGRESS OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

If any one now attempted to discourse at any length on the importance of education for nation-building, his audience would get impatient, because its importance has been understood long ago. Yet how many in the rank and file of our public men are evincing an adequate interest in the educational progress of even their district, let alone that of their province or of the whole of India? Twelve or thirteen years ago, when Mr. Gokhale's elementary education bill was before the country, and the Government was opposed to it, there was any amount of enthusiasm in the country for compulsory education. But after the Government's opposition ceased and compulsory education Acts were passed in the various provinces, practically nothing is being done to put them in force and get any benefit out of them for the masses. Even the comparatively easy task of speaking on the subject at public meetings is shirked. When charged with apathy and failure of duty, our minds are fertile enough to put forward in defence of inaction quite a number of plausible arguments, but the same fertility has not been helping us in overcoming the difficulties. Too many of us seek the excitement of high politics. Too many of us neglect the humdrum, nevertheless essential, work of promoting education, sanitation, co-operation, agriculture and other subjects, because they require steady application and are not of the fireworks variety. One can understand leaders at the top devoting all their energies to high politics; but when the ordinary rate-payer talks only of immediate and complete self-government, without taking the least interest in the affairs of his own town or village, he makes himself extremely ridiculous, like the man who always mouths Vedants and does not practice common honesty and charity in private life.

These reflections force themselves on one when one realises how little progress was achieved, particularly in the matter of primary education (to which we shall confine ourselves on this occasion), in the most momentous quinquennium in the history of Indian education (1917-22)—when the number of Universities was doubled, compulsory education Acts were passed in most provinces, education was brought almost entirely under the control of popular representatives, larger funds

were placed at the disposal of provincial Governments and powers of taxation greatly increased, and a high degree of feeling displayed regarding national education. It is true that in some provinces, notably Bombay and the U. P. which had enlightened legislatures and capable Ministers, a degree of progress was achieved which could be considered satisfactory, but it was not so in the country as a whole and the apathy of the municipalities and local boards everywhere was very discouraging.

### SLOWING DOWN.

During the quinquennium the number of primary schools for boys increased from 124,081 to 137,435, i. e. by 13,354 or less than 11 per cent. The increase was by no means uniform in the different provinces. The U. P. led with 47 per cent, Madras, Bombay and the Punjab had about 15 per cent, while in Assam and Bihar there was practically no increase. There was a reduction of more than 35 per cent in Burma owing to withdrawal of recognition from a large number of inefficient monastic schools. During the previous quinquennium the increase was 13,389, so that there was no acceleration in the progress. For girls' primary schools figures for different quinquennial periods are not given, but while the increase in the number of all institutions for girls during 1917-22 was only 4,413, the corresponding figure for the previous quinquennium was 5,252—so that the fall in the rate of progress was quite distinct. Increase in the number of schools, however, is not so important as increase in the number of pupils. In fact, there will naturally be a rise in attendance with a fall in the number of schools, if Government or board schools take the place of aided or unaided ones. During the last two quinquenniums the progress in attendance of both boys and girls has been steadily getting low as the following figures will show:—

Period	Increase in boys (primary schools)	Increase in girls (all institutions.)
1907-12	892,000	308,000
1912-17	666,000	277,000
1917-22	335,000	188,000

### PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL-GOING AGE.

Is it that we are nearing the bounds of possibility under the voluntary system? That does not appear to be the case, as remarkably rapid progress is seen in Travancore and Cochin under the voluntary system—in fact much greater progress than in Baroda under compulsion. The real reason is that propaganda is not conducted among the agricultural and backward classes. The position reached in 1921-22 in the different provinces is revealed by the following table, which gives the number of boys and girls getting instruction in the primary stage and their proportion to population of school-going age, which is reckoned at 15 per cent. of the total population for each sex:—

Province	Pupils in thousands		Percentage	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Madras	1373	364	43	11.5
Bombay	693	173	46	11.5
Bengal	1165	336	34	10.0
U. P.	788	93	23	2.5
Punjab	271	62	18	4.0
Burma	173	116	18	12.5
Bihar	630	105	24	4.0
C. P.	242	38	24	4.0
Assam	159	27	28	4.5

In 1887 16 per cent. of the boys of school-going age were actually at school. During the last 35 years only 14 per cent. more have been added. At this rate when shall we reach the level of Japan or western countries? And when this is the case with boys, comment is needless in the case of girls.

#### EXPENDITURE FROM PUBLIC FUNDS.

Let us now see the expenditure incurred in each province by Government on primary education, whether of boys or girls. It need make little difference to us whether the money comes from provincial or local funds, so long as it comes from the tax-payer. The following table gives in lakhs the total expenditure, direct and indirect, on all education, and direct expenditure on primary education in each province at the beginning and end of the quinquennium, and the percentage which one forms of the other.

Province	For 1916-17.			For 1921-22.		
	Total Exp. on Education in lakhs (1)	Direct Exp. on Primary Schools in lakhs (2)	Percentage of 2 to 1	Total Exp. on Education in lakhs (3)	Direct Exp. on Primary Schools in lakhs (4)	Percentage of 4 to 3.
Madras	113	50	44.1	194	80	41.1
Bombay	98	52	52.7	216	132	61.0
Bengal	91	21	22.9	152	28	18.7
U. P.	92	25	27.0	200	63	31.7
Punjab	63	16	26.2	122	31	25.6
Bihar and Orissa	47	14	29.7	74	21	28.2
C. P. and Berar	38	14	37.9	77	26	38.2
Assam	18	6.5	36.6	26	8	31.0
Burma	38	7	18.2	66	11	17.0

It will be seen that during the quinquennium the expenditure, general as well as that on primary education, for all the provinces has nearly doubled itself. But the disparity between the provinces is exceedingly great. Thus while Bombay has raised its expenditure from 52 to 132 lakhs and the U. P. from 25 to 63 lakhs, the increase in Bengal, Bihar and Assam is comparatively little.

#### A SCANDAL.

Indeed it is scandalous that the authorities in Bengal should be spending so little on primary education. Bengal actually spends less than the

Punjab, though its children at school are nearly 5 times as numerous as those in the Punjab. The proportion spent on primary education is not only the lowest (except Burma) but it has gone down from nearly 23 to 18.7 per cent. of total expenditure on education. More than 80 per cent. of the latter is spent on secondary, University and other education which benefits the *Bhāratlok* and very little on what benefits the masses. What a contrast this is with Bombay, which is not only spending more money on education than any other province but a proportion on primary education which is far higher than that in any other province! The niggardliness of Bengal and of its sister administration, Bihar, is both the cause and result of a very inefficient kind of school prevailing there. Unlike other Indian provinces Bengal and Bihar have few Government, board or municipal schools, whether for boys or girls, their mainstay being the aided and unaided *guru* schools. These *gurus* or teachers depend equally on fees and grant-in-aid and manage to get altogether about Rs. 8 or Rs. 9 per month. At the risk of exhausting the reader's patience we give below the number of primary schools for boys and girls in each province according to management:-

#### Primary Schools for Boys and Girls by management in 1921-22

Province.	Govt. and Local Aided.		Unaided.	Total.	
	Board.				
Madras	Boys	8825	21909	2901	33,635
	Girls	1672	930	38	2640
Bombay	Boys	8838	2267	65	11,170
	Girls	1014	423	15	1452
Bengal	Boys	3162	28318	3541	35621
	Girls	153	10,115	1894	12162
U. P.	Boys	12941	2422	133	15496
	Girls	896	436	12	1344
Punjab	Boys	4623	837	137	5627
	Girls	701	299	48	1048
Burma	Boys	14	4360	—	4374
	Girls	—	677	—	677
Bihar and Orissa	Boys	860	16808	4780	22448
	Girls	91	2069	347	2508
C. P. and Berar	Boys	3543	239	205	3987
	Girls	236	70	20	329
Assam	Boys	3167	624	164	3957
	Girls	307	10	26	343

It will be seen that besides Bengal and Bihar—and Burma whose case is quite peculiar—Madras depends largely on aided and unaided schools. But the evil there is mitigated to a considerable extent by a large percentage of the aided schools being run by Christian missions. It sounds unbelievable but is nevertheless true that the municipalities of Bengal do not recognise any obligation to provide schools for their children. In 1921-22 there were only 8 municipal primary schools in the whole of Bengal, though including Calcutta there were no fewer than 146 municipalities. In that year Calcutta spent Rs. 64,000 on education while Bombay spent nearly Rs. 16 lakhs.

#### COMPULSION.

Between 1918 and 1920 compulsory education Acts were passed in no less than seven provinces and in the City of Bombay. But by 1st April 1922, not a single local body had introduced compulsion.

In Bengal, Madras, the U. P. or the C. P.; while five municipalities in Bombay (Bandra Surat, Byadgi, Bakore, Satara) two in the Punjab (Lahore and Multan) and one in Bihar (Ranچی) had introduced it. "Little is reported of the success of these eight experiments" says the report. The Bombay Corporation introduced it in several wards, with the result that:—

"There has been a fifty per cent. increase in the number of schools and school children and in the number of trained teachers and a proportional increase in the general and medical inspectorate; a novel feature has been the appointment of lady Superintendents. The total expenditure on education in the municipality has increased 350 per cent."

Mr. Richey, the writer of the report, points out that in many areas a purely voluntary system has been proving ineffectual and uneconomic. There has not been an adequate return in the shape of attendance for the money spent on improving existing schools or starting new ones. Whatever point there might have been in exploring the limits of the voluntary system before the compulsory Acts were passed in the various provinces, there is no point in it now. We have seen how in 35 years we have barely succeeded in raising the attendance of boys from 16 to 30 per cent. of the school-going age, and how during the last decade the rate of progress has considerably retarded. Is this state of affairs still to continue? There are no doubt difficulties in the way. Lack of funds and the unwillingness of local bodies to embark on compulsion are the most serious of them. But they are not insurmountable—provided there is a will, a strong will. As for money, there is too easy a tendency in most of us to point out extravagance in the higher ranks of services, particularly the Indian Services, and urge that as a reason for not proposing fresh taxation whether provincial or local. Let retrenchment be attempted by all means as far as possible, but let us not delay the introduction of compulsion till its possible limits are reached. Retrenchment and taxation have to go on simultaneously if universal literacy, at least of the rising generation, has to be achieved in a measurable distance of time. If the local bodies fight shy of compulsion and taxation let the provincial legislatures take up the responsibility. But for the sake of India let the thing be done some how.

V. V. S.

## RAILWAY POLICY.

### CRITICS OF STATE MANAGEMENT

AT present in India, the separation of Railway from General Finance is under contemplation and is likely to become a settled fact in September, while state management has not been given effect to generally, though the principle has been conceded. Still critics of state management are not wanting, and it is our duty now to consider some of their arguments.

One argument advanced is that the history of state managed Railways tells us that they are less efficient and more expensive than company-managed Railways. Of course as it appears, it is a serious indictment against state operation; but the question arises, what is the standard of efficiency? Is it the proportion of working expenses to gross earnings? If it is argued, the less the working expenses are, the more do the Railways become efficient, no more unconvincing argument can be thought of. It proceeds on the assumption that efficiency and economy—rather thrift—are synonymous. It may be a good test of efficiency for a private company, but I doubt whether it will be a good test of efficiency for a company managing a public utility like the Railways. The ratio between the working expenses and the gross earnings may be one of the factors, but not the only determining or exclusive factor. It is at the same time a matter for serious doubt whether it has been the only or the primary consideration of the private railroads so long, especially in view of the Indian conditions under which the Government guarantees the interest, gives the land and supplies a lion's share of the capital; and in view of the losses to the state owing to the Railways since 1850, as they proved a decided liability at the rate of a crore of rupees per year till 1904. We shall have also to consider why the expenses become swollen. Leaving aside the abnormal circumstances created by the war and the post-war conditions, the extravagant salaries of the officers especially of European officers form a big and heavy item. Even Sir W. Ackworth himself, an authority on Railways and President of the Indian Railway Committee, admitted, "After all, there is no doubt that the salaries of men at the top are immensely higher in England than they are on the continent of Europe, and it is the English standard, not the continental, that governs the scale for India". The proportion of maximum to minimum salaries in India, according to Mr. Chandrika Prasad, is 500 to 1, which, even as it is, is greater in England than on the continent of Europe. In France it is the greatest, but there it does not exceed 21 to 1. The low paid Railway servant in India gets Rs. 7 and the highest paid official Rs. 3500. To conclude, even as a test of efficiency, as I am inclined to think, the ratio pales into insignificance in a state-operated Railway beside two other tests, viz. the rates and the measure of safety and security ensured by the service, for the very reason that the rates can be adjusted in accordance with popular wishes.

In the very nature of things, the rates vary in the state managed and the company managed Railways. The principle underlying company management is that relating to the much misunderstood practice of "charging what the traffic will bear", while the state system is governed by the principle of low rates yielding a fair margin over the expenses. A reference to the average ton-mile rate

and the average passenger mile rate in different countries, compels the inference that rates are more favourable to the public under a state system than on private railroads and that discrimination so widely characteristic of the private system is at a minimum in state Railways.

Along with the rates, another test is that which relates to the security of service, and here again a reference to the figures in different countries, showing the passengers, killed and injured, and employees, killed and injured, enables us to arrive at the inevitable conclusion that service is the safest in state systems and the most dangerous in private systems, especially in the United States.

Next to the argument regarding efficiency, the argument regarding the political disadvantages due to state management has to be answered. It has been contended that state Railways corrupt and are being corrupted by politics. Now this charge is rebutted by a great writer on Railways in the United States: "In the United States, railroads have for many years done their best to control the government of the States." The Governor of a State observes: "The railroads will buy up a car-load of mules, and will buy up elections too if need be. But as a rule they do not have resort to bribery and corruption . . . and can carry their purposes by milder methods. . . . They retain leading lawyers and politicians as counsel or make them stock-holders or not unfrequently debtors or officers. They pack caucuses and conventions, subsidize the press, influence merchants and manufacturers by the grant of special favours or the fear of their withdrawals, making large contributions to party funds, etc. By these and other means they usually contrive to control nominations, so as to put many men who are in rail-road pay or otherwise affected with a rail-road interest, in the legislature or in office and at least they can prevent the nomination of men likely to be antagonistic to the rail-roads or too independent of them." Thus it will be seen that corruption is not the monopoly of state management. The evils, as sketched by the Governor, are equally rampant on the private rail-roads, and now the choice lies between corruption which can be immediately checked by popular voice and corruption which cannot be so easily amenable to popular control. The choice is easily made.

A third argument brought forward is that rail-roading is a progressive science, that the state official mistrusts new ideas, that the Indian Government is as slow as a mule and that in Railway development private companies are the pioneers. Now this is a charge not borne out by actual facts, to the full extent of its implications. Has not the Government taken the initiative in the introduction of improved methods in agricultural and industrial departments? In fact such a state of things is being rendered necessary by a measure of responsible government. Even supposing that the Government is slow to adopt improved methods, are there private Indian-moneyed, Indian-managed

and Indian-manned companies, capable of undertaking costly experiments?

In fact, a more plausible argument is that relating to the much-dreaded and the much-hated introduction of civilianism in the state-managed Railways. In the words of Earl John Russell, "A civilian is good enough to govern a state, command an army, man a navy and grow a potato." The only plain answer to this objection is that a civilian under a reformed legislature and under popular responsible government, is better than the irresponsible and the irresponsible Railway official.

A. S. VENKATARAMAN.

### MISCELLANEA.

#### LIBERAL PARTY DISAGREEMENTS.

##### CONSERVATIVES & HERETICS.

A LETTER FROM MR. SASTRI.

(To The Editor of *The Leader*.)

DEAR SIR,—You traverse nearly all the arguments advanced by Dewan Bahadur Ramohandras Rao and Mr. Venkataspathi Raju in defence of their conduct during the last session of the Assembly, and you sum up, if I may say so without offence, by administering a gentle and reluctant reprimand. The contention is just that it should not be open to individual members of a political party to take action contrary to a principle or established practice of the party without agreement amongst the leaders or at a general meeting. Messrs. Rao and Raju apparently maintain that there was no agreed policy from which they deviated. Without admitting this plea altogether, I believe there was sufficient of an unexpected nature in the circumstances of the last session to require an exercise of independent judgment. The great demand for Indian Home Rule, now happily common ground among political parties, had come up on the agenda, and the almost universal feeling was that the demand should have the backing of all the progressive elements in the Assembly. The Swarajists, under the skilful lead of Pandit Motilal Nehru, ceased all talk of wrecking and made the comparatively mild proposal of strictly parliamentary obstruction to be adopted only in case of a three-fourths majority of the Coalition party declaring that the answer of Government was unsatisfactory. My calculation from the beginning was that this three-fourths majority would be secured in any event by the determined and disciplined Swarajist corps of forty-six. But there were others of influence among the Independents, who felt hopeful of being able to prevent a three-fourths vote after having presented the demand in full force. All aspects of the question being under continual discussion day after day and appeals to patriotism and united efforts for once being incessant, is it any wonder that the Independents tumbled over one another into the new organisation? Our friends of the Liberal party, be it said to their credit, were among the last to fall, and Mr. Ramachandra Rao held out till some of his electors actually called upon him to join. Through a morbid dread of being encumbered by adherents of doubtful quality, members of the Council of State and nominated members of the Assembly had, at an early stage, been barred out of the Nationalist party. Messrs. Rao and Raju were thus the only two eligible Liberals. Remember too that both come from the Andhra country, where extremism and non-co-operation have long found firm lodgment. It is easy to understand why they let themselves be dragged by the main current more than their compatriots who owed their seats to the favour of Government. I did not and do not approve of their course. But having been a daily witness of the happenings in Delhi, I know how difficult their situation was. I know also that they shrank from the great lengths to which their Swarajist colleagues were prepared to go, and that to

their firm stand as to that of some others must be ascribed the reversion, after the first day's indiscriminate rejection of grants, to the normal course of discussion on the merits. The rejection of the Finance Bill was a manoeuvre adopted almost at the last moment as on the whole less damaging to the reputation of the party than the passing of the numerous amendments which would have made very large and indefensible reductions in the revenue.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, I must say I am not prepared to hold that Messrs. Rao and Esju have committed an act of indiscipline or political apostasy. But I applaud your having criticised their conduct with candour and in public. It is the ill-natured whisper going round in private which does harm to the coherence of the party. I have had some experience in this line. Open criticism is met with open explanation and the residue is an honest difference of opinion which we may well allow to one another.

Our friends complain, in the course of their self-defence, that while at one end they are taken to task for action which is too advanced there are some at the other end who are responsible for action which is distinctly backward, but who escape judgment. Your answer is adequate in substance. One cannot, however, get rid of the impression that you are much more mild in the latter than in the former case. For some reason or other, it is considered by some Liberals a greater sin against their creed to agree occasionally with their extremist countrymen than to fall in, as matter of settled habit, with the views of Government. One almost suspects there are some regulation standards, known only to an irreproachable few, of strength of language and even tone of utterance beyond which criticism and indignation cannot go on Liberal platforms without incurring the charge of being tinged with non-co-operation. Eager natures are bound to recoil from such standards and go a little beyond the border line, when they find the really bold and progressive programme of Liberalism handicapped in execution by excessive timorousness or consideration for the susceptibilities of the powers that be.

Dear Editor, the malady of the Liberal party is deeper than some of us are willing to believe. Events have moved on in their heedless way and left the old Liberalism a little behind. Instead of keeping in step with the rest of the world, the orthodox champions of the creed would, if they could, begin to cast out the heretic, preferring the straight and narrow doctrine to a truer apprehension of the environment and a wider comprehension of the energy and patriotism around. In this we seem to reproduce with excessive fidelity the old ceremonial spirit of caste which continually drew its boundaries closer in the never-ending pursuit of an imaginary purity. In England Liberalism and Socialism, and in fact every other school of social and political thought that has taken a name and individual form, have never been the same from decade to decade. Indian Liberalism, as a definite party, has many things to learn, many lessons to assimilate. Let us not so soon erect a stake for the heretics amongst us. We are too few to divide further. Tolerance, not rigidity of faith, should be our motto; great, not least, response to the hurrying forces around should be our aim.

V. S. SRINIVASAN

Cawnpore, April 3,

We have almost not a word to say in disagreement with the substance or the tone of this admirable letter of Mr. Sastri's. We are painfully aware of the many and serious imperfections of the very weak Indian Liberal party organisation. And we have never had in mind the remotest idea that "a stake" should be erected "for the heretics amongst us." Our whole point was and is that action such as Messrs. Rao and Esju took was not calculated to unite closer, instead of dividing further, the by no means well-knit party to which they and Mr. Sastri and we have the honour to belong. We have not the slightest hesitation in avowing our conviction that the action of conservative Liberals at the opposite extreme is fully as damaging to the cause. Having drawn pointed attention to this nearly fatal weakness of a party already lamentably weak, we may well end this discussion in the

hope that the two foremost men among the active leaders of the party, we mean, of course, Mr. Sastri himself and Shri Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Presidents of this and the last year, will actively set themselves to remove the causes of weakness and disunion as far as possible and to strengthen the party organisation.—(Ed. L.)

#### THE BOMBAY SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE. AND ITS CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

We trust the following letter which appeared in a recent issue of *Co-partnership* will interest those that sympathise with the Servants of India Society and the Bombay Social Service League:

EBRENE COTTAGE,  
HAMPSTEAD, N. W. 3.

SIR—Though the title of your paper, and the usual line of argument in your columns, connect you mainly with the special form of profit-sharing (and ultimately sharing in business government) known as Co-partnership, yet I think you will take an interest in all the phases of that great Co-operative Movement out of which the idea of Co-partnership sprang. Particularly should we welcome the developments of that movement now growing in centres, which we look on as so backward, as China and Russia. Most of all, therefore, should we welcome it among those whom we should consider our fellow citizens in India.

The excellent society, called the "Servants of India," founded by G. K. Gokhale in that most advanced of Indian provinces, Bombay, has now, under the guidance of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, produced a variety of excellent efforts most successfully carried on for the physical, intellectual and moral improvement of the Indian population. Amongst these, as recorded in the report for 1922 of the Social Service League of Bombay, is mentioned the Co-operative Movement. It has been found to be a great means of deliverance from that great curse of the Indian poor, the unscrupulous and usurious money-lender, and by co-operative credit societies it has enabled the poor to obtain loans at a reasonable rate of interest, and has encouraged thrift and self-reliance.

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I should like your readers also to note that, while the great majority of the officials of the League are native-born Indians, there are at least three Englishmen among them, which shows that power of inter-racial action which had appeared before in the municipal life of Bombay City, and which is, of course, the greatest source of hope for India's future.

Yours faithfully,  
C. E. MAURICE.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

INDIA has suffered an irreparable loss by the death of Mrs. Ramabai Ranade at the age of 62 on the night of Saturday last. Since the death of her husband, Mr. Justice Ranade, Vahinbai, as she was popularly called, had kept herself in active touch with a number of public institutions of which Mr. Ranade was the guiding spirit and had especially taken under her protective wings all the educational and social institutions of women in the Deccan, to which she devoted a great deal of her time and thought. Of these the Seva Sadan in Poona was largely her own creation, and both in its inception and in its present growth Mr. G. K. Devadhar derived the utmost help and guidance from her. A great part of the immense popularity which the Seva Sadan enjoys at present among the Maharashtra women was doubtless due to the fact that its activities were conducted under the close personal supervision of Mrs. Ranade. Indian womanhood always found in her a sage counsellor and a warm friend in all matters affecting its interests and her strong advocacy of women's right to the vote and to seats in the Legislatures is but a case in point. Her "Reminiscences" has become a classic in Marathi and it was a happy circumstance that just before she died a good Marathi biography of her husband had been finished, in the writing of which she helped considerably.

LAST Saturday Dr. Annie Besant, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Munshi Ishwar Saran left by S. S. Macedonia for London. They form the first batch of the deputation of the National Convention and the

Liberal Federation, who are to educate public opinion in England as to the imperative need for extending the present reforms on the lines to be laid down by the consensus of people's representatives. Such a deputation at the present juncture, when Labour is sympathetically casting about for the best line of approach, is of the utmost value; nor is its utility diminished in any way by the appointment by the Government of India of a Committee in India to inquire into the working of the reforms. It is not yet known whether on this Committee, which is to ascertain whether there is need for a comprehensive inquiry into any structural changes in the Reforms Act, unofficial members in the confidence of the people will be effectively associated; but whatever happens to this Committee and whatever measure of reforms it hammers out, there is immediate need for our convincing the British public that a mere tinkering of the present Act and the removal of practical difficulties experienced while working the Act will not be enough, but that the circumstances call for a substantial modification of the Act in a liberal sense. When the present deputation has thus prepared the way, there will be need subsequently for another deputation to thresh out in detail the Government's proposals in this behalf. The deputation has sailed none too soon.

\* \* \*

THE White Empire Exhibition was opened at Wimbley with due pomp and circumstance. We wish India could have shared His Majesty's enthusiasm for the Empire when he said: "It represents to the world a graphic illustration of that spirit of free and tolerant co-operation which inspired the peoples of different races, creeds, institutions and ways of thought to unite in a single Commonwealth and contribute their varying national gifts to one great end." India cannot affirm the existence of a spirit of free and tolerant co-operation between the coloured peoples of the Empire and the whites. Some time ago she had great faith in the ideal of the Commonwealth, but the way in which her nationals are being treated in South Africa (despite the Gandhi-Smuts pact), Fiji and Kenya, and the manner in which the Imperial Conference resolution of 1921 has been violated in the case of Kenya, have rudely shaken that faith, and unless the Labour Party can fulfil their own promises of justice and fair treatment within a reasonable period of time, the faith of Indians in the Com-



monwealth ideal—a beautiful ideal, worthy of a great nation—will altogether disappear. India has participated to-day in the Exhibition, but without heart and out of official compulsion. The Indian pavillion is thronged, we are told, with visitors who admire her art, picturesqueness, resources, &c. But this admiration, so long as it is not accompanied by an active feeling of equality with the non-British members of the Empire, and not accompanied by a common citizenship, must be galling to self-respecting Indian visitors. India very naturally satisfies the Britisher's sense of pride in the Empire. That is why Mr. Sastri suggested the withdrawal of India from the Exhibition in order to make the Britisher understand how keenly India resents the creation of an inferior citizenship for her nationals even in a Crown Colony. From the present popularity of the Indian Section, you could well imagine what an impression the boycott would have created, if it could have been successfully organised. But alas! it was not to be.

**Barricading and  
after.** THE Travancore police having barricaded the four streets round the temple at Vaikom, the Satyagrahis wanted Mr. Gandhi to permit them to adopt one of the following three courses: (1) to block the streets with volunteers, so that none could use them (2) to scale the barricades and dodge their way through the police and (3) start fasting again. Mr. Gandhi has very rightly disapproved of all the three courses and reminded the Satyagrahis that what is important is not the effectiveness of their action as its being right. He has rightly emphasised the need for patience on the part of the Satyagrahis. The streets cannot be barricaded for all time nor can a number of policemen always be kept there to guard them. As a matter of fact the authorities are already finding a solution. During his recent visit to Vaikom the officiating Dewan asked the Satyagrahis whether it would satisfy them if the Government opened shorter and better roads that would be open to all castes. If it means that the streets which are now in question would be permanently closed to the public, i.e. to Muhammadans, Christians and any others who may not enter the temple, and new roads only would be open for public traffic, then we think it would be a solution of the difficulty. For the question at present is not right of entry of the low castes into temples—that may come up later and then it will have to be solved—but the right of way to public roads, an ordinary civic right. If the streets in dispute are closed to the general public then the present civic disability, so far as those streets are concerned will be removed.

**Referendum.** THAT however, would be a sort of compromise solution in the individual case of Vaikom, but not a general solution of the question. It would then crop up somewhere else. The best thing for the Travancore Durbar is to decide the question once for all by throwing open all

public roads to all castes. It was suggested to the officiating Dewan that a referendum should be taken on this question, but he said it was not practicable. We do not see how it is impracticable; but we think it is not necessary, since the majority of the public are clearly enough in favour of the streets being thrown open to all castes, and the State has only to enforce what it decreed nearly fifty years ago. Here is Mr. K. T. Paul's testimony to the same effect, who had recently an opportunity of examining the question on the spot:

"Looking at the controversy from a practical point of view I asked these two questions: Is it a conflict between two communities? Or is it between the State and certain individuals? The answer almost invariably was 'The latter.' The bulk of the public opinion of all castes, touchable and intouchable, seems to be in unqualified sympathy with the claims of the Satyagrahis. If a referendum were taken to-day, so far as I could judge, public opinion would be overwhelmingly in favour of throwing all public roads open to all communities. I got the impression that it is the State that is espousing the cause of a small minority of vested interests whose views are utterly antiquated and out-of-date."

**Protection for Steel.** THERE will be no difficulty in giving legislative effect to the recommendations of the Tariff Board in regard to the steel industry, which appear to have met with general approval. No Indian legislature will make any difficulty about the principle of protection, nor will the Government of India. Representatives of European Chambers of commerce will no doubt object to protection, but it is only to be expected, as they are more concerned with their import trade than with the interests of India. The loss of revenue that will result from the adoption of protection will be cheerfully faced both by Government and the unofficial legislators in view of the advantages to be gained in the long run. The main question before the Assembly next month will therefore be whether in making their recommendations, the Tariff Board have paid due consideration to the interests of the consumer. That they seem to have done, so far as we can judge from the Associated Press summary. For instance, the representatives of the Tatas asked for a protection of 33½ per cent., pointing out that foreign rolled steel could be made available in India at Rs. 150 per ton, while their own steel could not be put on the market at less than Rs. 200. The Tariff Board, however, have carefully examined the cost of production and the scope for economy that exists in the management of the Tatas, and come to the conclusion that at Rs. 180 per ton there would be a fair return on the capital. The recommendations of the Board thus seem to be deserving of public support.

**Policy of Sabotage Modified.** WHAT we were interested to know about the Swarajist gathering in Bombay last week was whether they were still determined to keep up their policy of uniform opposition to all Government measures or were going to modify it. And, though the Swarajists

are observing as much secrecy about their decision as the Government of India about its inquiry into the working of reforms, the reassuring news has leaked out that the Swarajists will no longer feel bound, by their principle of "non-co-operation from within," to refrain from making any proposals in the Councils on their own account as was their original programme, nor will they offer opposition to every proposal coming from Government-which means that they have learnt by bitter experience considerably to water down the policy of "political sabotage," to which they pledged themselves before the election. Swarajists are now empowered to bring in resolutions or Bills regarding e. g., local self-government, the release of political prisoners etc. This is a very great climb-down for the Swarajists, who till now conceived their one function in the Legislature to be to put a spoke in the Government's plans and who thought all constructive politics to be taboo for them. The immediate question they had to consider was as to their attitude to the Government of India's proposals regarding protection to the steel industry. No definite conclusion has yet been arrived at, but we know that the Swarajists are too much under capitalistic influence to make it at all possible that they would oppose these proposals. It is immaterial whether they support them by speech or by withholding their opposition, for the result in either case would be just the same. And it is hoped that this support of what they regard as good measures would be the rule rather than the exception.

\* \* \*

THE social conference of the Non-Brahmins of Berar, which met last week at Morshi under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Jadhav, Education minister of Bombay, was really a political conference the presidential address being mainly devoted to an attack of the Swarajist policy in the C. P. It is of course characteristic of the Non-Brahmin party, whether in Madras or the Deccan, to hold only Brahmins responsible for the non-co-operation movement or the Swarajist policy of wrecking councils, ignoring that Messrs. Gandhi, Das, Patel and many other leaders are non-Brahmins. With some of the resolutions passed at the conference, however, we are in full sympathy. They urged that the remuneration of patels in Berar should be increased in proportion to the increments granted to Government servants that the minimum pay of Mahars be fixed at Rs. 10, that free and compulsory education be introduced in every village with a population of 500 and that gymnastic institutions be started for non-Brahmins. The object of the last resolution was euphemistically mentioned to be 'to avoid occasions of clash with the Muhammadans and to defend the Hindu Society,' but we welcome it as it will promote the physical efficiency of the nation. An important resolution adopted at the conference was that Berar be not restored to the Nizam. Curiously enough, the president is reported to have commended Mr. Mahomed Ali's much-explained foolish and fanatical remark that a degraded Muhammadan was better than Mahatma Gandhi, and to have asked the non-Brahmins to regard that a Non-Brahmin fool was better than a learned Brahmin. After this, we should think it excessive self-abnegation on the part of the conference and its president that they should have demanded only 50 per cent of the posts in Government service.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KENYA.

PEOPLE ask why any serious politicians in India should knock their heads against the stone wall of the white policy in the Dominions and the Colonies. A British Cabinet by their recent decision with regard to Kenya have shown that if the white people in any colony desire to relegate Indians to an inferior citizenship, they would find a good deal of sympathy and support in high quarters. In South Africa an attempt is made to accentuate the colour bar and to aggravate the hardships of the Indian community with the obvious desire of making their continued residence more and more difficult. The Government of India have done and are doing what they can by means of earnest and outspoken dispatches to ameliorate the condition of Indians overseas. The India Office has not been equally assiduous in championing the Indian cause but their moral support has been constant. It is true that at the last Imperial Conference Prime Ministers of three Dominions, namely Canada, Australia and New Zealand, promised to take into early consideration the question of giving effect, through legislation, to the Resolution of 1921, which recommended the political as well as the municipal franchise to domiciled Indians. No corresponding action, however, has been taken. The position in South and East Africa meanwhile has not only deteriorated but become a danger to the Empire.

One of the grounds on which the aggression of the white population is often defended is that politically India is not yet a dominion and her people, so far from governing themselves, are in political subordination in their own country and cannot reasonably complain if they are not better treated abroad than at home. This taunt, repeated in different forms by high and low, has its own effect in embittering the feelings of young India. In many men's minds there is some necessary connection between our status abroad and our status at home, and the appeal to work for an improvement of the former before touching the latter meets with very little response. The acute political distemper of the day helps the spread of this attitude. In reality, however, the Indian patriot must regard the disabilities of his countrymen, whether here or outside, as different aspects of the same phenomenon and take up the quarrel in either sphere as it is forced upon him. He may encounter more ill-success as against the Dominions and Colonies than against the Britisher here. The stubbornness of self-governing people situated far away and dealing with very small communities naturally has more of the irritating quality of arrogance and scorn than the resistance of a small knot of privileged men confronted with elected legislatures representing many millions.

Still the issues are vital and reach down to the hard rock of natural justice and common humanity. It is remarkable that those who would curtail our freedom in India are loud in condemning the denial of our rights abroad by their fellow-whites. Similarly these latter, remembering

their own hard struggle for emancipation from British leading strings, are only too ready to sympathise with what they regard as a legitimate movement for Dominion status for India. Besides while it is true that in South Africa and Kenya the cloud hangs thick and heavy over our fellow-countrymen, the situation elsewhere in the Empire is not without a gleam of hope. A statement made by Lord Peel at the last Imperial Conference that the position of Indians had definitely improved in large areas under the Union Jack has some foundation in fact. The struggle, therefore, though it is against tremendous odds, has to be maintained on all points as it develops from year to year. That we are nowhere aggressors should make us the more determined in defending our position.

Another way in which the same criticism is advanced is equally fallacious. Those interested in the problem of Indians overseas have often been told that they are guilty of a complete lack of the sense of proportion in devoting their energies to the interests of one lakh or two of Indians, while several hundreds of lakhs of our countrymen at home receive little or no attention at their hands. The answer to this criticism is that the cause of thousands of Indians overseas is not only their cause but that of the population of India. Our countrymen are slighted because of their race, colour and land of birth. Other countries will not hesitate to use all their influence to protect from insult or injury a single missionary, merchant, traveller or student. In fact the aggressive Western powers have made trivial incidents happening to their individual nationals the pretext for the acquisition of vast privileges or of territorial extension. Ours is an attempt of a very different category, having every justification and, rising to the dimensions and importance of duty that may not be neglected except at the cost of national degradation. The right of immigration, moreover, is a right belonging to a whole nation and we may quote again the oft-quoted opinion of the Aga Khan that no compromise will be legitimate with regard to it, as the right belongs more to posterity than to us.

Another charge brought against those aggrieved about Kenya is that besides affecting a comparatively small number of people, the grievance is neither sudden nor startling and cannot by itself change the attitude of an Indian towards the Empire or his political outlook or method. Mr. Sastri is held particularly open to this charge, after having at one time entertained great faith in the British Empire and its mission. The answer is both clear and conclusive. Our country was unanimous in declaring that on account of our peculiar relations with Kenya, that Colony supplied the acid test of the Empire. When Mr. Sastri said "Kenya lost, everything lost", he was believed to have hit upon the mind of the nation. The British Cabinet for the first time instituted a colour bar and two grades of citizenships, one for the white and one for the coloured subjects of His

Majesty, thus repudiating the idea of equality of races within the Commonwealth. Besides pledges and promises of great authority, the Cabinet professed to have regard to the principle embodied in the Resolution of 1921 to which the Prime Minister of the day, the Colonial Secretary, the Indian Secretary and other Cabinet Ministers were party. The decision went against Indians in nearly all important particulars. Although it was notorious that the whole of the disgraceful proceeding was due to fear of a rebellion in Kenya, no allusion was made to it in the long statement issued under the authority of the Cabinet. Not a word was said to palliate this betrayal of India and of the ideals of the Empire. No hope was held out that similar actions would not be perpetrated again. On the other hand Indians were exhorted to submit to the decision as on the whole just and considerate, thus shutting the door on the future as well as on the present. During this struggle the India Office, after having brought the Indian delegation down to agree to terms of the Wood-Winterton agreement, feebly surrendered even that position and advised them to submit. The British Press, too, with a few honourable exceptions, has upheld the plea of white domination and fallen far below its own standard of impartial and chivalrous advocacy. If the contentment of the Indian Liberal remains unaffected by these circumstances, we do not envy him. If his outlook and methods of work remain unchanged, we do envy him. If his desire to further Imperial interests and join Imperial enterprises continue as strong as before, we do not envy him. To those Moderates who say that none of those happenings surprised them and that they always knew the character of the British Empire and British Government, we will only say that we thought better and still think better of the mission of the Empire.

#### LABOUR CONDITIONS IN ASSAM.

BY N. M. JOSHI.

THE question of securing full freedom for the labourers working on the tea-gardens in Assam is one of the most serious and urgent labour problems in India. The history of indentured labour in Assam is very sad, of which thinking Englishmen will always feel ashamed. The plantation of tea for commercial purposes began about 60 years ago. There was and still is ample uncultivated land available: in fact, the Assamese can get land for cultivation merely for the asking; but sufficient labour was never forthcoming. Tea-gardens from the beginning had to bring in labour from outside and the labourers generally belong to the uncivilized tribes. In the initial stage a suggestion was made even for imposing heavy taxes on land with a view to compelling the Assamese to go to tea-gardens for work, but the Government could not be persuaded to accept this preposterous plan. The importation of labour from out-

side is costly; the planters have to incur an expenditure of between Rs. 100 and Rs. 150 per head to bring each labourer to the garden. Naturally the planters desired to keep a firm hold on such labour as they obtained and for that purpose they asked for legislation punishing desertion and refusal to work as a criminal offence. The planters were mostly British and the Government also being British, the desired legislation could easily be obtained. The labourers were almost without any protection and scandals of the worst type were in existence for a long time. A part of this legislation has now either been repealed or abrogated by executive notifications or reformed, and some of the worst scandals regarding the conditions of life and work have been removed. But the laws which are still on the Statute Book are highly objectionable and inconsistent with the British spirit of freedom. The whole system on which the plantations have been established is such as to help the restriction of freedom still further.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITION.

Before describing the present legislation and the system mentioned above, it will be convenient to place before the readers a few facts regarding the situation. The total area of Assam is 61,000 sq. miles and the population 79,00,000 giving an average of 130 persons per sq. mile. There are about 880 tea-gardens with a total area of 14,00,000 acres of land, of which about 4,00,000 acres are at present under tea. The total annual production of manufactured tea is about 23 crores of pounds, yielding to the planters an annual income of about Rs. 8 crores. The total population on the tea-gardens is 9,16,000, out of whom 6,51,000 are actual workers and 2,65,000 are dependents. Of the people on the tea gardens 3,30,000 persons were born in Assam. Most of them live on the gardens; only about half a per cent. do not live on the gardens. As regards the economic condition of the labouring population exact figures of the average wages for the province are not available. But the average maximum wage may be estimated at between Rs. 8 and Rs. 10 per month for an adult male, between Rs. 6 and Rs. 8 for an adult woman and about Rs. 4 for a working child. Concessions in the form of free housing, cheap rice, free medical treatment, land for private rice cultivation may be estimated to give each family an additional average monthly income of about Re. 1 or about four annas per head per month. The average annual cost of housing a family, say, of four persons is estimated at between Rs. 10 and Rs. 20. In leisure time each family on an average cultivates two-fifths of an acre of rice-land giving an annual income of Rs. 12 or Re. 1 per family per month or 4 annas per month for each working member. The labourers also do not pay for grazing their cattle if they have any and also for fuel which they themselves gather in the leisure time from the garden forest. But the aggregate total value of these concessions cannot exceed the figure given above.

#### THREE LAWS WHICH MAKE FOR SERFDOM.

Although I have given the above figure regarding the income of labourers on the tea-gardens it is not my object to discuss at length their economic condition in this article. My immediate and main purpose is to point out how little freedom the labourer possesses and to suggest measures for restoring it to him. There are three legislative measures on the Statute Book which can compel a workman to work for an employer with whom he has made an agreement for service and which in case of his refusal to serve can punish him with imprisonment as a criminal offender. The Assam Emigration Act (VI of 1901 as amended later) is one of such legislative measures. Some sections of this Act, notably the section giving power to the planter to arrest a labourer, have been withdrawn by executive notification. The operation of the Act as well as of some of its sections is also restricted to certain areas. Unfortunately these notifications are so numerous that it is very difficult to say what the exact position of this particular law is. It is true that at present very few agreements are signed under its provisions, and in practice it is only used to give the Local Government power to inspect the gardens. But the Act still remains on the Statute Book and it is still within the power of the Government to cancel the notifications and revive the most objectionable features of the Act without the sanction of the Legislature.

The second piece of legislation of a similar nature is the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act (XIII of 1859 as amended in 1920). Under this Act the agreement for service can specifically be enforced by sending a labourer to jail if he has taken an advance of money. This advance is given and is always allowed to remain with the labourer in order to keep him under the operation of this Act. Concerning the true nature of the advance a judicial officer has stated: "The cases that have come before me were always cases where the employer had given an advance with the object of reducing him (the employee) to a state of slavery." As the Government of India have now admitted that this Act is against the modern spirit and agreed to repeal it before 1926, nothing further is necessary to be said about it.

The third legislative measure which serves the purpose of maintaining the hold of the employer on the employee is section 492 of the Indian Penal Code. This section is not yet used on the tea-gardens, but the danger is that if the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act is repealed, this section of the Penal Code may be put in force. From my talk with some lawyers in Assam who have some experience of the cases of tea-garden labourers I may say that this danger may prove to be real.

#### EMPLOYERS' DEVICES AND OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES.

This threefold legislation is clearly intended to keep the labourer under control. At present

only Act XIII of 1859 is mainly relied upon in Assam. The fear of criminal prosecution and imprisonment binds the labourer to the garden. No doubt the labourer can plead ill-treatment or some other excuse. But he is too illiterate and poor to take advantage of this plea and get proper legal assistance. Moreover, the Assam Labour Enquiry Committee has found that this legislation has tended to keep down the wages as well as to make recruitment of new labourers difficult. This legal restriction upon the freedom of the labourer on the tea gardens is also strengthened by various other devices and circumstances. Chief among these is the agreement among the members of the Planters' Association. By the first article of this agreement all labourers living within the area of a garden are to be considered coolies of that garden. The remaining articles prohibit the employment of labourers of one garden by another and penalties are provided for a breach of this agreement and compensation for the recruitment expenses can be claimed. The joint operation of the Act and this agreement among the planters practically places the labourer at the mercy of the employer and reduces him to a state of slavery. Even if the labourer of one garden wants to marry a girl working on another garden he cannot do so unless he provides a labourer as a substitute for his intending wife, the substitute generally being found in his sister or some other relative. The necessity for providing a substitute is sometimes avoided by the managers of the tea-gardens themselves coming to some agreement for the interchange of labourers.

Besides this agreement there are other circumstances which tend to restrict the freedom of the labourer. One of them is that the labourers have generally to live on the garden estates which are generally very large, sometimes extending to more than 5,000 acres. In the first place the labourer cannot easily leave the garden without his master knowing of it. Every garden has its own chowkidars (guards) who are not above using their power (though illegally used) to prevent the labourer from leaving the garden estate. But the worst effect of the labourers living on these vast estates is that the labourers are prevented from coming into contact with any outside influence. No outsider, however well intentioned he may be, can easily approach the labourer without making himself liable for prosecution for trespass, with the result that no agency for social, religious or educational work can start its activities among the labourers without the permission of the managers of the gardens. No one can think of organising unions. Most of the roads leading to the gardens and especially the residential quarters of the labourers are private. This want of contact with the outside world prevents the labourers from coming under civilising influences. They have to spend their life amongst people of the same status and condition. Managers of the tea-gardens under these circumstances can exer-

cise an almost unlimited power and influence over the labourers and all the evils of the old feudal system are introduced into a new tract of country.

Another circumstance which to some extent, though much smaller, restricts the freedom of the labourer is the fact that the labourer's home is at a great distance and the journey back is costly. Some of the labourers go to Assam from the Madras Presidency, some from Central Provinces and United Provinces. Few can afford to find money to pay for the railway fare.

#### GIVE THE LABOURER HIS FREEDOM.

All these circumstances together completely reduce the labourer to a state of practical slavery. Unfortunately he has no means of freeing himself from his serfdom. He has no education to be self-reliant. There are very few schools on the tea-gardens. Out of nearly 10,00,000 labourers on the tea-gardens only 5000 are literate, the percentage of literary being thus only '5. They have no organisation and cannot have any under the present circumstances. The employers generally regard any improvement in the condition of the labourers as regards education and organisation as being against their interests. The Government and the Legislatures are, to say the least, indifferent. The Government of Assam have nominated the manager of a large garden as a labour representative on the Assam Legislative Council. This gentleman is, I know, a very sympathetic employer; but it will certainly be a very hard task for him to reconcile his position as a member of the Planters' Association with the position which he has accepted as a representative of labourer.

But the present position cannot be allowed to last any longer. The Government of India as well as the Assam Government must move along and introduce into their administration a greater spirit of freedom and justice not only for the educated and higher classes, but even in the treatment of the most ignorant and the poorest of the poor. The members of the Indian Legislature as well as of the Assam Provincial Legislature will be failing in their duty if they allow the labourers on the tea-gardens of Assam to continue any longer in their present condition of bondage. Political freedom will have no value to the working classes of the country if it is not to be used for freeing them from the fetters which are forged to keep them in a state of serfdom. The Labour Party in England has also a duty to perform in this matter. The British Government and the British Planters are solely responsible for depriving the labourers on the tea-gardens of their freedom and the British Labour Party ought to help in giving it back to them. Even the League of Nations cannot escape from its responsibility in this matter. If it desires, as it ought, to remove the slightest vestige of slavery from the nations which are its constituent members. Is it too much to hope that the joint effect of the cooperation of all these forces will result in immediately restoring to freedom the poor and helpless labourers on the tea-gardens of Assam?

## HOW CAN FREEDOM BE RESTORED.

If this object is to be achieved, the first thing necessary to be done is the simultaneous repeal of the threefold legislation mentioned above. The repeal of only the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act contemplated by the Government of India will still make it possible for the evil to revive. Along with the repeal of this law it will be necessary to enact legislation on the lines of the Indian Factories Act to regulate the conditions of life and work on the tea-gardens and enable Government to inspect these conditions. The Assam Labour Enquiry Committee has emphasised the need for better inspection.

Legislation may also be necessary to declare the agreements signed by the members of the Planters' Association and putting restrictions upon the employment of labourers, as being illegal on the ground of public interests and public morals. As long as the agreement exists labourers on the tea-gardens cannot be really free.

It is also necessary to declare all residential areas on the tea-gardens and the roads leading thereto to be open to the public in order that the labourers on the gardens may be freely approached by people unconnected with the gardens and may thus be brought into real contact with outside civilising influences and their organization may become possible.

Moreover, it is necessary to put a stop to the system of allowing large estates to be placed under single proprietorship. The present estates must be divided into small allotments to be owned by the labourers themselves who should be free to sell the leaves to any factory which gives the best price, for manufacturing them into tea. The best plan will be to place these factories into the hands of Co-operative Societies of the labourers themselves. These Societies may even be encouraged to own the gardens themselves.

Even when the above-mentioned proposals are adopted, the condition of the labourers will not be really improved unless vigorous steps are taken for their education. A small cess may be levied on the tea-gardens for the creation of the Labourers' Welfare and Education Fund in order that the necessary financial resources be made available. The industry, being well-established, can easily bear the imposition of such a cess.

It is also necessary to give the labourers a larger representation on the Legislatures, the representatives being elected by the labourers themselves through their organizations, which also must be brought into existence without delay. It must be admitted that the present state of ignorance of the workers makes such organization difficult, but the representation of labourers through their own organizations even when the latter are not solid, will be better than the present method by which even an employer could be nominated to represent the employees. Steps must also be taken to fix the minimum wage from

time to time and to make, by legislation, adequate provision against old age, sickness and unemployment. The present peculiar position of the labourers on the tea-gardens as immigrants into a new province makes the adoption of these measures in their case more urgent than in the case of the workers in the country as a whole. The Assam Labour Enquiry Committee has fully endorsed the need for better provision in this matter. Sympathetic planters have even now taken some steps in this direction, but what is wanted is a system made applicable to all by legislation.

Lastly, it is necessary to stop the system of recruitment by individual planters. The work of recruitment should hereafter be undertaken by Government agency in order to enable the emigrant to return without difficulty to his home if he finds the conditions on the gardens unsuitable for him. He should at the time of recruitment be provided with a pass to travel back to his home free. The tea industry as a whole should be asked to contribute toward the expenses of recruitment.

## EDUCATION IN KENYA.

THE education of the different sections of the population, like everything else in Kenya, is conducted on a strictly communal basis, there being separate schools for white, brown and black children. To a certain extent such a racial division no doubt becomes unavoidable in that country, as the medium of instruction of each of these races is different and requires a separate school. But what is ordinarily a matter of convenience is made a matter of principle in Kenya and the communal system of education is followed there with a rigidity which no longer becomes justifiable. If an Indian lad who knew English well enough to follow the instruction imparted in a European school desired to go through the latter's course of studies (as several Goan children did), he would still obtain no admission into a European school and would have to go to an Indian school, solely because of the colour of his skin. An impression prevails among the officials of Kenya that there is in our own country a racial segregation in the matter of education similar to what obtains in Kenya: they do not know that the so-called European schools in India are not meant exclusively for Europeans but are open to a percentage of Indian students, and the ground of differentiation in this case is not the nationality of the scholar, but the curriculum which he wishes to follow.

The educational facilities which the different classes enjoy in Kenya are very nearly in an inverse proportion to what they contribute to the public revenues. The native of the country is of course the largest taxpayer, and his education is almost wholly neglected. The Indian, whose contribution comes second, is better treated than the native, but receives much less generous treatment as re-

gards education than the European, whose quota is the least of all. The European population is to the Indian population as 3 is to 7. But the expenditure on European schools was in 1922 to that on Indian schools almost as 7 is to 3; i. e. to European schools was devoted 421,254 shillings and to Indian schools only 193,261 shillings. European schools are in every way preferentially treated. School buildings are far superior; the teaching staff is much better paid and more competent; all the appliances are more generously supplied; efficient medical inspection is provided; the course of instruction is more advanced. In all these respects Indian schools receive sourvy treatment. They are housed in unsuitable buildings; accommodation is insufficient; the staff is untrained; medical inspection is unknown; and the standard of instruction is low. The European schools at Nairobi and Nakuru prepare candidates for the Cambridge Junior Local and London Matriculation examinations, but Indian schools rarely go beyond what corresponds to the English third standard in India. There are only two Government Schools for Indian boys. The Nairobi school had on its books 321 scholars in 1922 and the Mombasa school 205. The education of girls is provided wholly by private institutions. Even the education of Europeans is comparatively backward, for it was found in 1917 that of the 1062 children of school-age only 358 were on the rolls of Government and private schools; since then the number of scholars on school registers has increased to 477; which means that more than half of the European children go without education. But the education of the Indian children is far more backward. For a population of 22,000 there are only 1278 children in attendance at schools!

If Indian and European education is backward native education is almost altogether neglected. The native population is some 2,500,000, while the number of natives who receive education, whether in Government or assisted mission schools, is only about 1600! The standard of education in these schools too is very elementary. Some 250 passed the vernacular examination based on standard IV of the Protestant Alliance Code in 1922 and 75 the English leaving certification examination based on standard VII of the same Code. Both the white settlers and the Government are very averse to giving literary education of a higher order to natives. They generally draft such of them as do not leave off their education altogether after the elementary stage into technical education, though the vital need of the natives at the present moment is advanced literary education which will provide them with real leaders. The education policy of the Government, however, has had the result that there is not a single native who may be said to have received a broad and liberal education and just a handful have received a middle school education. It is difficult to ascertain the number of native children attending unaided mission schools; but a rough idea of the extent of primary

education among the natives may be gained from the fact that the total number of children on rolls in all primary schools appears to have been in 1916 under 13,000; and if from this the number of European and Indian schools is deducted, perhaps some 10,000 scholars may be held to be receiving education of however rudimentary a character in the schools of Kenya and this is in all conscience a very low proportion of the diffusion of an exceedingly low standard of education. The Government spends on native education only about 433,000 shgs. which is about the same as it spends on European education. That is to say, the Kenya Government devotes to the education of a tiny community of 9000 whites the same amount that it devotes to 2½ million natives; that is, it spends on one white what it spends on 275 natives!

There is no immediate prospect of an improvement taking place in native education. Mr. Thomas told the House of Commons that plans were being laid for a great expansion of educational facilities for the natives, but one does not see any signs of it in Kenya, and indeed the estimates for 1924 do not provide for anything more than the normal growth of expenditure. If any one expects much of the Phelps-Stokes Commission which is now conducting its inquiries there, he seems to be in for a severe disappointment, as a forecast of this purely non-official Commission's report, which has been published in the Kenya papers, shows that the Commission has given way almost wholly to the white settlers. For it says that "too much stress has been placed (both in Kenya and Uganda) on literary education." No one of course objects to giving a practical bias to education and introducing mechanical training and agricultural training so that education would be adapted to life. But what is needed above all is that a proportion of promising lads should be given at State expense the best literary education and that a higher standard in such education be reached for the average, but the Government discourages all such plans for placing higher education within the reach of the natives. Indeed, in Uganda instances have happened of Government practically forbidding sons of chiefs, etc., to go out to England for completing education at their own expense. And the Phelps-Stokes Commission does not seem inclined to administer a rebuke to the Government for such an attitude, but rather to lend its countenance to it. So far as the average settler is concerned, the only kind of native education which he can understand is the one that comes from labour, either voluntary or forced, on white men's farms. Every other kind of education, in his opinion, only serves to turn the head of the native. For a mission boy he has utter contempt. And, strange as it may seem, the Phelps-Stokes Commission also seems to have imbibed this general prejudice. A farmer, speaking the other day, said: "As far as what he had heard from them (the Commission), they appeared to

have an accurate conception of the need to educate the Africans through their heads (what an expressive phrase!) and an appreciation of the value of the European farmers of this Colony as the medium for this class of training and education." A none too cheery prospect for the natives!

In administrative matters the Kenya Government follows the policy of letting well alone: it gives almost perfect freedom to the private bodies whom it assists by grants-in-aid to introduce what curriculum they may like. In Indian schools conducted by the Government the Punjab and Bombay codes are followed, and the owners of private schools may vary those codes in any particular and may give any kind of denominational religious instruction. The Missionary Societies teach Christianity compulsorily to all their pupils, without any objection on the part of Government, and the violence that the latter does to the principle of religious neutrality is not confined to giving grants to bodies which refuse the advantage of secular instruction to all who object to attending the Bible class, but extends much further. There is evidence to show that the Government regards itself as a Christian State and fosters Christian teaching by direct means. This in fact creates a most perilous situation for non-Christian citizens of Kenya that the Government should identify itself with ministers of one particular religion and should entrust into their hands the fashioning of the natives' destiny. It is not clear that the Kenya Indians are sufficiently alive to this danger, but those who realize it are bound to lodge a most emphatic protest against a flagrant violation of a principle to which the British Government is committed.

S. G. VAZE.

#### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, APRIL 10.

##### SCENES IN THE COMMONS.

AMONG those who witnessed the House of Commons scene on Monday night, when the Government were defeated by nine votes, were the members of the Indian Colonies Committee. Mr. Rangachari remarked afterwards that he had no recollection of such an absence of self-restraint in the Indian Legislative Assembly. I have not yet heard his private comment upon the exhibition that occurred last night, just before the House rose. There had been a question about evictions in Woolwich, and some of the Glasgow members had been speaking of hardships incurred by the unfortunate evicted persons, some of the members giving painful details, which seemed to annoy and irritate several of the superior people on the other side of the House. Then rose Mr. Amery, the ex-First Lord of the Admiralty, who protested against the Labour members importing so much of the "sob-stuff" into their speeches. It was a tactless and ungracious remark, and one that was bound to annoy the Clydeside members,

tired after a long day's Parliamentary duties. One of them, Mr. Jack Buchanan, a very good fellow when left alone, but very aggressive when upset, at once spat out some terms of abuse against Mr. Amery, for which the Speaker called him to order. Shortly afterwards the House rose, and Messrs. Buchanan and Maxton crossed the House towards Mr. Amery, who demanded whether the former had used the terms of abuse. Mr. Buchanan admitted the fact, when Mr. Amery promptly shot out an offensive fist and struck the Labour member on the jaw, several other members either attempting to join in the scuffle or endeavouring to prevent its going further. I daresay that all those concerned are privately somewhat ashamed of themselves this morning. Most people will think that Mr. Amery was unnecessarily provocative and that the Clydeside member was too thin-skinned and too ready with expressions of contempt. As for the bout of fisticuffs, Mr. Amery certainly did not show that superiority of class for which he and his colleagues affect to stand. Still, one hears a little too much of abusive language from the Clydeside members, who really ought to remember that Glasgow is not the whole of the country. Several of these energetic members deem it their first duty to annoy their opponents and their second to ginger up their own Government. They sometimes succeed in the latter attempt. In the former, they are as often countered by the young and impudent Tories. These young bloods on both sides must be a source of anxiety to their Party leaders.

##### EVICTED TENANTS.

It was mainly owing to this ginging up process that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald permitted Mr. Wheatley to introduce his ill-fated Rents Bill. On the first occasion, Mr. Pringle, to the great relief of all parties, talked out the second reading of the Bill. When, on Monday, it was re-introduced, after the usual and a number of unusual manoeuvres behind the scenes, it had been expected that the official amendment would be supported by the Liberals. It was the Prime Minister himself, singularly unfortunate in his handling of a delicate situation, that successfully killed his Bill, for he spoke so evasively of the nature of the public fund from which rents of unemployed persons were to come, so that the loss might not fall upon the landlords, many of them workmen themselves, that Mr. Asquith, after consultation with his Front Bench colleagues before the whole House, at once got up and made it clear that the Liberal Party could not support the amendment. Liberals were, accordingly, left to deal as they chose with the situation. The leaders almost unitedly refrained from voting. Of the remainder, a minority voted against the Government, whilst the majority voted for the amendment. The result, as has been already mentioned, was a defeat of the Government by nine votes. When the figures were announced, great excitement was evident, and some alarm was expressed that as a



consequence, the Government might resign, than which nothing is further from the desire of the two parties. Neither is anxious to assume the reins of office, for in existing conditions neither could hold office and power together. The alarm was soon set at rest when it was known that the Government did not regard the episode as one of supreme importance. The fact is, the Labour Party has itself not been united as to the right method to adopt to protect the unemployed tenant from being thrown upon the streets for non-payment of rent.

#### EAST AFRICAN FEDERATION

On Tuesday night an interesting debate after dinner took place in the Commons on a resolution by Sir Sydney Henn to the effect that "in view of the desirability of unity of policy both in administration and development of the territories of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, and North-Eastern Rhodesia, and the necessity for a comprehensive scheme of transport development throughout East Africa, this House urges the Secretary of State for the Colonies to send out to East Africa this year a special commission to report to him on the practicability of co-ordinating policy and services throughout the territories, and advise on the programme of future economic development, especially cotton-growing and railway development." Mr. Ormsby-Gore seconded. Sir Sydney Henn seems specially keen that no trace of Indian economic claims in East Africa should remain in evidence, and he therefore, among other things, advocated the abolition of the rupee currency in Zanzibar. It was practically impossible to refer to the Indian question during this debate, though Mr. Hope Simpson managed to enter a caveat that Indian interests should be specially considered in the setting up of any inquiry. In the end, the Secretary of State agreed to the commission and the setting up of a Committee for the guidance of the Colonial Office, whose object in the main should be the development of the policy of native trusteeship and its application throughout these East African territories. Sir Robert Hamilton threw out the somewhat dangerous suggestion, which Mr. Thomas fortunately turned down, that the Highlands of Kenya might be converted into a self-governing area. The author of this plan is Sir Frederick Lugard, who carries much weight, but is known to be anti-Indian, as is manifest from his book, "The Dual Mandate in Africa."

#### INDIAN PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

Last night Mr. Rangachari addressed the members of what had until then been described as the Indian Parliamentary Committee on the present situation in India, with a view to provide members of Parliament with material, in the light of next Wednesday's after-dinner debate on Viscount Curzon's resolution. He is also to address the Empire Parliamentary Committee within the next few days. The name of the Indian Parliamentary Committee is not a new one and the composition of the Committee of members and non-members of Parliament has a precedent in the Egyptian Parliamentary Committee, which was of an even more

controversial character. It appears, however, that the Liberal members feel they may be compromised by the activities of a Committee which is not, in the strict sense of the term, Parliamentary, though it meets at the House of Commons, in one of the Committee rooms. As a result, they have resigned, except Commander Kenworthy. The Committee last night agreed to a change of name, leaving it to the Secretary to make suggestions; but it is doubtful whether, once having resigned from a Committee upon which they are in a minority, the Liberal members will return, especially since they have their own Party Committee on Indian Affairs of which Mr. Hope Simpson is Chairman and Col. Meyler is Secretary. The personnel of the Joint Standing Committee of Parliament has not yet been decided upon, probably because of some difficulty in the selection of the Liberal members. I believe that Mr. Hope Simpson and Col. Meyler are certainties, and that the third candidate will be either Sir Robert Hamilton or Sir Edward Grigg, or else Mr. Fisher. The Labour members will, be Mr. John Scurr, Mr. Harry Snell, and Mr. Wallhead.

#### FIRING AT CAWNPORE.

I think that your industrialists will be well advised to remember that the Labour Party is very anxiously watching industrial disputes such as those in Bombay and Cawnpore, which have, for reasons yet insufficiently known, resulted in loss of life. The feeling in Labour circles is that too little consideration is given in India to industrial liberty and sanctity of the lives of the workers, and I should not be at all surprised to find a movement developing among the industrial organizations both here and abroad to refuse to handle goods and machinery intended for the Indian factories in the affected areas until a more humane relationship has been established between employer and worker. A word of warning will not come amiss, and I give it for what it is worth.

#### MISCELLANEA.

##### DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND.

###### MR. SASTRI'S SPEECH.

THE following report of Mr. Sastri's speech at the U. P. Liberal Conference is taken from the *Leader* :—

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri was received with continued applause when he rose to speak and there were cries of 'No' when he said that in view of the preceding speeches his remarks would be brief. The thought, he said, which was then uppermost in his mind was the attempt which he had made to understand the Swarajist party at close quarters, to observe their methods of work and if possible to co-operate with them in the demand for Swaraj. For some months he had felt that the chief political aim of all parties in India should be the speedy attainment of self-government and in order to achieve that end it appeared to him that all parties having that aim should forget their own differences and unite in the furtherance of that object. For his part he had made it his business, if possible, to offer that co-operation. Mr. Sastri continued that the Swarajist party had worked in Delhi for two months and a little over and he might say generally that there were some respects in which he believed that their example might be followed by the Liberals. They had first of all a great organization. They had put forth a mighty effort. They seemed to understand their own minds and, though their efforts had been comparatively misguided, he could say from their conduct at the recent session of the Assembly that they had achieved what no other party in India had achieved ever before—the capacity to recognize a leader and to follow him.

So by their sacrifice, effort, organization and discipline they had set them a valuable example. But Mr. Sastri

asserted as if those virtues, eminent as they were for the conduct of public work, could only lead to poor results if they were not yoked to reason and to practical good sense. That sovereign element of success, however, had been wanting, it seemed to Mr. Sastri, in Swarajist programmes. They (Liberals) differed from them in many ways. There were some who maintained that between the Swarajists and Liberals in the country, as between the extremists and the moderates, there was hardly any difference. It was possible to say so as regards the ideal. But the moment they came down to the practical considerations they would find how vague they were in the meaning which they attached to that synthesis. The Swarajists for example, maintained that the reforms were no good, that the Government of India Act was a sham and fraud and that if they tore up that Act and reduced India to a state of anarchy they would be doing a great service to the country. They (Liberals) held exactly the opposite view. They believed that the Government of India Act was on the whole well conceived, though susceptible of great improvement. They believed also that if they worked the reforms they could rise to greater and to higher things.

As regards the amount of co-operation to be given to Government, Mr. Sastri asserted, he was one of those who believed that the Liberal Party had come to grief at the polls, mostly because it was associated in the popular mind with the Government. But he did not regret that they did co-operate, and co-operated to good purpose, with the Government. That was a time when the maintenance of a strong Government was necessary in the land in order to combat the forces of non-co-operation. They took that side deliberately. They knew that they were going in for unpopularity, for defeat at the polls. Nevertheless they thought that greater than the success of their party was the safety of the nation and they went therefore, with the clear programme that they would, whenever they thought it proper, co-operate with the Government. Apparently they had done good work, but if good work was not appreciated the moderate men had to pay the penalty for their good sense and foresight. Mr. Sastri remembered how during a critical period in the land of Japan two great statesmen who held the balance equally between the powers of the past and the forces of the future, men who stood out for co-operation with everything that promised well for that country—how two men standing out above the nation for their courage, foresight and patriotism were struck down by the hand of an assassin prompted by extremist forces. Japan would never cease to regret the fate that overtook those two souls. In this country as well far-sighted, courageous, selfless work might lead them to what they might consider to be somewhat a deplorable fate. It might be unpopularity, it might be loss of position, it might be even worse, but he asked the audience to remember that good work would not have been done in vain. The brave example would not be lost sight of by the future generations. Although for the moment they might have to fur down the flag, the time would not be far when it would be raised up again by their more fortunate successors. He would also say that a part of their ill-success was due to the forgetfulness of the Government, but he would not make a complaint of it.

The present Government of India Act, thought it still left them without anything like strong powers of independence, gave them still something. He knew great many people in England who thought well of India, who wanted to do justice and help them, but they were never in a majority. Even in the Labour Government they did not seem to be in a majority. Before they could convince even the Indian Government that they were in earnest about anything they had to make use of those powers which the Act gave them.

No doubt, their Swarajist friends had made a promise to their constituents that they would refuse supplies and break up the constitution. He was glad that they respected their promise, but he asserted that when they made that promise to their constituents the state of things in England was such that it was quite in keeping with the non-co-operation principles. But before they assumed their position in the Assembly

change had come over the Government of England or which they were bound to take note. In so far as they had failed to recognize that there was a radical change in the Government, Mr. Sastri thought that the Swarajists took a false step in refusing supplies when the Labour Government was in power. He was one of those who thought that when driven to a corner the Indian politician would be perfectly justified even in refusing supplies to Government, but at the same time he was obliged much against his will to condemn his Swarajist friends for having used those undoubted powers upon occasions when the circumstances did not justify it at all. The Labour Government was composed of persons a great many of whom were on terms of great intimacy with the Swarajist leaders, and he believed the Swarajist leaders, had thrown away a great opportunity in not acceding to the request of their friends in England. If Mr. Sastri had been in the place of Pandit Motilal Nehru he would have said that their friends in England were their undoubted friends. They must be given time to think. Above all they themselves asked for a little time. Therefore, telling the Government that they had in their power to adopt a general policy or obstruction and to refuse supplies, they would give the time they required and till then they would only formulate their demands. That would have been admirable tactics but it had been thrown away.

The work for their deputation now would be to make things understood in England so that their Labour friends and Liberal friends in England alike might understand that in India there was still a party friendly to British connection, a party quite willing to stand by the Government and to give them every chance of recognizing Indians' rights with great patience. Referring to the deputation under contemplation he commended the work done and sacrifices made by Mrs. Besant in the interest of India and was full of hope in the success of the deputation on account of the leadership of Mrs. Besant.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### RETROCESSION OF BERAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—You must be aware of the fact by this time that the Berar Provincial Congress Committee has decided to remain indifferent for the present on the question of the retrocession of Berar. The extremist papers in Berar and the Central Provinces also seem to share this view. The editorial comment in the *Kesari* of Poona dated 23rd April approves of this attitude. From this it is clear that the extremists in the Deccan as well as in the Central Provinces and Berar intend to remain neutral on this question. *These people know very well that the masses in Berar are unwilling to go back to H. E. H. the Nizam under any conditions.* This attitude of the educated and the so-called leaders is sure to mislead the masses and prevent them from giving expression to their real opinion on this vital question. While Sir Ali Imam and others are trying their level best in England on behalf of H. E. H. the Nizam, it is the bounden duty of the Beraris to clearly speak out their mind and declare once for all their unwillingness to go back under H. E. H. the Nizam. They should not now accept the lead of these extremist friends of theirs, who, I am afraid, have adopted this suicidal policy because they do not want to displease their Mahomedan friends, who, however, are carrying on a vigorous propaganda in favour of the retrocession. Under these circumstances it is the clear duty of every Berari not to be misled by the extremists. The Beraris must now emphatically declare themselves against this retrocession, passing resolutions on the question in general meetings and forwarding copies of the same to the authorities concerned. I appeal therefore through your columns to all the inhabitants of Berar, especially to those who are educated, that they should now wake up and carry on a vigorous propaganda against the retrocession of Berar to H. E. H. the Nizam.

Yours, etc.,  
T. R. GADRE.

POONA, 23 April.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE debate on Indian Labour in the British Parliament, last week was infructuous, but it indicates the keen interest which the Labour Party in England is taking in the welfare of labourers in India. The sincerity of that interest is doubted in some quarters, for in the past the Manchester Chamber of Commerce showed great solicitude for the welfare of the Bombay mill-hand, only in order to deprive the Bombay mill industry of the natural advantages it possessed over Lancashire. We do not believe that such selfish motives exist in the case of Labour M. P.'s. Mr. Grundy's motion was: "The conditions of labour and wages in India are so serious as to call for such changes in the Indian constitution as to secure votes for and representation of the workers and peasants of India in both the Assembly and the Legislative Councils". The conditions of labour are no doubt bad and wages low, but we are unable to see how Mr. Grundy's proposal can remedy them. If labour is not at present directly represented in the legislatures, it is not due to any unwillingness on the part of Government or opposition from the educated classes, but to the fact, that even industrial labour is not sufficiently organised, while agricultural labour is altogether unorganised. In addition, it is almost wholly illiterate and very ignorant. Labour has therefore had to be represented indirectly by nomination and, it cannot be said that so far such representatives have failed to look after the interests of labour. Nor have the legislatures, particularly the Assembly, been unresponsive, as is shown by the readiness with which the recommendations of the League of Nations are being given legislative effect to. No

change of constitution is therefore called for in the interests of labour.

THE labourer in India gets a very low wage and consequently his standard of living is low. If he organised himself effectively and at the same time increased his efficiency, he would be able to get a much higher wage in organised industries. The state also could then help him by requiring the capitalist to provide proper housing, medical aid, sickness and unemployment insurance and other benefits. Such schemes cannot be thought of at present because the industries are unable to bear the charge and they will continue unable to bear the charge, until the efficiency of our labour is greatly improved. Even so, there is a limit to the benefits that could accrue from collective bargaining and state intervention. By these methods you would no doubt be able to rectify unfair distribution of wealth, but unless the total production of wealth is sufficient to maintain the whole population in tolerable comfort, there can be no real increase in wages or the standard of living. The Under Secretary of State mentioned the annual income per head in India as Rs. 60, the figure arrived at by Sir M. Visvesvaraya. Some economists put it higher and Prof. Gilbert Slater puts it at Rs. 100. Even if we accepted the last figure and spread the income evenly on the whole population, each family would get for the whole year only Rs. 450, calculating 4.5 persons per family. In other words, in the present economic state of the country, the highest minimum wage theoretically possible for a whole family is one and a half rupees per day, taking 300 as the number of working days in the year. If Sir M. Visvesvaraya's figure be taken, not even one rupee would be available. Thus unless production is greatly increased, there can be no appreciable rise in the standard of living. This increased production has to take place in the field of agriculture as well as of industries. The average educated Indian is sufficiently aware of the need for industrial development, but even more important and affording greater scope is the development of agriculture.

IN one of the illuminating articles which he is contributing to the *Times of India* on the subject of reforms, Mr. Chintamani points out how, by placing the finance department in charge of an executive councillor,

practically the system of divided purse has been brought in force in the provinces. The proposal for introducing the system, which was made by the Government of India, was turned down by the Joint Select Committee; but the latter had not the perspicacity to see that by making one in charge of reserved subjects a Finance Member, the same system would be revived in another form. For it would be but human if, in the circumstances in which he found himself, the Finance Member showed some partiality to the reserved departments and looked a little askance at the transferred. He could also put a veto upon schemes to which a Minister might have given administrative sanction and thus bring to naught all that a Minister might have planned. The Joint Committee had apparently foreseen this difficulty to some extent and had therefore recommended the appointment of a joint finance secretary. This was, however, a palliative which was not found serviceable in any province. None of the difficulties which were actually experienced by those who undertook to carry on the administration had been unforeseen by them. They had, before being called to office, protested most vigorously, as witness the National Liberal Federation's resolutions on the subject. The subsequent experience only adds point to the criticism then made. This reform falls well within the restricted sphere within which the Government of India's committee is working, and we hope therefore that it will see its way to remedy this defect, which does not call for any structural changes in the Act but merely an amendment of rules.

**MAHATMA GANDHI** in last week's *Young India* opposes the boycott of Empire goods as a measure of seeking justice in the matter of the Kenya decision. He disapproves of it because it is unpractical, but above all reproaches it as a measure inspired by hatred and ill-will. We do not for the moment propose to deal with the Mahatma's criticism to the effect that it is not possible to carry out the boycott effectively. Supposing all that he says on this score is true, it would at best be an indiscreet decision. But his other criticism that it is an immoral decision compels serious consideration, as we still cherish the ambition, though we are "co-operators," of having some little regard for morality. And on thinking the matter over, we feel that Mahatma's reasoning is vitiated by confusion between anger and hatred. This subject has been treated in the abstract in our issues of September 13 and 20 of last year, to which we would request the attention of the curious. And it would perhaps be useful to reproduce here an extract from S. Thomas Aquinas which we gave on that occasion to elucidate the difference between hatred and anger. Both seek to inflict injury upon those who have done wrong, but whereas hatred wishes them evil for evil's sake, anger wishes them evil as a means of just vengeance. S. Thomas says in

"Summa": "The object of anger is the same in substance as the object of hatred; since, just as the hater wishes evil to him whom he hates, so does the angry man wish evil to him with whom he is angry. But there is a difference of aspect: for the hater desires evil to his enemy as evil, whereas the angry man wishes evil to him with whom he is angry not as evil, but in so far as it has an aspect of good, that is, in so far as he reckons it as just, since it is a means of vengeance. Hatred implies application of evil to evil, whereas anger denotes application of good to evil."

**DR. SUN-YAT-SEN**, whose death was reported last week, was one of the greatest men not only of China but of the whole world. Born in 1866, he studied for medicine at Hongkong from 1887 to 1892 and set up practice at Canton. His heart, however, was in politics, and after the defeat of China by Japan in 1894 he and seventeen others formed a secret association for the overthrow of the Emperor, under whom they believed no progress would be possible. The members of the association were soon caught and beheaded, all except Dr. Sun, who soon managed to escape and reach London. There in 1896 he was kidnaped by the Chinese Embassy to be secretly deported to China for execution, but his English friends came to know of it and secured his release through the then Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury. After that he constantly toured in various countries and visited every colony of the Chinese, with the object of getting support for his cause. He risked every peril, and under various disguises he traversed, mostly on foot, every nook and corner of China enrolling friends, establishing secret societies and appointing agents. The revolution came at last in 1911, and when the Emperor abdicated the throne an appreciative public elected Dr. Sun President of the Chinese Republic. But he soon discovered the enormous power and influence of Yuan-Shai-Kai and in the interests of the country, resigned his Presidency in Yuan's favour and assisted his government. Later, military governors usurped power and chaos intervened. But before blaming Dr. Sun for having brought about a revolution without being able to restore order, one must remember the vastness of the country, its population, its backwardness and other factors. He cannot be blamed for not having achieved what probably no one could have achieved. But he did succeed in one thing. By his influence with Foreign Embassies he secured for China non-intervention from European powers and Japan. In 1921 he was elected to the presidency of the southern Government at Canton, which he held until death. Selflessness was the chief trait of his character and was the secret of his great influence with his own countrymen and outsiders.

## STORES PURCHASE.

WHEN it is remembered that the Government of India purchases annually over 10 crores worth of stores, and when one considers the influence of such large purchases on the industrial development of India, the stores purchase policy of the Government is a matter of no small significance to the people. The new rules published in the Gazette of India of the 6th instant are the result of the recommendations of the Stores Purchase Committee which reported in 1920.

The Committee found that though it had been the policy of the Government to give preference to stores manufactured either wholly or substantially in India, the realisation of the policy in practice was defeated by the Stores Purchase Rules which required on the part of the individual purchasing officers a close comparison with foreign articles, and by the absence of a well-qualified and well-equipped agency to make purchases in India, with the result that stores, which are either manufactured in India or could be manufactured with some stimulus, continued to be purchased from England. The realisation of the policy of Indian preference depended on the creation of an adequate organization in India, which in turn depended on the determination of the Government to push through their professed policy. The Committee accordingly recommended that there should be a radical change in the Stores purchase policy of the Government, viz. that the centre of gravity should be shifted from London to Delhi; and that there should be created and developed in India an adequate Stores Department which within five years will become the chief office and reduce the present London Office to the position of a branch office subordinate to the head office in Delhi. The Government have accepted the Committee's recommendation to attach a preamble declaring in more emphatic terms their policy to be to make purchases with a view not only to economy and efficiency, but to encourage the industries of the country. So far so good.

But the recommendation vital to the realization of this policy the Government have not yet seen their way to accept, viz. the establishment of the chief Stores Department in India and the reduction of the London office to a branch office. During the debate on the Stores policy in the Assembly on 14th February last, the Hon'ble Mr. Chatterjee and the Hon'ble Sir Charles Innes contended that though the Government were keen on developing the Department in India, it was the Legislative Assembly and the Retrenchment Committee that were responsible for refusing the money necessary for it; and he claimed credit for Government for setting aside the Incheape Committee recommendation and deciding in favour of a rapid development of the department. With all goodwill, we find it rather difficult to accept this story at its face value. Mr. W. S. J. Wilson had anticipated and met this argument about want of money to develop the department in India. He

observed, "My suggestion is that, Sir, is that the money is spent now, that we do not get services in London for nothing. We pay for them, either directly or indirectly and if the money is spent, our desire is that it should be spent in India." Large sums of money will certainly be wanted if the Government proposed to maintain intact the London office and create another in India. On this matter, which was specifically raised in the debate, no unequivocal reply was forthcoming from the Government to the effect that they intended to reduce the London office, to a branch of the office in India. It follows, therefore, that the Government have no intention at present to do so; and yet, that is vital to the oft-emphasised policy of the Government to encourage Indian industries. The Government is again laying itself open to the accusation that their faith in their policy is feeble. Nor is this suspicion dissipated by the antecedent circumstances. Firstly, there has been an enormous delay in framing these rules; the Committee reported in 1920 and the Rules were promulgated in 1924, though there is very little in the new Rules to justify this delay. Secondly, in the words of the Committee, "the Government of India have not been generally successful in the effort made by them, from time to time, to procure relaxation of the Stores Rules, in respect of the encouragement of local industries and of the local purchase of imported stores, and this failure has been contributed to largely by the influence of the Stores Department of, and the consulting Engineers to, the India Office." It would have cleared the atmosphere very much if the resolution giving cover to the new Stores Purchase Rules had mentioned, as the Committee desired, that the Secretary of State had accepted a convention to delegate to the Government of India full control over stores purchase. All these circumstances give room to the suspicion that the heavy hand of the vested interests in London, is throttling the policy of the Government of India.

The New Stores Purchase Rules are certainly more liberal than the old. It is sufficient if the price of purely indigenous goods is "reasonable"; it need not be "not unfavourable". In purchasing articles partly manufactured in India, it is no longer necessary to institute a close comparison in price between them and similar articles available in London, or an enquiry as to whether a "substantial" part of the manufacture is done in India—conditions which in the past have effectively deterred purchasing officers from going in for them. But in the absence of a rule, similar to Rule No. 1 as drafted by the Committee, which provides for the supply of the necessary information regarding the resources in India for such purchases, and which compels officers to avail themselves of the Stores Department in India, the new Rules are not likely to improve the situation appreciably.

The Resolution is moreover silent with regard to the other recommendations made by the Committee which are very necessary to stimulate

manufacture in India, namely, the guaranteeing of orders for a definite period, the placing of orders at specially favourable rates for a limited time and the securing of favourable railway rates, besides protection to new industries.

With regard to all stores not manufactured in India, the Rules still look to London as the main and primary source of supply. The old rules only permitted the purchase in India of foreign goods within certain financial limits when such articles are already in India and their price compares favourably with the London price. The new rules permit, for the first time, the purchase only of plant and machinery and the parts thereof, from branches and technical agents in India of approved foreign manufacturers—not mere commercial importers—under certain conditions, which include that it should not cost more to purchase locally than from London; and that the local branch has a staff of mechanical experts, who can erect and repair the machinery it supplies. Though it is apparent that it is best in every way to purchase direct from foreign manufacturers from their places of manufacture, this departure in the new Rules is justified by the reason that foreign manufacturers will be induced to start branches in India, which will eventually develop into manufacturing centres, and thereby help the industrial development of this country. That is also the reason why purchases are not permitted from importers, pure and simple.

But it appears to us that this change in the policy will be more an excuse than an inducement for foreign manufacturers to open branches in India. As long as they are sure of orders coming to them, irrespective of their having branches in India or not, and as long as they do not derive any special advantages by opening branches in India, there is not much inducement for them to do so. The Committee advocated local purchases wherever possible, not even excluding rigidly the mere importer in fact, they would leave the Chief of the Stores Department in India absolutely free to purchase from whomsoever he liked; the manufacturer direct, or his branch in India, or the importer—or through the London Stores office, with a strong bias, however, in favour of local purchase—and they advocated special advantages for local manufacturers, which would be a strong inducement not only for Indians to start new industries but also for foreign manufacturers to open factories in India. The policy of the Government in the matter of foreign stores and, for the matter of that, the purchase of all their stores, remains materially unchanged,—purchase from London. They have just opened the doors a bit wider for local purchase. There is no inducement for it, much less a determined diversion towards local purchase. We will therefore be looking in vain for any rapid industrial development in India from the Government's new policy of stores purchase.

#### "GIVE THE NATIVE HIS LAND."

WE see welcome signs of a movement on the part of Missionary bodies in Kenya to obtain a partial redress of the wrong done to the natives by the land policy of the Kenya Government. At the beginning of British rule enormous grants of land were made to Europeans, who were for the most part not genuine farmers interested in development but speculators whose only concern was to sell away the land subsequently at a profit. Many of these were freehold grants at nominal prices, or if leasehold, leases were given for unconscionably long periods at ridiculously low rents. Later, the conditions were made a little more stringent and a precaution was taken that no individual could accumulate great tracts of country, but at the same time a wholesale spoliation of the natives was effected by marking off the whole highland area for the exclusive occupation of the whites. The highlands which cover about a tenth of the total area of Kenya, were set aside for alienation to the whites, who numbered at that time only about 2,000, and even now of the 7466-sq. miles that have been alienated to Europeans, only 429 sq. miles, or barely 6 per cent, have been brought actually under cultivation by them. These figures will make plain what a dog-in-the-manger policy the Kenya Government is pursuing by forbidding not only original grants, but subsequent transfers of land in the highlands to the non-whites.

But the injustice done to the natives goes much deeper. They are not only ousted from the best available land in the country, but even what remains to them is not theirs, according to the white-made law. They do not possess at present legal title even to an inch of land in their own country. It comes about in this way. Among the natives no individual ownership of land was recognised. All land belonged to the community as a whole and was held in trust by the chief and elders. According to the native customary tenure every individual within the community had a right to cultivate as much land as was necessary for himself and his family, but the ultimate ownership of land was vested in the community as a whole. Now the British Government, who did not object to giving away huge areas of land in fee simple to European land-jobbers, professed to maintain intact the native laws and customs and decided that no private titles to land could be allowed in the native reserves. But was a tribal or communal ownership of land legally recognised? No. The land law of 1915 declared all land occupied by the native tribes and all land reserved for the use of members of any native tribe to be Crown land, and the Government further took to themselves the right to dispose of it as seemed best to them. The section runs thus: "The Governor-in-Council may at any time by notice in the Gazette, if satisfied that the whole or any part of any land so reserved is not required for the use and support of the members of the native tribe for which it has been reserved, cancel such reservation as regards the whole or a part of such land, and

thereupon the land, the reservation of which has been so cancelled, may be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of under this Ordinance. Provided that such notice shall not be published unless the approval of the Secretary of State shall have been first obtained." The net result of these proceedings was that no member of a native tribe could individually lay claim to a single acre of land, nor could all the members of the tribe do so collectively. The State was the owner, not of all land in the Colony (that would have been quite a sound measure of land nationalization), but of all land still left to the natives, and the Secretary of State was given the sole power to curtail the amount of native landholding at his pleasure.

It must not be supposed that though the Secretary of State is given the power, it is unlikely that he will ever exercise it. The white farmers in Kenya depend mostly upon an active use of this power to obtain an adequate supply of native labour. The European witnesses pleaded hard before the Labour Commission of 1912 that their labour difficulties would be removed only if the Government cut down the native reserves so that the natives would be forced out to work on the European farms. Several witnesses told the Commission in 1912 that the native reserves were being fully used at the time and would be quite insufficient for native requirements within a few years. And yet there was no question of enlarging the reserves, but only of abridging them still further. The white farmers' plea was not accepted in so many words by the Commission, but the effect of the recommendation it makes is none else. It says that the reserve should be so limited in area as to hold "sufficient land for the present population only," which means plainly that when the population grows, it should be forced to go out to work on European land. The law of 1915 says that the Governor-in-Council (and the Council now contains a very powerful non-official European element) may reduce the extent of a native reserve if he thinks that it is too large for the needs of those who live on it. Now why are native reserves to be so closely restricted while no limit is to be put upon European holdings? Is all the highland area required for the needs of the present white population? Is the area already granted to the Europeans made use of by them? On what principle of morality can the Kenya Government restrict the land in native occupation in this way and at the same time reserve the highlands exclusively for the Europeans, when the area already alienated to them is twenty times that actually cultivated? If the principle of beneficial occupation is to be applied to the natives, it ought to be applied equally to the Europeans as well.

In the interests of the natives two reforms are presently required: first, that ample land, adequate to their needs, not only of the present but of the next generations, will be made available to them; second, that this land should be made secure

beyond all possible doubt. At present it is patent that they have insufficient land in the native reserves, and whatever land is held by them is held on sufferance. There is no guarantee whatsoever that the Government by administrative action will not deprive them of part or even whole of it. It is therefore of the utmost necessity that some criteria should be discovered to determine the amount of holding to be allowed to any race and that these should be applied to all peoples, white or black, without distinction of colour. And, further, whatever land comes to be thus allotted to the natives, the Government should pledge itself to maintain the inviolable character of it, which can best be done by giving them the title deeds for its possession. It is utterly inexcusable that, in the name of preserving ancient custom, the Government should make the native absolutely dependent upon their goodwill for his land. The Government's solicitude for the excellent native system of communism in land would be admired if they had not allowed European adventurers and filibusters to infringe native rights. Having, however, permitted a wholesale invasion of their rights and forced a capitalistic system of society upon them, it is sheer cant for Government to refuse legal title on the ground that the ancient system did not recognise it. In fact if the trusteeship idea is to be faithfully carried out, the Government ought to rid the country of the landlordism which they have forced upon it, themselves developing the land which the natives are unable to exploit and devoting the proceeds thereof to the betterment of the natives. It is doubtful if Missionary bodies will suggest such radical measures, but it is very gratifying to learn that they "have decided to embark upon a definite and widespread campaign in Kenya and at Home to secure amendment of the present land laws in the Colony as affecting the question of native land tenure."

S. G. VAZE.

#### TARIFF BOARD REPORT.—II.

WHEN the new plant is in full operation the Tata Company will produce nearly half a million tons, i. e. one per cent. of the total production of steel in the world. This new output is nearly five times that of the output in 1917. Considering the complaint made against the Company with regard to their bias in favour of highly paid Europeans, it is reassuring to be told that good progress has been made in replacing Europeans by Indians. In 1912-13 there were in all 140 Covenanted Europeans; in 1921-22 the number is reduced to 74.

The component parts of the total cost of steel per ton are as follows: Rs. 100 per ton works' costs, Rs. 30 per ton overhead charges and Rs. 26 per ton manufacturers' profits. The fixed capital expenditure of the Company in 1927 will be 15 crores. The growth of coal production and iron-ore production in India has been very slow. In 1911 nearly 13 millions of tons of coal were produced, while in



1922 only 19 millions were produced. The total iron-ore production which was nearly 4 lacs of tons in 1911 was only 6 lacs in 1922.

The total cost of fabricated steel in India is Rs. 310 per ton. The imported steel is likely to enter India without duty at Rs. 250 a ton and the 25 p. c. duty will raise the price to Rs. 312 a ton. This therefore gives the needed protection. The Indian manufacturer cannot produce a wagon for less than Rs. 4400 and as the price of the imported British wagon is likely to be Rs. 3700, a bounty of Rs. 700 or more is adequate to allow the Indian manufacturer to compete successfully with the foreigner. The bounties proposed by the Board begin with Rs. 850 per wagon and then recede by slow degrees to the figure 440 at the end of 5 years. The decrease of the amount of the bounty is based on the certainty of a fall in the cost of production as experience is gained and the output is increased. This in our opinion is too optimistic. It is not good policy to count upon falling costs in an industry which is quite new and which itself is dependent on the precarious price of the protected steel. The bounty should be fairly uniform for all the five years.

As a result of the proposed duties it is expected that imports will fall and detailed estimates of these are given for all dutiable articles. The total imported fabricated steel at present is 65,000 tons; with the increased duty, it will be reduced to 55,000 tons. The net imports of steel bars at present are 135,000 tons and with the new duty will be 115,000 tons. The reduction in the imports of galvanized sheets is very small. The imports of wire-nails would be reduced from 12,000 tons to 10,000 tons.

Out of the total Indian consumption of about 6 lacs of tons nearly 50,000 tons are supplied by India and 5½ lacs are supplied by means of foreign imports at present. It is expected that in 1926 the total consumption will be at the same figure but 2½ lacs of tons will be supplied by India and only 3½ lacs of tons by foreign countries. The customs revenue derived from steel products is at present 1 crore 30 lacs of rupees. In 1926 it will rise to 1 crore 48 lacs. In tin plates taken alone there is a marked decrease in the expected revenue from 20 lacs to 13 lacs of rupees owing to the great increase of Indian production.

Out of the total burden imposed on the consumer, 57 lacs are taken by the general consumer, 50 lacs fall on Railways, Local Governments, public bodies and Indian States, 24 lacs fall on the jute and cotton industries and 34 lacs fall on the other industries. Amongst these the most important are the coal mines, the tea industry, and the engineering firms. The jute industry alone will share the burden to the extent of 7½ lacs.

The cost of a locomotive manufactured in India exceeds the cost of an imported locomotive by 30,000 rupees. A protection of Rs. 30,000 per locomotive means a 40 p. c. *ad valorem* duty, as the cost of a good British locomotive to-day is nearly

Rs. 80,000. The Board shrinks from this on the ground that one of the conditions laid down by the Fiscal Commission, viz., a large home market, is lacking. Unless 200 locomotives are produced in a year, production would not be economical, and Indian railways are not expected to utilize more than 100 locomotives per year. We think a beginning might be made by each Railway building some of its locomotives in India even at a higher cost. This would avoid all complications of duties and bounties.

The effect of the protection of steel on railway expenditure is to raise the working expenses by nearly 30 lacs of rupees. This cannot be said to be a serious addition for all the railways in India. In the case of an engine costing Rs. 6,000 the additional cost due to the proposed protective duties will only be Rs. 100 or nearly 2 p. c. of the cost. Thus it cannot be said that the protection to steel is so fatal to machinery as to cause serious apprehension. In the case of a firm manufacturing jute machinery the Board has calculated that the additional cost to the firm on account of increased duties would only be Rs. 1600 or 2 p. c. of the total cost of the iron and steel bars used by the firm. In the case of the jute industry it is calculated that the increased cost per loom due to higher duties on steel is only Rs. 112 for a total cost of Rs. 9,000. The total burden on the whole jute industry imposed by the new duties is Rs. 7½ lacs and this for a prosperous industry is hardly an item worth considering. On the whole there is no reason to suppose that protection to steel would seriously prejudice the industries generally.

The Tin-plate Company expect to have a total capital cost of 160 lacs in a short time. Within a year the Company has shown great progress and at present six mills are in operation. The Company supplies 28,800 tons of tin-plate, i. e. nearly half of the total demand in India. The Company is asking for protection on the ground that a large number of high-salaried workmen have to be employed. The price of imported tin-plate is about Rs. 20 per box, while the estimated cost of the Indian article in 1925 will be Rs. 24. A duty of Rs. 60 a ton is proposed by the Board which works out at Rs. 3 a box.

The Indian Steel Wire Products, Limited, has asked for protection in order to meet the competition from Germany and Belgium. The total cost of production per ton for the Company is calculated at Rs. 295 per ton and adding Rs. 24 as profit it would be Rs. 320. The price of the imported article works at Rs. 250 per ton. A duty of Rs. 60 on all wires and nails is recommended by the Board. The high duty is necessitated by the circumstance that the actual production is very small. The Board expect that when the full output is reached no protection will be required and the industry will be able to stand on its own legs. In our opinion it is too much to expect an infant industry to reduce costs so quickly as to dispense with protection.

On the whole it appears that the Board has recommended duties which are barely sufficient to give the needed protection. Any upsetting of costs, however slight, would make the protection ineffective.

V. N. GODBOLE.

## SEPARATION OF RAILWAY FINANCE.

### II.

WE gather from clause 3 of the Government resolution that the proposal is to make the formation of the depreciation reserve dependent on the surplus profits being available. If so, it is entirely wrong in principle and vicious in practice. That a contribution to the depreciation fund should be taken into account not after but before arriving at surplus profits, and that the amount of this contribution should be determined not by the existence or the size of the surplus profits but by the life period of the railway property, do not require to be enunciated as new principles, especially to a department which has never tired of professing to run the railways on commercial principles. There are at least two recent Indian Committees of Enquiry which have endeavoured to impress on the Government of India the absolute necessity for a strict observance of the principles. We give below the relevant extracts (italics ours):

"Now in every commercial concern Capital expenditure and Revenue expenditure are constantly intermixed. And a prudent board of directors... takes very good care that Revenue is debited with its full share. The principle is clear that by the time the useful life of an asset or a building has expired, its full original cost should have been written off out of Revenue.

This has not been the case on the Indian Railways. There are scores of bridges with girders unfit to carry train loads up to modern requirements; there are many miles of rails, hundreds of engines, and thousands of wagons, whose rightful date for renewal is long overpast. Their cost has not been written off. They stand in the books at the original figure. The Government has formed no replacement reserve. It is not now physically possible within a short period of one or two years to replace all the plant of which the economic life is exhausted... The position due to the unwise methods of the past must be redressed gradually. It will never be redressed under the present system... but only when commercial accounting methods are introduced in the management of a commercial undertaking.

In our judgment, a financial system which produces these results stands self-condemned... Railway management is a highly technical business. It should be placed in the hands of those who understand it." (Paras. 67-69 of the report of the Indian Railway Committee of 1920-21).

"We... are of opinion that it should be laid down that each railway should make adequate provision every year for the maintenance and renewal of its permanent way and rolling stock. The funds so earmarked should be debited to working expenses and carried to a suspense account which could be drawn on as necessary to meet current requirements, any unspent balance being carried forward from year to year. Unless some such arrangements are adopted and strictly adhered to, it will not, in our opinion, be possible to say whether the railways are earning an adequate return on the capital outlay and will be no effective check on ordinary working matters.

"It is necessary, however, to make special provision to overtake the present arrears, as no funds are available in suspense accounts... We consider that the best course will be that each railway should credit a suspense account with a portion of any surplus funds available, after payment of interest and sinking fund charges, for the specific purpose of overtaking arrears of renewals. This provision should, we think, not exceed the average annual amounts which would be necessary to overtake the arrears in five years."

"The underlying principle of a Renewal Fund is to ensure that adequate financial provision is being made for depreciation and this is particularly necessary in the case of railways which are rapidly expanding. In such cases it is obvious that there is a great difference between (a) the financial provision which would be made against depreciation and (b) the amount which should be spent annually." (Paras. 7 and 24 of Part II of the Indian Retrenchment Committee of 1922-23.)

Again, in Section I of chapter II of Sir William Aoworth's report dated 1923 on the Reconstruction of the Austrian State Railways occurs the following:—

"On the other hand, there are debts against the railways which are not at present brought into account. First and foremost, they must form a renewal and depreciation reserve. No business undertaking can strike a proper balance of profit and loss till after adequate provision has been made for the wearing and depreciation of the capital assets."

We can understand the expediency, although not the inevitability, of placing the obligation to make good the heavy accumulations of arrears of depreciation on surplus profits, but we cannot understand why the current depreciation also should be provided for as a normal procedure out of surplus profits, in spite of the fact that the whole weight of the universal law of commercial accounting demands that the credits to the fund should be obtained by corresponding debits to working expenses. The provision in the resolution to use surplus profits must, in these circumstances, be specifically limited to arrears of depreciation and cannot be given a permanent place amongst the uses to which surplus profits are to be put.

As regards the provision for building up a reserve out of profits for writing down and writing off capital the necessity here also is only temporary. As pointed out by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas at page 1558 of the Legislative Assembly Debates, Volume IV, losses on account of depreciation, etc., of stores in stock should be written off from year to year and not allowed to accumulate. Provision for a reserve for such losses as a permanent feature postulates that the losses on account of stores, which remained unnoticed over a series of years until they have now accumulated to no less than the huge sum of Rs. 3 crores, will normally recur. This postulate cannot be accepted in a scheme which is professedly businesslike and the scope of this reserve must be specifically limited to the contingency which has arisen.

There are two other purposes on which surplus profits are under the scheme of separation proposed to be utilized, and the existence of accumulated surplus profits is made a condition

precedent to the fulfilment of those purposes. These purposes are:—

- (a) the improvement of services rendered to the public, and
- (b) the reduction of rates.

This is all right so far as it goes. But it must be remembered that the measures of comfort and convenience at present provided by the railways, particularly for third class passengers, is below the minimum standard and that the manipulation of rates and fares by the Executive has not, in the past, been above grave suspicion. Under the scheme of separation the railways are to be managed under the forms of a Company, which, at p. 3756 of the Legislative Assembly Debates, Volume II, Mr. Ginwala humorously described as Messrs. Innes and Company, and the resolution constitutes an informal contract between the Legislative Assembly and this informal Company. The Assembly in this scheme occupies the position of a giver of monopoly and, as such, it must first obtain recognition, statutory or otherwise, of its right of regulating the services given by the railways and the payments demanded by them, so as to protect the travelling and the trading public using the railways from exploitation by extortionate charges, unjust discriminations in rates and fares and failures or delay to provide reasonable facilities.

Clause 4 of the resolution, in virtue of its own wording and in the light also of the remarks in paragraph 15 of the Memorandum by the Chief Commissioner and the Financial Commissioner for Railways on the Separation of the Railway from the General Finance, constitutes what is to all appearances a curtailment of the right of the Assembly to require its previous sanction to expenditure in excess of the accepted provision in the Budget, on the mere ground that such expenditure will not necessitate "a demand on the Assembly for additional funds as in the case of other departments, since the railway administration will be responsible for finding its own revenues." The voting of a grant by the Assembly implies three things, acceptance of the necessity for the work, approval of the cost of the work and sanction to the appropriation of funds. The mere existence of funds as earmarked for railway purposes cannot be regarded as a sufficient justification either for anticipating or treating as formal this three-fold sanction of the Assembly, which must preserve its right to consider the demand and vote it on its own merits as in the case of the other departments. We quite agree that, for the reasons given in paragraphs 7 and 15 of the Memorandum, a commercial concern cannot be run on the basis that the ordinary revenue expenditure, i. e. operating expenses, in a particular period of 12 months is not to exceed a fixed figure, since such expenditure is largely affected by conditions of traffic which cannot be foreseen and that if a larger outlay promises increased returns, the rigid limitation of expenditure may result in nothing but loss. But the demand made for freedom to exceed the budgeted provision covers the whole field of railway expen-

ditures instead of being limited to operating expenses only. The real difficulty could quite easily be got over by the Assembly conceding to the railway administration the power to exceed the budget provision for operating expenses within a fixed percentage of the traffic receipts.

As regards clause 5 of the resolution, the only suggestions we have to make are that the railway demands should be split up into a larger number and that the number of days now available for their discussion should be increased. In this connection we would invite a perusal of the first 4 pages of the Servants of India Society Pamphlet No. 8, "Railways and the Budget" and paragraph 22 of the report of the Public Accounts Committee on the accounts of 1921-22.

Coming to the last clause of the resolution, viz., No. 6, we do not see what advantage will be secured, from the point of view of the non-official members in the Assembly, by placing the estimates of railway expenditure in advance before the General Advisory Council which is after all composed of members selected by the Executive from the two Houses and whose proceedings are not published. We would suggest that the railway estimates be placed before a special Railway Finance Committee formed on the lines of the Standing Finance Committee, and that the proceedings of that body be made available to the members of the Assembly.

The result of the consideration which we have given to the Government resolution may be summed up in the form of the following amended resolution:—

† This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that in order to relieve the general budget from the violent fluctuations caused by the incorporation therein of the railway estimates and to enable the railways to carry out a continuous railway policy, the railway finances shall be separated from the general finances of the country in the following manner:—

(I) An account shall be made up showing, as far as possible, the amounts spent from the inception of railway service to March 31st, 1924, out of revenue for capital purposes and on account of losses, with compound interest thereon at 4 per cent per annum, minus the amounts appropriated by the general revenues as railway profits during that period with compound interest thereon at the same rate. This account shall be added to from time to time as may be necessary in terms of (VI) below.

(II) The railway debt shall consist of two parts, viz., (a) debt taken from the public and allocated to the railways, and (b) debt taken from the taxpayer as in (I) above.

(III) On the debt as in (II) (a) the railways shall pay to the general revenues in full the interest charges which shall be the first charge on railway earnings.

(IV) On the debt as in (II) (b) the railways shall pay to the general revenues as the second charge on railway earnings a minimum of Rs. 4½ crores increasing by Rs. 20 lakhs a year by way of interest.

(V) The general revenues shall further receive from the railways one-fifth of any earnings remaining after the payments in (III) and (IV) above, subject to the condition that, if in any year railway revenues are insufficient to provide the amounts in (III) and (IV) above, the one-fifth there will not be payable by the railways if such deficiency has been made good.

(VI) Any difference between the amount due as interest calculated at 4 per cent per annum on the debt in (II) (b) above and the amount paid to the general revenues as per (IV) and (V) above, will be added to the amount of that debt.

(VII) In no case shall the railways be required in any year to make a payment as per (IV) and (V) above in excess of the interest due on the debt for the time being as per (II) (b) above.

(VIII) Any earnings that exist after payment of these charges shall be available for the railway administration to be utilised in—

(a) forming reserves for—

(i) securing the payments in lean years as per (III) and (IV) above,

(ii) arrears of depreciation as existing at present,

(iii) writing off losses incurred up to date on account of depreciation, etc., of stores in stock,

(b) the improvement of services rendered to the public,

(c) the reduction of fares and rates.

(IX) The railway administration shall be entitled, subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the Government of India, to borrow temporarily from capital or from the reserves for the purpose of meeting operating expenses for which there is no provision or insufficient provision in the revenue budget, subject to the obligation to make repayment of such borrowings out of the revenue budgets of subsequent years, and subject also to the condition that the ratio of the additional operating expenses to the estimated additional gross earnings does not exceed the ratio adopted in the budget.

(X) In accordance with recent practice the figures of gross receipts and expenditure of railways will be included in the Budget Statement. The proposed expenditure will be placed before the Legislative Assembly in the form of demands for grants, the number and description of the demands being determined by a small committee of the Assembly. The number of days allotted for the discussion of these demands shall be not less than seven, and on a separate day or days among the days so allotted the Member in charge of Railways will make a general statement on railway accounts and working. Any reductions in the demands for railways resulting from the vote of the Legislative Assembly will not enure to general revenues, i. e., will not have the effect of increasing the payments as per (III), (IV) and (V) above for the year.

(XI) The Railway Department will place the estimates of railway expenditure before a Special Railway Finance Committee to be constituted on the lines of the Standing Finance Committee on some date prior to the date fixed for the commencement of the discussion of the demands for grants for railways."

#### ECONOMY.

#### REVIEW.

#### THE BOMBAY POLICE.

**THE BOMBAY CITY POLICE. A HISTORICAL SKETCH. 1672-1916.** By S. M. EDWARDS, C. S. I., C. V. O. Oxford University Press. Pp. 223. Price Rs. 6.

Mr. EDWARDS was formerly in the I. C. S. and was Commissioner of Bombay City Police from 1909 to 1916. In the preface he says that he was prompted to

write the present volume "by the knowledge that, except for a few paragraphs in Vol. II. of the *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, no connected account exists of the police administration of the City."

He might have added that those paragraphs also were his, for he is the author of the *Gazetteer*. He is thus in every way qualified to deal with the subject and has succeeded in writing a very readable history. To police officials and magistrates, particularly of Bombay City, it is of course invaluable. But the general reader also will find it highly interesting on account of the light it throws on the state of administration before 1856, the memoir-like treatment of succeeding period which has enabled the author to endow it with much human interest, and the insight it gives, though from a policeman's point of view, into the various problems that concern the peace and welfare of the City, such as the elements of criminal population, communal troubles, prostitution including white slave traffic, smuggling, gambling in its various forms, &c.

The island of Bombay having come into the hands of the East India Company in 1668, a militia was formed in 1669, in which all owners of land were required to serve except "the Brahmmins and Bannians" who were exempted on money payment. The primary object of this militia was to assist the regular garrison in military defence, but until 1771 it looked after also police functions. In that year it was converted into a regular police force with 48 officers and 400 privates and furnished a night watch. It is interesting to read that it was the duty of these policemen, who were mostly Bhandaris, not only to arrest all robbers and house-breakers but also "to seize all Europeans without passes and all *coffrees* (African slaves) found in greater numbers than two together or armed with swords, sticks, knives or bludgeons." Rewards were offered ranging from Rs 10 to annas 8 for the arrest of runaway slaves and of soldiers and sailors absent from duty or found drunk after 8 p. m. Captured runaway slaves were put to work on fortifications or aboard cruisers for a year, and, if not claimed by their masters within that period, they were shipped to Bencoolen in Sumatra,—so that it paid the E. I. Company to offer the rewards. From 1771 to 1855 several attempts at re-organisation were made, but the police, including the European element in it, were notoriously inefficient and corrupt, and crime, which was rampant, was not appreciably checked. Before 1812 the head of the police enjoyed extraordinarily wide powers. He could arrest, try and sentence a person to flogging, hard labour in chains or banishment, or remit the sentence at his sweet will, without keeping any record whatever. As to crime, "Gangs of criminals burned ships in Bombay waters to defraud insurance companies; robberies by armed gangs occurred frequently in all parts of the Island; and every household of consequence was compelled to employ private watchmen, the fore-runners of the

modern Ramosi and Bhaya, who were often in collusion with the bad characters of the more disreputable quarters of the Town." One cause of this criminality was drink. A visitor to Bombay in 1838 wrote, "on a moderate computation every sixth shop advertises the sale of toddy."

A new era in the police administration of the City was ushered in by the appointment of Charles Forjett in 1855, as head of the force. The outcry against the police was so great at that time that Lord Elphinstone resolved to put an end to it by every means and made a most happy selection. Forjett was a Eurasian brought up in India. He was a genius of a police officer, with a wonderful faculty for languages and disguises. "A story is told to illustrate his powers of disguise. He once told the Governor, Lord Elphinstone, that in spite of special orders prohibiting the entrance of any one and in defiance of the strongest military cordon that His Excellency could muster, he would effect an entrance to Government House, Parel, and appear at the Governor's bedside at 6 a. m. Lord Elphinstone challenged him to fulfil his boast and took every precaution to prevent his ingress. Nevertheless Forjett duly appeared the following morning in the Governor's bedroom—in the disguise of a *mehar* (sweeper)." By his disguises he got into close touch with those who were acting as go-betweens and receiving bribes on behalf of the police, all grades of whom were corrupt, and by thus supplying reliable evidence enabled the Government to purge the service of bad men in upper and lower grades. By his acuteness and personal courage he broke the gangs of robbers and ruffians and put an end to open lawlessness. Before Mr. Forjett's régime, according to Mr. K. N. Kabraji who is quoted by Mr. Edwardes, "on the Esplanade, under the very walls of the Fort, occurred instances of violence and highway robbery, which went practically unchecked. Not a few of the offenders were soldiers. They used to lie in wait for a likely carriage with a rope thrown across the road, so that the horse stumbled and fell, and then they rifled the occupants of the carriage at their leisure. It was Mr. Forjett, whose vigilance and activity brought all this crying scandal to an end". Even greater than all this was the work done by him in the days of the Mutiny. During the days of excitement day and night he walked about the City in disguise, and whenever he found any one talking exultingly of the successes of the mutineers, he would arrest him on the spot, blow a whistle, which brought three or four policemen and the man would be marched off. "In his dealings with the *badmash* element, Forjett received invaluable help from the Kazi of Bombay, from a Muhammadan Subehdar of police and from an Arab with whom he used, when disguised, to visit mosques, coffee-shops, and other places of popular resort." He also discovered a plot on the part of some Indian troops to mutiny during the Devali, but as the General in charge, with whom Forjett had severa

differences, refused to believe him, he took the commandant of a regiment to a hiding place and enabled him to hear the details of the plot. As a result two ring-leaders were blown from guns and six accomplices were transported for life. Forjett received a formal letter of thanks from Government—nearly years two after the event. He retired in 1864 to spend the remainder of his days in England. The grateful public of Bombay voted him several addresses and a valuable purse. All that he got from Government, however, was a commission in the Army for his son and permission to receive the purse. Mr. Edwardes thinks it curious that such an admirable servant of the state was not rewarded with a Knighthood or other honours. But the explanation is simple enough—he was a Eurasian!

It is not to be expected that such a genius would be available on every occasion to occupy the post of Commissionership. More than forty years elapsed before one approaching him in acumen and capacity for disguises could be found in Mr. Hartley Kennedy, who held the office from 1899 to 1901. He devoted special attention to white slave traffic and the kidnapping of minor girls for immoral purposes. He told off special detectives to watch European brothels and steamers of foreign shipping-companies, and making a free use of the Aliens Act, had 30 foreign pimps and procurers deported in 1900 and 37 in 1901. Disguised as an Arab or a *pardah-nashin* woman in *burka*, he wandered about the City after night-fall with some of his agents, and paid surprise visits to police stations and chowkies to discover negligence and other short-comings of his subordinates and acquaint himself with the activities of the criminal population.

Not the least interesting chapter of the book is the one dealing with the regime of the author himself. He was the first I. C. S. officer to occupy the post and carried out the reorganisation of the service. He had an exciting time of it in dealing with cocaine-smuggling, a serious Mohurum Shia-Sunni riot, the visit of His Majesty the King-Emperor and the conditions created by the war. And he has enlivened the chapter with enjoyable humour. Speaking of the precautions he took at the time of the royal visit, he says, that he remanded to jail "the majority of the well-known hooligans and bad characters, to the number of 400", and that another 300 voluntarily left Bombay to "escape the jail—a procedure against which something surely can be said. Naturally some of subordinates were even more over-zealous. One of them prohibited occupants of houses to look out of the window on the royal procession, and in consequence an elderly Mussalman lady interviewed the Commissioner and obtained from him a written permit! A good story of a 'loyal welcome' is told which was given to Lord Chelmsford on his arrival in April 1916. Spontaneous enthusiasm being absent, a Superintendent of Police resolved nevertheless to give a loyal welcome to the in-coming Viceroy by impressing all the ba

characters of both sexes in his division to appear in clean clothes at the Sandhurst Bridge. "As the new Viceroy's carriage swept out of Queen's Road on to the bridge, the signal was given and a hearty burst of hand-clapping, punctuated with cries of *shabash*, rose from the crowd of disreputables at the corner." For this exhibition of loyalty they got a reward of 2 annas each.

V. V. S.

MISCELLANEA

THE BHIL CONFERENCE.

The following Presidential address was delivered by Mr. C. F. Andrews at the Bhil Conference at Dohad on the 17th instant:

My words, to-day, will be very brief; but I hope they may help you in a practical manner. First of all, I would like you to understand that I come not in my own name, but as a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. He himself would certainly have wished to be present here; because his love for you is very deep indeed and your own love for him is very deep also. But he has been so ill that he is quite unable as yet to take any railway journey. When I consulted him, he urged me very strongly indeed to come here to preside and he gave me a message to deliver to you in person. His message is this, that you should stick to the soil, cling to the land, cultivate as much as you possibly can, and remain children of the soil—cultivators and farmers. He himself loves to be called a farmer and a weaver. He would urge you also, while you stay on the land, to take up spinning and weaving in every household, and in this way become independent men and women. With all my heart and soul I commend this message to you, and ask you to think over it well, especially the youngest of you, who are tempted by higher wages to go into the towns and to desert the country.

The second point, which I wish to mention is this. There are certain bad practices, which are objectionable to every civilised man. Some of these are still practised by you. But, let me tell you, that you are able to give up those without losing your own independence; nay, rather, by giving up those bad practices, you will be winning your independence. The following are among these bad practices:—Drinking of intoxicating drinks, and taking of drugs like bhanga and opium are always vicious habits. They should be given up entirely, if you desire sincerely to practice self-purification. Again, among certain tribes, the eating of all kinds of flesh, even of dead and diseased animals, has been common. This is a bad custom, and it is certain to lead to evil consequences of disease and death. Thirdly, with regard to your marriage customs, if you wish to enter any organised religious community, it will be necessary for you to regard marriage as a truly religious ceremony and a sacrament, which cannot be broken. I do not wish to blame you in any way for any customs, which you have had in the past. They were customs, which you inherited from your fathers, but all the same every one of us has to change according to the change of the times in which we live. While mentioning these things, which have been bad customs, and asking you to give them up, at the same time I implore you to keep religiously your good customs and not to give them up on any account. Some of these customs are as follows:—you are living in the open air a good, healthy, vigorous life. You are not, therefore, attacked by many of the diseases which are met with in the towns. You also enjoy your free life in the country and possess splendid physical strength. You do not purchase luxuries, but have very simple habits. Your life is, on the whole, a contented one, because you live in such good health. Therefore, I implore you, do not change these good habits for mere greed of money, or because in the towns there are other

attractions. Believe me, you young men, the country life is ever so much the best; the air of the country is far more healthy than that of any town. Even if you get five times the wages in the towns, it is not at all worth throwing away good health in order to get more money. I know that some times the pinch of poverty is very keen indeed, but even this could be relieved by giving up habits of drink and joining together and helping one another instead of borrowing money from the money lender getting into debt. This method would be far better than that of going away from the land.

Where my own work is at Santiniketan, in Bengal, I live every day close to the aboriginal tribes called the Santhals. Nearly every day I go past their villages and watch their quiet independent lives. I have seen the same Santhals in Assam, and in Calcutta, and in other parts also, where they have become hired labourers under big employers, of labour, and I have been very deeply saddened to note the change that has taken place from happiness to misery, and from health to disease. I have spoken to them and asked them if they would not like to go back to their Santhal villages. They have said: "Yes, indeed we would like to do so; but we are in debt." I have asked them: "How much wages are you getting?" They have mentioned a fairly big sum, but they have told me, at the same time, that it is all eaten away in their extra expenses.

During the last ten years I have learnt to love these neighbours of ours in Bengal, the Santhals. My friend Mr. Pearson gave up a great part of his life to them. He loved them with all his heart. I know that if it were possible for me to come to live among you, I should love you, also, in the same manner. Therefore, I am not speaking to you from a distance as one who does not know you. My own strong advice to you, after all my experience, would be exactly that which Mahatma has given me, as a message to tell you. *Cling to the soil, stick to the land, and do not desert the country for the town.*

I wish to say one more word before I close, not perhaps so much to the Bhil community itself, as to those who rule over them, especially the ruling chiefs. I know that the greatest of all evils in this part of the country, as well as in other parts is the evil system of Begar. For many years, I have been engaged in fighting a hard battle against this evil system; and at one time I had to face the question of imprisonment while struggling hard against it. Both with regard to the Kumaun District, near Almora, and in the Kotgarh hills, and in other parts of the country while working along with Mr. Stokes and others, I have done my utmost to expose the evils of this Begar system in order to bring it to an end. Once I was on the very point of coming to Rajputana, having been requested to do so by my friend, Mr. B. S. Patil, for whose work among the Bheels I have the greatest possible regard. My duty then was to help in putting an end to the Begar and Kasad systems; but unfortunately on one occasion just as I was starting, I was taken ill and could not come, and on another occasion I was suddenly called away to East Africa. If ever, however, in the future it is at all possible for me to take up this work, I shall certainly do it. But I would beg the chiefs and rulers of the different States very earnestly, if I may do so, to take in hand this question of Begar themselves, and if possible to put an end to it themselves. I would also ask them never for a moment to think that the revenue of a State can prosper on a revenue made from the sale of liquor or opium or bhanga. Such a form of revenue unquestionably brings infinite evils in its train. It demoralises the State, makes its agricultural labourers themselves demoralised and corrupt.

To you who have to suffer from Begar, I would only say one thing. Whenever labour is wrongly and unjustly imposed upon you, you should unite together in seeking to overcome the injustice. A united resistance to wrong is the best way to overcome it.

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"Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall  
make you free."

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Manuscript for publication may be sent to the Editor, 96, Beadon Street, Beadon Square P. O., Calcutta.

## NOTES.

By the death of Viscount Morley of Blackburn at the age of 85, India has lost one of her most consistent friends. As Secretary of State for India from 1905 to 1910, and as the inaugurator of the initial reforms tending to give Indians a larger share in the control of the government of their own land, Lord Morley will go down to history as one of the most illustrious of her legislators.

Had Lord Morley's views with regard to Ireland been carried into effect, there is little doubt that we should have been spared the turmoil and upset of the last few years and the spectacle of a divided Ireland under two governments. The same principles that influenced him in regard to Ireland were shown in his relationship with India. The difference between a Liberal and a Conservative has sometimes been expressed in this way—that the Liberal is prepared to trust his fellow-men and encourage them to rise to a higher level by making it possible to learn by actual experience; whilst the Conservative policy is founded on a principle of mistrust, that is not ready to allow such opportunities for advance.

As editor of the *Fortnightly Review* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Lord Morley had great success in the formation of Liberal opinion and it was rather a surprise to his friends when he emerged from the ranks of Journalism into the open political arena. The writer of this note well remembers the excitement of the Newcastle election in 1883, when he first came into the field as a Liberal candidate.

At the declaration of war in 1914, Lord Morley (together with John Burns) withdrew from the Government; and he has since lived in retirement in the neighbourhood of London. Amongst other measures con-

cerning India, Lord Morley was responsible for direct Indian representation, on both the Secretary of State's and the Governor-General's Councils.

The Bombay Christian Council has just met in Bombay and framed its bye-laws for future guidance. It consists of equal numbers of Indian Christians and Foreign missionaries. Amongst its resolutions were one on Public Morals and another on Temperance. It approved the action of the Executive Committee in publishing their letter in regard to Kenya, which we have already printed in these columns.

In regard to the evil of betting and gambling in connection with horse-racing in Bombay and Poona the following Resolution was passed:

"Because betting and gambling in connection with horse-racing in Bombay and Poona are a cause of financial distress to thousands of people, a moral injury to many, and a blot on the moral and social life of the community, the Council appeals to all classes, and especially to all Christians, to refrain from participating in this evil practice and to use their influence to warn and save others from this evil."

The Report of the Ahmednagar Conference on Rural Education is now ready. The price is 4 annas per copy. Single copies may be had by sending 5 annas in stamps to the Manager, Scottish Mission Industries Company, East Street, Poona. Larger quantities will be sent V.P.P.

At a Durbar held in Ranchi, H. E. the Governor of Bihar and Orissa reported the following financial outlay for the relief of people in the flooded area. The Government had placed at the disposal of the Collectors of the 5 districts most concerned Rs. 10,55,000 for *takhavi* loans, Rs. 110,000 for gratuitous relief, Rs. 10,000 to municipalities for sanitary measures, Rs. 45,000 to municipalities for house-building advances. The District Boards of Saran, Shahabad and Gaya have respectively voted Rs. 15,000, Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 5,000. From the Provincial Famine Charitable Relief Fund raised some years ago, he hoped to allot Rs. 10,000. These the Governor said, were not sufficient and appealed to the public for further help.

*The Servant of India* wants to have a definite enunciation of our politics. Not being attached to any party, we, like others in our position, cannot frame a statement with the definiteness that a party organ can. It is an advantage to be independent, but for that reason we are particularly open to the charge of being critics and nothing more. Public life itself in this country at present is made up chiefly of criticism. We may, for example, point out without meaning



disrespect, that the Liberal Party has stated its opinions and parleyed with Government, but has not done enough to popularise its work among the people to win their confidence. The same thing may be said of Legislative Councillors and so examples may be quoted. It is certainly deplorable, but it is true, that in India at this stage politics has to be largely criticism. If criticisms are made in a spirit of fairness then they have a right and useful place. Our contemporary feels we have not criticized the actions of the Liberals in detail but have passed rather a sweeping condemnation on them. If this is an invitation to criticize in detail, we may accept the offer and try to carry out this duty as honestly as we can. Our general conviction was indicated in our first issue:

It (*The Guardian*) stands for Freedom—which it believes to be a profoundly Christian thing, for national, freedom, international freedom, religious freedom, social freedom. It holds that by an orderly but unhesitating process of reform the control of the administration of India should be placed in the hands of the people of India and it is our hope that this will be carried out with the assistance and good-will of the British Government and people.

We elected, to comment on events in the light of Christian principles—a presumptuous attempt, possibly—but we did not purport to speak on behalf of the Christian community. Our contemporary should know, if he does not know already, that it is an open question among Christians in India whether they should exist as a separate community or, whether it would not be the better thing for Christ's avowed disciples to continue in their respective surroundings or communities. What may eventually happen we cannot forecast, but it is now sufficiently clear, that in politics Indian Christians cannot state their opinions or take action as a community but must act as individuals. The members are already distributed among the Congress, the Liberal Party, Independent, pro-Government and so on. We think this tendency, which is a growing one, is the right thing. There may arise occasions, not communal alone, when Christians may think alike and take concerted action. But for the rest, we expect to see the members of the community scattered among all political parties. In the Kenya agitation, for example, it will not be possible for us to indicate what the community as such should do. Individual members will adopt whatever method they think right, under the circumstances, in pursuit of that very freedom which we believe to be inherent in true Christianity.

In the Committee's discussion of Abyssinia's application for admission to the League of Nations, the existence of slave trade in the country proved to be a hindrance in the way of a hearty welcome being given to her. The Indian delegate supported the claim, the Australian member objected to it. The Committee finally agreed to recommend the admission subject to receiving certain desired assurances. The clause in the League's first article relating to admissions is this, "Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval, air, forces and armaments." According to this rule there is nothing to prevent Abyssinia's admission into the League so long as she gives the necessary guarantees. On the other hand, if it is true that Ras Tafari, who has been regent since 1916, is anxious to govern well, his application now would denote his desire to place the country under influences which would ensure the improvements and reforms, which by himself he cannot bring about. If

Abyssinia is not able to fulfil the terms of the covenant then it can be dismissed from the League by a vote of the Council. Objections raised against Abyssinia are important for the reason that they are of the type that would lead to curbing the independence of the country as a necessary preliminary to its admission. The anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society in a petition to the League suggested that a League mandate of an advanced type might be offered to Abyssinia with a conditional invitation to enter the League as a Sovereign State. How difficult is the suppression of the slave trade, is proved by the fact that in regard to the mandatory states of South-West Africa and Tanganyika, nothing was done except the production of a report as to the extent of slavery in those states at the present time. The mandate system, for the matter of that, the League itself, has to justify itself and it would seem there need be no hurry therefore to dictate terms to a country which seeks help.

Commenting on the Government of India Resolution on the Kenya decision the *Nation and Athenaeum* writes: "The correct but embarrassed tone of this communication shows the anomalous character of the present regime in India, and if the Kenya controversy is followed (as is more likely than not) by similar incidents of equal gravity, the logic of events may drive the Government of India out of the service of one of its present two masters long before British Conservatives and Indian extremists have finished debating on abstract grounds how long the diarchy ought to last. Technically the Government of India is as much as ever the servant of the Imperial Parliament, since the Indian Legislative Assembly is, so to speak, a minor. But the Indian Reform Scheme would mean nothing at all if the executive were not to feel itself in some degree morally responsible towards the embryo organ of Indian democratic Government."

The changes produced on mind and body by alcohol, which result in what we call drunkenness, are consequent upon the narcotic effect of alcohol upon the brain; but this effect was being produced upon the brain long before it resulted in disorders of conduct so gross that a casual passer-by could recognize the case as one of drunkenness.

"We now know that those narcotic effects upon the brain are produced by quite small doses of alcohol, taken in the form of alcoholic beverages and can be accurately demonstrated to have taken effect a few minutes after the drug has been taken.

The evil wrought by alcohol, taken in large doses or small doses, whether evidenced by changes in conduct so blatant that no one can misinterpret them, or accompanied by departures from the normal so minute that careful observation is needed to reveal them—the evil is one and the same. Alcohol is a narcotic poison. As Sir Alfred Pearce Gould has said, "there is no scientific justification for picking out one ill-defined degree of its narcotizing influence, labelling that with a special name (drunkenness) and speaking of it as the particular form of alcoholic action that must be prevented. It would be as absurd to limit the term "fever" to illness with a temperature between 102° F. and 104° F., and to concentrate study and efforts of prevention and care upon it, while we neglected to study or to care for cases of raised temperature below 102° F. and over 104° F. . . . The study of drunkenness is only important as enabling us to see at a glance the real influence of alcohol upon the nervous system when it is taken in smaller quantity, and because for every drunkard obviously poisoned with alcohol there are scores of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of "moderate" drinkers suffering from similar though less obvious narcotic effects. . . . We only get rid of the evil wrought by alcohol when we free ourselves from all the inefficiency it causes—its slight narcotic effects as well as its graver."

"The Guardian"  
CALCUTTA, SEPTEMBER 28, 1923.

### THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT.

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ suffered at the hands of the Imperial power of Rome, carrying out the verdict of the religious oligarchy of His own people, the Jews; the sword of the magistrate performing the behest of the priestly tribunal. From the days of Jesus until now the followers of Jesus have continually passed through the same experience, whether under Emperor, King, Oligarchy or Republic; yet strange to say the whole teaching of Jesus Christ and His Apostles was definitely on the side of obedience and submission to the powers that be. Why then should they suffer at the hands of those in power? There was undoubtedly an element of truth in the words of the citizens of Salonika who complained that "those who have turned the world upside down are come hither also." In spite of its exhortations to obedience and submission, the teaching of Jesus is undoubtedly a 'turning-upside-down' influence, rather disturbing to the complacency of age after age. Its cult of considering the oppressed has freed the world of slavery; has given greatly extended liberty to the poor and to women and children, wherever it has been received. The Superman and the mailed fist find it as objectionable to-day as did the Roman Emperor eighteen hundred years ago; although they may claim the Christian name and even profess to be religious teachers of the faith of Jesus.

So long as the individual has no thought of doing other than follow in the beaten track of his preceptors, or unquestionably obey the social customs of those around him, he finds little difficulty in getting along. It is when he begins to study for himself the recorded words of Jesus and to know for himself the personal teaching of Jesus through the influence of the Holy Spirit of Jesus speaking in the secret of his heart; that he finds himself questioning much, that he has without thought hitherto taken for granted. And here we seem to be getting at the source of our perplexity, as this experience introduces us to a dualism and rivalry for authority, which the Apostle John describes as the conflict between the Christian and "the World."

This dates from the very beginning of the Christian Church; when the first followers of Jesus startled the ruling Council of their people who had just procured the execution of Christ on the Cross, by telling them: "We must obey God rather than man." It left an impression on the ill-informed Gentile populace that the Christian owed allegiance to "another King, one Jesus" and acted "contrary to the decrees of Caesar." But the writings of the New Testament clearly show that the teaching of Jesus was understood to direct obedience to government, payment of taxes and all the regularly understood duties of the citizen to the State. Peter, the leader of the Jewish section and Paul, the great Apostle to the Gentiles, are equally emphatic in directing that prayer should be made for those in authority and that the existing kings and magistrates should be honoured and obeyed. In one point and in one point only, they differed from well-intentioned non-Christian citizens. They recognized a wider and more extensive kingdom; not a mere national or Imperial State, but a Kingdom of God, which the Lord Jesus Christ had come to announce, and of which He Himself was the King; which transcended and surpassed, because it was spiritual and not material, the earthly form of government to which they found themselves the subjects, and included *Mankind* as a whole, in both its personal

and international relationships, rather than any special chosen race or peculiar people. They announced the law of the kingdom in no uncertain tones, as "Thou shalt love"; and were at once brought into conflict with local interests wherever they went and with civic, national and Imperial prejudices. The same influences continue to operate to this day; but the surroundings and the very spirit of the age have greatly altered, mainly owing to the continual pressure of the Christian idea in human society.

The Senate and the people of Rome, in whose name the Emperor acted, only represented a small minority of the population of the Empire; which mainly consisted of slaves, whose lot varied greatly, and of communities which, though free, had little to say in local and none in Imperial matters. The Christian in most parts of the world to-day finds himself in an entirely different position to the early Church in the Roman Empire. In the majority of cases he is not only a subject of the State in which he finds himself, but has at least a nominal share, either as an elector or by free expression of opinion, in the actual conduct of its affairs. The freedom of the press prevailing in most countries, including India, but by no means in all, provides opportunity for the ventilating of grievances and suggestion of wise measures of government. What then is the duty of the Christian towards the actual Government of his country?

Lord Beaconsfield, in his political romance of "Coningsby" written ninety years ago, makes his hero say: "My mind on political subjects has long been a chaos. I float in a sea of troubles, and should long ago have been wrecked had I not been sustained by a profound, however vague, conviction that there are still great truths, if we could but work them out; that government for instance should be loved and not hated; and that religion should be a faith and not a form." Yet 150 years earlier, William Penn, the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania, thinking out in his mind the principles which should regulate Christian government in his new State, thus expressed himself: "Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good; and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be ever so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their form. The great end of government is to support power in reverence with the people and to secure the people from the abuse of power; that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." "Though God has dignified some men above their brethren, it never was to serve their pleasures, but that they might take pleasure to serve the public. To do evil, that good may come of it, is for bunglers in politics as well as morals."

It is easy for the mere theorist or recluse to be consistent; but the honest man of affairs who influences his generation must have large allowance made for him if, in some minor actions, he seems to his fellows sometimes to contradict his principles for the sake of a larger consistency. This is the great difficulty of the man who wishes to follow Christ in all, when acting in concert with those who have not beheld the same exalted vision of the Kingdom of God. It is almost inevitable for him to compromise, in the interest of practical progress, with those who do not see eye to eye with him. There is a small and pious section of the community, who, finding the situation difficult, abdicate their place as citizens and, though not failing to grumble if things do not go well, take no part in the public affairs of their country. This

appears to us the equivalent of the Lord Jesus' parable of the man who hid his lord's talent instead of using it; and to be clear spiritual cowardice. It is our duty to consider the problems of our day; and we claim further to carry these problems to the touchstone of Christ's foundation truths. This cannot make the Christian a good "party man" it is clear; and may bring him into disrepute even with those in whose opinions he would like to stand well. Such perversions of patriotism as the phrase: "My country, right or wrong," must necessarily disappear in the clear light of the Kingdom of God; but surely he is the true patriot who, seeing his country or its government in error, seeks to convince them of this and show a better way. More than a century ago the leading orator of the British Parliament exclaimed: "I have no fears for England. She will stand till the 'Day of Judgment.'" "It is the day of no judgment, that I fear," replied his political opponent.

We have to thank many friends in all parts of India and Great Britain for their kind words of approval of our humble attempt to be faithful to the truth, in our estimate of events and actions in the weekly pages of *The Guardian*. We have also had unfavourable comments from one or two, whose judgment we respect, but who seem to think that some of our criticisms on public affairs were unjust to the powers that be. We are sorry if anything we have written could be so construed; for our only wish is to secure for India and the World, that wise and just government, the principles of which we have indicated above.

### IRISH NOTES.

The Irish Free State Election has resulted as follows:

PARTY.	Number of Seats.	Number of Votes (First Preference.)
Cumann na n'Gaedheal (Government Party) ..	63	410,530
Anti-Treaty Party (Republican) ..	44	288,062
Farmers' Party ..	15	122,148
Labour Party ..	14	121,352
Independents ..	17	106,831
<b>TOTAL</b> ..	<b>153</b>	<b>1,048,923</b>

Voting was by the system of Proportional Representation, which resulted in the smaller parties and groups obtaining their fair proportion of the seats. The system does, however, make it more difficult to get a clear decision on any particular issue, and unless the results are examined carefully their meaning is by no means obvious.

Such an examination will make it plain that on the main issue before the country—acceptance or rejection of the Treaty settlement—the country has given a decided vote for acceptance. On that issue the Government is certain of the support of the Farmers, the Independents, and most of the Labour men, at the very lowest estimate two-thirds of the Dail. Those definitely opposed to the Treaty have managed to capture only just over one quarter of the votes and of the seats.

Regarded as a vote of confidence in the Government the result is less decided. The Government asked for a clear, independent majority, and its Party is returned with a strength of about two-fifths of the Dail. Under the old method of voting this would be a defeat, but with Proportional Representation it is an improbable thing for any party to secure over half the seats, a House made up of small parties (such as prevails in most European countries) being far more likely. Under

present circumstances it seems clear that the Government can continue in power, since it is backed by far the largest Party and on the essential questions can rely on the support of Farmers and Independents. That the country desires it to continue, seems plain from the triumphal re-election of all the members of Mr. Cosgrave's ministry, most of whom were at the top of the poll in their constituencies.

When this is said, it must also be said that the anti-Treaty Party has come back stronger than was expected. It is still the second largest, while many expected it to dwindle away to something like a dozen members. It is disquieting to find so many people ready to vote for those who engaged in the wanton destruction of their own country last year. Among the reasons for the vote are not only genuine republican feeling, but resentment at the drastic actions the Government has had to take, especially in the internment of up to 12,000 men. The arrest of Mr. De Valera must also have swung sympathy to his side. The question at issue now is whether this Party will take their seats in the Dail and become a constitutional Republican Party, or revert to violence.

Of the smaller parties, Labour has had a severe disappointment. Few expected it to be so small. This is due mainly to internal dissensions (the organization is at present torn in two between a constitutional and an extremist section), and partly to the disgust among many classes at the constant strikes and disputes over wage questions. At present all business in Cork is at a standstill owing to what is practically a general strike. The Farmers' Party are also disappointed, but their lack of success is due mainly to the feeling that the time has not yet come for the division into parties on questions of internal policy, economic or otherwise. The Treaty was the main issue, and most of the farming population who chose to vote for one of the parties, stood either for or against it. Independent candidates have done well in Dublin and some other places; some of them should prove among the most useful members of the new Dail.

In general, it may be said that the country has voted for the Treaty and Peace, though there is still a considerable section dissatisfied. Whether the discontented can be won over, depends largely on whether the Government and the new Dail make good use of their powers. Certainly the Dail is a more capable and representative body than the last one, and the Government is in a stronger position having been assured of the support of the people by this Election.

### A LITANY.

[Based on I Cor. XII and XIII. (Moffat.)]

For all the gifts with which Thou hast endowed us, for their variety and for the way in which because of them we are made interdependent on each other.

We give Thee thanks, O Lord.

For the persuasive teacher and preacher; for the strong deep wisdom, and insight of the prophets amongst us, for the mystic and visionary.

We give Thee thanks, O Lord.

For those who are practical and see clearly the nearby things; for the men and women of faith who are ever removing their own and our mountains by their sheer faith.

We give Thee thanks, O Lord.

For those who are always ready to give; who are willing to be poor and share the poverty of the wretched and suffering around them; who can count nothing their own in a world where so many of Thy children perish for lack of daily necessities.

We give Thee thanks, O Lord.

For the glorious army of martyrs right from the beginning of the Church until now; for those amongst us in whom is the indomitable spirit of the martyr.

and who can count nothing, not even life, so dear as Thy glorious gospel and the coming of Thy Kingdom.

We give Thee thanks, O Lord.

And yet, O Master, Thou hast taught us that all these things great and wonderful as they are and coveted by us earnestly as they are, are nothing worth if they but lack one thing—the LOVE which alone can make them acceptable to Thee, and profitable to us and others. We therefore humbly examine ourselves in this quiet hour, and lay bare our souls to Thy kind and searching glance. Some of us have done much for Thee, and suffered much for Thy Kingdom; have borne the heat and burden of the day; have overcome insurmountable difficulties with Faith, and now we would know whether this supreme gift of love is ours—that glorious gift which shall turn everything we touch to gold. That ours may be the very patient love which can wait, sure of Thee.

And of Thy Divine purpose for ourselves and for others—which can bear with folly and mistakes—repeated mistakes, failure—repeated failure in ourselves and others; which can wait and even when longed for results do not come, can go on waiting.

We beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord.

That ours may be the very kind love which cannot hurt another; which when it must speak the Truth, does it so tenderly and sympathetically that no ranking wound is caused; which lives so close to the big kind heart of the Heavenly Father, that kind words, kind looks, kind actions, and kind judgments are as natural as breathing.

We beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord.

That ours may be the love that knows no jealousy in any part of life, which will enable us to grudge none his wealth, his health, his friends, his popularity, his ability, or his success in service for Thee; that we may have that love which alone can deliver us entirely from the terrible curse of jealousy, cruel as the grave which can so easily enter somewhere or other these human hearts of ours.

We beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord.

That ours may be the love which makes no parade, doing good by stealth, doing the little unremembered acts of kindness, letting our left hand remain in ignorance of the generosity of our right; regarding any special qualification or blessing with which Thou mayest have endowed us, rightly, as a gift from Thee, and not as a matter of self-glorying; that our hearts may be so big as that generous treatment and freedom from pettiness may become natural to us.

We beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord.

That ours may be the love that never gives itself airs, but is rather simple-hearted and natural; never pretending to be other—better or worse—than we are. That we may be free from all kinds of pride, even that which resembles humility; that we may recognize our true value and also our limitations, that we may not put limitations where they do not exist, neither set too high a value on our qualifications.

We beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord.

That ours may be the love which is never rude, no matter under what provocation; that we may ever show forth the unfailing courtesy of Christian breeding; that we may ever remember that we are children of the King and heirs of the Kingdom. Whether our relations be with rich or poor, with educated or illiterate, with servant or with superior, that Christian courtesy may ever characterize our conduct.

We beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord.

That ours may be the truly unselfish love which always seeks another's well-being as our own, enabling us to do unto others as we would be done by; which knows how to withhold, when to give would be easier, wisely unselfish so that others may not be made selfish by our selfishness. That we may be selfish neither in our work, in our home life, our recreation, our friendships, our devotional life, our joys, nor our sorrows;

and that we give of our substance and powers but most of all, of ourselves.

We beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord.

That we may possess the love that is never irritated; that we may be able to bear interruptions even when our work seems most important; that we may make daily allowances for our friends and colleagues. That other people's slowness, indifference, unresponsiveness, ingratitude, irresponsibility, thoughtlessness, prejudices and habits may not unduly try us. That our love may be big enough to conquer all natural tendencies to irritability and physical weaknesses.

We beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord.

That Thy love may be in us so triumphant as to subdue at all times all resentment. When we are not given a fair chance; when it seems that our best motives are misunderstood; when we have to hear an unpalatable truth about ourselves; when we feel deserted by those upon whom we counted; that we may under all circumstances show forth the love that is never resentful.

We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.

That ours may be the love that is only grieved when others go wrong; anxious rather to have our insight and judgment proved incorrect than that our hearts ever so slightly fail to mourn at another's fall.

We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.

Rather that we may rejoice always in goodness, sharing the Eternal joy of Heaven over one sinner that repenteth; that we may recognize, and be gladdened by the goodness of those who differ from us; of those who, it may be, do not even profess Thy name. That ours may be the quick eyes of love to catch at once any resemblance to our Father's likeness in any of His children.

We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.

That we may have the pitying love that is always slow to expose; the tenderness which will give repeated chances to any who need them; for the eagerness to believe the best about all which characterized our Master; that we may believe that even dry bones can live; that we may put the kind interpretation on doubtful word or action; that we may trust men to "rise on stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things."

We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.

That ours may be the love that is always hopeful; in the face of loss of health, loss of loved ones, loss of money, amidst the ruin of cherished purposes, disappointed ideals, quenched enthusiasms; that deep down within us may be the hope that maketh not ashamed, the strong confidence that let happen what will, God is over all, in all, and through all, and He is ours for ever and ever.

We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.

## A VISION OF THE FUTURE CHURCH IN INDIA.

BY CHRISTHANANDAM.

It was an evening in the year 1970 A. D. when I went into an ordinary Indian village and saw in the chief street of that place a man with garlands on his neck and fine sandal-wood solution smeared on his chest, sitting cross-legged on the prominent pial. Behind him on one side there was a picture of Jesus Christ which had garlands decorating it. The place was well lighted. On each side of the picture there were standing two vases with incense burning in them and the whole place was full of the fragrance, of flowers, sandal-wood and myrrh. Near the man there was a boy *sisya* (disciple) tuning the *veena* which he had in his hand, and in front of the man was a small stool with a book lying on it. I stood there for a few minutes and found crowds of people collecting all around me who sat down on the mats spread for them. Soon the

man with the garlands began to read from the Book an incident in the life of Christ and to explain it to the people who were hearing him very happily. He stopped after each verse commenting on it with familiar allusions. From time to time I saw him putting a mixture of sugarcandy and spices in his mouth, while the boy *sisya* was playing all the time. It was good to hear him preach that day and I decided to stop and see more of that man and his village before I moved on. He quoted from the other parts of the book which I took to be the Old Testament, about *Manickavasagar* and *Ramanuja* and others. About ten o'clock he stopped and had a short prayer at the close of which everybody said "*Thathasthu*" meaning thereby "Let it be so." I immediately recognized in the word the Indian version of the word "Amen." Then only I realized that it was a Christian meeting and that every procedure was absolutely Indian. Guessing that there might be other aspects in which the church was Indianised I advanced to the *Bhagavather* (preacher) of the evening. He was very cordial and on knowing that I was a visitor and new to the place he took me to his house, inviting me to be his guest. Soon after an informal supper of milk and fruits we retired. I got from him the book from which he had read and looked over the table of contents. Among others I found the following which I give as I remember them; *Buddha*, *Manickavasagar*, *Appar*, *Sundarar*, *Thirugnana Shambandar*, *Santharar*, *Ramanuja*, *Desikar*, *Natha-muni*, *Nammalvar*, *Madhwa*, *Tukaram*, *Kabir*, *Chaitanya* and others. The biggest one was on Jesus Christ and I inferred that in the place of the Hebrew Old Testament in the Bible they had compiled a scripture of their own having the message of the other leaders and prophets of the country as a religious heritage and the head and crown of them all being Jesus Christ of Nazareth. They held Him to be the only *avatar* of God on earth, the ideal man, the fulfilment of all the scriptures in the world, the ever-living Saviour of mankind, as holding the second important place in the Trinity, guiding and leading the world with the Father, through the medium of the Holy Spirit.

The preacher and his family were busy early the next morning; he went to the river to bathe and before he came back the younger members of the household had cleaned and dusted all the parts of the house, the prayer-room, hall and everywhere. I saw fresh, artistic designs on the floor of the house and in each niche there were placed sweet-smelling flowers in bright red and gold vases. After watching everything I came out of my room, met the man and asked him to explain to me the working of the whole village as it was different from any that I had seen or heard of before.

He began as follows "I am the village school-master, Right across on the other side of the road is the school where the village children come and learn. I am a trained matriculate and with me there are three lower secondary trained teachers. All of us teach in the school voluntarily. We get our maintenance from the village people. They built the school for us. To manage the affairs of not only the school but also the other organizations of the village, we have a *panchayat* (committee) of five men, they are the oldest men of this place and having a great deal of experience behind them they decide things in a way which satisfies all of us. My neighbour is a trained nurse and she too has given her services voluntarily for the village and the villagers give her free contributions with which to maintain herself. There, at the end of the road, you see a *mandapam* (hall), that is our *bhagana* place as well as our place of worship. We have Christian pictures hanging on the walls and a cross at the altar place with brass lamps all around and incense vases in convenient places. We put garlands on the pictures as you saw last night. The big row of buildings you see on the farther side is our *chowli* where many men and women stay for a couple of days on their

journey up and down the country. The people who need sympathy among them are usually given that with all care and kindness which sometimes takes material shapes, for example, food.

Thrice in the week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays I give *kathas* as last night. Everybody here knows about them and they are almost always crowded. It is true that they read the Scripture at home together with their families and privately in personal devotions. These two acts we consider as our daily spiritual food. They also like to come and hear me perform *katha* and also request visitors like you, to speak to them on those nights, from the scriptures and about their personal experiences of Jesus Christ, if they are Christians.

On Friday evenings we have *bhaganas* in the *mandapam* and all of us sing together with the help of various musical instruments. On Sundays we have a meeting in the *mandapam*, but the attendance there is purely voluntary. We preach no sermons there, everyone comes and prays many times in the day and takes communion one of the times. We give them rice-cake (*dhosia*) and dilute honey as the elements in Communion. Any of the elders can give communion and most always they take turns. On that day our young men bathe early in the morning and dress themselves in *veshties*. They smear sandal-wood solution and wear flower-garlands as I had last night, then go around the village singing with the help of the *veena* flute, cymbal and drums, songs on the life of Christ and our redemption in Him. Various Christian people entertain them in their homes and refresh them with flowers, sweet drinks, like *panakam* and buttermilk and fruits like cucumber and banana. There is a box (*undiyal*) placed in the *mandapam* and the people put their offerings in it, if they have any desire to give. The *panchayat* opens it once a week and decides how to use the money. A portion of it is used in buying sugar-candy which is distributed as *prasatham* at the *kathas* and *bhaganas* and also to make the *dhosias* for the Communion. We get honey as offerings from the people themselves and we never had to buy any.

The non-Christians, and for that matter even our own children have to come and ask the *panchayat* voluntarily for "*gnara dheetshai*" (baptism). The *panchayat* puts the matter before all the elders on an appointed day and they vote upon the candidate. If he is accepted he makes his own arrangements for *dheetshai*, writes to his friends and relatives, chooses the hymns, asks three elders or full members of the church to take part in the proceedings by prayer, scripture reading and the actual ceremony. The *sisya*, (the candidate) and others go to the river and he is given *dheetshai* in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, in chest-deep water. We have special lyrics composed for the occasion and there are also songs and *hummies* composed by our women for lulling our babies to sleep, on the childhood of Jesus, his character and personality. The person who receives *dheetshai* becomes eligible for membership in the church immediately after; as a matter of fact there is only one membership here and the Christians, both men and women are full members and the *panchayat* is formed of the five oldest men. It is an autonomous body and all of us abide by the decisions, though before they make them we put the matter before them in all its aspects. The person who takes the *dheetshai* usually changes his name and takes one, as for example *Gnanasambandam Yesusrian*, *Surgunamurthy*. We do not have a marriage ceremony in our churches. When a man and a woman want to marry they go to the Government Registrar's office for the ceremony. They may ask us to a feast in their house afterwards on the same day if convenient; but we do not expect to be invited. They however give a feast to the poor under the auspices of the *panchayat* in the premises adjoining the *mandapam*. If a rich man dies among us he usually

leaves a portion of his property to the church to be used by the *panchayat* and sometimes endows free education and clothing for a few poor children. No Christian is allowed to beg. He has to give his name to the *panchayat* and must be prepared to do any work which they appoint him to do according to his ability. The dead are either burned or buried as the dead person has requested his friends and family before he dies. Most of them however prefer to be burned, and their ashes kept in small urns in their houses if their children wish to have it so.

From our village three men have gone out to Africa, China and America, respectively to preach the Gospel. They take on themselves vows of *sanyasis* and leave us just with a yellow-coloured robe, a shawl, a staff and a small vessel. All of us come together in a big meeting in the *mandapam* and the service consists of a prayer and an address by the oldest man of the church. The candidate is asked to select any two sacred books which he wants and all of us contribute something and give him those books.

They have always asked for the Bible and for our scripture which we have specially compiled for India some years ago by the aid of prayer and the Holy Spirit. Our *sanyasi* missionaries to other lands are usually bachelors or widowers. They do come back once in a while after some years, and stay with us. Some one else decides to go in his place or he himself wants to go back. Why? We ourselves had Foreign missionaries in our land half a century before but they have stopped coming now in great numbers as they used to, after we have followed our own ways of God's leading; and we very often have thanksgiving services for their having come and preached and gone. Our village is only one of the thousands of villages with this kind of church organization and we are glad to have these. Sometimes a few of our villages come together and decide important questions which may arise from time to time. But that is all. We have nothing to say about their church and they have nothing to say about our church. If a man from our village migrates to that village they take him in as their own member and we do the same. There is no caste among us and inter-dining is common and not extraordinary. There are only two sections, vegetarians and non-vegetarians but they have nothing against each other and in our feasts they usually eat together and the vegetarians leave the meat of course. In every such personal matter each man is responsible for himself and he decides what is right before God according to the light which he has received. There are men of all races and languages among us and all of us live in the unity of the Spirit of Christ, who came and lived among us years ago. To Him and to the Father and to the Holy Spirit be glory for ever and ever. *Thakasthu!*"

I awoke and found this was a dream but as I told my companions of it they agreed to begin to do their part from that moment to make this dream a reality and they are doing it. One of them, an Indian missionary in these parts is already devising means and has begun to have *bhagamas* and *khatas* in his district. If any of you readers feel that this is going to be the future of the Indian church please come forward and begin the work. Then and only then can our dream for the church in India be realized. I send this cry among you, let those who have ears to hear listen to the call and obey.

#### INDIA'S DIFFICULTIES.

According to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Dr. Datta, in the course of a remarkably eloquent address on "India's Difficulties," at the Sydney Y. M. C. A., said that one hundred million people in India live on the verge of hunger. That—not political unrest—was the problem of India to-day, and it had never been seriously tackled.

Dr. Datta showed an intimate connection between the lawless villager and the educated Indian for whom there was no place to be found in the professions or the Government service. Any appreciation of the problem of India, he said, was impossible without realizing that India was the country of the village. There were 750,000 of them. The village and caste systems had been the conserving forces of the country for centuries. The outstanding difference in the village communities was that between the land-owning families and the tradespeople and agriculturists, few children of the land-owning class went to school; but all the sons of the merchants, priests, and record-keepers did. Those classes had a tradition of literacy. They were the persons who passed through high schools and universities, and so all the professions and Government officials were recruited from them. Dr. Datta went on to say that the population of India in 150 years increased from 150 to 320 millions, and so the pressure on the land was doubled. For centuries millions of people had gained a living by handicrafts, but with the advent of machinery many manufactures had died out. Thus the weavers were forced to become agricultural labourers, and communities having no rights of land were now in a state of unrest. To relieve that, emigration and the industrialization of India, had been advocated. The latter was surely coming, and India was already one of the eight great industrial countries of the world. India was fundamentally not happy in the change. The leaders wondered if her condition would not be worse in the end. While they were not wanted, it was inevitable that the changes should come.

The educated community, said Dr. Datta, was disaffected. Although it stood by the Government during the Mutiny, its output was now so great that it could not be absorbed by the professions, and the students were not trained in relation to the general needs of the country. It was precisely because of conditions of hunger that anarchical propaganda flourished among them. There were, however, some good results of the education system. Because of a conception of political freedom, young men were working to bring it about. There was a strong literary movement, and the creation of living vernaculars was going on, things bigger than political qualities.

The problem of India became more difficult daily. People demanded a new life; they wanted a chance. An extraordinary change has taken place in the past ten years. He had talked to all classes, and not once had he heard any desire, expressed to go outside the British Empire; but it was felt that changes were necessary. The security of the Empire depended fundamentally on justice, truth, sympathy, and understanding, not on the supremacy of a race supported by force.

#### LONDON LETTER

LONDON,  
5TH SEPTEMBER, 1923.

##### A Black Week-end.

Not since that fateful week-end at the beginning of August, 1914, has there been such a critical and tragic time as the past few days. The eyes of all the world, and not England only, are turned to Italy, Greece and Japan. As I write, the news from the latter is still comparatively vague, the only definite feature being the steady rise in the estimate of death in Tokio and Yokohama. This is now said to reach the appalling total of a quarter of a million souls. Doubtless you will receive fuller information direct before you get this letter from me, and I need not therefore repeat such details of the wholesale devastation at Tokyo and Yokohama as are at present available. A Lord Mayor's Fund has been opened in London.

for the sufferers by the earthquake, and it is hoped that there will be a generous response.

#### Mussolini.

As regards the dispute between Italy and Greece, it looks as if Signor Mussolini's action might be the death-blow to the League of Nations, already so sadly discredited by its failure to intervene in the Ruhr. Mussolini's hectoring demands to Greece are the logical outcome of fascism. I only hope it may bring home to people what this attitude of mind really means. The greatest danger in the world to-day is the mentality which thinks that if it has a grievance it may take any measures—violent or otherwise—which may appear to be "justification." All nations are guilty of this in times of excitement, and war is the outcome of this spirit; but it has been seen *in excelsis* in the Italian action in shelling undefended Corfu even before the full expiration of the time given for a reply to Italy's demands. Apparently the argument is that the murder of four Italians completely justifies the shelling of an undefended city and the incidental killing of thirteen citizens mainly refugee children. To add to this the calm statement that this is not an "act of war" almost passes one's comprehension. There is no weakening of Signor Mussolini's threat to withdraw from the League of Nations if they interfere. The world's outlook is indeed black.

#### Opium.

I am awaiting with interest the discussions on Opium at the sittings of the League of Nations at Geneva. It is noteworthy that the Hon'ble Stephen G. Porter, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the U. S. House of Representatives, who attended the May meeting of the League of Nations Opium Commission, has been instructed by President Coolidge to proceed to Geneva with Bishop Brent and Dr. Blue in order to attend the meetings.

Sentiment in the United States has entirely endorsed the attitude that the American representatives took up at the last meetings of the Commission; although there is disappointment at the reservation regarding the production of the traffic in prepared opium, which it is felt is so great a hindrance to the growth of Christianity in the Orient. Mr. Porter, however, expresses his opinion that considerable progress has been made, and that he is hopeful of the eventual suppression of the traffic—"a century old evil which cannot be eradicated in a few days."

#### Irish Elections.

The Irish elections, carried out on a basis of Proportional Representation, have passed off quietly. The Free State Government hold 63 seats against 53 in the old Dail. A little unexpectedly the Republicans are the second largest group with 44 as against a previous 43 seats, but generally speaking the Government can count on the support of the 16 Independents, the 15 Labour and the 15 Farmer's representatives. It is surprising that the latter two parties are not bigger. Various reasons are suggested, the one nearest to the truth probably being that those who are likely to vote for these sections in quieter times, thought that their first duty, while the country was settling down was to support the Government.

On May 5th, 1718, James Tucklo received Letters Patent for "a gun or machine called a 'defense' that discharges soe often and soe many bullets and can be soe quickly loaden as renders it next to impossible to carry any ship by boarding." Its peculiar virtue lay in the fact that it was constructed with two sets of magazines one for round bullets, for fighting Christians, and the other with square bullets with sharp edges to be used against Turks.

The allowance made for Christian feeling in warlike matters has hardly grown in two hundred years. The

armament business to-day is one of the greatest in the world. War is tempered just sufficiently in its operations by Geneva Conventions and such like to throw into greater relief its essential wrongness. For a remarkable array of facts and figures in the war industry we are indebted to Arthur Guy Enock. During the past war years he has been busily engaged in collecting data on the late war and on armament problems generally and has now published them in book-form, under the title "The Problem of Armaments," (Macmillan 6/-). It is well that such material should be available in the French, German and Italian translations that are now promised, so that these facts may be available throughout the world.

He estimates that no less than seventy per cent. of the money collected from the people of the chief countries of the world in taxes is spent on payment for old wars and for so called "defence" or preparations for new ones. Here are a few of the appalling figures regarding the late war:—

Marine losses naval and mercantile	7,255 ships worth	.. £ 686,794,900
Damage on Land	.. ..	.. £ 6,000,000,000
Direct cost to belligerents	.. ..	.. £35,448,000,000
Capitalised value of War Pensions	.. ..	.. £11,500,000,000
Human Life	.. ..	.. 20,775,450 men wounded.
Do.	.. ..	.. 8,646,624 .. killed.
Loss of Human Capital or Social value	.. Over	.. £ 5,000,000,000

In the possession of great armaments he sees one of the great causes of war, but may he not be unduly timid when he expresses nervousness regarding the effect on the industrial world of a sudden stoppage in manufacture? Dislocation may not be so great as is imagined if we remember how rapidly the brewing and distilling trade in America has adapted itself to new conditions with great benefit to all concerned. For instance, in dealing with the chemical side of warfare, Arthur G. Enock supplies some of the answers in the table showing how identical materials can be used either for dyes or mustard gas, insecticide or sneezing gas, matches or smoke-screens.

As a mine for material, the book seems almost inexhaustible in its tables and figures, most of which cannot be obtained from any other source without research which is quite beyond the ordinary man and woman.

HUBERT W. PEET.

#### SOUTH AFRICA.

By GORDON M. DYCE KEELE.

Attention is again drawn to South African affairs as responsible Government commences in Rhodesia on October 1st next.

A little over thirteen years ago the South African Union came into being as a result of the South African Act of 1909 receiving the Royal Assent after having a successful passage through Parliament. The date coincided with the signing of the Articles of Peace eight years previously at Pretoria. The Act of Union followed seventy years of discord and bitterness in the country and was a momentous step in the history of South Africa. It is stated that the first desire for unity arose from economic causes. With the rapid growth of the diamond and gold-mining industries on the Rand came jealousy and competition from Natal and Cape Province, not to mention Lourenco Marques. Trouble invariably followed when railways were used for forwarding goods and customs dues had to be paid. Lord Selbourne made the initial move for unity in 1907, and in a powerful despatch to the Home Government he pointed out that stability and progress were

wholly impossible while four or five separate Governments were at variance with each other. A year later an inter-Colonial Conference was held, the outcome of which was a widespread desire for unity which ultimately led to the draft constitution being placed before the Home Government. There was an interval of about eight months between the passing of the Act and the actual establishment of the Union, and this period was made the most of by the various colonies in preparing for the new order of things. Large numbers of Chinese coolies were repatriated to their own country and employment given to the African natives instead, and from then onwards South Africa has continued to adopt an Asiatic Exclusion Policy which has given rise to much friction. The native protectorates, Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland were not included under the new Union Administration, being under direct Imperial control. The Orange River Colony went through a turbulent time under General Hertzog, who commenced to force the teaching of the Dutch language upon all and sundry. The Act of Union permitted elementary education to be dealt with by the provinces for a period of five years. So great was the opposition in this particular colony that numerous private schools sprang up in opposition to those administered by the State. The British Government selected Mr. Herbert Gladstone (afterwards created Lord Herbert Gladstone in 1910) to be the first Governor-General of South Africa, and he in turn appointed General Botha as Prime Minister. From that time onwards South Africa has "grown in grace," and the Empire can now point to her as one of her most successful colonies. The first general election was held on September 15th, 1910, and was fought largely on racial lines. The Dutch Afrikanders called themselves "Nationalists," while their opponents stood as "Unionists." The first session of the Union Parliament was opened on November 4th, 1910 by the H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught. Whilst it is true to say that South Africa has not been kept free from industrial disputes, we can at least assert that the formation of the Union has proved her salvation. Politically South Africa has been more or less undisturbed since the Union came into being, and commercially she has benefited to a degree never yet equalled in her history. The adoption of the Asiatic Exclusion Policy has however for long been a sore point with her Eastern neighbours and continues to be a cause of friction with India. Of South Africa's part in the Great War the whole world is conversant. It is doubtful if Britain would have successfully conquered German East Africa and South West Africa if her own sons had not participated. The present Governor-General of South Africa is H. R. H. Prince Arthur of Connaught and the Premier the Right Hon'ble J. C. Smuts. The latter's brilliant statesmanship has been admired throughout the world, and to the land of his birth he has given his very best. Many of his utterances will last as long as life lasts, and his policy of Imperial brotherhood has done much to weld the empire together in friendship and sacrifice.

#### FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD.

By B. AHIRA.

All round us in Bengal, every pond and artificial tank is covered now with the beautiful flowers of the lotus, the Indian water-lily. The lotus is inseparately associated with the thought of beauty in form and colour in all Indian literature. Indeed I understand that to foreigners the continual repetition of this one symbol in sacred poetry becomes almost irritating. One can hardly open a page of Tulsī Das' *Ramayana*, but either the author or some character in the story is rendering homage to the "lotus-like feet" of Rama or his brother.

Below in the courtyard my Christian servant is singing a Hindi hymn:—

"Jesu, Thy name; Jesu, Thy name;  
Jesu, Thy name we sing!  
Jesu, Thy name; Jesu, Thy name;  
Ever remembering.

The Sun arises with the dawning day.  
The Lotus opens to His warming ray.  
The Sun descends into the ruddy west.  
The Lotus folds His image to her breast.  
Thy people are the lotus—Thou the beam.  
Give us Thy Life throughout life's  
transient dream.

Jesu, Thy name; Jesu, Thy name;  
Jesu, Thy name we sing!  
Jesu, Thy name; Jesu, Thy name;  
Ever remembering."

I do not think there is any wonder that the lotus should have so entwined itself around the Indian heart. Its short and transient beauty seems associated with the idea of the uncertainty of human life and the impermanence, the illusion of material things; this all-pervading thought in Indian religious poetry and philosophy, that gives its tone of melancholy pessimism to almost every religious composition by an Indian author.

There is no flower which takes quite the same place in English literature, as far as I know. The English, in that quiet unconscious way of theirs in which they come to "possess the gates of their enemies," have appropriated the Rose as their national symbol. But the rose is an international blossom, scattering her petals on the Persian sands and in the watered gardens of India as much as in the chequered climate of Europe. Let Omar Khatyayam speak:—

"Look to the Rose that blows about us—'Lo,  
Laughing, she says—'Into the World I blow;  
At once the silken tassel of my Purse  
Tear, and its Treasure on the garden throw."

Probably the flower that appeals most nearly to the British imagination, as the lotus does to the Indian, is the daisy; sung by Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth and Burns. Like the lotus it closes its rosy petals with the departing sun and opens its pure, white curtains to the sunlight to show its heart of gold.

"When daisies pied, and violets blue,  
And lady-smocks all silver white,  
And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue,  
Do paint the meadows with delight."

\* \* \* \* \*  
"Small service is true service while it lasts;  
Of humblest friends, bright creature I scorn not one;  
The Daisy, by the shadow that it casts,  
Protects the lingering dew-drop from the Sun."

Old Chaucer in his 'Legend of Good Women' has perhaps the highest panegyric on the daisy.

"Of all the flowers in the mede,  
Than love I most these flowers white and rede,  
Soch that men callen Daisies in our toune."

"That well by reason it call may  
The Daisy, or else 'the eye of the day,'  
The emprise, and flower of flowers all."

The daisy is the flower of the home, the beloved of the children with their 'daisy chains,' a flower that can move the exile in the tropics to tears, as the plaintive strains of "Home, Sweet Home."

"Myriads of daisies have shone forth in flower  
Near the lark's nest, and in their natural hour  
Have passed away; less happy than the one  
That, by the unwilling ploughshare, died to prove  
The tender charm of poetry and love."



## ADVENTURE.

Father,  
No glimpse of light can we see  
On our future path:  
But our hands are in Thy strong hand:  
And Thou canst see.

Therefore, fearless and unafraid,  
We will march through the darkness,  
Upheld and guarded and led by Thy love,  
Well knowing that every step of the way  
Shall prove Thee more faithful and tender,  
More wholly enough for all that we need.

O Father,  
Our hearts and our lives, with deep secret delight,  
We render this day unto Thee:  
And forward we press, on our great adventure,  
Of this new day,  
To discover still wider and fairer realms  
Of Thy great love.

Kashmir.

## MEDITATION.

"Thou shalt make them drink of the river of Thy pleasures." Psalm XXXVI: 8.

How blessed that moment of our existence when first we catch a sight of this heavenly stream, and find in ourselves a thirst for its waters! All our days we have been drinking of the river of our own pleasures, and all our days we have been drinking in poison. Let us drink now of the river of God's pleasure, and we shall drink hereafter of the river of His pleasures. Let us find it our meat to do His will; let His choice be our choice; and we may be sure that His blessedness will be ours. Christ prayed that His joy might be fulfilled in us. Of what supreme importance is it that we should daily grow in the ability to appreciate the pleasures of God. It is by giving us here a distaste for all rival pleasures and a conformity to the image of Christ, that God renders it possible for us to drink of the river of His own pleasures. "Delight thyself in the Lord, and He shall grant thee the desires of thy heart."

## CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK

## INDIA.

Pandit M. M. Malaviya has offered himself as a candidate for the Legislative Assembly.

The Nagpur Diocesan Council has rejected by a majority of one vote the motion to accept the principle of the Indian Church Measure.

The Bishop of Colombo has announced his intention of resigning early next Spring.

A Japanese Relief Fund was started in Calcutta at a meeting on 24th instant. Bombay has subscribed over two lakhs.

The Viceroy's Fund amounts to Rs. 54,500. It has been decided to despatch medical stores immediately and to inquire regarding further assistance.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Pandit K. Santanam, and Principal Gidwani who went with the Akali Jathas to the Nabha Frontier to find out how they were treated by the police and military were arrested as they refused to stop the processions without seeing written orders.

Several Indian Journalists and Congress-men in Calcutta were arrested by the police on the 25th instant.

Colonel Kennedy, Travelling Superintendent of the Tea Districts Labour Association, was murdered when travelling on the E. I. Railway on his way from Calcutta near Madhupur, on the morning of the 22nd. Large rewards are offered for the capture of his murderers.

The executive of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema has appointed a sub-committee to investigate and report on the desirability of modifying the *fatwa* against Council entry.

The Ngawoon (Burma) Flood Relief Fund now amounts to one lakh of rupees, the Rangoon Turf Club contributing about Rs. 25,000 in two donations.

It is stated that Lord and Lady Willingdon will leave Madras for Bombay *en route* to England on April 12th.

The Bombay Indian Merchant's Chamber has appointed a sub-committee to prepare schemes for holding commercial examinations similar to those of the London Chamber of Commerce.

The Viceroy has decided to postpone till 1924 the Session of the Chamber of Princes announced for November next.

## ABROAD.

Lord Morley died at his London residence on the 23rd instant after a few hours' illness.

Indications are growing that the fiscal controversy in England is likely to be re-opened in the near future. Protectionists and Free Traders are proposing to hold conferences preparatory to a campaign.

Italy is massing troops on the Fiume frontier.

The Hedjaz has applied for admission to the League of Nations.

Signor Teixeira Gomes, the Portuguese Minister in London has been elected President of Portugal. A British warship will convey him to Lisbon.

Threats of Civil War have followed the news of Herr Stresemann's acceptance on behalf of the German Government of taking responsibility for ending passive resistance in the Ruhr.

Earthquakes occurred in Persia and are reported to have destroyed several villages.

Russo-Persian friction is reported regarding the Russo-Persian frontier and certain fishery concessions.

The International Commission appointed by the Ambassadors' Conference to inquire into the Janina massacre has reported that Greece is not responsible for the actual crime; but Greece is blamed for not pursuing a more active investigation.

The League of Nations has decided to appoint experts to study the question of the League's competence in conflicts like the Italo-Greek dispute.

Zaghleul Pasha in a speech in Cairo insisted upon the need of a union between Copts and Moslems.

Mr. Cosgrave was re-elected President of the Irish Free State and he has re-appointed the previous Cabinet.

The Imperial Conference will be held on October 1st.

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## **IS A BROTHERHOOD POSSIBLE?**

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If any so-called Christian nation will not acknowledge the brotherhood of man, neither can it claim the fatherhood of God. Again, if the Brahman will not live on the plane of a brotherhood of men, He cannot subscribe to Christ's principle of the fatherhood of God.

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# The Guardian

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"Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free."

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Manuscript for publication may be sent to the Editor, 96, Beadon Street, Beadon Square P. O., Calcutta.

## NOTES.

Owing to the *Durga* and *Lakshmi Puja* Holidays in Calcutta and the consequent dislocation of business generally which attends these holidays, we ask our subscribers to excuse any irregularity in the delivery of "The Guardian" during October. The usual weekly number will be prepared and published, although there may be some irregularity in delivery.

The British Government has decided to apply the remaining instalments of the British share of the Boxer indemnity for purposes of mutual benefit to China and Great Britain. Missionary Societies have taken a leading part in urging this course upon the Government from time to time. It is understood that the British share amounts to about £240,000 a year and that the payments run on to 1939. With such resources available, Britain may render a unique service to China. It is hoped that the funds will be spent on education, and that a strong advisory body will be appointed, consisting of qualified educationists, and other British and Chinese, to ensure the just and effective administration of any scheme that may be adopted.

We are sorry to see that Mr. C. F. Andrews is experiencing the common fate of those who desire to help their fellows. *The Democrat*, a weekly newspaper which is published in Kenya by an Indian, has been abusing Mr. Andrews for stating that the interests of the native African should have prior claim over those of any other race. *The Democrat* also complains that Mr. Andrews' letter to the *London Times* injured the Indian cause when under consideration by the British Government. In our issue

of March 23rd we definitely advocated the policy that Mr. Andrews has since so eloquently pleaded, that the interests of the African ought to be deemed of paramount importance; and the consideration of the status of immigrant races should be dependant on the major question of the progress of the African peoples. Many Indians do not appear to see that the fact of "untouchability" very seriously influences the judgment of non-Indians in thinking of Kenya and similar cases. Whilst Indian orthodox *pundits* are not prepared to give an equality of opportunity to fifty million of their own countrymen; is it a matter of surprise that people of other races should discriminate against Indians as a whole? Mr. Gandhi was quick to see this; but since his imprisonment we fear that few of his followers have continued to work for the removal of the disabilities of the "untouchable" in the same whole-hearted way.

Those who desire to have information regarding the working of the Reform Act will find in the "Work of the Indian Legislatures" a careful and useful summary. The book is published by the National Conference which met at Delhi in February this year and of which Dr. Annie Besant is the secretary. One object of the Conference was to discover what further possibilities lie in the present constitution. An analysed summary of the proceedings of the various Provincial Councils and of the Assembly and representative opinions regarding the working of the Act provide the material to enable the reader to frame his own opinion about the Legislatures. A few special papers are included in the book such as the Constitutions of the various parts of the British Empire, Communal representation, Indian Finance, Military expenditure. The Defence of India Committee; the Finance and Taxation Committee, the Supreme Court Committee, of the various committees appointed by the National Conference have reported. The book is an excellent addition to our literature of information on current political questions.

Last week the police arrested about a dozen journalists and Congress workers in Calcutta. This created a stir in the city, as it transpired that action was taken without any definite charge having been made against them in the Courts and it was correctly surmised that what was intended was deportation under Regulation III of 1818, a provision which public opinion in India and in England had long considered a somewhat antiquated and barbarous weapon. Four days after the arrests, the Government of Bengal issued the following communique: "The Governor-in-Council has directed that evidence in respect of the persons whose detention has been ordered under Regulation III of

1813 shall immediately be placed before two judges for their opinion as to whether there are reasonable grounds for believing that they are members of a revolutionary conspiracy and whether their being at large involves danger to the State. We are glad the Bengal Government has given this assurance and that the facts in connection with these arrests will be sifted by impartial judges accustomed to weigh evidence.

In any steps that they take towards counteracting such evil influences in Bengal, as have been witnessed in the Calcutta police courts during the last month, Government may count upon having the support of that sound body of public opinion, which is perhaps hardly sufficiently outspoken but which always exists. The danger of secrecy is, that it begets an atmosphere of suspicion, in which rumour takes the place of accurate fact and the well-meant action of those responsible for the public welfare is apt to be distorted. Truth does not shun the light. It is falsehood which hides in mist and darkness.

If any, not brought up in the intricacies of the law, may be permitted to make a comment on its procedure, the impression left on our mind, after reading some of the newspaper reports of recent open court cases, is that the legal advisers seem more concerned with small technicalities of procedure, than with the central fact of the innocence or the guilt of those concerned. This course, if regularly pursued, defeats its own ends, by inclining public opinion to short cuts to justice and action, as in the case of the Fascisti in Italy.

The reports of the British Trades Union Congress, to hand by this week's mail, and the reports of the late National Congress sitting at Delhi, show some of the difficulties in regard to ascertaining democratic views. In each case party rivalry and the jealousy of individual leaders was conspicuous; and at Delhi, confusion was made more confounded by the introduction of the language difficulty. Only a few of the North Indian delegates are said to have been able to understand the flowery Urdu of the opening speakers; whilst those from Bengal and South and West India asked that the speeches might be in English, and even those from Hindi-speaking districts found themselves quite at a loss, in trying to follow what was said, and in some cases left the Congress sitting in consequence.

The absolutely perfect form of democratic control has yet to be discovered and there is much that is far from attractive in the present systems by which men seek to come to a conclusion on public matters.

The Director of Public Health, Madras, has circulated all Presidents of District Boards and Chairmen of Municipal Councils with regard to the organization and observation of one week in January, 1924 as "Health Week." The object of "Health Week" is to focus public attention for one week in the year on matters of health and to arouse that sense of personal responsibility for health without which all public work, whether by the Government or local authorities, must fall far short of its aims. It is suggested that the dominant idea should be "self-help in health" and the consideration of what each individual can do for himself and his neighbour in securing a healthy life. Each local committee may decide to take up a general health campaign or on the other hand it may prefer to direct its energies to the concentration of public opinion on some particular problem. Among some of the items suggested in the programme are: Sermons in churches and chapels, lessons and addresses in day-schools, essays by children, health talks at factories, clubs, co-operative and friendly societies, etc., lantern lectures and cinematograph shows, lectures in Town Halls and municipal buildings, health exhibitions, baby competitions, general clean-up days, demonstrations, by Boy scouts, etc., visit to municipal works, hospitals and water-works.

This Resolution was adopted by the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, at its meeting of August 22nd and 23rd, 1923. "In view of the gravity of the present situation, the International Federation of Trade Unions makes an appeal to the conscience and desire for peace of the international proletariat, and in particular, to the German, British, Belgian and French workers in order that an end may be put to the state of tension which, by prolonging internal disturbance in Europe is prolonging the economic chaos and is bringing forth new germs of conflict from day to day.

The International Federation of Trade Unions calls attention to the fact that if the resolutions dealing with Reparations, the return to sound finance and economic reconstruction, passed at the International Congresses of London, Rome and The Hague, and at the Conferences of Amsterdam and Brussels, had been carried into effect, the present dangers would have been avoided, and world reconstruction guaranteed by the peaceful collaboration of the peoples, would be in process of realization.

In order to achieve this end, the International Federation of Trade Unions has always demanded the prompt determination of Germany's real capacity to pay, the revision and cancellation of the inter-allied debts, the floating of an international loan, and the pursuit of a policy of Reparations in kind by the collaboration of French and German labour.

The International Federation of Trade Unions declares: (a) that it is the duty of the German Government to break down capitalist resistance to just Reparations, and to collect from those who possess them the sums necessary for placing the finances of Germany on a sound basis, for improving the living conditions of the German people and for the payment of Reparations; and (b) that it is the duty of the French and Belgian Governments to put an end to the military occupation of the Ruhr basin.

The International Federation of Trade Unions reaffirms that one of the essential conditions for the re-establishment of peace is that the Governments should abandon measures of force, and should substitute for them the means referred to above as being calculated to accelerate the solution of the present problems; and that this end cannot be achieved by isolated action involving collision between national interests, but only by combined action inspired by the highest interests of humanity.

The International Federation of Trade Unions declares that the duty of the workers of all countries is to stand firm in the maintenance of these principles and to act energetically and in unison in order to secure their triumph over reactionary influences, which have hitherto stood in the way of their realization."

#### THAT THE WORLD MIGHT KNOW.

O God, that the world might know  
Thy beauty, Thy love:

O God, that the world might know  
The secret, unspeakable joy  
Of life lived in Thee:

O God, that the world might know  
The grasp of Thy hands divine,  
The beat of Thy heart divine, close to a human heart,  
The low sweet tones of Thy voice divine,  
The thrill and surge of Thy love divine:

O God, that the world might know, might live,  
That men might not perish in mire and night,  
Squandering vainly Thy marvellous gift  
Of eternal life:

O God, that the world might know—  
That I, even I might tell  
One soul, one single soul,  
Of Thy love.

Kashmir.

The Guardian  
CALCUTTA, OCTOBER 5, 1923.

### THE WILL FOR PEACE.

We propose to examine with some care the development of the issue between Peace and War during the last decade; and whilst confining our attention to the question of International peace, we do not overlook the fact of the overt and covert war between classes within nations; but for the purpose of this article we are limiting the subject, using the terms peace and war to signify respectively co-operation or violent conflict between States or Nations.

In those almost forgotten years immediately preceding the war, the peoples of Western civilization were for the most part living in a fool's paradise. There existed a sense of stability and security which only acute observers knew to be false. Very few people deemed war possible; and there was much amiable lip-service given to ideals of peace. Even in Germany, Bernhardt lamented the growing peaceableness of the people; and when war came, every statesman in every country concerned, found it of prime importance to prove his own country an innocent victim, forced to take up arms against her will. What did the war reveal? Pre-war amiability was seen for the shallow thing it was. Men vaguely wanted peace, but they were unprepared to pay the price of it. At first there was, it is true, a sudden uprush of idealism arising from a sense of common purpose, more psychological than religious; but this soon passed away under the demoralizing influence of organized hatred, and through a thin veneer of habitual restraint, the innate ferocity, callousness and indifference of man emerged.

What is the position to-day, nearly five years after the termination of this "war to end war"? It is a commonplace of the newspapers to say that the international situation in 1923 is even more dangerous than in 1914. Of course it is more dangerous. In the first place, there are more active national animosities now than then, arising both from the fires of the late war itself and from the inequitable frontier settlements in Central and Eastern Europe. In the second place—the potentialities for destruction in a future war are incomparably greater than in 1918, even as the result of the devilish application of science to the uses of destruction. It needs very little vision to see, what again is a commonplace in the mouths of public men of to-day, namely, that the world (or at any rate the Western world) is faced with the clear alternatives—peace or perish. It is plain that we are now entering upon a decisive phase in the struggle between peace and war. This issue is to be fought out upon the field of the twentieth century, and history hangs upon its outcome. Let us examine the forces making for war and those making for peace.

#### Forces that make for War.

It is hardly to be wondered at that military men, with few exceptions, have failed to learn the lessons of the war, except in a technical sense. In every country they are preaching again that fatal doctrine of "Preparedness"—of full preparedness—and, given armaments at all, they have logic on their side. Armament firms, too, still tread the old path, and so far public opinion is not strong enough to abolish that deadly incentive to war—the manufacture of arms for private profit.

Racial cleavage has not been diminished during recent years, but rather intensified, especially where colour is concerned; as may be seen in India and Egypt. The movement amongst the negroes for a Black Africa is an example. The continued conscription of African troops by the French may well be sowing the seeds of a terrible harvest.

Political conflicts gravely threaten peace, perhaps especially in Europe, where they dominate the scene at present. The accursed doctrine of the all-powerful national State is still in the ascendant. The over-militarization of the new national States set up in Central and Eastern Europe by the Treaty of Versailles furnishes other examples. Power and so-called "Sovereignty" are obsessions in the mind of statesmen to-day.

Economic forces, some would say, drive even more directly towards war, in the modern world. Certain it is, that the struggle for raw materials (both the sinews of war and peace), and for markets, is an obvious present-day characteristic of international life. At the Washington Conference the strategists were busy; but the financiers and the big industrialists were busier still discussing, for the most part behind closed doors, the "open door" into China. Again, at Lausanne naval strategy was to the fore, but the struggle for oil and for concessions continued with endless friction just as it had done in Paris, during the formulation of the dead Treaty of Sevres.

Last, but not least, there is the danger arising from the war-mind of "the man-in-the-street." This is best exemplified by the casual way in which reference is made to the "Next war," with little or no sense of the wholesale catastrophe that another world-war would bring.

#### Forces that make for Peace.

But, fortunately, all the signs are not in the direction of war. After all, man is a thinking animal, learning how to live through a discovery, often sad and with suffering—of how not to live. There are many who have not passed through the fire of recent years, for nothing. Many, who fought in the last war, are now amongst war's most energetic opponents. It is a good augury that the British Legion of Honour recently issued an appeal to their membership calling them to the war against war; whilst Sir Ian Hamilton, a professional soldier all his life, has made many eloquent appeals for a true peace.

Disillusionment has converted many who supported the war to a new fervour for peace, both in the ranks of the Churches and Labour. It would be a mistake to exaggerate the change; and it is certainly the exception rather than the rule for the admission of error to be made, especially in public; but when such public confession is made, it is received with great enthusiasm. The revived championship for peace by Labour is more outspoken and definite. The new peace crusade initiated some months ago at The Hague by the International Federation of Trades Unions, marks a new phase in the organized effort to eliminate war, including as it did a re-approachment with the so-called bourgeois Peace Societies. Those, who know the Labour Movement well however, question whether this new movement towards international solidarity, will gain strength enough to remain strong in times of actual crisis for many years to come.

The achievements of the League of Nations have been subjected to much criticism from friend and foe. It would seem that the real problem is, whether the present League is capable of being modified to fulfil the function of a real world Parliament, or whether it must give place to some new instrument.

A new ally is rallying to the cause of peace. This is, ridicule. Carlyle poked some grim fun at war in *Sartor Resartus*, but to-day the absurdity of modern war has caught the eye of Mr. Punch, which is all to the good. To undermine the prestige of war, and of the warrior, is an essential approach to peace. We may congratulate one another that ridicule is already working its way into the points of the armour.

During the last years a new peace practice has been emerging. There have been expressions of it amidst much that is very different, indeed, in the

Ruhr, in Korea, in Ireland, in India and elsewhere; in fact it has rarely, if ever, manifested itself in a pure form, being generally associated with other elements that have obscured its motives and its results. Yet at its best, when exemplified by Mr. Gandhi himself and his immediate followers for instance, it suggests possibilities of a far-reaching character. It may be that here is the germ of a new political method, which, when adopted from the right motives and in the right spirit, may prove to be of far greater power than the increasingly discredited method of violent coercion.

Lastly, we count amongst the forces making for Peace, a reformed Peace Movement. Before the war the Peace Movement had become considerably stereotyped and was lacking in reality and in dynamic. The question of peace and war was to most people academic, and it is hardly to be wondered at, that when war broke out, the Movement was for the time being paralysed, whilst its members started to think and feel out the question afresh. Every shade of opinion showed itself, from those who quickly threw in their lot with the vast majority of their countrymen, to those who made it their main work to resist war, and to carry on such work for the better understanding and co-operation of all peoples, as was possible under the circumstances. The result was that the older organizations tended to break or to remain quiescent, whilst new organizations sprang into being to meet the new situation and the new demands. Amongst these (and we may include some that took their final shape in the post-war period) are such bodies as the *Union populaire pour le paix universelle*, and the *Ligue des femmes contre la guerre*, in France; the *Bund Neues Vaterlands* and the *Bund Kriegsdienstgegner*, in Germany; the Women's International League, in America; and the No-Conscription Fellowship, the Union of Democratic Control, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation in England.

The characteristic of these newer bodies, though in varying degrees, is the uncompromising attitude adopted to all war, and the effort to apply principles of peace constructively throughout the whole field of individual and social life. The strength of the life flowing in these new channels is demonstrated by the fact that at International Peace Congresses the ideas represented by them prevail against the older views of the Movement; though we cannot refrain from saying here, in parenthesis, that Pacifists occasionally forget their own creed in their zeal to carry a point against a protesting minority.

There is another stream of peace activity created or at least augmented by the war. First there is the organized propaganda carried out by the League of Nations Unions in different countries to popularize the League of Nations idea. Second, there is a popular movement, chiefly in America and Japan, in favour of disarmament, a movement in which are associated with specifically Pacifist bodies, all kinds of varied organizations, primarily organized for quite other objects. These two types of organization indicate that the movement towards peace has become much broader based than formerly, and give hope that the idea of a world without war will gain foothold in the minds of masses of men and women, thus hastening the day when war shall seem as irrational as the duel and the family feud or vendetta.

### THE DISCOVERY OF EAST AFRICA.

By GORDON M. DYCE-KEELE.

During the present year a great deal has been written and said about Kenya, but it may be taken for granted that very few people are familiar with the ancient and modern history of what is now known as Kenya Colony. Even the numerous settlers from Western lands have scarcely troubled to concern

themselves with the historical aspect of a country which one may safely predict has a great future before it, provided that a successful solution can be found for its present political problems.

Practically the whole of the coast of East Africa as well as the adjoining islands was well known to ancient mariners long before the beginning of the Christian era. As early as A. D. 150, the Greek geographer Ptolemy gives a detailed account of the East Africa of those days, which he refers to as "Azania" and mentions the promontory of Zingis. The writer of the "Periplus" also describes his coastal journey down "Azania," and the land of the Zans or Zangs. From these people probably came the word Zanguebar or as we use it in these days—Zanzibar. The suffix "bar" is more than likely an adaptation of the Swahili word "burra," meaning land or coast.

The foundation of the East Coast towns of Africa may be ascribed to the attack and defeat of Said and Suleiman, the chiefs of Aman, by the Governor of Iraq in A. D. 684. On their defeat these chiefs fled to "the land of the Zangs" in company with numerous Persian adventurers who formed small settlements along the coast. Makdishu has the reputation of being the earliest settlement, having been established in A. D. 908.

In A. D. 975 the town of Kilwa was established, and about 180 years later Mombasa, now the most important seaport town of Kenya Colony, was founded. Kilifi and Mahindi followed a few years later, and the numerous embryo settlements of the Samu Archipelago were established at a still later date.

There is definite evidence that in A. D. 1100 the East African Coast was visited by the Japanese and Chinese. In ancient Chinese records reference is made to a bird called the "pheng" known only in East Africa. Chinese coins dated A. D. 713 to 1170 have also been unearthed near Mombasa and Kilwa, probably buried by slave traders.

Marco Polo gives an interesting description of the people of the island of Zanzibar dated about A. D. 1260. He says: "They are all idolators and have a king and a language of their own, and pay a tribute to nobody. They are both tall and stout, and are so strong that they will carry for four men and eat for five. They are all black and go stark-naked with only a little covering for decency. Their hair is black and so frizzly that even with water you cannot straighten it out. The people live on rice, fish and dates. There is a good deal of trade, and many vessels go there. The staple industry of the island is elephant's teeth which are very abundant and as whales are plentiful there is much ambergris available."

As evidence of the rapid growth of the Zang or East African coast towns, we may accept the records of the Arabian geographer Ibne Batuta, who visited Makdishu in A. D. 1328 and described it as "an exceedingly large city." He also visited Mombasa about the same time and writing of it he says: "Mombasa is large, abounding with the banana, the lemon, and the citron.... The people are religious, chaste and honest, and of peaceful habits."

The coast of East Africa was first made known to Europe by Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese traveller, who after sailing round the Cape visited Mozambique, Mombasa and Malindi in the year A. D. 1498. He anchored off Mombasa early in April of that year and describes it as "a large city seated upon an eminence washed by the sea. The port is entered daily by numerous vessels. At its entrance stands a pillar and by the sea a low-lying fortress." He was hospitably received by the native King, whose headquarters were at Mombasa, and so anxious was he to entertain his new friend that he ordered several guides to show him all that the city contained. In addition to this the King permitted his ship to be loaded up with "samples of pepper, cloves, corn and spices." Unhappily the

sequel to this act of graciousness was the commencement of a long record of quarrels and bloodshed which forms the history of Mombasa till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Sir Charles Elliot in his book "The East African Protectorate" has the following graphic description of Mombasa:—"In virtue of the advantage of its position, its good climate and fine harbours, Mombasa was the most important point; yet it cannot be said to have been a political centre for the surrounding country. It was simply the place which was most fought about and oftenest burnt. The native name "Mvita" means war, and never was the name more justified by history. There can hardly be any town in the world which has been besieged, captured, sacked, burnt and razed to the ground so often in so short a time. Mombasa was not so much the field where important issues were decided as a seaport tavern into which every passing pirate entered to take part in a drunken brawl and smash the furniture, and it is only in quite recent years that it has begun to assume its proper position as an emporium and door for the interior."

Proceeding northwards Vasco da Gama sailed to Malindi, of which he says:—"It lies in a bay and extends along the shore. Its houses are lofty and well whitewashed and have many windows. On the land side are palm groves and all around it maize and vegetables are cultivated. We remained in front of the town during nine days and all this time we had fetes, sham-fights and musical performances." At the entrance to the bay a stone pillar, erected by Vasco da Gama in A. D. 1499 and surmounted by a cross, can be plainly seen.

During the next decade there were numerous expeditions launched against the coast from north to south. Mombasa was first sacked in A. D. 1500 by Cabral and again five years later by Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy of India. Zanzibar, Sofala, Kilwa and Barawa suffered similarly about this time.

Early in A. D. 1509 Portugal appointed Duarte de Lemos, Governor of the Provinces of Ethiopia and Arabia, to reside at Malindi. Nothing worthy of mention happened till A. D. 1528, when a third attempt was made on Mombasa by the Portuguese under Nunho da Cunha, during which the town was captured and burnt after a siege lasting four months. For the next few years Portugal was able to claim undisputed sway over the whole coast from Barawa to Cape Corrientes.

## THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

By J. S. HOYLAND, M.A.

I have been reading the first two volumes of Gibbon, and marvelling at their concentrated learning, their extraordinary grasp of detail, their breadth of view and above all, their spirit of polished yet sneering condemnation towards those burning ideals which in reality men live by. For it is not enough to say that Gibbon was prejudiced against Christianity. He was a true son of his age—that comfortable interval between the storms of the Reformation and the hurricanes of the Revolution—in hating as the devil all enthusiasm wherever found. Therefore his work remains a record and nothing more—a record of Decline and Fall, of successive catastrophes, each more overwhelming than the last. It is a magnificently executed portrayal of desolation and ruin, to read which is to live once more through twelve hundred years of protracted nightmare which is not a cheerful pursuit.

I turned, with considerable relief, from Gibbon to one of the latest of historians, Mr. H. G. Wells, whose "Outline of History"—a marvel of skilful condensation, and, considering the vastness of its

scope, of accurate synthesis—strikes a very different note from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall." We have here a History inspired by almost passionate idealism. The work was deliberately entered upon and carried through as a vital contribution to the well-being—the practical everyday prosperity and happiness—of humanity. To quote from the introduction, "war has become a universal disaster, blind and monstrously destructive; it bombs the baby in its cradle and sinks the food-ships that cater for the non-combatant and the neutral. There can be no peace now, we realize, but a common peace in all the world: no prosperity but a general prosperity. But there can be no common peace and prosperity without common historical ideas. . . . A sense of history, as the common adventure of all mankind, is as necessary for peace within, as it is for peace between the nations. Such are the views of history that this outline seeks to realize."

Setting forth with this lofty purpose, Mr. Wells' book becomes of necessity profoundly interested in just those great movements of the human spirit which to Gibbon were fair game for the exercise of his gift of icy sarcasm. Thus this author, who a few years ago—to judge at least by some of his earlier works—cared hardly more for religion than Gibbon had done, has now come to regard Jesus of Nazareth as a figure of tremendous importance for human history because of the message He brought—the message of the Kingdom of God. The pages of the "Outline of History" may be said without exaggeration to ring triumphantly with the enthusiasm of the Kingdom of God. It is named again and again as the goal of humanity; and its revolutionary demands for a transformation of men's standards and methods of life are quoted many times over with hearty and loyal allegiance. "The doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven was no less than a bold and uncompromising demand for a complete change and cleansing of the life of our struggling race, an utter cleansing, without and within." And, from the concluding section of the book, "Our true State, this state that is already beginning, this state to which every man owes his utmost political effort, must be now this nascent Federal World State to which human necessities point. Our true God now is the God of all men. Nationalism as a God must follow the tribal gods to limbo. Our true nationality is mankind." About that there is the true ring of the prophet's voice. In his enthusiasm for the Kingdom of God, Mr. Wells is in the legitimate and apostolical succession of the proclaimers and ministers of Him who lived and died for the whole world.

This profound change of view upon the significance for Humanity of religious idealism is surely a sign of the very greatest hope for our own age. To Gibbon the claims of the Kingdom of God would have meant the claims of the Church to be that Kingdom on earth and to exercise all its powers and prerogatives. Thus the Kingdom would have been the butt-end of his biting satire; but then Gibbon lived in the Age of the Enlightened Despots, and the Bastille was yet intact. In other words he lived in the most artificial and unreal environment which has ever blinded human souls. But we live in the world after Armageddon, the world which militant nationalism has steeped in blood, the world in which that same militant nationalism seems stronger after the war than ever before. And living in this world of rampant realism those who have eyes to see, like Mr. Wells, can at last perceive that in Christ's Message of the Kingdom rests the only hope for our race.

Let us then thank God that He has raised up strong witnesses to Himself and to His truth. And let us give ourselves to prayer and thought, in order that the enthusiasm of the Kingdom of God may burn in us also.

Is the idea of the Kingdom hard to grasp? Is it difficult to breed in our own minds and in those of others a patriotism for the Kingdom, that shall supplant



those lesser patriotisms of nationality, which the dying Nurse Edith Cavell, with her undying flash of insight into truth declared "not enough"? In truth it should be far easier to be patriotic for the Kingdom of God than for the vague illogical abstractions of nationalism. For the Kingdom of God is the most absolute of monarchies—albeit an absolute monarchy in which every citizen is utterly free. It is a personal absolutism of the most uncompromising kind—a personal absolutism so complete, that the patriotism of the Kingdom means simply and solely loyal devotion to its King. In ancient Rome, the Emperors for adequate reasons of State sedulously inculcated the worship of themselves. Ten years ago patriotism, to the childlike Russian peasant, meant devoted loyalty to the great white Tsar. In the Kingdom of God we are all children and peasants, and our patriotism is joyful devotion to the God who is like Christ Jesus. Enthusiasm for the Kingdom, wherein lies the only hope for a united humanity, is enthusiasm for God—the phrase may sound strange, but read the Gospels and you will find them tingling with that enthusiasm. They are one shout of affirmation that God is unutterably good and lovable and lovely; that all men are brothers because He loves them all alike as His sons, and showers His good gifts upon them far and near. "God so loved the world." "Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things." "And while he was yet a great way off his father saw him and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him." "O holy Father," "O righteous Father," "I thank thee Father, Lord of heaven and earth," "How much more shall your heavenly Father freely give you all things." Such expressions show that, for Jesus at any rate, the enthusiasm of the Kingdom, which carried Him to the Cross to save mankind, sprang full-grown from an intense enthusiasm for God—an enthusiasm which He strove and still strives to communicate to His followers.

For us then (as men and women who long for the redemption of the world here and now from destruction, and who believe that this redemption is only to be realized through the coming of the universal Kingdom of love) the great essential is that we should share Christ's experience of God—that divine enthusiasm for the divine, which marks Him out from all other prophets. And for us the sharing of this experience should not be hard: for have we not Jesus Christ Himself to look in the face, with the knowledge that here is God Himself, God perfectly lived forth in a perfectly loving and perfectly self-sacrificing human life. For this is the unspeakable gift which Jesus gives us, the knowledge of the Father through the knowledge of Himself; so that, knowing Christ the Brother, the Friend and the Saviour, we are led ever deeper and deeper into a knowledge of Him who is All in All, the reality of whose close and splendid love even the name of Father can only very faintly express.

Knowing God, as He was in Christ Jesus, all our problems vanish. There is one unailing solution to them all: and that is generous love, love that will never be master, love that works only through humble service.

It is a cause then of very great hopefulness that so keen-sighted and powerful a prophet and friend of humanity as Mr. H. G. Wells should have placed the ideal of the Kingdom of God, the universal dominion of the personal God who is Father of all mankind, in the forefront of his study of universal history, recognizing that, as Christ taught, this Kingdom is both the goal towards which humanity is striving and the cause of its progress. The Kingdom is forever with us, has forever come on earth. For wherever one human soul lives by its laws, and is impelled to generous and loving action by enthusiasm for it and for its King, there the Kingdom had come upon earth. Yet though this is so, we can never rest till the Kingdom is universal,

governing all the relations of men and making them brothers indeed, as Christ desired.

There is another direction in which we may derive encouragement from Mr. Wells's interpretation of the story of the human race. He believes tremendously in the right sort of religious education. To quote again from the concluding section of the book, which is entitled "The possible unification of the world into one community of knowledge and will." "The divorce of religious teaching from organized education is necessarily a temporary one, a transitory dislocation, and presently education must become again in intention and spirit religious, and the impulse to devotion, to universal service and to a complete escape from self, an impulse which ebbed so perceptibly during the prosperity, laxity, disillusionment and scepticism of the past seventy or eighty years, will reappear again, stripped and plain, as the recognized fundamental structural impulse in human society. Education is the preparation of the individual for the community, and his religious training is the core of that preparation."

Here is solid encouragement for those of us who are convinced that education without religion can but lead a country deeper and deeper into the disastrous sloughs of selfish and destructive nationalism, that arch-enemy of the Kingdom. Without religion men will worship and serve the tribal gods of nationality Britannia, Germania, *la belle France*, Mother India, as zealously after the war as they did before it; disregarding the patent fact that during the last nine years the world has suffered almost to destruction for its setting up of these strange gods in the place of the one universal God. Psychological research shows ever more and more clearly that if religion has not entered a man's life by the time he is seventeen, there is only a very rapidly dwindling chance of its coming in afterwards. Therefore it is of crucial importance that the education which we impart should be saturated with a broad religious spirit—steeped in an atmosphere of enthusiastic love for God and mankind. The story is told of St. Francis, kneeling all night long in an ecstasy of prayer, and saying only, over and over again, the words: "My God, my God, my God!" It is that sort of passionate love for God which brings into the Kingdom and redeems the world. Men and women who have truly seen the King in His beauty, who have been bewitched by the wonder of that vision, so that all their lives thereafter they go through the world beholding the Kingdom that shall be; and not merely the tragedies and failures that now are men and women; who see the redeemed soul behind the villain and the debauchee, who see the brotherhood of all mankind behind the nationalist rapacities of our modern age—men and women who refuse to be blinded by "things as they are," because they believe that the only truth is in God's conception of things as they should be; such men and women in labour and pain and failure shall win the inestimable reward of sharing in the establishment of the Kingdom of God upon earth.

### TRAVANCORE LETTER.

By A. WANDERER.

(Co-operation in Christian Educational Work, Theological Department).

The preparations that were made for the World Conference on Faith and Order drew the attention of the whole world to the subject of Christian Unity and it led to discussions in many quarters in Travancore also. Co-operation in educational work—as we know—was one of the several proposals that was put forward to attain this end.

At a Conference in Serampore held in 1912 when the Syrian Metropolitan, Mar Dionysius and Mar Thoma and the Anglican Bishop Dr. Gill were present, it

was suggested that the three churches should join together and conduct a Union High School at Kottayam or Thiruvalla. But the scheme did not take shape. Nevertheless the idea was working in the minds of some in the community and it expressed itself in the scheme for a Union College. More about this in the next letter.

About this time Rev. W. E. S. Holland arrived in Travancore as the principal of the Kottayam College. He is a missionary with keen enthusiasm on the subject of Union. Also, the C. M. S. Delegation arrived in Travancore towards the close of 1921; they had to consider the question of Mission education in its various aspects and that of theological education naturally came up for discussion. The Mar Thoma Church has for long felt the need for a Theological Institution of their own; a church cannot go on in an organized form unless it has its own properly trained ministers. For over a century, the candidates for ordination in the Syrian Church received their training in the Old Syrian Seminary at Kottayam.

About thirty-five years ago, the Mar Thoma Community was deprived of the use of the above Seminary as a result of the long course of unhappy litigation carried on between the two sections of the Church. After this, the Mar Thoma Syrian Seminary was started to supply this need but owing to financial difficulties it was not then possible to start a Theological Institution.

At a session of the Samudaya Alochana Saba (Church Assembly) held in 1916, a resolution was passed to start a Theological Institution and it formed a Committee to take the necessary steps. Some years later, the C. M. S. authorities came forward with their suggestion on the subject. Their resolution is as follows:—

"That this Conference would welcome the co-operation of the Mar Thoma Church in the conduct of the Divinity School connected with the Cambridge Nicholson Institution. To this end, it would desire:—

(1) That half of the Council appointed to advise the Conference in the management of the Divinity School should be nominated by the Mar Thoma Church.

(2) That it be a duty of the Council to recommend to the conference the name of a suitable person belonging to the Mar Thoma Church for appointment as a resident lecturer on the staff of the Divinity School, the lecturer to receive half of his stipend from the C.N.I., and to devote himself wholly to the work of the Institution. That this arrangement be tentative for a period of three years.

While extremely thankful for this offer, the Mar Thoma Church felt that the Council proposed to be constituted is only advisory and that this cannot be accepted as a basis for union or co-operation. The Committee appointed by the Mar Thoma Church therefore invited the representatives of the Anglican Church for a United Conference. There were two meetings, one on the 24th June, 1922 and the other on the 14th of November. The United Conference agreed that the Council should have full power of management in the internal affairs of the institution but as long as the present arrangement is tentative, the question of the principalship should be left undisturbed. The Mar Thoma Church at the same time feels that unless the principalship is open to members of either Church, the union will not be on a basis of complete equality, which is essential for any scheme of a healthy united action. If after three years the question of principalship is decided unfavourably, the Church would be in an awkward predicament. The Mar Thoma Church is very nervous to make such a demand. It realizes the generosity of the Anglican Church in making such an offer and in going more than half-way to bring about a union. It is only for the sake of the future, they point out this difficulty. The Mar Thoma Church may be willing to meet the full salary of its man in the institution if that would be a help to clear the difficulty of the principalship.

It would be a great advantage on both sides if co-operation can be brought about. We can save much money and energy and avoid duplication. In 1921 there were only about six students in the divinity class in the C. N. I. (the Anglican Institute) of which three were members of the Mar Thoma Church. This is a clear indication that there is not much need for two Theological Institutions. The question is whether the Anglican Church in Travancore would be generous enough to give up its insistence on an Anglican principalship even after the tentative period ends and to give full opportunity for the Mar Thoma students to acquaint themselves with the traditions and aspirations of their Church or the Mar Thoma Syrian Church would be willing to accept the conditions the Anglicans offered believing that in future things will right themselves.

Meanwhile the Mar Thoma Syrian Church is carrying on a vigorous propaganda to raise funds for theological work in connection with the Jubilee of their Metropolitan, Titas Mar Thoma, one of the most popular and devoted bishops who ever ruled that Church.

### THE RED CROSS IN PEACE.

BY L. WINIFRED BRYCE.

The recent disaster in Japan has reminded us once more of a great world-wide organization which was our comfort during the long and dreary days of the world war. In times of catastrophe we turn with a sense of relief to the thought of this great force, calm and impersonal in the sense of being unworried, as we are worried, and yet pulsating with warm, human sympathy. Bearing as it does for its name and emblem, the sign of the Christian faith, it yet has endeared itself to millions who do not accept that sign as the greatest spiritual symbol in the world. "In this sign we conquer."

Japan has a most efficient Red Cross Society which is a member of the League of Red Cross Societies of the World. India also has its Red Cross Society which is a member of the same League. In times of crisis it is the delight of one Red Cross Society to help a sister society as best it can. Accordingly the Red Cross Committees in various places in this country are taking the lead in collecting funds to be sent as soon as possible to Japan to help to alleviate the terrible suffering which is being borne with fortitude by that most heroic people.

At this time it seems fitting that we should be reminded of the great work which is being done by the Red Cross in days of peace. It may surprise some to learn that the activities of the Red Cross Society are no longer confined to the valuable help it gives, and with which we are familiar, during the time of war or great distress.

In 1919, at the close of the Great War, the idea was conceived "of employing the organization and spirit of the Red Cross Societies, grown powerful for service through the trial of war, in the interests of the civilian casualties of peace." The idea met with universal favour. The Red Cross Societies formed a League to promote a world-wide health campaign, through the work of the national societies. In the words of the Director-General of the League, "The main and primary purpose of the League and national Red Cross Societies at the present time should be to awaken the hygienic conscience of the world."

This immediately recalls to one's mind the various efforts in this direction which are being made by any number of social service leagues, and similar organizations which are scattered throughout India. Some of these are strongly organized, and doing magnificent work. Even they feel the need of consulting others of similar experience in regard to problems of peculiar difficulty which arise from time to time. In other places the social service league is struggling. Little

progress seems to be made from year to year. The need is pressing, and at the same time has so many different forms, that energy and devotion are apt to be dissipated, through lack of intelligent direction. Again, work of this kind is often begun under the influence of some one of unusually strong personality. That person moves away or for some reason is no longer able to take the most active part. There is still a great deal of devotion and unselfishness latent in the community but when the impelling voice is silent, others are apt to be both silent and inert. Things fall into a state of coma, and it is harder than it was before to arouse them, should a new prophet arise, for there is the burden of a sense of past failure to be removed before real progress can be made. Again, there are communities where there are a few men and women who have within them a great desire to help, but things are so vague and difficult that nothing is attempted.

To all these groups the Red Cross Society offers very practical help. It has a definite programme, any part of which may be adopted by a local committee. It is flexible, and affords ample scope for adaptation to local needs, for there is no community that is not "peculiar" demanding something that shall be its "very own." It links all these scattered groups with one another, and with a central body, so that continuity of effort, and exchange of ideas are the more readily secured. And, what is very important, it gives a sense of world brotherhood and world vision which is sorely needed in these days. An organization of proven worth, which links together people all over the world in unselfish service of urgent human needs, surely can not be neglected, without loss to themselves, by all groups of people who are seeking to serve their neighbours.

The three chief means by which the Red Cross Societies are endeavouring to awaken the public conscience in regard to health and helpfulness are these: *first*, Popular Health Instruction; *secondly*, the development of Public Health Nursing; and, *thirdly*, the development of the Junior Red Cross.

The ideas of Popular Health Instruction and of Public Health Nursing are already familiar to all social workers in this country. The work of the Junior Red Cross is not nearly so familiar, and a few words of explanation may not come amiss. The General Council of Red Cross Societies recommends that each national society which has the Junior Red Cross as part of its activities (and this includes India), should use the following statement:

"The Junior . . . . Red Cross is organized for the purpose of inculcating in the children of its country the ideal of peace and the practice of service, especially in relation to the care of their own health and that of others, the understanding and acceptance of civic and human responsibility, and the cultivation and maintenance of a spirit of friendly helpfulness towards other children in all countries."

The conditions of membership in the Junior Red Cross are adapted in each case to the school-system of the country. The leaders of the movement are the teachers, and upon their sympathy and their direction the success of the Junior Red Cross entirely depends. The Junior Red Cross has thousands of members and does an incalculable amount of good in the countries where the teachers have seen in it both a great opportunity, and a great help in the teaching of hygiene in the schools. That it can, under the leadership of Indian teachers, become a potent factor for good in this country is beyond doubt. The Junior Red Cross is just beginning to be known in India, and an earnest appeal is made to all who are interested in education, to take this movement and make it their own. There is no country in the world where a public conscience in regard to health needs to be awakened more than in India. There is no way of more surely laying the

foundations of a better era than by the enlistment of the children now. There is no country where there are greater reserves of generosity and unselfish devotion which have not yet been called into full service than India, and the Red Cross Society offers a golden opportunity to meet these three conditions.

Those, who wish further information about these matters should consult either their local committee, or the Indian Red Cross Society at Delhi or Simla. The writer, it may be remarked, holds no official brief for the Red Cross Society, but as a member of a local committee she has been thoroughly convinced of its practical usefulness, and earnestly wishes to see its activities further extended and better known.

One can hardly realize what a wider application of Red Cross principles might mean to this weary, bleeding earth of ours. It is a day when pessimists are rife. We want no pessimists, it is easy to be pessimistic ourselves. We want men and women who will quietly ally themselves with the great movements that are in the world, gaining thereby breadth of sympathy and strengthening of purpose, and who will carry out those ideals in daily service of those around them. The results are incalculable if a sufficient number of people will but act in accordance with these principles. The opportunity is unprecedented and "the work projected may well prepare the way for the dawn of an era in which, through mutual understanding and sympathy with others' needs, the common sentiment of humanity may become the means for securing the world's peace."

#### LONDON LETTER.

LONDON,  
12TH SEPTEMBER, 1923.

##### Seven Wonders of Britain.

In reply to the request of the editor of the *Strand Magazine*, various prominent folk have been giving him the ideas of what constitute "The Seven Wonders of Britain." Most of the replies are conventional, but the correspondent who goes deepest is Mr. J. R. Clynes, M. P., who was Food Controller during the war.

His list is as follows:—

1. The Slums of the great Town, because it is the wonder of wonders that a Christian nation should for a moment tolerate them and the conditions to which they are due.
2. The East-end of London, because it is the most extensive and by far the dullest area of brick and mortar in the world.
3. Windermere Lake, because it is the largest and most beautiful sheet of water in England, and stands for one of the fairest districts in the world.
4. The Black Country, because, once beautiful, and now the gibe of the world, it is a supreme example of the way men can make a mess of things.
5. The Mansion and Grounds of an Industrial Magnate.
6. The cottage of Samuel Crompton, Hole i' the Wall, near Bolton, because Crompton's invention made the Cotton Trade the biggest industry in the world, although he himself died, like so many of the world's greatest benefactors, in poverty and neglect.
7. Woolwich Arsenal, where Britain, in the twentieth century of the Christian era, still makes munitions of war, and in place of articles for our peaceful needs must produce deadly weapons for conflicts from which policies founded on wisdom and justice would save us.

The indictment contained in this selection is all too true. Meanwhile it is a sign of grace that an influential signed invitation is being circulated calling Christian

people together in a Conference next month to consider the root causes of unemployment and to press upon the Government the need for calling of an official enquiry into the matter, instead of viewing it as an inevitable evil to be tempered by doles.

#### Salvage £7,000,000.

The remarkable story is now coming to light of the salvaging of £7,000,000 of gold and silver, lost in the *Laurentic* during the war off the coast of Ireland. Practically all this amount, in the form of gold bars and silver coins, has been recovered by divers, not a little of their success being due to the use of a veritable "magic" spear, which, when stuck down into the sand that had covered most of the wreck, indicated on a dial on the deck of the salvage boat whether it was touching iron or gold.

#### "Saints and Sinners."

This is from the "Loom of the Law" (Hutchinson 16/-) by Mr. J. A. R. Cairns, the London Police Court Magistrate. This book is a collection of his experiences among all and sundry. He sums it up by saying— "I have dwelt in close contact with saints and sinners and my considered judgment is that I prefer the sinners to the saints, for amongst them I have learnt the art of optimism."

Elsewhere he says— "It is extraordinary how little there is to distinguish the people that you meet in the dock from the people that you meet at a lecture, in a 'bus or in Parliament. Theories of criminal types are pseudo-scientific and doctrines of criminal tendencies are, like Mark Twain's death, 'greatly exaggerated'."

Mr. B. Seeborn Rowntree of York, the well-known sociological writer, has just returned to England after lecturing in America. He spoke broadcast on August 23rd on "Psychology as applied to Industry," and prophesied that in ten years' time the Psychologist would be as generously employed in every large firm as the Chemist and Engineer is to-day.

#### Some Moslem Figures.

Dr. S. M. Zwemer, the famous missionary to the Moslem races—who is well known in India, where he has acted as chairman at important Conferences—has just left England, to take up again his work from his Cairo headquarters, a little disappointed with the attention given in England to Moslem matters. "There seems to be a blind spot in the British outlook with regard to Christian work among Mohammedans," he told me, "and there are only two societies definitely doing work among them. What little literature there is, seems to be ten years old at least; and yet there are 107 millions of Moslems living under the British flag, nearly half the Moslem population of the world. On the other hand, I found that the Mohammedan book-room in connection with the Woking Mosque is dealing with mail orders from all parts of the world, and the expensive edition de Luxe of the *Koran* produced two years ago is already running into a reprint. The literature which is being turned out there is an example of how Christianity and Mohammedanism are now 'crossing swords' with the pen!"

To most people it will come as a surprise to have to include South America as part of the Moslem World. "There are no fewer than 53,000 Moslems in South America," said Dr. Zwemer. "This total is made up of the descendants of negroes from Africa, who now have their headquarters in Brazil; of labourers from Dutch Java, French Africa and India, among whom the Moravians are working in British Guiana; and a large number of Turk, Indian and Syrian traders. In Peru are Chinese Moslems. There is an Arabic paper published at Buenos Aires and not long ago our Nile Press at Cairo had a large order for literature for South America." "There are also," Dr. Zwemer said, "25,000 Moslems in Australia, with a paper *The Moslem Sunshine* published at Perth, Western Australia."

#### A Simple Precept.

All who profess to call themselves Christians, of whatever race and country they come, should ponder on these sentences from Dr. R. F. Horton's new book "The Mystical Quest of Christ," (Allen & Unwin, 10/6).

"We are Christians. We start with a great tradition behind us, and with a vast, vague authority over us. Our difficulty comes from the immense elaboration, and the numberless divergencies, of a great, implicitly accepted influence, which we know as Christianity. Can we not simplify? Can we not get to the fountain-head? Is there not a rule of life which we can identify behind all the elaborate and dogmatic systems which seem to complete our own allegiance? Yes, there is—a rule which is amazing as it is simple, as infinite in its inward infoldings as it is small and compassable in its immediate approach. The unfathomable and unsearchable and illimitable principle which is offered as the guide of all human life, and as the point of unity by which men, and even nations, may be finally brought together, is this simple precept: Be Christ-like."

#### Sir Harry Lauder on Drink.

Harry Lauder, the world's famous comedian, gives this personal testimony on drink in a recent issue of *Association Men*: "No man can be successful and drink. It does not matter who he is, soldier or civilian. When I started on the stage somebody said, 'Well, it is a great life for dissipation and drinking.' 'Well, I said, 'if there is any success to be had through being sober and steady I will get it,' and I took a vow that I would not touch, taste, or handle strong drink of any description until I had made a name for myself. Now that I have made my name known all over the world I see more the necessity for doing the thing that is right than ever before in order to hold that reputation. There is more need now for me to be sober and steady, for I am looked upon as an example."

HUBERT W. PEET.

#### FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD.

By B. AHIRA:

I was greatly interested in the dream of Christianandam which appeared in last week's *Guardian*. It is given to the old and to the young to "dream dreams and see visions," whilst the middle-aged are too inclined to abandon the dreams of youth with a sigh and have not yet earned the privileges of second childhood. Happy are they who, in spite of all the disillusionments of life, maintain something of the child nature in middle life; and have not lost all faith in their fellow-men and fallen back on the resolve, to make their life as comfortable as they can for themselves, regardless of others.

"Candid and generous and just,

Boys care but little whom they trust,

An error soon corrected."

For who, but learns in riper years,

That man, when smoothest he appears,

Is most to be suspected."

I liked the air of freedom from form and simple generosity that was pictured as part of Indian Christian village life of fifty years ahead; but in one item I venture to hope there will be a slight difference.

The article said "We do not have a marriage ceremony in our churches. When a man and a woman want to marry they go to the Government Registrar's office for the ceremony. They may ask us to a feast in their house afterwards on the same day if convenient; but we do not expect to be invited. They however give a feast to the poor under the auspices of the *panchayat* in the premises adjoining the *mandapam*."

I am not satisfied that the above procedure sufficiently satisfies the true Christian desire for the Divine recognition and blessing upon the marriage union. I think we cannot be too simple in any rites accompanying

the marriage ceremony, so long as they are clearly dependent on one or two foundation truths. Far back into the traditions of the race extends the thought of the sacramental character of true marriage. The essential fact of marriage is the mutual willingness of husband and wife to enter into this relationship whilst this earthly life shall last. The importance of the action, not only to the two who are the immediate parties to the marriage, but also to any possible offspring, necessitates the presence of witnesses; and transcending this, the fundamental narrative of Eden, shows how the mind of man has seen more or less dimly perhaps, the need of the Divine witness and blessing.

Now in a merely "civil contract" such as the marriage at a Government Registrar's office, the tendency is for this recognition of the Divine witness to be absent. I sympathize with the idea of avoiding needless ceremony, or priestly interference, with its debasing accompaniment of fees; but even under the present conditions of the Indian Christian Marriage Act, there is no need either to call in a priest or go to a Government Registry Office. A member of the existing *panchayat* may be granted the authority to act as Marriage Registrar to register marriages between Indian Christians and a simple ceremony within the place of worship seems to me in accordance with the spirit of Christianity. Not that the place of worship is more sacred than the house of the bride, if this be preferred, but at present, the conception of reliable witnesses to the marriage would seem to suggest that the place of worship is the more preferable, an idea which is supported by the existing law.

I am not acquainted with the present practice of South Indian Christians, where Christianity has been so long established; but I must also state my warm approval of the simple "Betrothal" as now practised in many parts of North and Central India and probably pretty generally all over. The simple gathering of a few friends and relations and the public invocation of the Divine blessing on the betrothal by the father of the bride or an elder of the church, all seem to me to lead up to the sacred character of the marriage relationship, which our Lord Himself and all His early followers so strongly insisted on. Against the monstrous dowry system and the shameless exactions and wasteful extravagances of the bridegroom's party at a Bengali marriage feast, which have brought many a respectable Bengali Hindu family to ruin, we cannot too strongly protest. Whatever is of the nature of debt-bringing extravagance in Christian circles must be equally condemned; and there is no need to introduce the sacerdotal element into the marriage rite; but I would plead for more of a simple religious character being given to marriage than is indicated in the most interesting drama of Chhishanandam.

### MEDITATION.

"The Lord is my helper." Hebrews XIII: 6.  
Is He truly? How is it, then, that I make so many mistakes? Am so often overtaken in a fault? Fail in so many undertakings? Accomplish so little? Would any impartial spectator find himself compelled to conclude, as the only explanation of the more than human power attending my life, that the Lord was my Helper? Does it look as if I was in league with Omnipotence? Have the ministers of Satan entered my name in their books as one whom it is of no use to attack, one enjoying supernatural succour?

There are situations in which almost any man will feel his need of Divine help. The wisest are they who feel that need in the most trifling matters, seek it hour by hour, and receive it by faith. God helps very often without observation; and faith is needed to know that help is granted. The host he sends to deliver you may be an invisible one; and may begin its operations for your deliverance unperceived, at a great distance.

### TEMPERANCE SERVICE AND RALLY.

A Special Temperance Service for all Temperance workers in Calcutta will be held in the Thoburn Methodist Episcopal Church, 151, Dharumtala Street, on Sunday, the 7th October, at 6.30 p.m. The Revd. J. Waksom Pickett, Temperance Missioner to the M. E. Mission in India and Burma will preach a special Temperance Sermon on the occasion.

A Temperance Rally of all Calcutta Temperance workers will also be held at the same place, on Monday, the 8th October, at 8.30 p.m. The Hon'ble Sir Deva Prasad Sarbadhikari, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., L.L.D., M.L.A., will preside.

### CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK

#### INDIA.

Following the resolution passed by the Legislative Council, the Bombay Government have circularised various public bodies in the Presidency, stating that public places and institutions belonging to and maintained by the Government are to be thrown open to the untouchable classes.

The Bombay Provincial Trade Union Conference which met during the last week-end, passed resolutions advocating the nomination of Labour Representatives in the Assembly, the Provincial Councils, the Corporation and other public bodies; requesting Government to prohibit the employment of women workers under certain conditions; and protesting against the absence of facilities in steamers and railways for third-class passengers. Exception was taken to the nomination of Mr. K. C. Roy Chowdhury as representative of India in the International Labour Conference at Geneva.

The Government of India have decided that with effect from October 1st all the five Indian States in the Madras Presidency *viz.*, Travancore, Cochin, Pudukottai, Baganapalle and Sandur will be brought into direct political relations with the Government of India through an Agent to the Governor-General who will be a Resident of the second class with headquarters at Trivandrum.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in accordance with his decision to retire from public life temporarily, has resigned the editorship of *Young India*. Mr. George Joseph succeeds him as editor.

Torrential rains have caused an abnormal rise in the River Goomti. Lucknow is in danger. Villages have been damaged and rescue work has been started.

#### ABROAD.

The Imperial Conference opened on October 1st with an address from Mr. Baldwin.

An encounter took place between the Police and German Separatists, at Dusseldorf.

Forty Irish deportees resident in Scotland, have been awarded a compensation of £17,092 for wrongful arrest, deportation and detention at Mountjoy, Dublin.

From this year the British Government will give an additional grant of £30,000 to Cambridge University to meet the University needs. The Women's College will get also £4,000 annually during the next ten years.

The Financial moratorium in Japan has been discontinued.

The Greeks have protested against the penalty imposed on them for the Janina murders and appeal to The Hague. Signor Mussolini has decided to grant immediately ten million lira out of the indemnity received from Greece for the relief of Greek and Armenian refugees housed in Corfu and in Greece. The Italian fleet has left Corfu.

A Dictator has been appointed in Germany to forestall a Socialist coup. Martial Law has been proclaimed in Bavaria and a Dictator appointed to keep order.

It is rumoured that a republic has been proclaimed in Turkey.

Abyssinia has been admitted to the League unanimously.

The rising in Bulgaria continues.

**TRANSCENDING COLOUR.**

Jesus Christ knew no colour lines—He transcended them all. He was born in Asia, but no one thinks of Him as an "Asiatic." He led England out of barbarism, but no one thinks of Him as British. He has dominated America, but is never regarded as an American. When referring to His relationship to men, He called Himself, "The Son of Man," not the Son of any one man, not the Son of men, but *the Son* of our human race.

When Jesus Christ becomes regnant in human hearts, human society will transcend all thought of race. The "colour problem" will not be solved until Christ's spirit has been received and His principles have been adopted. He stands ready to-day to unite the human race.

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## The Blue Ribbon Temperance Association.

### ITS NAME.

The Blue Ribbon Temperance Association is an association of men and women, without distinction of race or religion, who are pledged to abstain from the use of Intoxicating Drink and Drugs and to do their utmost to save their country and its people from these curses.

Its name is taken from its Badge which is a small Blue Ribbon. (Blue-metal ribbons at four annas each and buttons with the ribbon painted on at two annas each and plain blue pieces of metal for badges at one pice each can be obtained from Miss Joan Davis, Temperance Headquarters, Lal Bagh, Lucknow.)

### ITS ORIGIN.

In her many Temperance Lecturing tours around India, Miss Campbell, of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, found that many people desired an active Temperance Society in which people of all races and religions might join, on a common footing, to fight this enemy of progress and happiness in India. So the B. R. T. A. was formed and Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians, Punjabis, Hindustanis and Gujeratis, etc. have joined its ranks. In town or village, in *mohalla* or college, among people rich and poor, ignorant and educated, this simple Society can be formed to join together all who wish to see these curses driven from India.

### ITS ORGANISATION.

The members of any local society, who have signed its pledge, elect their own President, Secretary, Treasurer and Committee. Each local society should link itself up with other Societies in the same district.

### ITS USE.

It helps individuals to keep free from these curses.

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It helps to express that public opinion which will encourage and persuade the local and provincial Excise authorities to close down unnecessary drink and drug shops and to reduce in other ways, the existing temptations to the use of intoxicating liquor.

- It helps members of those castes and classes of society in which Drink or Drugs are doing harm to persuade their *panchayats* to banish these evils from their midst.

The National Superintendent is **REV. A. T. HOFFERT,**  
**BULSAR, GUJERAT.**

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# The Guardian

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JOSEPH TAYLOR.

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*"Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall  
make you free."*

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## NOTES.

In the monotony of modern life, what a blessed change is the holiday. India has always known how to lay aside the trammels of daily work and perhaps been almost too ready to take a holiday; whilst it would certainly be better if many Westerners allowed more leisure in their lives. To the fagged office-worker the freedom, the open air and sunlight, the beauty of green trees and fields, and to those who can go further afield, the wind-swept sea or snow-capped mountain, all afford a real refreshment of body, mind and soul. But it is a mistake to attempt too much in a short time. Better far to enjoy the homely pleasure near us in leisure, than to add another strenuous and wearying action to the regular weekly strain.

We spent a considerable amount of time studying the party organs and independent journals last month, trying to find out the actual facts of what transpired at the Delhi meeting of the Congress. We accidentally came on an anecdote in a transatlantic exchange, which seems to sum up the situation perhaps more accurately than any comment we have seen. An old negro was sitting in his boat fishing, when he hooked a very large catfish, which promptly pulled him overboard. When he crawled back into the boat, he remarked as he scratched his woolly pate, "What I wanna know is dis: is dis nigger fishin', or is dis fish niggerin'?" We think many of the party leaders will have been in a similar position.

The pessimist, who only sees the worse side of every question, will always be found among us. On the other hand the optimist has very good reason for his

view that the world on the whole is progressing, instead of falling back into total barbarism. The impartial observer will be inclined to agree, but with this proviso, that both advance and retrogression occur and follow lines or curves of pressure and are not equally distributed at any one period; surely at no other period of the world's history has there been such a prompt response from all parts of the globe to the needs of a nation in distress, as that which the terrible disaster in Japan has called forth. We see in this some compensation for the suffering and sorrow, inasmuch as from it has been begotten a real feeling of sympathy, by which the jealousy of national rivalry has for the time being been lost sight of, in an international rivalry to bring help to one of the nations overwhelmed by sudden calamity. If only this spasmodic sympathy could be transformed into a life-habit, what a blessing it would be? It is this life of active good-will that Jesus Christ calls us to.

The event of the week has been the assembling in London of the Imperial Conference. We are glad to learn that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's health is improving and that he expects to be able to attend all the sittings of the Conference. A very responsible task has fallen upon him and he is busy preparing his statement in connection with the debate on the position of Indians in the Empire. Almost of necessity, some of the discussions are taking place behind closed doors; but apparently a larger degree of publicity has been allowed than was at first intended. It is hard for the older type of statesman to escape from the tortuous ways of secret diplomacy. When discussions are in public, those who speak have to be much more careful, not only in their open utterances but in the underlying motives from which these find expression.

It is sometimes asked, "why does Germany not apply for membership in the League of Nations?" The following interesting summary from a German source may help to throw light on the question.

"No improvement of the details can eradicate the fundamental defect of the existing League; viz., the fact that its principal members constitute an oligarchy of those Powers who won the last war. Germany, owing to her enforced signature of the Treaty, became one of the founders of the League, without becoming one of its members. This grotesque contradiction was pointed out in the German note of May 9th, 1919; and, although the Peace Conference took no notice of the German view, Germany's exclusion was deplored by several delegates at the first meeting of the League Assembly in December, 1920. Most outspoken in this respect was the Swiss representative, the then President Motta, who declared that the League would remain



a torso so long as Germany was not a member. At the same meeting the Argentine delegate moved the famous resolution that admission to the League should be open without reservation to every sovereign state, so that the fact of any particular state not being a member would simply be the result of a voluntary decision on the part of such state to keep out of it. Upon the failure of that motion the Argentine Republic announced its withdrawal from the League.

There, indeed, lies the real crux of the situation. Article I, paragraph 2, of the pact lays it down that the admission of additional members shall be subject to three conditions.

(1) Two-thirds of the members of the League Assembly must vote in favour of its admission.

(2) The applicant must produce effective guarantees of his sincere intention to carry out his international engagements (*qu'il donne des garanties effectives de son intention sincere d'observer ses engagements internationaux.*)

(3) The applicant must subscribe to the regulations dealing with the military forces and armaments on land, on sea, and in the air, as laid down by the League.

This, of course, is rather overdoing it. Instead of admitting without reservation any fully sovereign state that might apply, and of relying on the moral authority exercised by the League over its component members to ensure the good behaviour of the newcomer, the latter is submitted to a rigid ballot just as though admission to an exclusive club were asked for. It is impossible to imagine anything that could prove more conclusively than these regulations that the League itself has no confidence in its own constitution. The French know quite well that their object in restricting the admission of new members is to exclude Germany; lest, by being a member, she should make use of the machinery of the League in her own favour. It was therefore not surprising, when M. Viviani immediately rose to reply to President Motta's declaration just referred to: "To admit a country," he said, "applying for membership although it has failed to honour its obligations, or—to quote our statutes—to give, in all cases, effective guarantees as to its sincere intentions would signify to the world, and to history, an act of immorality which would perhaps arouse more anger than the sanguinary spectacle which the world has just witnessed."

It is but natural that, things being what they are, every kind of League of Nations propaganda has ceased for the present in Germany. The sincere champions of a general League of Nations have retired from publicity."

### SHALL WE SUPPORT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION?

By F. J. POPE.

My answer to the above question is an unqualified "Yes!" I am not blind to the defects of the Union, and am aware that it is not definitely pacifist in its basis. I also know that many thorough-going idealists for these reasons stand aloof from its operations. I wish, however, as a convinced and whole-hearted pacifist to state a few reasons why I desire to give strong support to the Union. I will do this by dealing with some of the objections raised against such a course.

*The League is defective and inadequate to the task it has undertaken.* Is there any human institution of which this may not be said? Are we to await the perfect scheme before we seek definitely to deal with practical issues? Are there not many living questions concerning which we have not reached a common mind? A League of Nations is a great ideal and the present League is the *beginning* of its realization, and as such, it contains the possibility of the perfect fulfilment. Shall we "break the bruised reed and

quench the smoking flax."? A strong pacifist element has rallied to its support and is seeking to impose the full Christian spirit, as we conceive it, into the organization. Are we to abandon them, and it, and allow the instrument, only partially fashioned as it is, to fall into the hands of the "enemy"? Or are we rather to set ourselves the task of perfecting it?

*The League is political.* This of course means it is practical. Anyhow, it is not *party* political. Men of all parties support it, and it embraces all shades of religious opinion. Would those who contend that we should stand aloof from ordinary political issues, refusing to take sides, urge also that we should stand aloof from all definite schemes for dealing with great wrongs? The man, who refused to vote at a parliamentary election on the ground that his citizenship was in heaven, was asked: "Can't you give us a lodger's vote?" Whatever our state in the beyond may be, we live in bodies here and need rules and regulations and institutions for the fulfilment of our corporate life. That the old secret and selfish diplomacy, so productive of war, should be displaced by a board at which representatives of the nations should meet to discuss frankly and openly the problems and difficulties of international life is so mighty an advance, and so thoroughly in accord with our ideals of fellowship, that we can scarcely afford to stand aloof.

*Its basis is not pacifist, and to support it, will compromise our beliefs and ideals.* The Church, as an institution, is not pacifist. Shall we isolate ourselves from it, or bear our witness within it? There are many among us who support political action and belong to political parties; there are others who hold that this is a denial of real pacifism. Are the latter to break fellowship with the former? If so, then amongst these again there are degrees of vision and conviction—does every step in advance involve breach of fellowship with old comrades who lag behind? Are our convictions to be divisive, ultimately making fellowship impossible? Or does the idea of fellowship involve patience, consideration and forbearance? I know there must be a definite basis for true fellowship, but in the League of Nations' Union that is provided by a common hatred of war, and a belief that it can be eliminated from international life. Grant that for the moment an imperfect world is not ready to accept the perfect ideal; are we really recreant to our faith when we join hands with those who are *preparing* the way of the Lord, though they are only seeking to gather out the stones and make a bit of the road more clear?

Let us go on living and walking in the light, but let us not discourage by aloofness and lack of sympathy those to whom the light only comes in fitful gleams.

### SAFETY.

As my soul sets forth,  
O Father,  
Through the unknown paths of this day Thou hast given,  
All my need I commit unto Thee.

Thy love is about me:  
My soul is kept and shielded and fenced from all harm  
By Thy watchful unfailling care:

All gifts that my life can need  
Are given in generous grace  
By Thy great love:

No ill can befall me,  
No pain, no sadness oppress me:  
For deepest peace, most heavenly joy  
Are freely bestowed by Thy love:

Then teach me to-day,  
O Father,  
To work for Thy Kingdom,  
To show unto men  
Thy beauty, Thy love.

Kashmir.

"The Guardian"  
CALCUTTA, OCTOBER 12, 1923.

### INDIAN SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

The chief problem for India hereafter is that of Social Reconstruction. The first conception that knowledge opened up before the English educated Indian was the political power of an independent nation. In a sense that was new knowledge to him. He was by instinct a religious man and lived in an atmosphere of profound religious and philosophical thought. No amount of religious knowledge percolating through modern education could impress him in comparison with what he was familiar with already. Science, that other great gift of English education, left him in a mood of fanciful imagination. The capitalists, who could make use of that knowledge, were on the whole lethargic; and such of them who entered the field of manufacture and business were faced with more experienced rivals from the West and had to contend with a Government which had not awakened to the fact that industrialization of the country was a duty in which it had to take a very prominent part. It was an uphill task and therefore it happened that scientific studies did not gain any widespread popularity. On the other hand, the purely literary nature of his education enabled the Indian to consume vast stores of knowledge in regard to an aspect of activity in which the West excelled. The history of warring nations, and their political ideas came as a flood of new light; India was not bankrupt of political ideas, but they were buried away in the centuries when internal dissensions, not gradual development, were the main factors of Indian life. The novelty of the political knowledge and the ease with which it could be acquired should account for the rapid spread of politics among Indians. What heightened the popularity was that they could talk much and had not much given to them to do. Politics were for the most part academical debates, which they delighted to dabble in from their school-days.

The present stage is different. Partly owing to the measure of political power entrusted to us and more because of the dissemination of democratic ideas, forces have arisen which affect all aspects of national life, not merely one phase, *viz.*, the aspiration for national independence. The "untouchable," woman, the labourer, the agriculturist, the poor man, all of these neglected elements formed part of the time-honoured body politic. The ancient systems had marked a place for them suited for those days, but those systems have vanished and only the customs remain, displaying a gruesome incongruity with the present-day tendencies. Then industries, self-defence, new religions, immigration, and the like, create a type of population new to the soil and to the traditional outlook. They have to be accommodated and naturalized. International contacts have thrown India into the vortex of world economic and political forces. The ancient outlook and the immemorial habits of the people have necessarily to be revised to discover what attitude should govern India in this her new place in the world. The peculiar gifts which she had, and which are ingrained in her people, make it hard for them to appraise correctly the contribution India can make to humanity at large. Within the country itself, may be found transplanted from the West all the governing forces for good and ill that may be found there. Underneath all these is crumbling the social system which had supported the people during centuries unaffected by the rise and fall of kingdoms and dynasties, in adversity and prosperity. In the realm of ideas more even than in the workaday dealings of the people, changes take place without

any necessary relation to their applicability to the conditions of the day. All these imply a social revolution as an inevitable result.

Obviously a vast transformation—such as a social revolution—will be a process of years; a gradual, almost imperceptible change carried out spontaneously but aided by timely incentives of one form or another. But the forward movement is not without its difficulties here in India, neither are we bereft of factors which would keep us on the right path. To rectify the defects and to strengthen the right factors is what might be considered the duty of each particular generation. To mention a few of these, India is in sore need of ideals. She had these formerly in excellent form. They are dead or are dimmed by circumstances, and none have emerged out of the welter of the recent centuries. It is notorious how no sooner is any discussion started on politics, social matters, education, or religion, then the difficulty is raised as to what is the goal we are aiming at. We have talked of national education as an immediate need to replace the current system. The latter is avowedly unsuitable but there seems no means of arriving at even a dim conception of what the former should be like. In politics, we have heard of the English genius for Law and Order, their adherence to things as they are, their aversion to needless change, their fairplay. These constitute not merely national traits but are recognized vital ideals which they pursue. It is difficult to parallel these with anything that may be said to be the governing passions of our political life. Guided largely by administrative exigencies, our British friends have tried to impress upon us ideals, such as orderly government, peaceful progress and loyalty to ruling authority. India has paid lip-service to these for they have not really touched national sores. Cruel experience has revealed what our primary concerns should be *viz.*, Hindu-Muslim unity, uplift of the masses, rescue of "untouchables," self-reliance and non-violence: who, that has observed India for four decades and watched the culmination reached in the last three years, would deny that these ideals now obsess the country? As party-cries, their hollowness has been exposed recently. The very failure of hopes has convinced thoughtful people that these ideals must be attained before as a nation we can progress. The value of the Indian National Congress of these days lies in the fact that it helps to shape the aims mentioned above and is a force behind them.

Enough has been said to illustrate how ideals may affect our development. Some other factors which are necessary but which are absent or defective may be mentioned. The education, we have had, has helped to disillusion the country of its antiquated ideas and has thrown in fresh knowledge; but the mental equipment derived from it is evidently too poor to help to start us on our constructive work. Further the masses, while they have been caught up in the world forces, have not the education that is necessary to adjust themselves suitably to the new conditions.

Along with this should be coupled the right arm of education, namely helpful literature, which hardly exists at present in India. There is, we think, alertness in the country sufficient to benefit by a sound education and to experiment upon ideas that may be propagated through literature. One may again turn to the familiar example of Britain or of European history to realize how several great movements have followed the writings of thinkers and how popular movements in turn have stimulated further thought and action. Every one of the problems which have disturbed India during the last three years is capable of much greater examination than has been given to it. Impartial students and thinkers have not come forward in plenty. One of the sorriest spectacles is that all our problems have been debated solely from the standpoint of administration. National growth is not ordered by administration. The matter

is clearly a duty of the people, to whatever extent they may be helped by thinkers from abroad.

For want of leadership we have failed to make all the progress that was possible. India has been favoured with men of eminence who, had they been in the more congenial atmosphere of an independent nation, would probably have made a mark in the world, not merely as men of outstanding abilities, but as men who would have given what the world asks India to give, namely the special contribution of her peculiar gifts. But such leaders have been few and occasional in India, and the attention of several of the most gifted among them has been lost in warring with the Government for political privileges. We have more leaders now than before, and we are not debarred from hoping that greater men than have appeared in the past, will arise in the future and that they will have a fairer field to enter. But the complaint of the lack of leaders would still be the same, for we need them everywhere; not merely at the top, but scattered from the top to the bottom, in the most central assemblies as well as in distant isolated villages. For small groups of people to recognize a leader among them, to give him his rightful place in society, to co-operate with him for doing a common good and be his followers—is a discipline which is required in India on a national scale. Factious spirit, jealousy, and placing self above the common good, are temptations prevalent in the illiterate village communities and in the largest central assemblies alike. The sense of responsibility in the leader, and the spirit of co-operation among the followers, have necessarily to become popular instincts, not merely for specific occasions, or brought about by fortuitous circumstances. It is a curious phenomenon even in these days, that while a village may arrange to boycott an unpopular person, they do not with equal efficiency combine to make a local union successful. The germ of progress is there but needs correct guidance. The home and the family, which are like the most influential units of a social organism, have fallen into a state of chaos in India. Where there has been complete transformation into Western ways or a nearly complete adherence to ancient Indian ways, there may be said to be a definite influence in the home. But the overwhelming majority of cases, hang between the two extremes. Domestic and national duties seem incompatible. This want of social policy is a sure undermining force. The conflict of cultures, as affecting the home, cannot be left to drift for ever.

Political subordination affects adversely this great task of national reconstruction. The fact that outside help would be required for India is too plain to be discounted by anyone. But then, when, how, and what friends to chose, must be a decision for the country itself. A long period of control exercised by one country over another must result in a partial cramping of the latter's faculties. "Slave mentality" and a lack of a sense of responsibility for public weal are direct results in India of this situation. In the matter of administration it has been pointed out frequently that very inadequate funds have been devoted to "nation building" departments.

In spite of the strenuous struggle in the political field it would be right to say that the country is devoting its attention to a much bigger programme. We have already referred to the emergence of clear-cut political ideals which would exact unstinting service from the people. Not politicians alone, but prophets have appeared upon the stage. Gandhi and Rabindranath have given messages which, whatever their efficacy for the current moment, are things for us to ponder over in the light of our future. A measure of political power has been granted to the country; and it is sure that more will be acquired, whatever the impediments may be. To the extent that foreign hold is relaxed, to that extent would normal circumstances arrive in which progress would be carried on. Then we

have the rise of organized popular movements, which by their own momentum brush aside the age-long inequalities that have prevailed in the country. Men have not only been impressed with the value of self-reliance taught by the non-co-operation movement, but have come to look at the difficulties that lie ahead with a more open mind than has been possible hitherto. And there is a real spirit to undergo sacrifice for the public good, at least among many of those who elect to come forward as public-workers. If some of these facts are borne in mind and also that other factors have to be brought into operation before the nation can find for itself a path along which to progress, then we have work for a generation. We lay the foundations whereon others coming later may build.

### THE SPIRIT OF FEAR.

No word is more frequently on the Master's lips than "Fear not!" Of the Early Church we read repeatedly that their boldness was an outstanding quality. Contrasting the new covenant with the old, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews brings this thought out as central. Through Christ we may "draw near with boldness." To John the message of redemption meant that "perfect love which casteth out fear."

Why then do we fear? Some of us fear our fellow-men. Probably it is not so much the scorn of the unbelieving as the criticism of our fellows which may make us afraid. We think, may be unjustly, that words and acts are watched in order that some flaw or omission may be discovered. Some of us fear the truth in some shape or form. We think like Uzzah of old that the ark of the Lord is in danger. Our confidence may be based on something short of eternal realities, and a living experience daily renewed in the inward man. Others of us may fear the consequences of our acts. We feel a thing to be right, but we cannot tell whither it may end. The first step is simple, but we dare not take it lest it involve many another. Perhaps some fear failure, or what appears to be such. We have not learnt deeply enough the lesson of the Cross, and of One who went forward with steady eye and sure step to that climax when it seemed as if all were lost, and the very inmost circle were still unable to see and unready to follow.

Fear is often unrecognized by the one who is afraid. For many other reasons we persuade ourselves for so acting in any set of circumstances. Loyalty to truth may be the apparent motive when fear for the truth is the real one. Consideration for the feelings of another may be our excuse when deep down we dare not face the consequences of what we know to be right. "The heart is deceitful above all things," and self-deceit is so common as to be almost universal. Which of us can be sure that our motives are what we wish them to be, or even believe them to be?

But fear, conscious or subconscious, is not conducive to good sound works. It saps the strength all the time. Our Lord sought to bring men into that relationship with God in which fear would vanish. He died that He might "deliver them who through fear of death (or may be of other things too) were all their lifetime subject to bondage." The storms may attack our little craft on the dark waters. Strange and dreadful may appear the vision of an approaching figure. Then out of the storm break the words never to be forgotten "It is I, be not afraid!" The darkness seems to lift; the Lord Himself is with us.

Whatever our cause of fear be, let us turn to Him. We need all our strength for the fight with sin and ignorance in this world. We need to stand together, not afraid of one another nor yet giving cause of fear to others. We need a new baptism of the love which casts out fear. We need to rally all our forces into one banded host under Him who says: "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world!"

### THE APPEAL FOR IMMORTALITY.

There are many arguments to prove the immortality of the soul, but for the religious man there is one which must always come first. It rests upon the reality of the communion which he enjoys here upon earth with the living God. That experience, so rich in its joy and strength, so self-evidencing, so proof against the changes of the years, is in itself a pledge of its own continuance. It is eternal life in the present. A bond such as the religious man knows does not look as if it could ever be broken. A vision such as he has seen will not be blotted out by the shadow of death.

Such a man has eternity in his heart. He is conscious of powers which demand for their exercise something more than the earthly scene, and with the growing experience of that real life, which gives him his measure of reality, there comes a growing appeal for the life beyond death. This is his chief evidence; other arguments confirm it, but without this all other arguments are inconclusive.

That is why so many of the most convinced believers in immortality are little concerned with the evidences of survival which are brought forward by Sir Oliver Lodge and others. They consider these matters a legitimate field for purely scientific research. But they are not greatly interested in survival by itself. Indeed, there are conditions under which a religious man would not desire survival. The one thing which he seeks is the continuance under new conditions and in a nobler fashion of the communion with God, which is his secret here. If it comes to definitions of the life beyond death he is the most agnostic of men: he only knows that love such as he has known is deathless, and the God, in whom he has trusted, is not the God of the dead but of the living. The words of Richard Baxter come readily to his lips—

"My knowledge of that life is small,  
The eye of faith is dim;  
But 'tis enough that He knows all,  
And I shall be with Him."

If it is urged that something more objective than the spiritual experience is needed, there is only one answer; there can be no truth or hope for the religious man, which is not verified in man's inner life; there has not been, and there can never be a religion which does not claim to awaken a response within the spirit of man. That response may be called by many names, but it is demanded by every prophet and apostle since the world began, and that response is for the religious man its own evidence. All begins for him with God, but he knows that the Spirit of God must bear witness with the spirit of man before he can come into any deep and enduring communion with God. When it is claimed that man can be sure of eternal life, only because of his experience of God in the present, it is only another way of saying that the religious man has always to do, not with the Absolute and the Infinite, but with the God, whose delights are with the sons of men—with Him, who even in the limits of time and space enters into a real covenant with the earth-bound soul. It belongs to the character of such a covenant, that death cannot break it. But what if the spirit of man misreads this experience? Will not "eternity" vanish for him? It will; but everything else vanishes too. "Whom have I in heaven but Thee?" the Israelite singer cried. Only the presence of that God, known as Friend, Guide and Saviour, makes of heaven, a place to be desired. If all the faith which the children of men have put in Him, is a dream, then it will make little difference when he awakens from that dream if immortality too has been lost to him. It would be better to sleep the eternal sleep of death. It is not survival the soul of man craves most fiercely for, but eternal life, and "this is life eternal that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou has sent."

Here in his brief life, man has come to know certain experiences which when once he has known them are the one reality; he has found certain values which are binding upon him. It is his chief glory here that he walks with God over the plains of earth; and he learns from Him the abiding values, and, most of all, the mystery and wonder of love. It is this that he seeks to have confirmed beyond death. Nothing less than this, nothing that gives the lie to this, has any interest for him.

It is seldom in the Old Testament that the reader meets with the confident hope of immortality for the individual soul; but where the Hebrew seer, in his earth life, became most sure of the guidance and purpose of his God, he dared to demand something more.

"Thou shalt guide me with a purpose of Thee  
And afterwards receive me to glory."

That is still the sequence for the religious man; an entrance into the divine purpose and into the eternal values here, and *then* the confirmation and glory of eternity.

Those who care to trace the same sequence in a modern mind can take down their Browning. Robert Browning was very sure of immortality for this very reason, that the spiritual experiences, which had been his, demanded eternity for their fulfilment. He was sure of immortality because he was "very sure of God," who had taken him by the right hand in this scene and would not let that hand go when death came.

The traveller, who walks through English villages to-day, sees everywhere memorials to the "men of this parish who fell in the Great War." It is not surprising that in these years when men remember how death came in unwonted ways there should be a wistful interest in immortality. There is a new urgency in the question, "If a man die, shall he live again?" But the question is not changed; the problem is still, at the heart of it, not one to be settled by scientific evidence, but by the logic of man's spiritual experience. Is there anything in that experience which demands immortality? Is there anything which does not make sense without it? Are there in human experience any values which affirm themselves to be proof against death? It is by the answer to these questions and not by any scientific investigations of survival that the religious man will find his attitude to immortality determined. It still remains true for such a man that his God is not the God of the dead, but of the living. Once in fellowship with Him, always in fellowship with Him! Once held by His right hand, the soul will not be relinquished. It is not because the spirit of man dreads death that he dares to think of himself as immortal; it is because his soul is athirst for the living God; and because in this life he knows what it means to walk with God.—*The Challenge.*

### KENYA UNDER THE PORTUGUESE

BY GORDON M. DYCE-KEELE.

In A. D. 1585 a Turkish Corsair named Mir Ali Bey harassed and took tribute from Mombasa, Lamu, Faza and Jumbo in the name of the Ottoman Sultan. He ejected the Portuguese from the majority of their settlements, and returned with £60,000 worth of plunder and fifty Portuguese prisoners. During this and the next four years a tribe of fierce warriors called the Zimbas began to evince an interest in the coast as far north as Malindi. Their habitation was south of the Zambesi and they were wholly uncivilized. After capturing Kilwa and cruelly massacring three thousand of the inhabitants they besieged Mombasa. While they were thus occupied, encamped at Makuba on the mainland, Ali Bey and the Turks returned. They firmly established themselves at Ras Serani and built a fort there. The Viceroy of Goa had also sent a fleet

under Thomas de Souza Coutinho to punish Mombasa for having allowed the Turks to plunder it wholesale, so that there were three rival powers converging upon the "Isle of War."

The Zimba tribe threw in their lot with the native Christians and vigorously attacked the Turks, who were ultimately expelled, Ali Bey and his confederates being made prisoners.

After a short respite of about a year Mombasa was attacked and occupied by the Portuguese with the aid of a savage tribe called the Wasegeju, who emerged from the interior of Africa about A.D. 1571. This tribe, in conjunction with the Portuguese, attacked and defeated the Zimbabos with great slaughter, completely breaking their power. They then sacked Kalifi and appointed Ahmed, the Sheik of Malindi as Sultan of Mombasa. Recognizing the importance of the latter place they also appointed a Portuguese Governor and constructed a large fort which remains to this day a prominent feature of the island. It was about this time (A.D. 1592) that the first English and Dutch trading vessels visited the Indian Ocean.

In A.D. 1612 the new Sultan of Mombasa, Hasan bin Ali quarrelled with the resident Portuguese Governor and subsequently fled from the town in fear of being captured by the Portuguese. After many adventures he was subsequently murdered by the natives at Rabai.

The son of the exiled Sultan, who received his education at Goa as a Roman Catholic, eventually married a Portuguese lady. He was permitted to return to Mombasa in A.D. 1631, and within a few months was proclaimed Sultan as no one else could be found to accept the position. Exactly a year later he treacherously massacred all the Portuguese in Mombasa, numbering a little over one hundred, and took possession of the fort. Francisco de Moura was sent with a fleet from Goa to punish the rebel, but Yusuf, the ex-Sultan's son, succeeded in escaping after capturing two ships, dismantling the ancient fort and once again completely destroying the town. Until his death seven years later he was a continual source of annoyance to the Portuguese, attacking and looting their settlements along the entire length of the east coast. His name is remembered as the last of the Sultans of Mombasa.

Early in A.D. 1635 Francisco Seixas de Cabreira repaired the fort at Mombasa which still contains two inscriptions, one recording these improvements and the other the completion of the original structure in 1595. The Portuguese were now masters of the entire east coast of Africa, but as their rule was one of merciless tyranny, oppression and extortion, the inhabitants of Mombasa and several of the larger coast settlements sent a powerful deputation to Arabia in A.D. 1660 begging the Imam of Muscat to send forces to eject the Portuguese. From this period to the close of the century there was continual warfare and pillaging along the coast mostly by Arabian traders.

In A.D. 1696 the Arabs entered Kilindini Harbour, bombarded Fort St. Joseph, and besieged Mombasa. The siege lasted thirty-three months. The entire population, consisting of 50 Portuguese and about 2,500 natives, together with the King of Faza, took refuge in Fort Jesus, while the Arabs occupied Ras Serani, Makupa and Kilindini. During the following year bubonic plague broke out among the garrison, carrying off all the Europeans very rapidly, and by September A.D. 1697 the fort was held by King Faza and a mere handful of men. Luckily reinforcements arrived from Mozambique and effected a landing, thus strengthening the garrison by 150 Portuguese and 300 Indians and natives. The siege dragged on for another thirteen months, until in A.D. 1698 Seif bin Sultan, the Imam of Muscat, sent a powerful naval force, an ancient record of which says: "One of the ships carried 80 guns, each gun measuring three inches at the breech." On the evening of December

12th the Arabs entered the fort and the remnants of the garrison fell under the sword. Two days later a Portuguese fleet arrived from Goa, but the Admiral seeing the Arab flag flying from the fort made no attempt to land. The Arabs subsequently occupied Kilwar, Pemba and Zanzibar, causing the Portuguese to abandon practically the whole coast north of Cape Delgada.

Governors known as "Walis" were now established in all the principal towns, Mombasa being entrusted to the care of Nasir bin Abdulla el Mazrui.

The next few years saw several expeditions organized in Lisbon and Goa to retake Mombasa, but it was not until A.D. 1727—thirty years later—that the Portuguese reoccupied the town. In this year the Walis of Mombasa and Zanzibar quarrelled, and the latter fled to Pate, the King of which place sent a messenger to Goa and offered to place himself under the protection of Portugal. A few months later General Luiz Sampoyo set out from Goa and captured Pate and Siu. He bombarded Fort St. Joseph and entered Kilindini Harbour, when the Arab Governor capitulated. Within a few weeks the whole of the coast was once again under Portuguese sway.

It was not long, however, before history repeated itself; for so brutal and arrogant were the Portuguese towards the native subjects that the latter again revolted and invited the Arabs to return in A. D. 1729. After a few fierce battles the Portuguese were again driven out from Pate and Mombasa. A year later a large fleet was despatched from Goa. While crossing the Arabian Sea a hurricane sprang up with the result that the whole of the fleet perished, and 1,200 men lost their lives. This incident marks the final attempt of the Portuguese to reconquer East Africa.

## IN THE STEPS OF THE MASTER.

BY PAUL LAWRENCE.

At a distance of one hundred and thirty-seven miles due West from Madras by rail is situated the municipal town of Tiruppattur with its four average-sized temples, inside which people enter according to the time-honoured caste-rules laid down by Manu. The streets are yet lanes and the houses are built so very close to each other that I could hear the whole conversation in the neighbouring house to that of my friend the N. M. S. missionary there. I liked his idea of living right among the people of the station in their own ditchy streets, preaching and living the Gospel life near the very nose of the orthodox section. Just outside the town there used to be the temporary home of the *Ashram*, which has now been removed to the other side of the town. We go by a winding road of ups and downs under the shade of trees planted on both sides, and pass by two milestones and come to the very gates of the permanent buildings of the *Ashram*. On coming along the road we were able to see parts of the building but now the whole place is before us with its wide open gates welcoming us in.

The compound is an extensive one covering an area of over twenty acres of land. The well-planned *Chattram*, which is now nearing completion, confronts us, and we look in and see the patients lying down in each room with patched legs, and half-healed bones. On the other side there is a group of primitive huts with thatched roofs and an enclosure within walls three feet high. The patients are in these huts for want of space in the main building. In one of these the volunteers live. Their cots are all that save them from being eaten by white ants at night. The "operating theatre", the sterilizing room, dressing and compounding room, etc., are in the big building. This is called the *Chattram* and is meant to be used by the relatives of the patients and others when the big hospital proper is finished.

As we go a little farther along the gravelled road we see the nearly-completed house of the temporary members and volunteers. A little distance beyond we have the house of the two permanent members, Drs. Jesudasen and Paton. Its hall is used as the family prayer-room and for general meetings of the members of the fellowship. The library and the general reading-room will be housed here. The road takes us further on to the common kitchen and the dining-hall adjoining which are the quarters for the House Mother. From here all the workers get their daily food, which they eat seated cross-legged on a mat; a simple company with the happiness of persons who are called to serve in various capacities, each one according to his talent. The House Mother is a very kind woman with a great deal of experience behind her and she does all in her power to keep them fit. Just at present besides the members and the House Mother there are four volunteers. One is a Syrian Christian from Travancore, another is a Punjabi graduate of the Allahabad University, the third is a Hindu who is very intimate with Jesus Christ, and the fourth is a Tamil boy from Ramnad. They have unanimously adopted a lame boy, Mottayam who is the general supervisor of the coolies and workmen in the new building.

For the *Ashram* the day begins at five-thirty, when the big bell is rung. From then every one is busy with his personal duties until all come together at seven for family worship. Usually they sing a hymn or two with the help of the organ and read systematically a portion of the Scripture, after which one or more of the family lead in prayer. At eight after a light meal the scene of action is changed to the hospital side and the new buildings. The volunteers are already busy with their varied activities, attending to patients, looking after the building, going to the morning post and the daily marketing, while the faithful Mottayam sits in the midst of a group of workmen and coolies and leads them in singing Christian lyrics. Soon somebody who is instructing, usually one of the members or a visitor comes along and reads the portion of the Scripture and explains it to the eager crowd. Then they have a short prayer and the men disperse to their day's work. Thus all the workmen know the life of Jesus Christ and the surrounding villages are gradually imbibing the spirit of the Master. The writer happened to go to a village on a trip and all the villagers said: "Oh, yes, we know Yesus Swami, the doctors have told us all about Him."

One of the doctors goes out into the town to the *pandit's* house to study Tamil. In learning a language it is amazing how much difference the right spirit makes. Love for the people and the belief in the service of the Master have to be present before a man can really learn the language of the people.

Already the patients are sitting in groups of twos and threes in the compound. One of the volunteers sits at a desk and enters the names of the new ones in a register, besides marking the old ones, while the other doctor goes around giving instructions to masons, coolies, brick-layers, carpenters and others about the right way of doing things. Few people realize the manifold demands on a missionary; he must be a doctor, a lawyer, a contractor, a builder and architect and everything, besides being a clear mirror of the Jesus of Nazareth.

Mondays and Fridays are especially the days of the out-patients; but they come in every day and even then at their most convenient times. Some of them walk over from the nearer villages when their day's work is done while others come from as far as forty miles away. The fame of the hospital is beyond any exaggeration. Men and women come from all parts of that region and very often one hears the pleading of the patient: "I have heard Sir, that you can cure any disease; so I have come; please do not say

no, have mercy on me a poor sufferer." When the patients are waiting for the medicines to be issued, one of the members of the family relates to them an incident in the life of Christ. There is no special "Hospital Catechist"; everybody on the premises is a catechist as well as a practical worker. The following illustrates the point:—the District Magistrate came on a sudden visit and found one of the members working away in the compounding-room with a volunteer. He did not know anything about the hospital and asked for "the Doctor" meaning thereby the very man with whom he was speaking. Perhaps he expected the doctor to be in tip-top condition. The only reply he could get was that he was *the* man for whom the Collector was looking and that there, "all are servants of the Most High and there is no difference between the 'menial' and the manager."

The average number of patients on the special out-patient days is about seventy while the operations are from two to three a week; because of lack of accommodation they cannot take more, but when the new building is complete they will not be forced to send so many cases away. It is worth the attention of a moral man that out of the thirty-six fresh patients in a single day twenty-two were venereal in some form or other. It is hoped that through prayer and the agency of this *Ashram*, sin and sickness will be driven away from that area; and with the opening of similar institutions in various parts of our beloved land, a new spirit of service and self-sacrifice will go along with the healing and that will certainly have its effects. One out of the nine in-patients at present is a case of fracture of the skull; he fell with a big bucket into an irrigation well and the half of his skull was broken to pieces. The bone was removed, the wound is healed, thanks to the able surgeon of the place, and the boy will be going home in a couple of days.

In the middle of the day there is a grave silence of ten minutes all over the compound, when persons devotionally inclined spend the time in *Dhyanam*. Then comes the midday meal and the following rest if they can have it, for they are kept busy all the day with something or other. Their services are required not only in the day, but at any part of the night people come with a groan and a sigh, or in great excitement and want "doctor aya." One night while they were just going to sit down to a meal a man came jogging along with a few people around him. A snake had bitten him on his leg; he knew where to go and so he had come. The doctors and the volunteers got busy immediately and in fifteen minutes the man was dressed and almost cured. Everything was quiet again and the meal went on. The evening family-worship comes at nine, when every patient of the day is remembered and all things are brought before the Master for His approval. One of the volunteers who lives there told me "This is the only place in the world which I consider my home. I am happy. Even though it should happen that this *Ashram* were to die, (which will never happen), I will take the spirit of this place with me and will try to help the people; the oneness and unconscious unity with which we serve our Master can never go out of my mind." That volunteer was right. Everybody in the place is a practical man who believes that the practice of an ideal must go before the preaching of it. The members have an ideal bachelor life before them, while the volunteers may or may not be married men. The whole place is absolutely Indian in its outlook and life, with Christian fellowship and brotherhood that surpasses description and the spirit and atmosphere of the whole place is beyond all criticism. Their prayers are answered in a wonderful way and volunteers are keeping on coming, and there is room in the *Ashram* for any man who has ideals irrespective of the degree of talents which he may possess; "Come and see."

Just across the road from the Ashram is the Christian Residential High School on a piece of land about nine acres in area, with its new rows of buildings, with three masters and twelve boys in the second, third and fourth forms. This is also conducted on brotherhood lines and the members fully believe in faith and prayer. The institution used to be in Bangalore, but with its change of location and surroundings it is sure to make good progress in the future. It would be a fine thing if parents would send their boys to this place of ideal education under Christian management on purely Indian lines. Its success in future depends upon us Christian men and women. May we not try and go at least half-way in helping these young men of high ideals and plain living, who have the courage of their convictions and believe in the Christian Residential educational lines. In these days we cry for men of initiative, genius and service. Let us see that these do not lose heart through our apathy.

### LONDON LETTER.

LONDON,  
19TH SEPTEMBER, 1923.

The immediate peril of war between Italy and Greece, which might easily lead to a much wider conflict, has passed. The Conference of Ambassadors having taken it upon themselves to act—the League of Nations has left it in their hands. So far, so good, except that one is not quite happy that this Conference of Ambassadors should represent only the Allies in the late war. More serious is the fact that Italy takes it that she has won so far all along the line, and although she has promised to evacuate Corfu shortly, there is the uncomfortable feeling that there may be a postponement to the "Greek Kalends."

Still more serious to many is the way in which no word of protest by the Ambassadors has been raised against Italy's slaughter of innocent folk when she wantonly bombarded Corfu. Is this to be ignored and is violence and murder on the one side to be condemned and on the other ignored? What will be the outcome of the other dispute between Italy and the Jugo-Slavs? No one knows. Meanwhile, in a very remarkable manner Lord Rothermere through the "Daily Mail", "Mirror" and "Sunday Pictorial" holds up Signor Mussolini as the great man of Europe, just as recently he spent his time in praising France and all her actions in the Ruhr.

However, as I have said, we must be thankful for the preservation of peace. Lord Hugh Cecil has had an important letter in *The Times* in which he said that the crisis had shown the League very valuable to the cause of peace, but a good deal less valuable to the cause of justice. This statement may seem at first as involving a somewhat invidious choice, but after all we must recollect that the war method is condemned at once, for the simple reason that its decisions are based on power and not on justice—the two not being necessarily synonymous! If the peace can only be preserved there is at least the opportunity for a just solution to be sought. It is for the nations of the world to back up the League to see that this is pursued as honestly as ever.

#### The Earthquake.

Happily the reports of the number of victims of the Japan earthquake which were coming through when I last wrote seem to have been exaggerated. But after all in imagination and in reality the tragedy is no less great and awful because the victims may total scores of thousands instead of hundreds of thousands. A vivid pen-picture of the scene is supplied by *The Times* correspondent who got some of his

messages away from the Tokyo area by aeroplane. Here are a few lines. "The ruins of the City are a waste of hot tiles, masonry and cinders, giving off clouds of gritty dust, and the stench of burnt bodies. The general horror is increased by the great heat, while earthquake shocks continue at intervals."

The political effect of the disaster must engage the attention of all thoughtful persons. How far will it affect the Chinese situation and the Pacific problem? These are questions yet to be answered. Meanwhile the world's sympathy goes out to Japan, and we hope that the spirit of sympathy may permanently exorcise the spirit of suspicion.

#### The British Association.

Some of the most serious and noteworthy utterances given in the course of each year take place at the gathering often known by the uncomplimentary name of "The British Ass." Of course, this is really the annual meetings of the "British Association for the Advancement of Science," which this year have taken place at Liverpool. A feature of the opening address by Sir Ernest Rutherford was that not only did he speak simultaneously in Liverpool to two audiences in separate buildings, by means of connecting telephone wires, but his speech was at the same time listened to by thousands throughout the United Kingdom. His voice was carried by wire to Manchester, whence it was both broadcasted by wireless direct and also transmitted by ordinary wire to the other broadcasting stations in London, Birmingham, Newcastle, Cardiff and Glasgow. This enabled people with the smallest and feeblest instruments in the latter areas to "pick up" the speech from Glasgow. Surely a wonderful feat.

As regards the discussions and addresses of the British Association, those which have caught popular attention are the remarks of Capt. A. G. Pape in the Anthropological section on a new race type.

Captain Pape said the new race showed an increased cranial development, which made a distinct dome particularly over the frontal region. The heart was fine in texture, and the eyes were especially intelligent looking, not full or bulging.

The bridge of the nose was well marked, and the lips sensitive. The top of the face was triangular and the face generally was like a pear with a narrow, pointed chin.

It was not a race with all brains and no body, but was of a type which was quick in intuition, with a sense of justice and a marked absence of parrot-like intelligence.

The race showed a taste for meat and coarse food, but had not a large appetite, and it exhibited in every respect a manifestation for playing mischief. The race needed sympathetic and understanding investigation.

Prof. J. H. Asworth discussing problems of zoology and human welfare particularly dealt with the question of fleas and other insects as disease carriers. "Since the British Association met last in Liverpool," he said, "10,500,000 people in India have died from plague carried by rats and fleas. Research work is proceeding to try to discover the liability to plague of particular species of fleas in areas where the disease was likely to occur."

#### The Optophone.

An extraordinary machine has been on view called the optophone, which enables the blind to read ordinary type. The instrument reproduces printed letters in the form of sound. Each letter has a different sound and all the blind reader has to do is to master a "sound" alphabet.

HUBERT W. PEET.

## FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD.

By B. AHIRA.

During the moon-lit half of the month *Aswin* and the following fortnight (September—October) the whole of Bengal gives itself up to holiday-making, in a way that I think is equalled in no other part of India. Every Hindu household prepares for the *pujas*; the children are merry in expectation of new dresses and presents; friends, who have not met for a long time, come to visit or exchange letters of greeting; and the religious ceremonies connected with the worship of *Durga* and *Kali* take place.

It is said that the *Durga puja* was originally held in the Spring and that Ram Chandra, the hero of Lanka, is responsible for the alteration of the date to towards the close of the Rains. The date corresponds with the *Dashra* festival of Northern India, but Bengal goes in for holiday-making on a much more wholesale and generous scale. This is not the place for me to discuss the right or wrong of image-making and idolatry; or of animal-sacrifices, such as the slaughter of countless goats and many buffaloes to the goddess. What I do feel is, that in our objection to such things we should not shut our eyes or close our sympathies to the need men have for holiday and change. The Puritanic strictness, that will have neither music nor dancing, invariably reacts in such a swing of the pendulum as was manifest in England after the strong personality of Oliver Cromwell was removed, when Charles II became King of England.

*Durga, Kali, Uma*, by whichever of her numerous names she may be called, as consort of *Shiva, Mahadeo* (the Great God), is chief of the "Mothers"; the feminine divinities of India, who include *Sitala Devi* ("Mother Small-pox"), in their number; all love and mildness in one aspect of their character and more passionate and vindictive than the male gods in the other extreme. A rather excitable female who beats her naughty child with no unsparing hand and then hugs him to her breast in a passion of regret; and who becomes a perfect virago under provocation, chasing and despatching her enemies with unrelenting fury, till even her husband tries to get out of her way. I imagine she represents the forces of Nature incarnated. In one aspect the "gentle rain from heaven" watering the earth and giving the harvest; in another the terrific flood, destroying, drowning, removing even the very soil of the garden, leaving only bare rock behind; wielding thunderbolt, hurricane and flood, with lightning that flashes from all ten points of the compass (symbolized by her ten hands), shaking the very earth with her tread as the earthquake makes the heart of the stoutest melt; all of which we have experienced in India in the last two or three weeks.

At the conclusion of the Rains, *Durga*, well pleased with having chased her demon foes (and incidentally rather terrified her friends) comes on a nine-day visit to the homes of her votaries. This is the occasion of the *Durga puja*, when her image is set up facing the principal entrance into the courtyard and gaily decorated, and illuminated by night. On the tenth day the deserted image is carried to the Ganges and thrown into the river.

The merrymaking and giving of presents that takes place on all sides in Bengal is somewhat analogous to the Christmas festival in most Christian lands. The shops are now filled with enticing wares and fine raiment for women and children. The boot shops especially seem to do a roaring trade. In some parts of India this season is recognized as especially the soldiers' festival. The old warrior gets down his ancient sword, that the damp has rusted in its scabbard, and gives it a good cleaning. The *Ram Lila* religious drama portrays from day to day the triumph of virtue over vice, in episodes in the life of *Ram Chandra*

and his brother *Lakshman* and their successful rescue of the sorely tried and faithful *Sita* from the hands of the demon *Rawan*, whose gigantic figure goes up in a blaze of flame and fireworks as the concluding act of the drama, to the especial joy of every small boy, and delight of all onlookers. This too I imagine is another way of dramatizing the close of the Rains and the rescue of the earth (*Sita means a furrow*) for fruitful harvest in the approaching months.

## BOOK REVIEW.

## Short Cuts. †

Infallible authorities and irresistible grace are short cuts which can never lead to the Celestial City, where men believe because they see and follow because they love. "God does not conduct his rivers, like arrows, to the sea. The ruler and compass are only for finite mortals who labour, by taking thought, to overcome their limitations, and are not for the Infinite mind. The expedition demanded by man's small power and short day produces the canal, but nature with a beneficent and picturesque circumambulatory, the work of a more spacious and less precipitate mind, produces the river. Why should we assume that, in all the rest of His ways, He, (God) rejoices in the river, but, in religion, can use no other adequate method than the canal? The defence of the infallible is the defence of the canal against the river, of the channel blasted through the rock against the basin dug by an element which swerves at a pebble or a firmer clay. And the question is whether God ever does override the human spirit in that direct way, and whether we ought to conceive either of His Spirit or of ours after a fashion that could make it possible. . . . When we turn from argument to reality, there is little to show that either truth or righteousness ever came by way of irresistible might. Progress ever winds slowly forward, fretting at every obstacle and constantly returning upon its path, never working with absolute things, but always with the struggle of human thought and purpose. The long sorrowful experience of the ages seems to show that the last thing that God thinks of doing is to drive mankind, with resistless rein, on the highway of righteousness.\*"

Our experience of God's actual working in history corroborates our moral intuition that the operation of God's power must ever be by the awakening of the soul to truth and to conviction. This contention is now generally accepted by Protestant Christians, but its implications are not always seen. It is not infrequently that Churches and Evangelists seek to win converts into the fold by appeals to self-interest (as when rewards or punishments in the next life are made arguments for conformity in this, or the terrors of political anarchy are threatened to the nation that refuses to believe), by fervent appeals to the feelings, by working upon the suggestibility of men in masses and by frequent and striking advertisement. But as the end of all wise home training is to make the children independent of the support of home, because the love of all things good and beautiful has become part of themselves, an inheritance that no seductions of the earth can take away; so the end of all true pastoral work ought to be to make the people independent of the minister having life in themselves and standing with their own feet on the rock. Topical sermons and eloquent appeals are of little avail for this. For the solid purposes of true conversion and religion, it may be that house-churches and cottage meetings are more powerful agencies.

\* Oman, "Grace and Personality." (Cambridge University Press).

† From "God's Freeman," Nathaniel Micklem. (James Clarke & Co., 5/-).



## CORRESPONDENCE.

## A Vision of the future Church in India.

The Editor of "THE GUARDIAN"

Dear Sir,

With reference to my article in your issue of the 28th September may I say a few additional words:—I am fully aware of the use of the Old Testament in the Bible and the needs in the history of a religion which it fulfils. There are also many, many people in both the Hemispheres who depend on it for their spiritual nourishment, besides which we have a growing section of the Christian community in our own beloved land who think a great deal of it. I have come across cases however where children knew a great deal of the Old Testament stories but did not even have a casual idea of the Indian *bhaktas*, saints and heroes. Your readers will recollect many instances like this which they have come across in their own lives. Not only that, in times past I have heard of people who discouraged the study of the Indian heritage as part of a regular propaganda work. It is not our goal to go to the other extreme and err there. We do realize the importance of the Old Testament as a study and people going in for theological specializing will be interested in it. A psychological study of an Indian convert reveals the fact, that for him, Jesus Christ is the person who makes him become a Christian. The Gospels give His life, and only after reading the New Testament he may get interested in the Old. To me the Christian life is the budding and blooming of a normal existence. An Indian has his surroundings and a heredity of a religious past which he cannot and must not give up. Jesus Christ stands on a pinnacle as the Divine Person in contrast with the prophets of our land. A man reads the longing after God in *Manickavasagar*; and when he reads the Gospel of St. John afterwards, he is fully impressed with the Divine authority, life and aim of the Nazarene. Only in that sense the heritage of the indigenous prophets is emphasized. We know fully well that the Old Testament cannot be dispensed with because we need it to understand certain aspects of the New; what we want to suggest is that it is not absolutely essential to an Indian who is steeped by custom and tradition in the prophets of his country.

In the case of sacred marriage we do not mean to leave out the spiritual aspect. There may be a marriage ceremony in the church, when both the parties are Christians and desire to have such a union. We hope that all the couples would ask for a ceremony of that kind; but we also hope that Government will make a universal (Indian) act of marriage requiring every marriage to be celebrated by civil rites irrespective of caste or creed. The average Indian woman is religious to her very bones; and so we expect that they will demand a dedication ceremony for the "little angels" given them to bring up by God. Surely that will have a place in the many "occasional services," as also the thanksgiving for so many blessings, like that of coming out safe from the duty of "co-creator with God", for coming home safe after a long voyage and others, when individuals or families concerned will go to the *mandapam* and offer their thanks unto God.

I must say a word with reference to the pictures, flowers and other things. They are placed there purely for aesthetic reasons and we hope that they will not tend to idolatry. There may be a danger in the "vulgar mind." We hope to let the people read the Gospels for themselves and so get their own individual religion which in its essence will be devoid of idolatry.

CHRISTHANANDAM.

## CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK

## INDIA.

Another flood has visited Bihar in north Champaran. Six lives have been lost and a large number of cattle have been carried away. Some damage has been done to crops and heavy loss of grain and salt has been sustained.

The Goomti River has begun to subside and Lucknow is now out of danger.

Congressmen have captured 10 out of 32 seats in the Patna Municipality.

It is notified that in the calendar year 1924 not more than 3,000 chests of Benares opium will be offered for sale by public auction at Calcutta.

The last meeting of the Punjab Legislative Council will be held on October 20th—26th. The new Legislative Council of Madras will meet on November 20th, for formal business and adjourn till the first of December when the Viceroy will be in Madras.

In a letter addressed to Lala Lajpat Rai prominent "no-changers" of the Punjab have offered themselves to follow him in the question of entering the Council, although they are opposed to it and differ from him on this matter.

A manifesto signed by prominent Hindu and Muhammedan leaders has been issued condemning Hindu-Moslem feuds and appealing for peaceful relations.

Sir Basil Blackett was taken seriously ill of diphtheria on 29th September. He is reported to be progressing favourably but will not be able to resume his duties for a month.

Mr. Gandhi's birthday was celebrated in different parts of India on October, 2nd.

It has been decided to establish an Indian Diploma in dairy management to correspond with the British National Diploma on the same subject.

The Court of the Dacca University has recommended to the Executive Council that a lakh of rupees should be earmarked for the year 1923-24 for the provision of a building, plant and machinery for tanning and leather chemistry, as soon as the money for recurring expenditure is provided.

Mr. W. W. Pearson, for several years a member of the Shantiniketan staff under Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, and an associate of Mr. C. F. Andrews in the Fiji Labour Investigation, died of an accident in Italy on September, 24th.

## ABROAD.

The Japanese Relief Fund raised by the Lord Mayor of London now totals £230,000.

The Peking Parliament has elected Tsao-kun, Inspector-General of Chihli for the Shantung and Hofan provinces as President of China.

Mr. Lloyd George arrived in New York on October 5th, and was received with enthusiasm.

Herr Stressmann's cabinet resigned as the result of the crisis arising out of the German People's party's objection to the presence of Socialist Members in the Government.

The Imperial Economic Conference commenced on October 3rd when Sir Philip Lloyd Graeme surveyed the general economic situation and reviewed the work before the Conference.

General Smuts and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had an informal Conference regarding the position of Indians overseas.

Much indignation is expressed in the French Press at that portion of Lord Curzon's review of Foreign Politics to the Imperial Conference which has been made public.

**WANTED.**—A Christian Head Master for the Cuttack Mission High School from January 1st, 1924. Must be a graduate, with Educational qualifications. Commencing salary Rs. 150/- with free quarters. All Applications should reach the Secretary, BAPTIST MISSION, CUTTACK, by October 31st.

**WHY DO MISSIONARIES COME TO INDIA AND WHY DO THEY STAY ?**

1. Because they believe that they have a call from God to give their lives to this land.
2. Because they feel the "constraining love of Christ," and yearn to show their love for Him.
3. Because India's need of help—material, moral and spiritual, is so great.
4. Because India, as perhaps no other country, gets hold of the heart and draws one to herself.
5. Because of the warm-hearted, courteous, patient and spiritually-minded people of India, to love whom is easy and to serve whom is the highest privilege.
6. Because India promises, when she has seen and accepted Christ, to become in turn the greatest missionary land of the World.
7. Nevertheless, the first reason is sufficient, even were the others lacking.

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### ITS NAME.

The Blue Ribbon Temperance Association is an association of men and women, without distinction of race or religion, who are pledged to abstain from the use of Intoxicating Drink and Drugs and to do their utmost to save their country and its people from these curses.

Its name is taken from its Badge which is a small Blue Ribbon. (Blue-metal ribbons at four annas each and buttons with the ribbon painted on at two annas each and plain blue pieces of metal for badges at one pice each can be obtained from Miss Joan Davis, Temperance Headquarters, Lal Bagh, Lucknow.)

### ITS ORIGIN.

In her many Temperance Lecturing tours around India, Miss Campbell, of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, found that many people desired an active Temperance Society in which people of all races and religions might join, on a common footing, to fight this enemy of progress and happiness in India. So the B. R. T. A. was formed and Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians, Punjabis, Hindustanis and Gujeratis, etc., have joined its ranks. In town or village, in *mohalla* or college, among people rich and poor, ignorant and educated, this simple Society can be formed to join together all who wish to see these curses driven from India.

### ITS ORGANIZATION.

The members of any local society, who have signed its pledge, elect their own President, Secretary, Treasurer and Committee. Each local society should link itself up with other Societies in the same district.

### ITS USE.

It helps individuals to keep free from these curses.

It helps, by its regular meetings, lectures, study circles, or lantern addresses to teach the physical, mental and moral damage wrought by this Drink curse.

It helps to express that public opinion which will encourage and persuade the local and provincial Excise authorities to close down unnecessary drink and drug shops and to reduce in other ways, the existing temptations to the use of intoxicating liquor.

It helps members of those castes and classes of society in which Drink or Drugs are doing harm to persuade their *panchayats* to banish these evils from their midst.

The National Superintendent is REV. A. T. HOFFERT,

BULSAR, GUJERAT.

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# The Guardian

Editors { A. N. SUDARISANAM.  
          { JOSEPH TAYLOR.

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"Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall  
make you free."

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Manuscript for publication may be sent to the Editor,  
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## NOTES.

At a largely attended rally of the various Temperance interests in Calcutta, the Chairman, Sir Deba Prasad Sarbadhikari, c.i.e., reminded his audience that governments move in response to public opinion. The Government of India were in complete accord with the spirit of the movement to keep down the supply and sale of liquor in India, and their sympathies were with any movement which would lead to the ultimate discontinuance of the use of wines and spirits. In proposals for the exercise of local option it was native liquor that was mainly affected. Foreign liquor remained practically untouched to meet the habits of Europeans and Anglo-Indians. India owes a great deal to the missionary body, who by their efforts on behalf of public morality, have done much to expiate the evils of the other side of European influence. At the same gathering, Rev. J. W. Pickett mentioned the total unreliability of much that appeared in the Press in regard to the Liquor Traffic. As an instance—Reuter circulated that the great Labour Congress in the U. S. A. had passed a resolution against Prohibition. What were the actual facts? A small group of Labour representatives attempted to get an anti-Prohibition resolution brought in. When this was not allowed, they went out and had a separate meeting of their own small clique and Reuter gave world-wide publicity to their resolution and totally ignored the fact that the real Congress had thrown it out!

It is obvious that Temperance legislators in India, with the facts in Ceylon before them, must be on their

guard against the tendency to increase the sale of foreign wines and spirits and for Indians to learn to drink these in consequence of the business efforts of foreign distillers and wine-merchants in the interests of their trade. It becomes increasingly necessary also to challenge the misleading and incorrect statements in the Press, whenever these are observed.

The United Theological College, Bangalore in its annual report complains of the small number of properly qualified students who enter its portals. We imagine that the same is the case in all the other theological colleges in India. We cannot help thinking that the remedy in all these, from Serampore, as the degree-giving institution, downwards, is to increase the amount of the Indian instruction and to decrease the traditional foreign element. We see no special reason why an Indian minister of the gospel should have the same training as his brother minister in the United States or Great Britain. Serampore should be able to take the foreigner and teach him what he needs further for India, if his work should fall in this land.

The *Swarajyya* of Madras discovered that proposals were afoot to send a *naulich* (dancing-girls) party from the Madras Presidency to the Empire Exhibition. The *Madras Mail* has justified the proposal. Indian leaders have condemned it emphatically and it is reported that some of the dancers well-known for their musical talents have resented the idea in strong terms. Leading missionaries have pronounced against it. Dr. W. L. Fergusson writes thus: "Strong moral sentiment in Madras city and Presidency has long since discontinued the *naulich* in connection with public entertainments. It would be a thousand pities to revive and popularize a custom which is under the ban in the best social circles here, and which is abhorred by many of the women who have made their livelihood by it." The proposal is an objectionable one and no words would be too strong to condemn it. Here in Calcutta a dancing pavilion to accommodate 500 pairs is being erected in connection with the Calcutta Exhibition. What connection there is between industrial exhibits and dancing we fail to see.

Death removes from our midst a friend of rare merits in Mr. W. W. Pearson, the friend and co-worker of Dr. Tagore at the *Visvabharati*, and an associate of Mr. C. F. Andrews in his investigation of labour conditions in Fiji, who was killed in an accident in Italy on September 24th. He was one who pursued an ideal unflinchingly, and hence sacrificed much for India. He was therefore a trusted friend whose name was honoured wherever it was known. His death would be a hard blow for those who worked with him.

The committee, which met in Delhi to compose Hindu-Moslem differences, has issued the following manifesto:—

"In view of the recent deplorable disturbances we, the undersigned Mussalmans, Hindus and Sikhs hereby declare, that if an individual or group of individuals, belonging to any community commits any act of violence against or attacks the person, property or honour of a woman, or places of worship (*Mandir*, Mosque, Church or *Gurdwara*, etc.) of his neighbours or fellow-townsmen or helps those who indulge in such misdeeds, he is, from the religious point of view, guilty of a great sin; and that it is the duty of the co-religionists of such offenders to stand up to resist these miscreants and to protect those who are so attacked. We further appeal to the followers of every religion that they should act, each towards the other, with mutual toleration and regard for the religious ideas of their neighbours and townsmen."

This manifesto is signed by a hundred of the best known leaders in the country.

The following is from an article on the "Industrial Value of Criminal Tribes" in the *Labour Gazette* written by Mr. O. H. B. Starte, the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer, in Bijapur: "Having in most instances no hereditary trade except that of crime, they have no special prejudices for or against any other particular profession. Hence it is possible to train the younger generation to any kind of labour in which suitable openings can be found. Of course not much can be done with the older generation. They can only work as unskilled labourers in the mills and on such works as breaking roads, metal or on earthworks. But much can be done for the younger generation, and it is towards them that the greatest attention has been directed. Fourteen settlements have been established in the Bombay Presidency. The total population in the settlements is 12,000. Care is taken to preserve the family life and therefore whole families only are accepted. In each of the settlements a school has been established and education has been made compulsory, both for boys and girls. At present there are 2,300 children attending these schools. As it is hoped that the boys will become skilled artisans in the future, in each of the larger schools a manual training class has been started, wherein elementary wood and tin-work is being taught as a training to the hand and eye. Drawing is also emphasized in the curricula of these schools. With the co-operation of the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Mill and the Laxmi and Vishnu Mills, the manual training class of the Sholapur settlement is being expanded and co-ordinated with the mill work, in which the great majority of the children will find their future employment."

Sir Robert Horne, ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, who might, had he chosen, have filled that high place in Mr. Baldwin's Government, refuted in detail the contention of M. Poincaré that Britain makes no sacrifice when she offers to settle all her own claims—those against Germany for reparations and those against our Allies for the money lent them during the war—in return for the present value of the amount needed to pay our debt to America namely £710,000,000. M. Poincaré has argued that the British people are even now claiming all they are entitled to get in any case. In other words, he quietly wipes off the slate the sums we advanced to the French and our other Allies on loan during the war. It cannot be too clearly understood that the sum of £715,000,000, which this country was to receive under the schedule of payments, was for reparations alone, and has nothing to do with war-loans. Our offer releases the Allies from obligations to us, and, as Sir Robert Horne points out, it involves a surrender by the British people of claims amounting to £1,893,000,000, or if we leave Russia

out of account, of £1,200,000,000, the interest on which represents more than one shilling in the pound on income-tax. Of this sum France owes us £600,000,000, or one-half. If our offer involves no sacrifice let us revert to the original arrangements. Let France pay to us the debt she owes us, and let us take our agreed proportion of 22 per cent. of the reparation total. Sir Robert Horne says frankly that M. Poincaré's proposal, which is delivered in the language of an ultimatum, is really tantamount to repudiation of France's debt to Great Britain. It was time these words were spoken, and they carry the more weight because Sir Robert Horne carefully disclaimed any sympathy with Germany, or any wish that she should be excused from paying to the limit of her capacity the reparations due from her under the peace settlement.

The bloodless revolution in Spain has caused bewilderment. At a time when democracy was supposed to have widened the bounds of freedom, everybody is surprised at the peaceful establishment of a military directorate. The surprise would have been still greater but for the ease with which Mussolini—who says men are tired of liberty—had captured the dictatorship of Italy. It is assumed that the new Spanish *regime* will be temporary. What will succeed it nobody predicts with confidence. Europe is heaving, socially and politically, and Spain is a country whose conditions and movements are little known here. It is feared that the day of tranquility on the Continent may yet be far off. There may be other swift changes before the world settles down.

### REVELATION.

Christ, Master,  
God in a human life  
Fully revealed:  
To whom we look, and know  
That God Himself is such  
In love, in tenderness,  
In courage, joyousness, humility,  
And in simplicity:

Christ, Master,  
Peasant, labouring-man,  
Homeless, hungry wanderer,  
Outcast: and—at the end—  
Gibbeted criminal:

Christ, Master,  
Brother, Saviour, Friend,  
For ever living,  
For ever strong to show us God:  
God Thyself, in a human heart,  
Perfect, complete:

Christ, Master,  
Goal of our race in God,  
Ideal final manhood  
Whereto we strive,  
Thyself the striving and the goal:

Lord Christ who diedst for us,  
Who savest us,  
Take us, use us, work through us, this day.

Kashmir.

"The Guardian"  
CALCUTTA, OCTOBER 19, 1923.

**POLITICAL LITERATURE IN INDIA.**

We referred last week to literature as a stimulant to reconstructive work and regretted its absence at this juncture when it was indispensable to focus the conflicting ideals in the country. Unquestionably the subject upon which most attention has been bestowed by educated Indians is politics. A survey of the literature on the subject would reveal the sterility we have complained about even here.

All the publications that we have, fall under the following groups:—(1) Congress; (2) Government Papers; (3) Universities; (4) Writings by European Authors; (5) Periodicals; (6) Miscellaneous and (7) Poetry.

Ever since the National Congress was organized it set itself to tackle certain problems of administration. It had no scope for dealing with the science of politics which in this country would roughly reduce itself to the question of: (1) how a politically advanced nation could administer the affairs of a less advanced nation; (2) one race could control and develop another race totally alien in genius and culture; (3) whether in view of the circumstances attending the British connection with India, the ideal of liberty was justifiable or feasible. These larger questions were not within the purview of the Congress, the leading exponent of the political consciousness of the country. The first two problems were monopolized by the rulers as their sole concern and privilege in which Indians were ruled out as incapable of giving ideas. The lapse of years marked out the third problem as one which the people could voice; and when they were sufficiently outspoken with regard to it, Mr. Montagu's pronouncement of August 20th, 1917 regarding responsible government was made.

The conditions being such, we need not expect to find in the literature connected with the Congress anything but arguments in favour of larger appointments in Government service and suggestions for improving the welfare of the people. For these, we have the annual presidential addresses, which form a rough annual review; then speeches of varied merits on resolutions, and the resolutions themselves. In due time enterprising publishing firms indulged in cheap biographies of Congress celebrities. The *Swadeshi* movement and the Industrial Exhibition, the latter an off-shoot of the Congress, stimulated some books on Industries and Economics. A later phase was to place on the field collected speeches and writings of leading Indian politicians. It will thus be clear that so far as our political leaders were concerned, their mental output was largely incidental to Congress activities and was circumscribed by the specific objects dealt with by the Congress. Tilak struck a different note from the ordinary and was hence called an Extremist; but the ideas he threw out were gradually assimilated by a growing section of public leaders, and thence forward political thought was more unshackled.

The enormous output of the Government in the shape of annual reviews, resolutions, statistics, gazettes, reports of committees and commissions are very valuable for the information they contain upon almost everything worth knowing in India. They describe policies in regard to details of administration; and read in retrospect, form a valuable index to the temper of the Government in meeting popular feeling. A vast amount of literature centres round every Reform Act. The Montagu—Chelmsford Report was the first attempt to treat India as a nation and to consider her problems in broad outline with a view to her ultimate emancipation. The rest of the writings connected with the last Reforms are largely controversial, the authorities

and the popular leaders coming perilously near mutual recrimination. Mr. Lionel Curtis's contributions tended to examine the fundamentals and evoked some response in that respect.

Retired European officials and others of the observer and critic class have some work to their credit: Maine, Theodore Morison, Nevinson, Chailley, Lyall, Chirol, Lovet Fraser and a host of others have noted their personal impression of conditions, or have discussed specific problems in which they were interested; or written as apologists for Government. In view of their mental equipment and intimate knowledge of the country, it is a matter of some surprise that more of the gifted among European officials do not engage in literary work, at least, at the end of their career. Writing, which is biased, will not of course help political thought here; but has Sir Henry Maine no successor? The prospects of the future cannot be brighter than the actualities of the past. Indian problems are more complex than ever before; mutual understanding is, if anything, less than in the past; and European thinkers on Indian political problems are very scarce indeed.

The source from which fresh light first came systematically was from the Universities. The magnificent array of books produced by Indian students of the Calcutta University and the London School of Economics indicate the vast field that there is for scholarship and thought in Indian History, Economics and Politics. None of the three agencies mentioned above has contributed so much to a knowledge of real India as the Universities have done and are doing. In this group may be classed those of the professors who are specializing in one or other of the above topics, and publishing to the world their discoveries through other agencies besides the Universities. True political ideas and national consciousness can be founded only on a deep and accurate knowledge of one's own national history, aided by what may be learnt from other countries. Indian Universities have in late years arranged facilities for the amassing of this knowledge. We may hope that the politics of the future will be more intelligent and vigorous than hitherto because they are based on a more accurate knowledge. Special mention however must be made of the young Indian economist whose contributions during the last five years have been of great value.

Connected with organizations are a few publications. The Servants of India Society, the Home Rule League, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association are some of the organizations which undertook to publish literature as part of their political activities. What they have put out so far, fairly represents the work they are able to do. While pre-eminently suited to carry on the work, it does not appear that any of these organizations give more than an occasional thought to this duty of theirs. Economic Associations have sprung up in different quarters lately and publish their discussion on live problems in Indian economics. Some of our political writings must be classed as Miscellaneous leaving only Periodicals and National songs to be considered in the end of this survey. In this group, we have the germs of future expansion of our political literature. The outstanding living *thinkers* in this sphere are Lala Lajpat Rai and Babu Bepin Chandra Pal; and their scattered writings would any day be worth perusal as an interpretation of the Indian political mind. Besides a keen analysis of the situation, their writings are inspired by the fire of patriotism. Their particular value lies in the fact that the writers are not thinkers only, but are men always in the thick of the fight, continually in touch with all the factors involved. Besides these, we have lately had in the field biographies of the type of Mody's "Life of Sir Pherozshah M. Mehta" and N. C. Kelkar's "Life of Tilak"; both of which attempt also to estimate the politics of their respective periods. If the life-stories of all our distinguished political leaders

were rescued from oblivion and obscurity, a flood of light would be thrown upon the path India has trod for a century, and she could proceed with surer tread into the future. As saint, prophet, politician and writer, Mahatma Gandhi appeals most strongly to modern India. All that he has said and written, and much that has been written about him and his message, form a rich part of our political writings.

Periodicals, though hardly worthy of the name of literature, must be included in our list, as they constitute at present one of the most important springs of politics. It is a common habit in India to warn students against too great an indulgence in the study of Journals, but second thoughts should reveal to such advisers, that if Journals are eschewed, there is little else here to lean upon for one who desires to get an insight into Indian politics. Party organs are a new feature of Indian Journalism. The more of this kind, the more surely would Indian Journalism sink from its special position of usefulness to a common function of propaganda.

National fervour is crystallizing these days into national songs in the vernaculars. They centre round great Indian personalities and round the theme of Freedom. The rapidity with which they have arisen and the amazing popularity they attain, together with their genuine merit, point to the fact that they would form a highly potent factor in national growth. The popular song is the last thing that would come under the control of any exterior force. National songs grow in number daily in spite of some Government interdictions.

We venture to think the above a fairly exhaustive classification of the largest part of Indian political writings in English. The vernacular periodicals contain opinions largely reflected from the English ones. It cannot be said that the literature in our possession tends either to deep thinking on fundamentals among leaders, or to sound political education of the average citizen, or to instil patriotic zeal into the nation as a whole, or to accurately interpret to non-Indians the present psychology of the Indian mind. Signs of all of these may be seen glimmering now and again and we may take hope for the future; but at the inception of this new life, more than a passing interest is called for.

### THE BRIGHTEST SPOT IN EUROPE.

BY SHERWOOD EDDY.

During my present tour around the world I was impressed by the growth of the Liberal movement in Japan, the Renaissance movement in China, the silent revolution that is running deeply in India, but the brightest spot I have seen against the dark background of war-torn Europe is the League of Nations centering in Geneva.

Born on January 10th, 1920, the League has achieved solid and substantial results in the three short years of its history. Already it has united fifty-two allied, neutral and enemy nations in one great co-operative association or world powers. Already it has prevented three wars. In my opinion the League has saved Austria, when tottering on the verge of chaos and ruin. It has settled the dispute between Sweden and Finland over the Aaland Islands. It has determined the boundary of Upper Silesia, and averted strife between Germany and Poland. It has saved Albania and prevented its invasion from Jugo-Slavia. The League has averted hostilities in the dispute between Poland and Lithuania. It has settled the boundaries between Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria. It has removed the invasion of armed bands from Bulgaria, and settled the differences between Finland and Soviet Russia regarding Eastern Carelia.

A permanent Court of International Justice has been established through the League, and solid foundations laid for building up a body of international law. Successful world conferences on finance and reconstruction, communication and transit, disarmament, opium and narcotic drugs, on international traffic in women and children and international labour have been called and conducted under the supervision of the League. It has established an International Labour Office that is helping to remove the menace of sweated labour from the backward nations that threaten the standards of living in those more advanced. Already more than four hundred treaties have been registered and published by the League. It is now helping to co-ordinate some of the more than three hundred independent international organizations. It has promptly promoted co-operation concerning international health to save the world from the menace of typhus and other post-war diseases.

All of this has been accomplished during the three darkest years of the world's history in the midst of division, hatred, suspicion and jealousy, and in spite of the opposition of Soviet Russia, embittered Germany and isolated America. Contrast this truly splendid record of three short years with the failure of the Holy Alliance and of the old autocracies of the Czars, Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns, and compare it with the twenty years of delay and deadlock after all the efforts of The Hague.

Let us also compare the steady growth of the League in the face of suspicion, with the struggle of the once feeble American League of thirteen colonies in the United States, suspected not only by the world, but suspicious of each other. These colonies dreaded the Federal power of the new Republic more than the United States to-day dreads a possible super-state in the League; but all this achievement that the League has wrought in the last three years has been made without the marching of a single soldier, without firing a shot, or fighting a battle. It has not impaired the sovereignty of any one of the fifty-two nations which are already members. It has not commandeered, nor has it ever dreamt of commandeering and could not by its very constitution compel a single nation to furnish troops against its will. The League has continued the Government of several districts under the new mandates, and is gradually building up a world conscience on the government of subject peoples as a sacred trust of civilization. It has led the way in world reconstruction; it has been a powerful instrument for the making and preserving of peace.

In the meantime, many of us in the United States have stood on the side lines of barren criticism. Our Liberals demand that we outlaw war; yet refuse to participate in the one concrete, practical means of securing peace. From neutrals in Europe we hear the ugly word, "Shylock" of the American nation, in our demanding precedence in the collecting of our debts and postponement of our responsibility for co-operating with other nations in this practical way of achieving world peace.

For months our Congress delayed to lift our claims against Austria for \$ 24,000,000 of credits when she was on the verge of a collapse; but after the effort of independent nations, charitable organizations, the Supreme Allied Council and all the Premiers had failed utterly to avert Austria's sinking into threatened chaos and revolution, the League of Nations came to the rescue and saved the country. It immediately stabilized the currency, gradually dismissing a hundred thousand supernumerary officials and placing the country on the road to recovery. Under the League, Austrian currency has not only been stabilized, but has gained in value during the last year while that of Germany has sunk from 300 to over 100,000 marks to the dollar, or more than one-third of its value twelve months ago. Not only did the

United States fail to sign the terms of the Traffic Convention drafted in 1919, but Americans continued to sell arms to the Turks and Russians. A large number of lives have been lost in consequence, and peace has been continually postponed. We cannot "outlaw war" on paper, nor create peace in a vacuum. We must either take part in some concrete plan of co-operation or refuse to join with all others until we are dragged back into the next world war as we were in the last.

Here is a League already uniting fifty-two nations to which Turkey and Ireland will be admitted this year. It has behind it a remarkable record of achievements during its first three most difficult years. What is to be America's final response to this challenge of the world? Is it to be co-operation or isolation, peace or war?

### LORD MORLEY AND YOUNG INDIA.

BY AN INDIAN ADMIRER.

India will not allow Lord Morley's name to pass with a formal obituary notice. He was a professor to the whole of college-educated India in common. The fields in which he excelled, *viz.*, History, Philosophy and English Literature were the ones to which Indian students were specially attracted. From the first week of a college career to its last, an Indian student banded the name of Morley so frequently that it became as familiar as that of any local college professor. In my province and university, vernaculars are at a discount and excellence in English is the ambition of students. A fine style in writing, a deep scholarship in English Literature, and an attractive elocution were standards not merely for a good but for the average student. A keen science man or a brilliant mathematician hardly ever had a reputation or was not even noticed, if he did not carry with him one or other of the foregoing merits in regard to English. The Professors egged on the ambition and would not scruple to spite a student openly, if he did not possess an acquaintance with English, which in later years in comparison with other places, I found to be excessively high. To score record marks in the University examination in English Literature was the ambition of one of the most brilliant students who passed through the University, whose merit other people knew was his grasp of his special subject, History and Economics, in which subject eventually he topped the list, while getting likewise his record marks in English Literature. That was the atmosphere, and Morley's writings were easily appealed to by professor and student alike for model. Ruskin and Newman, Mathew Arnold and Lamb had their votaries, but Morley was a favourite author for all. Once a student dipped into Morley's writings, he was fired with the ambition to get through the library of his writings before the end of the college career. Fancy the effect upon the plastic mind of a matriculation boy when he hears the anecdote: Lord Acton was one of the most learned men of his times. He was known as "the walking encyclopædia." When he died, no other scholar was rich enough to buy his library. Finally Mr. Andrew Carnegie bought it and presented it to John Morley. Morley had no room in his house to keep the library and so presented it to the Cambridge University.

It may be the perversity of Indian nature that it admired a grim, ascetic bachelor-philosopher and a towering intellectual. Sitting in a mission college and saturated with Christian teaching, my class-fellows and I heard of Britain, her fame and power, and read of her doings. It seemed as if, to the people and the press, the Cabinet and the Parliament of that country, diplomacy came first and Christian principles later;

but here was John Morley, an agnostic, discarded of church and saintly society, in such utter contrast with other British men of distinction, asserting Christian principles where others dared not. Needless to say non-Christians, getting newly acquainted with political ideas and religious controversies of the day, overlaid with sophistries of all kinds, turned for guidance to the man who kept pure and fresh his God-given faculties. His opinion on public matters was an anchor, which the bewildered Indian relied upon to keep him from drifting into an ocean of controversy.

As if to set the seal of the Indian's affections for John Morley, there appeared his "Life of Gladstone." It was just over two decades ago, when the Indian knew more of and took more interest in English History and Politics, than in Indian History. In comparative importance the latter was a mere footnote in the school and college History curriculum and teaching. What could be more fascinating than the revelations of Victorian Politics? Then the combination: the greatest Christian statesman had John Morley the agnostic as his disciple. Gladstone and Morley had captured the hearts of Indians then. The rest of British politicians seemed pygmies, and yet great compared with those who strut upon the stage at the present day.

Lord Curzon, with his gospel of "administration and exploitation are the arms of British rule in India" had upset the Indian mind. Liberal principles, which should be observed in relation to a growing nation, were nowhere in the horizon. What greater fortune than that Morley should elect to guide India at that juncture? Mr. Gokhale greeted the news thus at the Indian National Congress. "Large numbers of educated men in this country feel towards Mr. Morley as towards a master, and the heart hopes, and yet trembles, as it has never hoped and trembled before." That was a moderate statement. With Gokhale as leader here and Morley at the head of affairs, India would seem to have nothing more to desire. Like urchins, students danced away in glee, for the Motherland had after all come under the care of their hero. The older men, who were in the thick of the fight, met with disappointments later; but none had the heart to be disrespectful to Morley, their *guru*. They fought with him, as with their teacher; and complaints were poured into his ears in confidence. His speeches on India revealed his attitude towards it. Everyone of those was thrilling and memorable. None more memorable than his Indian Budget Speech for 1907: "The Indian Asiatic is a man with very vivid susceptibilities of all kinds, and with great traditions. With long traditions of a civilization of his own, we are bound to treat him with the same kind of respect, kindness and sympathy that we should expect to be treated with, ourselves. Only the other day, I saw by chance a letter from General Gordon to a friend of mine. He wrote "To govern men, there is but one way and it is an eternal truth. Get into their skins. Try to realize their feelings. That is true of Government. That is not only a great ethical, but a great political law, and I hope that in all we do, in all this House does, it will not be forgotten." On few occasions, indeed, did the House of Commons hear the voice of Indian humanity in such stirring terms.

So when John Morley passes out of the world, there is real sadness in India that has lost her guide, philosopher and friend. That Montagu was Morley's under-secretary was his best title to office in the eyes of India. At one time he revived the doubtful confidence of the country by proclaiming that he had been in intimate touch with his aged master at Blackburn. The passing of Morley reviews that painful truth there was none like him in the Councils of the Empire; and as matters go at present, certainly India will, with difficulty, be induced to hope that she again can have that strange type, the British Champion of Indian rights.



### THE SCOUT MOVEMENT.

By F. H. GRAVELY, D. SC.

The Scout Movement, like many others, is often misunderstood; and this, no doubt, accounts for the suspicion with which it is regarded by many people.

In a pamphlet which reached me recently, entitled "The Order of Woodcraft Chivalry—A Brief Statement of its Aims and Ideals," the only difference that I find is one of method, rather than of aim, viz., "It trains boys and girls in the same unit of organization, and thus endeavours to secure mutual understanding, balance and normality." Scouting deals with boys only, leaving the Girl Guides' Association to deal with girls.

I hope the above will not be taken as in any way an attack on Woodcraft Chivalry. This I could not attempt, even if I wished, since I am as ignorant of Woodcraft Chivalry as "Woodcrafter" appears to be of Scouting. And any worker among boys on these lines must know the tremendous need for more leaders and be glad of every addition to their number; though when two organizations have identical aims and use identical methods to achieve them (except as regards the training of boys and girls in the same unit), it does seem to me that union would add to their combined strength.

The one thing that prevents this union is, I have no doubt, "the never failing thread of militarism" that "Woodcrafter"—and others with him, myself included, not many years ago—find "running through the whole scheme of 'Scout' organization." That Scout organization is not on military lines can perhaps be most briefly illustrated by reference to the superseding of the word "Officer" by the word "Scouter," as a reminder that Scoutmasters and others of this class do not belong to a superior order, but are to be regarded as in the position of "elder brother" to the scout; and by reference to the now almost universal tendency to reduce the difference in uniform between the scout and the scouter to the minimum consistent with convenience of recognition.

But I don't think this is what "Woodcrafter" really means. He refers to the book *Scouting for Boys*, through which the movement, was brought into existence, a book which, undoubtedly, does contain much that is at variance with peace principles, especially the section headed "Duties as Citizen-soldier." But a man is not required to subscribe to these opinions in order to become a Scoutmaster. And if his right to hold his own opinion is thus respected by others in the organization who differ from him, it is surely not too much to ask that he will similarly respect the convictions of others even though he may feel that he must take every opportunity of combatting them.

Just as Scouting is a definitely religious movement without being sectarian, and thus can influence even boys of non-Christian lands, so likewise it is an international brotherhood movement, without being either pacifist or militarist in the technical sense, and in this way exerts a far wider influence than any purely pacifist organization could ever hope to do. A parent, whose son wishes to join a troop, will, of course, require to see what pacifist or militarist influence the Scoutmaster is likely to exert; and such interest is welcomed and encouraged by the Association and by all good Scoutmasters. But a man with matured convictions need make no such enquiries before becoming a Scoutmaster, for he himself will have to set the standard for his troop.

All that a man must promise before becoming a Scoutmaster is, that he "will do his best to do his duty to God and the King, to help other people at all times, and to obey the Scout law" of honesty, loyalty, helpfulness, friendship, courtesy, kindness to animals, obedience, cheerfulness, thrift and cleanliness. It

will be seen that what a man honestly believes to be his duty to God takes precedence over all else. Loyalty is required towards those below just as much as towards those above. Friendship must be towards *all*, obviously including persons of "enemy" countries.

Can any one wonder that in the working out of this law, even during the brief history of the movement to the present time, the military aspects of *Scouting for Boys* have sunk more and more into the background, till now one scarcely hears them mentioned; and that the Chief himself has recently been led to publish an article on "Education in Love in Place of Education for Fear," such as we should have expected from a Quaker, rather than from a General?

What the Scout movement was like at the beginning I do not know; for unfortunately I was not then in it. But the Chief himself told us at a public meeting in Madras, that it was because he had seen in the army, how very bad military training was for a boy that he established Scout training on opposite lines; and the matter is effectively summed up by a Psychologist who, in dealing from a purely scientific standpoint with the question of "suggestibility," points out that the object of the army is to turn men into boys, and that of the Scout movement to turn boys into men.

As it stands to-day, the Scout movement is the finest internationalizing movement that I know, supplying those who take it up with just that background of common precept and practice which is needed to put persons of different race, creed or colour at ease with one another—without which real understanding is usually impossible. It is fundamentally religious in character, democratic in organization and free to adapt itself to increasing knowledge. It is not a military movement, and if it ever becomes one, let it not be the fault of pacifists who refuse to enter it.

### KENYA'S FIRST BRITISH VISITORS.

By GORDON M. DYCE-KEELE.

Portuguese sovereignty over Kenya was succeeded by that of the Imams of Muscat whose dominions extended from Magadishu to Cape Delgado about 250 miles south of Zanzibar. In A.D. 1739 the Imam of Muscat appointed Mohamed bin Othman el Mazrui as Governor of Mombasa.

After a lapse of seven years Ali bin Othman, chief of the Mazrui, declared himself independent of Muscat, an example that was later followed by the King of Pate. In A.D. 1784 Zanzibar was subdued from turbulent desires by Ahmed bin Said of Muscat, who visited Mombasa a year later and demanded from the Mazrui settlers a recognition of his sovereignty.

In A.D. 1798 a British squadron under Commodore Blankett, which was cruising in the Eastern seas according to ancient chronicles "to counteract the operations of Bonaparte," sailed up the entire length of the east coast of Africa. On December 24th the squadron sailed into the mouth of Rogues River, later known as Juba Town, for the purpose of obtaining supplies of fresh water. Lieutenant Mears, of the Commodore's ship, went ashore to interview the natives and see if there were any food supplies available. He and the whole boat's crew were treacherously lured from the boat by the natives, who were savages, and set upon by large numbers, all with the exception of two being murdered. The remainder of the squadron made tracks for Zanzibar immediately, but on February 17th while on their way saw three remarkable "hummocks" far in the distance. On sailing closer these turned out to be the town of "Mombaze," as historical records express it, and the next morning Moorish colours were observed flying from the fort. Turning abruptly eastwards they sailed to Pemba, a small island with numerous creeks on the west side.

The following day they sighted Zanzibar in the distance, which they reached towards the evening, anchoring off Mtoni in ten fathoms of thick mud. The tribal chiefs and the natives received them very hospitably and they left on March 6th favoured with a strong head-wind. This is the first record of a British ship having visited Zanzibar.

Captain Smee, of the Honourable East India Company's ship *Ternato*, was the next British visitor to Zanzibar in A.D. 1811 and Lyne's *Zanzibar* gives an interesting account of his visit, of which the following is an extract: "The Hakim or Governor was one Yakuti, a eunuch and slave of Seyyid Said, the Ruler of Muscat, whose representative he was. He built part of the fort, maintained a garrison of 400 or 500 armed slaves and sent to his master the revenue of the island, which amounted to 60,000 crowns, derived principally from a five per cent. *ad valorem* import duty and a land tax imposed when occasion required. Slaves and ivory were the principal items of trade. Pemba in those days supplied her sister island with nearly all the rice and cattle she consumed. The old inhabitants still recall the time when the valleys of Pemba, now almost empty, pastured fat herds of cattle which were subsequently killed off by sickness."

In A.D. 1822 Seyyid Said, the Imam of Muscat and Zanzibar, at the request of the people of Pate, who had been defeated by their enemies the Mazrui, occupied Pate and Pemba and subsequently threatened Mombasa. On September 27th of the same year an engagement for the prevention of the slave trade, proposed by Captain F. Moresby, commanding His Majesty's ship *Menai*, was signed by Seyyid Said. This provided for the prohibition of the sale of slaves to Christians throughout the Sultan's dominions and also their transport to European countries. It also gave permission for British Agents to reside in his Zanzibar dominions.

In A.D. 1823 Suleman bin Ali, the Mazrui Chief, having been harassed by first the Portuguese and then the Arab traders, invoked the protection of Great Britain, which was refused him by Captain Vidal of H. M. S. *Barracouta*, then cruising on the East African coast. Notwithstanding this definite refusal the Mazrui Chief hoisted the British flag on the fort, and Captain Owen of H. M. S. *Leven*, who arrived at Mombasa on February 7th, was the first to see it. Captain Owen's subsequent action can best be described by an extract from "The narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa in 1833," which says:—"A son of the Sheik's...recapitulated all the arguments before used to Captain Vidal and concluded by requesting Captain Owen's permission to place themselves under the British Government. The following morning (February 8th) Captain Owen went on shore. The members of the Council acknowledged hoisting the English colours without any authority but un-animously craved permission to place the whole country under the protection of the British nation. Captain Owen informed them that provided they would assent to the abolition of the Slave Trade he would transmit their proposal to his Government for their decision and that he should have no objection to their holding the place in the meantime. To these conditions they readily assented, and made a formal cession of their island, that of Pemba and the country from Malindi to Pangani. Our 3rd Lieut. John James Reitz was made commander." Lieut. Reitz died on May, 29th, A.D. 1825 and his name was given to Port Reitz.

In the Spring of A.D. 1826 Seyyid Said made an appeal to the Indian Government, who kept an Agent in the Persian Gulf, to represent the interests of Great Britain in East Africa. The result of this appeal was that Captain Owen's action was disavowed, the Protectorate repudiated and the British establishment removed from Mombasa by the Officer-Commanding

the Naval Forces on the Cape of Good Hope station. In A.D. 1829 and again in 1835 Seyyid Said attacked Mombasa, but only with partial success.

### RAMBLING THOUGHTS OF AN INDIAN IN ENGLAND.

I suppose it is true of most people that they acquire a new love and a greater pride of their country when they are abroad than when they are at home. This is; but natural, because there are other countries to compare with and we at once see where our country is strong and where it is weak. Personally it has been an inspiration to me to realize what great possibilities there are in our country: for instance, when India catches hold of the spirit of Jesus Christ she may yet teach the world that love and good-will are stronger forces in the world than brute-force and strength. Again India will, I believe, demonstrate the truth of unity in diversity in a new way not yet understood by the world. These are its possibilities: but at present there are certain weaknesses which no lover of his country can afford to ignore. Here the West or at any rate England may give us a few hints.

One of the first things that strikes a visitor to this country is the freedom which every individual enjoys. The street-vendors do not pester you with their goods. The newspaper-boy stands in a corner and shouts the news of the day but he does not chase you and coax you to buy.

By the law of the land begging is prohibited in the streets but it is not administered too strictly. Yet again there is the same freedom. Those, who wish to earn by the charity of people; sell match-boxes or sing songs or conduct an orchestra or draw pictures in return for which you may pay a coin or two, but the point is, you are not bothered. Of course this sort of freedom can be easily acquired in India if the public make up their mind for it. It is undoubtedly a great relief to foreigners and visitors to a country.

Another sight which meets a visitor from India is the system of queues prevalent in the West. In railway booking-offices or in theatres or in any other place where there is a crowd or even a small group of people they form themselves into a long row one behind the other on the principle of "first come—first served" No one will dare break his turn and go up higher. Public conscience will not allow it. This of course is a perfectly useful and practical method which can well be adopted in India, where it is not unusual to see crowds pressing on each other to buy railway tickets. The principle involved is respect for others: the actual results obtained by a systematic procedure are immense. If the Police in India and the Railway officials will train crowds in this queue system there is no doubt that it will become popular; because after all, it is only an application, of common-sense which is not lacking amongst our people.

System and order are also found in innumerable other spheres of life. There are clear directions to guide you in the streets or railway or tube stations. Here, of course, India is at a disadvantage since illiteracy is so common amongst the people. Probably it is safe to say that elementary education is the bed-rock on which national greatness can be built. At every turn illiteracy will be a stumbling block to progress.

We have also yet to learn in India the principle of obedience and discipline. The head of a group of men can always be sure of an implicit obedience from those who are under him. There may be swearing and growling, but nevertheless the order is obeyed. This no doubt comes natural to people who have had some military training. Either some form of military training or a modified form of it like the scout system will do a world of good in India.

Another point which is easily noticed in England is the general prevalence of honesty. Of course there are thieves and burglars here as elsewhere in the world; but generally speaking, you can trust most people you meet with. In nearly all the shops only one price is asked for, unless it is definitely stated that nearest offers will be accepted. Thus there is the same price both for clever people and those who are not clever. If a man wants to shop in India he must always have his wits about him, lest he should be taken in during any transaction. This is passing away in the bigger Indian shops, but the public can hasten the process by buying goods where the prices are marked and there is no bargaining.

Just one more fact about England. The public officials, like the Police and the Railway people, are always courteous and truly serve the public and not lord it over them as it is too often done in India. The public servants should be made to feel that they exist for the people and not the people for them. Here again the remedy is in the hands of the people. There is no doubt that when India attains self-government one of the first things it can secure is this service and not oppression by its own servants. May India prosper in all ways, is the humble prayer of one of her sons who is now far away from its shores.

T. S.

### LONDON LETTER.

LONDON,  
26TH SEPTEMBER, 1923.

#### Scientists at Church.

On Sunday some of the scientists attending the British Association preached in various Liverpool Churches. Canon Barnes, who is both ecclesiastic and scientist, was in the pulpit at the Cathedral.

He foretold the coming triumph of what is commonly called the Low Church party and the defeat of the High Church party upon the ground that when Evangelicalism bound up with an unsound cosmology was ousted by Tractarianism, the latter adopted "a synthesis of religious ideas of Pagan origin combined with philosophic concepts now obsolete."

"I believe," he added, "that we shall regain the Evangelicalism of men like Wesley and Simeon, but it will be combined with that outlook on the world which modern science has constructed. Men of science can do much to help the community through the period of transition. They should show how in their minds Christianity and science interact, but it is unreasonable to demand that their language should be orthodox."

Dr. L. P. Jacks, editor of the *Hibbert Journal* declared that "A great deal of what is now offered us as religion consists not of what is believed, but of something that somebody wants us to believe."

Sir Oliver Lodge maintained the ultimate perfectibility of man. "As we are immortal beings we shall see this development and rejoice in it in the fulness of time," he asserted. "To-day man is hampered by his animal ancestry. He has much to contend against and overcome. Sometimes he seems evil and ugly. But he is immature, and unfinished things are often ugly. An unfinished building surrounded by hoardings is not the thing of beauty designed by its architect."

"Man," he proceeded, "is a comparatively recent comer to the conflict and is far from perfect, but he has in him the seeds of majesty.

"He is a being endowed with free will, not a machine constrained to go right. If he had not the power to do wrong, he would have no kinship with divinity.

"He has infinite possibilities of development, and when the work is complete through the slow process of the ages, we shall see that the product is worth

all the labour, sacrifice and pain which have been necessary to bring it about."

#### The International People's College.

The International People's College at Elsinor, Denmark, to which reference has been made in these columns from time to time, has weathered two years of life and is looking forward to as successful a career as Woodbroke and similar settlements in this country, the lines of which it follows. The British Committee of the College (of which Mr. Arthur Henderson is President and Mr. Arnold Rowntree, Chairman), states that nine out of the forty-four students at the College last term were British. The others were Danish, German, Swedish, Austrian and Ukrainian. The British Committee in addition to assisting British students, helped two Germans and one Ukrainian student and made grants for the building up of the Library of the College. Help from this country varied from 2/6d to £100. A grant of \$40 was made by the Men's and Women's Council at Bournville towards the expenses of two Students.

#### Serampore College.

I have just met Dr. George Howells, home here from Serampore College on furlough. He has been down in his native country, South Wales, and has taken part in some church conferences there, but now he is back in London, working hard with the Council of Serampore College to arouse further interest in its work so that it shall not have a yearly deficit to hamper it. Already excellent letters commending the College to the British public have appeared from such prominent men as Dr. Gillie, in a letter to the *British Weekly* and Dr. R. F. Horton in the *Christian World*.

#### Has Christ Failed?

One does not associate Sir Hall Caine, the popular novelist, with pacifism, and it is an even greater surprise to find a definitely pacifist article from his pen appearing in *John Bull*, the very popular and pugnacious weekly, so long associated with Horatio Bottomley. It is probably rather for its sensation than its Christian teaching that it is published, but nevertheless, in such a widely-circulated periodical, it may bring home some of the truths which many of us have, it seems, been preaching in the wilderness for a long time.

In the course of the article, which is mainly an appeal to Signor Mussolini to submit his recent claims against Greece to the League of Nations, Sir Hall Caine says:—

"War and national honour have in themselves nothing to do with each other. That is the central doctrine of the League of Nations—the rock on which it is built....."

"When Christianity came into the world what did it do? It met the pagan theory of war by an assertion of the moral law. Where paganism had promulgated the doctrine of physical force, Christianity upheld the doctrine of non-resistance. Where paganism had proclaimed the virtue of power, Christianity upheld the virtue of weakness. And Christianity claimed to do all this, not merely as a pious aspiration, a counsel of perfection, but as a practical and abiding law of life.....What is the key to the dark riddle that for thousands of years Christian civilization has sought the arbitration of the pagan diety that takes no account of the moral law which Christ propounded? The first explanation is that the world in general (and sometimes the Church in particular) does not believe that Christ really means what He says....."

"Such is the world's answer (and too often the Churches' answer) to Christ. Is it sufficient? If so, Christianity is a useless impediment to the progress of the world and it will have to be swept away. But no, it is not sufficient. It is shallow and it is illogical.

It barely touches the fringe of the sublime fact that in His own person, in sufferings no other man has known, amid humiliation and dishonour no nation has gone through, He proved His words by His life, and that now, two thousand years after His death, to remove His name from human history would be to shake the world to its foundations."

To the editor of *Public Opinion* we are indebted for reproducing a striking article in the *New York Times* by a well-known American journalist, Mr. William Macdonald, on "Recent Pacifist Novels in France." While "pacifist" must be interpreted as "anti-war", not non-resistant, this "stream of pacifist novels" is very noteworthy. As Mr. Macdonald says:—

"What has helped to give these pacifist writings their vogue, questions of novelty and literary workmanship aside, is undoubtedly their frank appeal in a nation almost every individual member of which has been personally touched by war, to a generous humanitarian interest which it has always been easy to arouse in France, and which in certain sections of the French intellectual world has become a species of religion as the spiritual hold of the church has weakened. Moreover, in France as in other countries, thousands of persons who never expect to see war abolished nevertheless welcome attacks upon the institution as such as a help in mitigating the horrors of war and in removing some of its historical provocations; and broadsides in story form often carry far where formal arguments fall short."

The novels Mr. Macdonald particularly deals with, apart from the already well-known writings of Anatole France, Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland, are:—"Les Drapeaux", by Paul Reboux; "Le Sort le plus beau", by Clair Géniaux; "Saint Magloire" by Roland Dorjelès; and "Les Hauts Fourneaux" and "La Houille Rouge", by Michel Corday.

HUBERT W. PEET.

#### FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD.

BY B. AHIRA.

Trudging along with my old umbrella the other day, I passed a leading Bengali literary luminary stuck in the roadway with tyre trouble. I wondered within myself how does a poet feel at being held up like one of the common crowd in this way? As an impending storm has threatening, I made haste homewards, arriving at the *ashram* just as the first heavy blobs of rain fell "swish, swish" on the ground and wondered if there had been an up-to-date rehearsal of the Hare and the Tortoise and the pedestrian had got ahead of the motorist.

A thoughtless and indifferent world, taken up with buying and selling, eating and drinking, marrying and being given in marriage, gambling and pleasure-seeking, gives little thought to the poet or the prophet. I think in the 20th century we must add the inventor to the other two, in order to make a triad which is really a unity of men who make the present vibrate to the future. For the first inventor must surely have been either a prophet or a poet, or probably both. Perhaps, someone may claim that the early inventors were mere copyists, borrowing from the wondrous machinery of the Great Architect of the Universe to make some clumsy imitation of His perfect original. What impresses me is not so much the wonders of modern scientific discovery as the wonder that any man should have thought of—say a wheel—or discovered the use of fire for cooking. Doubtless as Charles Lamb suggests in his well-known essay, such an original discovery may have been purely accidental; but it took the poet's mind to correlate the original accident into a permanent feature of human advancement and enjoyment.

But the poet himself, though he ride on Pegasus, and soar to the very heaven of heavens, has at times to come down to earth. I think it is Prof. Oliver Wendell Holmes who introduces us into a domestic scene in the Shakespeare household—the poet, temporarily become the Prince of Denmark, soliloquising "To be, or not to be;—that is the question:" when Mrs. Shakespeare bursts into the room, with "Will't thou have plum duff or flap jack for dinner, Will?" Gone are the castle walls of Elsinor; Hamlet has become like his father's ghost; characters, thoughts and ideas have alike "melted into air, into thin air"; the "insubstantial pageant faded", but not without leaving "a wreck behind." Poor William! Can we not sympathize with him? Vainly he tries to regather the scattered threads of inspiration. "To be, or not to be; plum duff or flap jack?" "O, bother that woman! what unhappy genius possessed her to come in then? Flap duff or plum jack? No! No! Plum duff or flap jack?" and he puts on his hat and rushes wildly out into the garden.

The poetic instinct finds relief in imaginative stories amongst children and child-like peoples. Children are sometimes roughly rebuked for untruthfulness, when they are really only exercising their imagination; and they need to be carefully instructed in the value of accuracy and truthfulness; but we also ought not heedlessly to check the imaginative instinct, instead, we should indicate the rightful place of each. The great poet takes very simple and ordinary themes and inspires them. Christians regard with wonder this aspect of our Lord and Saviour's teaching. Take His parables of the Kingdom, for instance. The Sower, the Enemy who sowed Tares, the Mustard Seed, the Draw Net, the Hidden Treasure, the Priceless Pearl, the Woman baking Bread, etc., could anything be more homely? Yet how wonderful they are and pregnant with hidden meaning.

The good story is one that we like to hear again, and again. So many thousand or hundred new novels are published yearly; but the reader of fiction has his old favourites and flings the last railway bookstall purchase into the waste-paper basket, to hunt up the old and tried friend with soiled covers and well-thumbed pages that never fails in reviving fresh interest, though he knows every action of the story by heart. So, young children like an exact verbal rendering of the oft-told tale, and wait with expectant eyes for the thrilling climax of the story.

#### BOOK REVIEW.

##### "Studies in the Teaching of the Sermon on the Mount."

BY A. W. ROBINSON, D. D. Student Christian Movement....Cloth, 3/6. Paper, 2 sh.

The author in the preface sets forth the problems which he hopes to help solve in this Study of the Sermon on the Mount. They are (a) "the need of discovering a remedy for the reduced Christianity from which we have been suffering" and (b) "the need for right guidance as to the part which our Christianity ought to take in the reconstruction of the Social order." The "remedy for the reduced Christianity" is found in the "Kingdom" valuation of life as seen in the Beatitudes. Chapter II graphically contrasts the conflicting values of life judged by worldly and kingdom standards. The solution of problem (b) requires the Christian Church to accept whole-heartedly the commission to convert the world to life values as understood by Christ.

The book is only one hundred and five pages in length and of these nearly one-third are given to notes and quotations from other books. In this short space exhaustive study of the Sermon is impossible; but the author has succeeded in flashing before the reader

some valuable hints and suggestions which can be made the basis of subsequent deeper study. The notes contain some very valuable material. The book is successful in deepening in the reader the conviction, which is summed up in its closing words, "Christianity, true Christianity, is the only thing that will work and the only thing that can last."

A. P. P.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of "THE GUARDIAN"

Dear Sir,

In your issue of September 28th there is a statement which is incorrect. You say the Bombay Christian Council "approved the action of the Executive Committee in publishing their letter in regard to Kenya."

(1). The letter was not put to the Council for approval or otherwise, but quietly passed over. When at length attention was called to it, so far from approval, three at least of the Executive voiced their disavowal of the transaction, and had regrets.

(2). There was a strong expression of dissent in the Council from the Executive Committee's action.

(3). To the best of my belief no member of the Council in public speech supported the letter. There was no evidence of approval anywhere.

Yours faithfully,

W. C. WHITESIDE.

### MEDITATION.

"If we love one another, God dwelleth in us."  
I John, IV: 12.

How insignificant are all the mysteries without us, in comparison with those within us! What an amazing borderland where the activities of God Himself blend with those which we spontaneously exercise! If in any one thing we are free, it is in loving; our whole character flashes itself forth in this act; the affection is not so much an emanation from us, it is our very self; and yet, behold, when we truly love, it is God whose love thus finds its manifestation. God is Love; God dwelleth in us; therefore we love.

When we have most of God, we have most of ourselves; when we are most emphatically voluntary, we are most strictly united to God. When we are least of our old selves, then we are most of our new and heavenly self. When men bar their hearts against love, they bar their hearts against God. When they seek something else more than love, they seek something else more than God.

### A CONFESSION.

Our Heavenly Father, we are bound to acknowledge before Thee, that we have often failed before Thee and our fellows in many things. Thou knowest, they know and we know that we have been impatient, unkind, jealous of something or some one; that we have made a parade and given ourselves airs; that we have been rude, and certainly selfish, easily irritated and very resentful. It may be, we have not always mourned when others went wrong, and not been always gladdened by others' goodness if it differed from our own.

Sometimes we have not been slow to expose, nor always eager to believe the best, and we know that we are not always hopeful and patient; but we thank Thee that Love never disappears, that Thou art now and always completely perfect Love, and by that Love which is Thyself, art redeeming us.

At present we are only seeing the baffling reflections in a mirror but when that which is perfect—Thy perfect law of Love—is come fully into our lives it will be face to face. At present we are learning bit by bit, but then, with Love supreme within us, we too, shall understand, as all along we have been understood and loved by Thee.

Therefore, give us we humbly pray Thee, this Love which is the greatest thing in the World; which is the secret of life; which is the knowledge of Thee and of all men in Thee, and our own lives shall be radiant, and powerful to help Thee in Thy glorious task of cleansing and redeeming the World.

In the name of the Perfect Example of the Royal Law of Love—our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

### CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK

#### INDIA.

The Indian Railway Conference met at Simla on the 17th instant under the presidency of Mr. C. L. Colvin of the E. I. R.

Twenty-one passengers were killed and twenty-six injured in a collision between a passenger train and the rear portion of a goods train on the N. W. Railway.

The eleventh Indian Science Congress will meet at Bangalore from January 14th to 19th, 1924 under the presidency of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee.

The Madras Chamber of Commerce has stated its opinion that State-aid to Indian Shipping Industry is not desirable, unless there is a reasonable hope that the Indian Mercantile Marine will become self-supporting in a reasonable period.

It is reported that 60 villages were affected by floods in Lucknow district out of which 35 villages have been washed away.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is laid up at Solon with a severe attack of fever.

Speaking at Almora, Moulana Mahomed Ali said, he refused to be a party to exciting people against the Government. Two whole years had been wasted in idle and suicidal talk and Indians needed to examine the faults and defects of the Indian National character instead of fruitlessly criticizing Government.

#### ABROAD.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru intends to propose a small Imperial Committee to investigate the question of Indians Overseas.

It is reported that preparations are being made to make Turkish the dominant language in Turkey. All concessionary companies have been given a month within which to replace non-Turkish employees by Moslems. Prohibition has been enforced throughout Constantinople. The Guards have arrived at Southampton from Constantinople and received a public reception.

The Afghan Government has prohibited the export of rupees silver and gold and all kinds of arms.

Herr. Stresemann has reconstituted his Government making two new appointments. The Reichstag has passed a motion of confidence in the Government against a vote of the Nationalists, Bavarian people's party and Communists.

Herr Stinnes and a group of Industrialists have submitted certain demands to the German Government; viz., compensation for the coal confiscated since the Ruhr occupation and the forcible levied coal-tax, abolition of the coal-tax in the Ruhr, guarantee that future deliveries of coal will be placed in their hands, preferential treatment for the Ruhr in the supply of raw materials and foodstuffs, permission to negotiate with the occupation authorities and extension of the working hours to 8 hours underground and 10 hours above ground. Deliveries of coal are being resumed.

The death is announced of Oscar Browning, the historian at Rome at the age of 86.

**WANTED.**—A Christian Head Master for the Cuttack Mission High School from January 1st, 1924. Must be a graduate, with Educational qualifications. Commencing salary Rs. 150/- with free quarters. All Applications should reach the Secretary, BAPTIST MISSION, CUTTACK, by October 31st.

## "THE HEALTH."

The leading article in the September issue (Vol. I, No. 9) of "The Health" edited by Dr. U. Rama Rau, deals with the "Need for Eye-testing of School Children"—a much neglected thing among parents and guardians of school-going children, whose future welfare depends entirely on the possession of best eye-sight.

The leaflets on "Cholera" and "Flies" received from the Health Department of the Corporation of Madras, for publication in this issue will serve both as a warning against the dangers of cholera now prevalent in the city and be a safe guide for those who are anxious to escape from its fatal grip by adopting the simple preventive measures therein suggested.

"The Early signs of Mental Disease in Children," "The Hygienic principles underlying some of our customs," and "Why do you not laugh" are some of the articles which may be found interesting reading.

The discourse between "Citizen" and "Disease" treated under the article headed "Disease" will be found useful to many who have not rightly understood the horrors of disease and the heavy toll it inflicts on mankind year after year.

Other articles of importance and interest are:

1. "How to get rid of Bugs."
2. "Wells—Sanitary and Insanitary."
3. "Diet during Pregnancy."
4. "Fasting—how long can it be maintained."
5. "Tuberculosis", etc.

The low price of 2 annas a copy (annual subscription Re. 1/8 post paid) fixed by the management at 323, Thambu Chetty St., Madras, places the periodical within the reach of the poorest.

## THE FOUNDATION OF CHARACTER.

If only three of the great foundation-stones of character were to be named, probably we should mention Truth, Righteousness and Unselfish Service. These are absolutely indispensable, but of the three probably the second needs emphasis most.

Men will argue piously about the truth of this or that religion, and then do things and indulge in habits that they know are wrong and that blast their lives.

The first concern of any man is to *do right*, be pure and keep a clean record. This is where we win or lose life's battle. No man who fails here, can succeed at any other point.

Jesus Christ says:—"If ye love Me, keep my Commandments." Without obedience, no profession of love or loyalty to Christ is worth while.

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## The Blue Ribbon Temperance Association.

### ITS NAME.

The Blue Ribbon Temperance Association is an association of men and women, without distinction of race or religion, who are pledged to abstain from the use of Intoxicating Drink and Drugs and to do their utmost to save their country and its people from these curses.

Its name is taken from its Badge which is a small Blue Ribbon. (Blue-metal ribbons at four annas each and buttons with the ribbon painted on at two annas each and plain blue pieces of metal for badges at one pice each can be obtained from Miss Joan Davis, Temperance Headquarters, Lal Bagh, Lucknow.)

### ITS ORIGIN.

In her many Temperance Lecturing tours around India, Miss Campbell, of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, found that many people desired an active Temperance Society in which people of all races and religions might join, on a common footing, to fight this enemy of progress and happiness in India. So the B. R. T. A. was formed and Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians, Punjabis, Hindustanis and Gujeratis, etc., have joined its ranks. In town or village, in *mohalla* or college, among people rich and poor, ignorant and educated, this simple Society can be formed to join together all who wish to see these curses driven from India.

### ITS ORGANIZATION.

The members of any local society, who have signed its pledge, elect their own President, Secretary, Treasurer and Committee. Each local society should link itself up with other Societies in the same district.

### ITS USE.

It helps individuals to keep free from these curses.

It helps, by its regular meetings, lectures, study circles, or lantern addresses to teach the physical, mental and moral damage wrought by this Drink curse.

It helps to express that public opinion which will encourage and persuade the local and provincial Excise authorities to close down unnecessary drink and drug shops and to reduce in other ways, the existing temptations to the use of intoxicating liquor.

It helps members of those castes and classes of society in which Drink or Drugs are doing harm to persuade their *panchayats* to banish these evils from their midst.

The National Superintendent is REV. A. T. HOFFERT,

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# The Guardian

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"Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall  
make you free."

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Manuscript for publication may be sent to the Editor, 96, Beadon Street, Beadon Square P. O., Calcutta. *The Guardian*, while gladly giving publicity to varied opinions from its contributors, does not necessarily identify itself with the views expressed in signed articles.

## NOTES.

The National Missionary Society of India asks its numerous friends to unite in observing Sunday, November the 4th as a Special Day of Prayer and Intercession. Pastors, Heads of Institutions, etc., are requested to make particular mention of the Society and to take an offertory in aid of its funds.

Between sixty and seventy delegates attended the fifth annual council meeting of the International Confederation of Students which met for the first time in England last month. In his address of welcome Lord Grey reviewed the present state of International relationships. He said international relations had two aspects. There was the bond of sympathy between all members of the human race who shared common origin, lot, and destiny; they were subject alike to disease, health, and catastrophies of nature which no human power could avert. In times of great disaster, as in the Japanese disaster, the whole world was in sympathy. But unfortunately nations were apt to dwell more on the superficial differences, and the sense of differences had done more to influence the conduct of human affairs than the deep underlying sense of community. He believed the future of our civilization depended on the extent to which human relations could be seen in a truer perspective, and the rising generation must play a great part in securing this end.

Lord Grey said that he had been asked to refer to the experiences of the war. Many people in this country had said that the last war was fought against militarism. That was absolutely true. It was not so indisputedly true that militarism was defeated. It was quite true that certain people who represented militarism in its most relentless form were defeated, but whether militarism itself was defeated depended on whether the people of Europe were so penetrated by the experience of the last war with the sense that war was a great disaster that on all future occasions they would settle their differences by other methods. If militarism gained an ascendancy over those who won in the last war it would have won.

Many people were disappointed by things that had happened since the war, but more than one dispute, which before 1914 would have led to war, had been settled by agreement.

We publish in this issue a very thought-provoking article by Mr. George Joseph of Ahmedabad, the editor of *Young India*. Though we differ materially from some of its statements and differ entirely in its conclusion, the subject is one that certainly deserves the prayerful thought and deep consideration of Indian Christians as a whole. We hope that some of our Indian readers will give us their thoughts on this subject and help their Christian brothers of all denominations to arrive at some sound basis to guide them in their action as responsible voters with an issue at stake in the welfare of their country.

There are over 60,000 Indians in Fiji. Dr. Datta received a very warm welcome from the representatives of this large Indian community of Fiji on his recent visit there. He also addressed a large gathering of Europeans, under the presidency of the Mayor of Suva, on the present position in India. This seems to have provoked one of the local papers, according to the *Pacific Age*, which vindicates Dr. Datta and speaks very highly of the candid, clearly expressed statement of Indian thought and opinion which he put before his European audience. Dr. Datta thought that it was the duty of the British Empire to bring about a friendship between East and West. England is still the freest country in the world in spite of modern democracy. Her children count on freedom. If therefore her Indian children get the passion for freedom, is it very bad? India is thankful to England for the lesson she has taught her.

We believe it is too frequently assumed that literacy and progress must be identical. Shortly before the earthquake in Japan an article appeared in one of the religious weeklies in which the writer stated that



96 per cent of Japanese children are in Government schools. He adds "I never rode in a railway train—and I rode thousands of miles—without seeing practically all the women in my carriage, as well as the men reading." Quoting from one of the leading Tokyo journals, he adds, "Most of the books being read by these people, men and women, are so obscene, that they could not be translated into English." We are convinced of the necessity of giving clean and helpful vernacular literature to the growing number of Indian readers. Is not this a matter that might be taken up on a wider basis than at present? The Christian Literature Society for India and the various provincial Tract Societies are doing what they can with small funds and very little local support to issue good literature. Could not there be a wider movement embracing orthodox Hindus, Brahmans and Muslims as well as Christians, for the production of wholesome and moral fiction, that is also worthy of the name of literature? If some of the money now being wasted on political controversy could be expended this way, it would be a good thing for the India of the future.

We are glad to hear that the proposal to send a party of *naulich* girls from Madras to the Empire Exhibition has been given up. The Committee, which evidently had entertained the idea seriously, has done well in respecting public opinion in this matter.

*The Record* quotes the following story from the Moderator's address of the First General Assembly of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa recently held at Lovedale. This Church does not recognize any colour bar to membership. Rev. W. Stuart said "In one of our many journeyings on the Master's business we came upon a powerful motor at a standstill on the road. According to courtesy, we stood still to ask if help was required. An elderly gentleman sitting on the footboard on the left, replied, "The thing won't start!" A young man, evidently his son, stood helpless on the right. My African driver was told to see what was wrong. We can never forget the look on the face of both father and son. It indicated in no uncertain way the thought within their minds: "What does that black fellow know about the internal workings of a motor?" To their surprise in ten minutes the engine responded and they moved on their way."

### SUCH AS I AM.

Master,  
Thy goodness and grace are so rich in my life  
I am shamed to the earth before Thee:

No return can I make Thee  
For all Thou hast done:  
Only a crippled and shaking will,  
Only a fickle and wavering loyalty,  
Only a heartless devotion,  
Only a flickering glimmer of love:

Yet, Master such as I am,  
Such as I am, I give Thee myself—  
Poor gift,  
Sad, thankless task to make me a man,  
To make me Thy man:

Yet, Master,  
Take me;  
For such as I am,  
Here I am,  
Given to Thee.

Kashmir.

## "The Guardian"

CALCUTTA, OCTOBER 26, 1923.

### POLITICAL LITERATURE IN INDIA.

There is a critical handicap to serious political thought in India, due to the existing fact of British suzerainty. The first hope of responsible (not self) government was given in 1917, but that stage was reached after cautious and restrained arguments and petitions had been indulged in for some decades. It is easy to surmise the nature of the discussions in the country which would make possible, even in the announcement, the assertion of a suzerainty not merely for the present but at every stage of progress. The situation is complicated by the fact that the racial question is inextricably involved in Indian politics. The foreign elements here do not form an integral part of the settled population, but have all the same acquired interests which have to be safeguarded against possible encroachment by the children of the soil. The germs of a conflict are thus implanted in the prevalent system. The law of the land provides against the contingency that political discussions may challenge the suzerainty of the rulers, or may offend racial susceptibilities. These factors are big limitations. Their effects may be noted in the result that while limiting the scope of discussion, they have also been the cause of heart-burnings within the people which have sometimes perverted reason.

What is known as "extremism" has been, it must be said, of some value in forcing people to think more deeply on problems connected with the administration and the future of the country. Extremism did of course offend the law, current public opinion and the authorities, but it placed some previous assumptions on the level of controversy and created healthy inquiry and convictions among the people. "Extremism" has now become a permanent feature of Indian political life and is no longer the freak that could be disdained two decades ago. It has helped to break the fetters of conventionalism, but this is not to say "extremism" has led to right conclusions.

While stagnation in political thought may to a certain extent be attributed to the limitations mentioned above and while "extremism" may be considered to be a bold attempt at independence of thought, preparing the way for a freer discussion, they do not exonerate the politically-minded classes of a charge of lack of serious thinking. Even as a politician, Gokhale's output was for his day valuable literature upon the subjects he chose to deal with; but as a rule legislators and lawyers, who were in the thick of the fight, simply did not apply themselves in the manner their responsibilities required. Had they done so, then there would have been political organizations and political workers, whose utility, and force in public life is demonstrated to-day by the Servants of India Society. An appalling proportion of those legislators and public leaders did not themselves it is known, dive deep into the subjects which came up for their consideration. They were content not to disturb the placid contentment of the people and were rewarded with a comfortable public career. What was lost, was the stimulus which would have awakened thought among the rank and file, among the leaders and in fact among everyone, who had anything to do with the future of the nation. The English Reformation, Revolution and Restoration were epochs when England was enriched with treatises on the science of government, pamphlets, party literature, history, political economy and the rest. Satire, reason, essays and political doctrines were employed freely and were fed by the political excitement that arose from time to time. Milton,

Steele, Swift, Ruskin, Carlyle, Burke, Beaconsfield, and Hobbes, Locke, Bentham, Mill, Hume, Hallam, and a host of them lie scattered through the centuries and have shaped England into the home of political thought. They were partisans, legislators, thinkers, historians, and journalists.

Though England was benefited by the intellectual ferment in other countries, the names mentioned above would show, that people set to think for themselves and explore the ideas that occurred to them so as to apply them to the welfare of the country. Necessity, as well as enterprise, combined to lead them away into deeper and deeper thought.

One other cause which militates very heavily against the production of literature in India is that the *lingua franca* of the political-minded people is a foreign tongue. So far as the more ephemeral political literature is concerned, it would, we think, be safe to say that the output in the vernaculars has already overtaken what has been produced in English during several decades. Eventually the vernaculars will be by far the greatest means to introduce the latest thought. That stage has well nigh been reached in some vernaculars. With improvements in vernacular education, we ought to witness a rich and varied contribution in vernacular political literature. This will not however solve the problem of how political thought may thrive and express itself so as to facilitate national evolution.

Thinkers are born not wholly made, but on the threshold of a new era some impetus may be given to literature, if more facilities be provided for their growth. Publishing firms, which have hitherto exploited the ferment in the country for profiteering purposes, should now revise their ideas and finance the publications of competent writers. They may be drawn from all classes of people. European publications have proved to be too costly for the average citizen. It is possible for Indian firms to remove this handicap. If such firms are not in existence, it is time that they be organized with the primary object of preventing waste of knowledge and talents which many of our leaders possess.

Much good could be done if political organizations like the Servants of India Society would attempt to produce what literature they can. It is well known that nearly everyone of the members of the society is an expert in the line of study he has adopted. Study is the first duty of a novice in that society. The results of their research might be shared by the average citizen needy of knowledge if they would devote part of their time to writing. There are enough organizations in India even at present to start this work.

It is almost impossible to catalogue the subjects upon which the people need information and ideas. In the first place the average citizen needs to be educated upon the elementary problems of administration for which he now has responsibility. A series of cheap books corresponding to the *English Citizen* series is an immediate necessity. Some of the books in the Indian series ought to be on topics such as Education, Excise, Taxation and Finance, Local Self-Government, Franchise, the Indian Constitution, Indians Abroad, Labour, Indian Defence, Indian (Native) States, Indian Trade and Industry, Minority Representation and Land Revenue. The books would aim at disseminating authentic information on these subjects to the electorate. Vernacular editions should be published alongside of English ones.

Then considerable research work needs to be carried on to bring to light whatever was useful in ancient Indian polity. Competent observers, both European and Indian, have stated that to bodily transplant Western institutions into India will not solve the problem of the Indian future. There has been enough of this to prove the correctness of the above dictum. It may after all be true that India has peculiarities which need to be taken into account in "training"

her for self-government. Better and more adequate knowledge of her past polity should assist people and rulers alike to plan aright. While the people dream of a golden past, critics are equally keen on denying that India as a whole ever had any orderly government. When may this futile controversy be laid to rest and the parties base their arguments upon reliable knowledge?

We are for going further and making ultimate ideals the subject of immediate consideration. The "United States of India under the aegis of Great Britain" was the forecast that Sir Henry Cotton made in 1904. Sir (then Mr.) Ashutosh Chowdhury disturbed a complacent and credulous National Congress by the bomb "A subject nation has no politics." Of late the same Congress has begun to declare the motto "within or without the Empire." In essence, these conceptions which have been before the public for twenty years, point to the question whether India ought to or can seek complete independence. Besides newspaper controversy occasioned by specific grievances, we have had little examination of the problem. It is well that such a question be considered deeply and that there be healthy convictions on the subject. It would be no more heinous than English politicians discussing the Divine Right of Kings during the Stuart reign. The question really is not merely that of the necessity or the advisability of national emancipation, but the wider question, whether or not India is fit or anxious to share in what is believed to be an international experiment, namely the British Commonwealth.

Of first-rate importance also is the Hindu-Muslim problem. We have not as yet touched the fringe of that gigantic problem in which is involved the no less important question of Pan-Islamism. Mutual recrimination and mutual admiration have both been tried. They have proved but slender ties. At the inception of responsible government the magnitude of this problem has revealed itself in its ugliness. Hindu-Muslim unity is a political experiment which needs considerable historical and philosophical scrutiny.

The basis of Indian nationalism, her fiscal problems, her political methods in the present conditions, the stages of her progress, the racial conflict—the list may be multiplied of the subjects that should challenge the attention of her ablest thinkers.

### THE CONCRETE CHRIST.

BY E. STANLEY JONES.

Jesus was concrete. He taught, but He did not speculate. He never used such words as 'perhaps', 'may be' or 'I think so.' Even His words had a concrete feeling about them. They fell upon the soul with the authority of certainty. If His words were concrete, His deeds made His life doubly so.

He did not discourse on the sacredness of motherhood—He suckled as a babe at His mother's breast, and that scene has for ever consecrated motherhood. Note the paintings of it that adorn our walls in abundance.

He did not argue that life was a growth and character an attainment—He "grew in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men."

He did not speculate on why temptation should be in this world—He met it, and after a forty days' struggle with it, He conquered it, and "returned in the power of the Spirit to Galilee."

He did not discourse on the dignity of labour—He worked at a carpenter's bench and his hands were hard with the toil of making yokes and ploughs, and this forever makes the toil of the hands honourable.

We do not find Him discoursing on the necessity of letting one's light shine at home among kinsmen and friends—He announced a programme of uplift and healing at Nazareth, His own home; and those who

heard "wondered at the words of grace which proceeded out of His mouth."

As He came among men, He did not try to prove the existence of God—He brought Him. He lived in God, and men looking upon His face could not find it within themselves to doubt God.

He did not argue, as Socrates, on the immortality of the soul—He raised the dead.

He did not speculate on how God was a Trinity—He said, "If I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." Here the Trinity "I", "Spirit of God", and "God" was not something to be speculated about, but a working force for the redemption—the casting out of the devils and the bringing in of the Kingdom.

He did not teach in a didactic way about the worth of children—He put His hands upon them and blessed them and setting one in their midst tersely said, "Of such is the Kingdom of God," and He raised them from the dead.

He did not argue that God answers prayer—He prayed, sometimes all night; and in the morning "the power of the Lord was present to heal."

He did not paint in glowing colours the beauties of friendship and the need for human sympathy—He wept at the grave of His friend.

He did not argue the worth of womanhood and the necessity of giving them equal rights—He treated them with infinite respect, gave to them His most sublime teaching, and when He rose from the dead He appeared first to a woman.

He did not teach in the school-room manner the necessity of humility—He "girded himself with a towel and kneeled down and washed His disciples' feet."

He did not discuss the question of the worth of personality as we do to-day—He loved and served persons.

He did not discourse on the equal worth of personality—He went to the poor and outcaste and ate with them.

He did not prove how pain and sorrow in the universe could be compatible with the love of God—He took on Himself at the cross everything that spoke against the love of God, and through that pain and tragedy and sin showed the very love of God.

He did not discourse on how the weakest human material can be transformed and made to contribute to the welfare of the world—He called to Him a set of weak men, the Galilean fishermen, transformed them and sent them out to begin the mightiest movement for uplift and redemption the world has ever seen.

He wrote no books—only once are we told that He wrote and that was—in the sand; but He wrote upon the heart and consciences of people about Him and it has become the world's most precious writing.

He did not paint a Utopia far off and unrealisable—He announced that the Kingdom of Heaven is within us, and is at hand and can be realized here and now.

John sent to Him from the prison and asked whether He was the One who was to come or should they look for another? Jesus did not argue the question with the disciples of John—He simply said, "Go tell John what you see, the blind receive sight, the deaf hear, the lame walk, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them." His arguments were the facts produced.

He did not discourse on the beauty of love—He loved.

We do not find Him arguing that the spiritual life should conquer matter—He walked on the water.

He greatly felt the pressing necessity of the physical needs of the people around Him, but He did not merely speak on their behalf—He fed five thousand people with five loaves and two fishes.

They bring in to Him a man with a double malady—sick in body and stricken more deeply in his conscience because of sin. Jesus attended first of all to the

deepest malady and said, "Thy sins are forgiven thee." In answer to the objections of the people He said, "Which is easier to say, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee' or to say, 'Take up thy bed and walk?' And that you may know that the Son of Man has power on earth to forgive sins He said to the palsied man, 'Take up thy bed and walk.'" The outward concrete miracle was the pledge of the inward.

Jesus has been called the Son of Fact. We find a striking illustration of His concreteness at the Judgment Seat. To those on the right He does not say, "You believed in Me and My doctrines, therefore come be welcome into My kingdom." Instead, He said, "I was an hungered and you gave Me food; I was athirst, and you gave Me drink; I was sick, and you visited Me; in prison, and you came unto Me; a stranger, and you took Me in; naked, and you clothed Me." These "Sons of fact", true followers of His, were unwilling to obtain heaven through a possible mistake and so they objected and said, "When saw we Thee an hungered and fed Thee, thirsty and gave Thee drink, sick and visited Thee?" and the Master answered, "Inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of these ye did it unto Me." And to those on the left He said that what they had refused to do to one of these little ones they had refused to do to Him. He was not only concrete Himself, He demanded a concrete life from those who were His followers.

He told us that the human soul was worth more than the whole material universe, and when He had crossed a storm-tossed lake to find a storm-tossed soul, ridden with devils, He did not hesitate to sacrifice the two thousand swine to save this one lost man.

He did not argue the possibility of sinlessness—He presented Himself and said, "Which of you convinceth Me of sin?"

He did not merely ask men to turn the other cheek when smitten on one, to go the second mile when compelled to go one, to give the cloak also when sued at the law and the coat was taken away, to love our enemies and to bless them—He himself did that very thing. The servants struck Him on one cheek, He turned the other and the soldiers struck Him on that; they compelled Him to go with them one mile—from Gethsemane to the Judgment Hall—He went with them two miles to Calvary. They took away His coat at the Judgment Hall and He gave His seamless robe at Calvary; and in the agony of the cruel torture of the Cross He prayed for His enemies: "Father forgive them for they know not what they do!"

He did not merely tell us that death need have no terror for us—He rose from the dead and lo, now the tomb glows with light.

Many teachers of the world have tried to explain everything—they changed little or nothing. Jesus explained little and changed everything.

Many teachers have tried to diagnose the disease of humanity—Jesus cures it.

Many teachers have told us why the patient is suffering and that he should bear with fortitude—Jesus tells him to take up his bed and walk.

Many philosophers speculate on how evil entered the world—Jesus shows Himself as the Way by which it shall leave.

He did not go into long discussions about the way to God and the possibility of finding Him—He quietly said to men, "I am the Way."

Many speculate with Pilate and ask what is Truth? Jesus shows Himself and says, "I am the Truth."

Spencer defines physical life for us—Jesus defines life itself, by presenting Himself and saying, "I am the Life"; and one, who truly looks upon Him, knows in the inmost depths of his soul, that He is looking on Life itself.

Truly, He is the concrete Christ, and we can realize Him as the most concrete and transforming Fact of Life.

## FIJI'S MOST URGENT NEED.

BY C. F. ANDREWS.

*(Specially contributed to "The-Guardian")*

At last, after months of incessant struggle, it really appears as though all the efforts, which have been made, to provide a Lady Doctor for the suffering Indian women in Fiji, are about to be rewarded. After so many disappointments, it is perhaps best not to be too sanguine, but I wish to appeal to the readers of *The Guardian* both in India and in England (I found *The Guardian* in many homes in England during my recent visit to London) to join in one supreme effort to carry our point.

I must make clear all the salient facts. The Indian women who were sent to Fiji under the old indenture system, in the proportion of 33 women to 100 men, (afterwards raised to 40 women to 100 men) went out, for the most part, all unknowing, to a life of prostitution. When they reached the Islands they were told, that it was 'Fiji dustur' in the coolie lines for each woman to cohabit with several men. The 'dustur' or 'custom' had become so common, that it was actually referred to in an open, public manner in Council Paper, No. 54, which was laid on the table of the House and circulated as a Fiji Government Paper throughout the world. When I came back from Fiji, in 1918, I met the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, at Delhi. All that was necessary to convince them was to show them this Fiji Council Paper. Mr. Montagu took it and read it and said to me with amazement: "Good Heavens! Do they publish things like that in Fiji?" Then he promised to get through for me any necessary and immediate reforms that I felt to be required.

When I went from Fiji to Australia on my return to India in 1918, first of all, I tried my very utmost to get the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, which was by far the biggest company in Fiji, to reform their own abuses without referring to Government at all. I went also to the Melbourne Trust Company, which was a very much smaller company, making far less profits. The Melbourne Trust Company agreed at once, and carried through the necessary reforms; but the C. S. R. C. was quite obdurate. Seeing that it was impossible to move them, I tried the publicity of the Australian Press, but I found that all the papers, owned by capitalists, would not touch the question. I suppose the financial danger of the loss of C. S. R. Co's advertisements was too great. One paper in Sydney actually went so far as to send me the proof of the article on Fiji which I had written for publication, but the article itself never appeared. Evidently courage failed at the last minute, and the article, even after being 'proof-corrected,' was withdrawn. It would have been comparatively easy to get what I wanted published in the Labour papers, but I did not wish to do this, in the first instance, because in that way the Fiji question would have become at once a political party question instead of a humanitarian one. Therefore, after consultation, I went to the women of Australia and travelled from one end of Australia to the other explaining the situation in Fiji. The result was that more than forty Australian Women's Associations joined together in order to make an independent investigation. They sent out Miss Florence Garnham who had been in the London Missionary Society in India and was at the time staying in Australia for the sake of her health. She had a considerable knowledge of the condition of the Indian women in the villages of the United Provinces and could also speak Hindi. The Report which she brought back was even more strongly worded than my own about the moral degradation which had been caused by the indenture system in the "coolie lines" of Fiji. I will quote her words as follows:—

"My own feeling about the "lines" is that they are entirely unsuitable for married people. There can

be no home life where it is impossible to ensure privacy; and anything approaching privacy is quite impossible in the "lines." When it is remembered that there are roughly three times as many men as women living in the "lines" the danger of this method of housing will be more fully realized. It is true that some planters arrange for single men to live in a row of lines separate from the married folk, or at one end of the row of dwellings while the married folk live at the other, though this is not always insisted on and the married quarters are by no means barred to single men; I have evidence from various sources during my stay on the island that life in the "lines" is unspeakably corrupt. Indians speak of the "lines" as "prostitution houses" and many men whose period of indenture had expired told me how glad they were to be away from the "lines" and to settle in places where their wives were protected. It was quite impossible, they said, for a woman to preserve her chastity in the "lines."

"This utter abandonment of morals is unfortunately not confined to the adult section of the community. I have heard little children speak of things which showed an appalling knowledge of vice of the worst kind.

"Unfortunately it is not only indentured people who live in the "lines." Sometimes I even found that men were willing to stay in the "lines" in order to be near women who were wives of other men. Husbands consented for certain monetary considerations to allow their wives to be shared by other men for a certain period. The degradation and unhappiness of such a life may better be imagined than described. One may well pause to consider what sort of childhood is possible where motherhood is so utterly depraved."

It is impossible for me to continue the whole story. Suffice it to say that after pressure from all sides and especially from the Australian Women's Organizations the Fiji Government were at last induced to appoint Dr. Staley, as Lady Doctor, with special attention to the needs of the Indian women. She did a splendid work in Fiji for more than a year. Then came the order for "retrenchment" and one of the first blows of the retrenchment "axe" was to cut down this newly-appointed post. Dr. Staley was told that her services would no longer be required.

Since then, the Fiji Government have imposed a poll tax, from which about £22,000 will be realized. The greater proportion of this comes from the Indian community; and the Colonial Secretary hinted that in return for this new taxation, it might be possible to increase the medical and educational aid to Indians. We have never left off the agitation to get back Dr. Staley or some competent Lady Doctor, with Indian qualifications; and now there appears a chance that our efforts may succeed; but we need every moral pressure possible behind our demands, and above all the advocacy of the public press.

I have just received a fresh batch of newspapers from Fiji, containing Dr. Datta's speech in Suva, and some of the newspaper comments. I am sending them with this article to the editor of *The Guardian* and I hope the substance of them may be reproduced. It is interesting to find the *Fiji Times* attacking even his most guarded utterance, and attempting to draw the "colour line" against him. This unfortunately is a growing feature of the South Pacific, which is slowly but surely following America and South Africa in its doctrine of the "colour bar."

MISSIONARIES DISCOVER  
MT. KENYA.

BY GORDON M. DYCE-KEELE.

A trading vessel from the United States visited Zanzibar in A.D. 1830, when the Americans introduced a cotton cloth known as "Merican" for the first time, which became a great medium of exchange among

the natives of the interior of Africa. This is the first, recorded visit of the Americans to Africa.

The year 1832 is chiefly memorable for the transfer of the Arab capital from Muscat to Zanzibar, from which time the island has become a great commercial centre. A treaty of amity and commerce was drawn up and signed the following year between the United States and Seyyid Said, safeguarding the rights and liberties of American subjects and providing for Consular jurisdiction. The first American Consul was appointed at Zanzibar in 1835, and was Mr. Richard P. Waters.

The power of the brave Mazrui Chiefs of Mombasa was finally broken in 1837. For two whole centuries they had successfully fought for their independence against the treacherous Arabs of Oman. The Governor of Mombasa, Rashid bin Salim bin Ahmed together with the prominent members of his tribe, were cleverly enticed on board a vessel by false oaths and carried off first to Zanzibar and later to the Persian Gulf, where all of them died in the misery of banishment. Nothing more is heard of the tribe until their rebellion in 1895, when they divided into two sections and left Mombasa. The elder section settled at Gazi some miles southward, while the younger section travelled northward and settled at Takaungu.

After much controversy Great Britain entered into a treaty of commerce with Zanzibar in 1839, drawn up and signed by Captain Robert Cogan of the East India Company's Naval Service and the firm of Messrs. Cogan of Zanzibar. Two years later Captain Atkins Hamerton took up his residence in Zanzibar in the capacity of the Agent of the East India Company, and a few months later was appointed British Consul.

In 1844 Dr. J. Ludwig Krapf, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society who had been expelled from Abyssinia, established himself at Mombasa. There is a well-preserved monument at English Point to mark the place where his wife's remains lie. In this year also a treaty of commerce and Consular Jurisdiction was concluded between Seyyid Said and the King of the French. A year later Dr. Krapf, who was joined by the Rev. John Rebman, opened a missionary station at Rabai, about twenty miles inland from Mombasa.

During a tour of progress towards the interior of Africa in 1848 Rebman discovered Mount Kilimanjaro which is about 200 miles inland from the coast. The name means "The snow-capped peak," and was so called because snow is visible from the top of the mountain throughout the year. The mountain is the highest in all Africa, and is 19,720 feet high. One of its two principal peaks possesses a perfect extinct crater and bears evidence of recent volcanic activity. The lava slopes of the Kibo peak are covered to a depth of 200 feet with an ice cap, which further down the mountain takes the form of genuine glaciers. The natives of Africa believe that the summit of Mount Kilimanjaro is composed of silver and it is conjectured that Aristotle's reference to the "so-called Silver Mountain" may be this one. The summit of the mountain was first reached in 1889 by Dr. Hans Mayer, after many previous attempts. In 1886 Kilimanjaro was secured by Germany during the partition of Africa between the powers of Western Europe. On the southern side of the mountain at Moschi was a German Government station which was captured by British troops during the recent campaign.

The following year Dr. Ludwig Krapf discovered Mount Kenya, which is 17,040 feet high, and from which the colony now takes its name. The mountain is a volcano, and possesses a large crater at the summit. For the last century it has been inactive. It was partially ascended by Count S. Teleki in 1889, by J. W. Gregory in 1893, and by George Kolb in

1896. The summit was reached by H. J. Mackinder in 1899. The slopes of the mountain are extremely fertile, and abound with game and bird life.

On October 19th, 1856, Seyyid Said died suddenly on board his frigate vessel "Victoria" off Seychelles, while on his way to Zanzibar. By his will the eldest surviving son, Seyyid Thwaini, became Lord of Oman, while Seyyid Majid, the second son, succeeded to the Governorship of Zanzibar. The following year is chiefly remarkable for the discovery of Lake Victoria by the famous traveller and explorer Speke. In company with Burton he set out on an extensive inland tour from Bagamoyo to Tanganyika. Half way through the journey Speke parted from Burton and went northwards, and after several days came upon Lake Victoria. In 1859 the Sultan of Muscat quarrelled with his brother and threatened an attack on Zanzibar, but was prevented by the British Government. The dispute was referred to the Viceroy of India.

The first Roman Catholic Mission was established at Zanzibar, in 1860 and was taken charge of by the missionaries of the Holy Ghost two years later. In 1861 a special commission was appointed, by whose award Seyyid Majid, the ex-Sultan's second son, was declared the ruler of Zanzibar and the African dominions of his late father. This year is also memorable for the fact that Dr. Krapf led a party consisting of two Englishmen and two Swiss from Europe and set up the first station of the United Methodist Free Church Mission in the Ribe Hills a year later.

In 1864 the famous writer and explorer Sir Samuel Baker discovered Lake Albert, which lies 80 miles north-west of Lake Victoria Nyanza. The lake is 100 miles long and 25 miles broad and is really a great reservoir of the river Nile. In this year the Universities Mission, which had hitherto worked in Portuguese territory, removed their headquarters northwards to Zanzibar, under the leadership of Bishop Tozer and Dr. (subsequently Bishop) Steere; afterwards opening several stations on the main land opposite. Seyyid Majid, the ruler of Zanzibar and the African dominions, died in 1870, and was succeeded by his brother Seyyid Bargash.

In 1872 the British Indian Steam Navigation Company established regular communication between Zanzibar, India and Europe. The following year 1873 Stanley and Cameron succeeded in crossing Equatorial Africa. Stanley was responsible for the foundation of the Congo Free State and the commencement of British interests in Uganda, which subsequently led to the formation of the Protectorate. During this year also the foundation stone of the present Christ Church Cathedral at Zanzibar was laid on the site of the old Slave Market. The Cathedral was first used for divine service on Christmas Day, 1879, and is a monument to the skill and devotion of Bishop Steere.

In 1875 Ismail Pasha, the Khedive of Egypt, endeavoured to annex the northern part of the coast of East Africa. Troops were landed at Kismayu and occupied the mouth of the river Juba for three whole months, but were recalled ultimately in deference to the wishes of the British Government.

Two years later a party from the Church Missionary Society arrived at Rubaga, which was at that time the capital of Uganda, and were cordially received by King Matesa, the chief of a wandering tribe. The missionaries suffered much at the hands of the King's eldest son King Mwanga, who was very hostile towards them. A year later they were all killed at Ukerewe on the shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza. It was under King Mwanga's orders that Bishop Hannington was murdered in 1885.

## THE WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN COLLEGE CHAPEL, MADRAS.

BY REGINALD DANN.

(Those of our readers, who are interested in the vexed question of Indian Church architecture, will be glad to have this statement, by its architect, of a newly-erected chapel, which has been much admired for its grace and simplicity. Ed.)

Ruskin has written a book called the "Seven Lamps of Architecture" in which he describes the seven qualities which should be inherent in good architecture. I am going to mention seven qualities in connection with this Chapel, not entirely the same seven as Ruskin's, for we may not, particularly if we know anything about architecture, agree with all his ideas and conclusions on the subject, although we may enjoy the beauty of his thought and the facility of his writing. I have heard the *obiter dicta*, "Do not read Ruskin on Architecture until you know more about it than he did."

2. At the time that I was considering what the character of the building should be I remember, in a letter to friends in England, writing that "I was inclined to a compromise between Westminster Cathedral and Jordan's Meeting House." Now Westminster Cathedral is a Roman Catholic edifice designed for the ritual and ceremonial of the service and worship of that Church, whilst Jordan's is a meeting house of the Society of Friends which has no ritual or ceremonial; the former is in the great city of London surrounded by houses, shops and warehouses, whilst the latter is in one of nature's beauty spots away from the busy world, surrounded by trees, grass and flowers. The Cathedral is a great modern building with high and massive brick arches and domes, a place of distance and mystery and dim religious light; whilst Jordan's is a simple little old whitewashed brick building, bright with sunlight.

3. In spite of these many contrasts I have found in both the buildings that indefinable character which leads the mind up to God and attunes the heart to His worship. This is not due to richness of material, to elaboration of detail or to brightness and variety of colouring, as in one case the wall and arches are of common brick, and in the other the walls and ceiling are whitewashed. They both exhibit the quality of *simplicity* which I am giving you as the first of seven which I want to claim for the Chapel—common country brick arches and whitewashed walls and dome, Cuddapah stone floor and ordinary iron chains and bands to carry the lights, all "simple things."

4. The second quality common to both buildings is *truth*—there is no sham, no so-called inferior material designed and wrought upon to make it appear to be something of more value (unfortunately with regard to Westminster Cathedral this quality is gradually disappearing under a veneer of marble and precious stones). Can we not claim the quality of truth also for our Chapel—simple material, honestly and truthfully displayed? How many buildings dedicated to the worship of God insult Him with their unreality.

5. The third quality I want to claim for the Chapel is *utility*. There is little about the building that is not essential for its construction and for the convenience and comfort of the worshippers. The cloisters for access without venturing into the sun or rain, the many doors for ventilation, the verandahs and porches to protect the doors from sun and rain, the hoods over the windows for the same purpose, the projecting cornice to protect the walls, the polished Cuddapah floor for cleanliness and the skirting for the same purpose and to protect the walls from damage, the band of Cuddapah stone to mark the break between the straight walls and circular roofs, the arches over the windows to relieve them from

the weight of the super-structure, the cornice and brackets to help to support the dome, even the 4 urns or lanterns on the outside serve a useful constructional purpose. Thus there is a reason for everything even for things which may appear purely decorative.

6. The fourth quality I wish to mention is *power*. The brick arches emphasize the construction, they satisfy our sense of proportion and appear adequate for the stability of the building. We have no feelings of wonder as to how the roof is supported nor do we feel the necessity for any hidden forms of construction. We are unconsciously satisfied with the visible quality of power in the building and have no fear as we stand beneath the dome.

7. The fifth quality is that of *obedience*, inasmuch as in style certain rules of proportion of architectural tradition have been adhered to, the thickness and spacing of columns, the designs of mouldings and of caps and bases the projection of the cornice and depth of the frieze. We have attempted, with freedom and imagination and without slavish imitation of any particular building or style, but without offence, I hope, to any of the canons of good architecture or art, to be obedient to the lessons of perfection, proportion and style handed down from the past so far as they are applicable to our present needs.

8. In the sixth place I put the quality of *life*, which, I think we may say is, discernable in the human touch of the hand-moulded bricks and the tool marks on what little stone is used in the texture and variety of colour so given. If we had spent much labour and time in smoothing over the bricks, covering them with an even coat of colour and outlining them with white lines absolutely square and straight in order to achieve a sort of finality and perfection, we should have killed that quality of liveliness and interest which is unconsciously given by the brickwork as it is.

9. The seventh quality is that of *unity*—due to the location of the Chapel in harmonious relationship with adjacent buildings and with the surrounding trees, to a sufficiency of harmony in architectural style and to the use throughout of a limited variety of material and those which are made in, and of common use in the locality. The introduction of a variety of "foreign" material and features not necessary to the requirements of the Chapel might have involved a loss of this harmony or unity.

10. I have tried, very briefly and imperfectly, to shew that the qualities of Simplicity, Truth, Utility, Power, Obedience, Life and Unity have been incorporated, so far as is applicable, in the design and location of the Chapel and in its construction and the material used.

11. If this has been done we should as a spontaneous result have achieved yet another quality, that of *beauty*, our sense of what is beautiful and artistic should be satisfied. Whether this is so, I leave it to others to judge, but true beauty should be inherent in the building itself in its location, design and material and is not a quality to be superimposed by the addition of unnecessary and purely decorative features. The lines of beauty run with those of utility, truth, and power. With this sure foundation non-essentials may be added, possibly as the qualities of sacrifice and memory, the only two of Ruskin's "Seven Lamps" that I have omitted; but without such a foundation, be our material ever so precious and labour without limit, we may fail. Beauty is so often lacking in buildings and other material things as it is in our lives and spiritual things because in them or in us, some or all of the seven qualities are lacking. Particularly should a building which is set aside for the service of God be beautiful. His world is beautiful and ugliness is a sin against Him and against His creation. "Whatsoever things are lovely..... think on these things."

## CHRISTIAN POLITICS.

BY GEORGE JOSEPH.

There are over four millions of Christians in India, representing nearly all sections of the Church. While a fourth of them are the descendants of those who were Christians before the first English Christians were baptized, the large majority are the fruit of the missionary labours of foreigners during the last three centuries. Before they came into the Church, numbers of them were Hindus of the order of servants and agricultural serfs. The change of religion drew them away from their old professions. Generally speaking, they ceased to be producers and became part of the new middle class in India, men of sedentary occupation, clerks, catechists, officials, priests, lawyers and doctors. Economically and socially, the community is tending to be a replica of the Anglo-Indian. They have deliberately cut themselves off from the caste system; but they have not evolved a settled social order to replace that which was rejected. There are few agriculturists, few artisans, no specialized labour to serve the rest of the community or to keep it self-contained and self-preserving. To use the phraseology of crude socialism the Christians in India (excepting those in Malabar) are parasitic. A society in such a state of unstable equilibrium cannot last as a vital force. We lack far-sighted social vision; so also in the matter of politics, the particular matter of this note, the community has no clear mind.

One would have thought that there was a special and compelling need in the case. There are twenty-four crores of Hindus, seven of Mussulmans—the vehicles and representatives of gigantic forces opposed to them—there is an oligarchic, bureaucratic government composed of a few individuals deriving their final power from an ill-balanced, precarious civilization and social system six thousand miles away. The Government has so far maintained itself successfully; but every fresh crisis, international war or internal commotion, which threatens the bureaucracy, brings the heart into our mouth. The sudden disappearance of the present Government would lead to political confusion, long or short. Speaking in reference to current developments, one may anticipate a certain amount of communal strife. But whatever the inconvenience to the Hindus and Mahomedans, the position of the Christians will be infinitely more difficult. They are a microscopic minority and will be in peril of being destroyed. In times of anarchy, the violent elements, Hindu and Mahomedan will join together to despoil the handful of Christians. But why should I talk of the danger of sudden disappearance of the bureaucracy. Sudden or slow, the policy of the present Government is one of final withdrawal. The Government of India Act means that. The present phase of bureaucratic reaction and popular paralysis will pass. The complexity and uncertainty of the political situation call for far-seeing political wisdom from the Christians.

But there are two ways in which the political mind of Indian Christians may express itself:—Leavening and Definition.

It may be said:—Let individual Christians be permitted to scatter themselves. They may belong to different schools and parties. Christians are everywhere—in the Congress, amongst the Liberals, the *Swarajists* and the *Loyalists*. The different forces are making together for good and for the glory of God. Hasten slowly.

The idea of Definition is this:—Indian Christians as a community should define their attitude towards current politics. The assumption is of little consequence, whether the bureaucracy is to disappear at once or to continue for ever. It does not matter whether it is loyalism or revolution, but the community must take up a clear intelligible position and stand by it

in the face of all peril. If we are convinced that the safety of our political future is indissolubly bound up with the existence of the bureaucracy, we must say so. We must be prepared to face the hostility of the politically-minded folks now and in the future. We may be destroyed, but we would not surrender. If, on the other hand, it is wise to throw in our lot with the Indian politicians, because of their hold on the masses of people or because of their ultimate chance of success, we must make that choice deliberately, but finally. The price of our decision will be the hostility of the Government; but if the decision is right, it must be paid without flinching. But either choice is difficult.

I am clearly in favour of a policy of Definition. Leavening is political anarchism. Anarchism may be acceptable in the kingdom of God where the Saints are perfect in wisdom, but it is no good in earthly counsels. There are individual Christians who are Congressmen and Moderates; but there is no weight in their voice. Personal authority there may be on account of counsel or action; but it will be of no avail to the community. Let the Christians, as a body, speak; their spokesmen will be able to utter words of power.

## LONDON LETTER.

LONDON.  
3RD OCTOBER, 1923.

## Troubled Europe Still.

Since I last wrote the German Government has felt compelled to withdraw its instructions to the Ruhr population on the question of non-resistance to the French invasion. No longer can the Central Government afford to support thousands of workmen who refuse to work for the French. But even Poincaré has had to remind the French people that this does not necessarily mean victory for their demands. So far there seems to be little sign of the Ruhr Trade Unions consenting to work for the French, and the whole German situation is gradually getting darker and darker. Whether reaction or communism will triumph no one can tell, and certainly the whole situation when you read this letter in three weeks time may be extraordinarily different from what it is to-day.

Amidst this black welter of uncertainty the reminder from General Smuts at the Imperial Conference is encouraging. Referring to the welcome presence there of representatives of Ireland for the first time, he said that their attendance showed how rapidly an almost desperate situation such as that with which Ireland seemed to be faced two years ago can be remedied where there is active good-will and the determination to find a way out. We must therefore still remember to be optimists.

## Full Blooded Imperialism.

There is some likelihood of the Imperial Conference being made the opportunity for pressing on with schemes of imperial government and protection. Happening to 'listen-in' to my wireless set last night, I was fortunate in finding that all the 'listeners-in' in the United Kingdom were being given an opportunity of hearing the Duke of Connaught and the Colonial Premiers speak at the dinner of the Royal Imperial Institute. I doubt if they realized that the microphone concealed on the dinner table was recording their ordinary conversation with their neighbours before the actual speeches began, and it was a somewhat amusing experience to be a participant in the after-dinner conversations with "The Great." The speeches, however, were of a full-blooded imperialistic tone and hardly encouraging to those who believe *world unity* to be more important than imperial unity. I am sorry there was no Indian speaker. There were nevertheless several very friendly references to India.

**Miss Margaret Bondfield.**

Some months ago I referred to Miss Margaret Bondfield's recommendation to me, which I passed on to you, to read Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's book "The Decay of Capitalist Civilization." Miss Bondfield has now received the unique honour of being elected to the chairmanship of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. This is a fitting tribute to her untiring efforts on behalf of Labour. It has been said of her that she is endowed with the brains of a man and the charm of a woman. It might also be added that she approaches all the problems with which she has to deal in a truly Christian spirit.

**"Pat Comely Cows."**

At the Health Week in the dingy London dock-side district of Deptford, Dr. Harold Scurfield gave his audience an interesting mnemonic to remind people in this country what foods are necessary to insure a sufficiency of vitamins. It stood for the following:—

Potatoes:	Eggs.
Apples.	Lettuce.
Tomatoes.	Yeast.
Cabbages.	Cod-liver oil.
Offal (liver, etc.)	Oranges.
Milk (and milk foods, butter, cheese).	Watercress.
	Suet.

I wonder what equally amusing mnemonic would be applicable to India?

**The Late William Pearson.**

William Winstanley Pearson, whose tragic death occurred on September 25th (following upon a fall from a train in Italy owing to an unfastened carriage door), was better known in India than in England, but those who knew him here realize how great is the loss. He was one of the truest links between India and England, and as Mr. Gandhi said of him and his friend, C. F. Andrews, "As long as there exist Englishmen like Mr. Pearson and Mr. Andrews there is something to be said for the British Raj."

It will be remembered that Mr. Pearson, after going out to India on the work of the London Missionary Society, joined the staff of Rabindranath Tagore's school, and he was in this country preparing for the press a translation from the Bengali of a Tagore novel.

It was in accordance with the war mind that during the war years Mr. Pearson, because of his advanced opinions, should be deported without trial from Peking where he then was and shipped to this country, where he was placed on parole in his native town of Manchester. Later he joined the R. A. M. C., and still later toured Europe and America with Dr. Tagore.

**The Late Lord Morley.**

With the death of Lord Morley passes one of the very last of the great Victorians. Well was he dubbed "Honest John," and this characteristic led to his disappearance from official life, for he has held no office and has hardly appeared in public since his retirement from the Government on the Declaration of War in 1914.

Typical was his half-humorous, yet wholly serious remark to someone who urged him to take part in a meeting of protest against the South African War. "If it wasn't for this accursed thing in here, called conscience, I should not listen to you." But he did listen, and he was always ready to listen. "Let us think to-day" says Mr. F. W. Hirst, his colleague and late editor of the *Economist*, "of his uncompromising veracity and moral integrity, of his feeling that public office is a trusteeship and public money a sacred trust; of his sublime and almost religious devotion to moral causes, of his constancy in pursuit of ideals, of his almost unique gift for raising political discussion above the dusty scramble for place or profit, and his magic power for recreating public spirit in good men and women. These virtues were never more needed in public life."

**New Indian Student's Hostel.**

The Archbishop of Canterbury is performing the opening ceremony at the new hostel of the Indian Student's Union at 112, Gower Street, London, W. C. 1, on Saturday afternoon, October 6th. The other chief speakers will be the Hon'ble. Mr. Justice William Hewart Greaves, of the Calcutta High Court, Sir Arthur Yapp, of the Y. M. C. A., Mr. R. M. Dey on behalf of the students, and Mr. Edwyn Bevan. I hope to be able to give you a full account of the proceedings and the new building in my next letter.

HUBERT W. PEET.

**FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD.**

By B. AHIRA.

"I said in my haste, 'All men are liars' " said the Hebrew poet; and with the one exception of our Lord and Saviour, who was the Truth itself, I think most people will agree that the Jew of olden time was correct in his estimate of mankind. Not only do men tell lies to one another but they even lie to themselves. The absolutely honest man, whose word can be relied upon in every particular, is the exception and not the rule. I have not seen our friend Mr. Higgins for some time; so was very pleased when he turned up again on the last day of the holidays, looking a bit thinner and more careworn than when I last saw him. It appeared that his firm had reason to suspect the honesty of one or two of the confidential Hindu clerks and had entrusted to our friend the difficult job of going into the matter. He found there was considerable reason for their doubt and had unearthed several cases of misappropriation of funds and disloyalty to the firm, which has necessitated taking advantage of the holidays to make a more thorough scrutiny into the books.

Incidents of this sort not unfrequently are apt to lead to racial prejudice which is unwarranted. Untruthfulness and dishonesty are not confined to one or two races or classes of men. One advantage of acquiring even a slight acquaintance with the Latin tongue, is that one is almost sure to be informed early on in one's career that "*Humanum est errare*,"—or Anglicized "It is natural to man to err." We are reminded of this, when the papers state that trustful followers of a certain noisy and prominent Briton, who made a great sensation during the war, are not likely to receive more than about 3d in the pound out of the large sums that they confided to his care. I may be old-fashioned, but I think the disease of sin is sadly ignored in all four quarters of the globe at the present time. It is a disease; and thank God, we also have a Great Physician to cure it; but unless sin is recognized as such and we go to the Lord Jesus for its cure, what can we expect but that like other diseases it continues to increase and at last have a fatal ending? In this matter of truthfulness, the Christian should strive after a higher standard than prevails in the world at large. One of the worst forms of untruthfulness is when it takes the shape of slander and suggests evil interpretations of the acts of others out of envy. I am glad to see a strong protest against this in a recent number of the *Christian Observer*. It is all too prevalent in our Indian Church.

Whilst I was moralizing after this fashion to Mr. Higgins, two young Bengali acquaintances of mine entered the *ashram*. One, who is an M.A. of Calcutta University, was dressed in a *sadhu's* robes. I have known him for some years as a professed seeker after Truth, who was in the practice of frequenting all kinds of religious teaching, including Christian places of worship, and was also a professed student of Psychology. Though not yet thirty, he has lately taken to himself the office of *guru* and was boasting how many credulous and superstitious fellow-countrymen and women he had gathered round him and of the goodly pile of



rupees he had acquired in this manner. He unblushingly described one method of collecting funds—which was to call for water to wash his feet and tell his disciples to bottle this and drink a little daily to rid themselves of various ills. I am inclined to doubt whether there is any country in the world so preyed upon by religious parasites of this nature as is India. The callousness with which they are prepared to live on the offerings of the poor of the ignorant is surely without parallel elsewhere. There are some million of professing religious mendicants in India—who as teachers would be a real blessing to the ignorant—but of whom a large proportion are simply birds of prey feeding on ignorance and corruption. My visitor seemed rather surprised and perhaps slightly abashed at the indignation I expressed. He seemed to take it as a rather humorous and well-paying joke that the ignorant should be so easily imposed upon; reminding me in his Brahminical pride of the saying of the Scribes of old—“This people, who know not the Law, are accursed.”

When they had left, I had to warn Mr. Higgins, who was naturally much disgusted with them, that all Indian religious mendicants are not like them, and recalled to him the story of Kipling's Lama in “Kim.” I asked him if he had ever thought of our Lord and Saviour going about homeless and dependant on the charity of others for His daily bread. He seemed to think that Jesus Christ would have saved on His earnings as a carpenter and relied on them, and seemed to find it very hard to think of the Lord as actually without a place to lay His head; a conception which seems so natural to any Indian in regard to a religious leader and teacher.

### BOOK REVIEW.

#### India Painting Book.

Church Missionary Society; Salisbury Square, London. Price, 1s.6d.

Another delightful painting book for children has reached us from the Church Missionary Society. Former ones were about Egypt and Japan. This is the story of Govind, an Indian Boy by H. T. Vodden, M. A. of Aurungabad, illustrated by Elsie A. Wood. There are six outline full-page drawings for children to paint, with small coloured copies on the opposite page to show them how to do it, and charmingly clear instructions on the cover on the mixing of colours, etc. The story is about an outcaste boy—and the result of his listening to “the most wonderful story he had ever heard.”

### MEDITATION.

“See that ye refuse not Him that speaketh.” Hebrews XII: 25.

He stands at the door and knocks. If you look through the lattice, there shall meet your gaze perhaps one clothed in rude habiliments, and whose appearance seems to hold out no promise that He will confer aught upon you. But He is wan and way-worn; He needs rest and refreshment, so you ask Him in and give Him a seat at your humble table. You bid him take of your cheer and He does so. You speak to Him words of comfort and His countenance glows with a singular lustre, as He listens to them. You say to yourself—“This poor man is not used even to such poor fare as I can give; I am glad that I undertook to gladden Him.”

But your dishes one by one disappear, and when you would satisfy your own appetite, you find them not, but instead, such dishes as are never seen except upon the table of a King. Wondering, you eat. The transformation goes on. Everything about you puts on magnificence. The chair in which your humble guest is seated becomes a throne; His garments shine immaculately white and regally radiant; His countenance beams with divinity. It is no more a poor man supping with you, but you at the matchless supper-table of the Lord Jesus Christ.

### CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK

#### INDIA.

The Government of India has appointed a committee with Sir Edward Chamier, Legal Adviser to the Secretary of State as Chairman, to examine the subject of the creation of an Indian Bar.

The Dussarah session of the Mysore Representative Assembly commenced on October 22nd. It is reported that the dispute between the Madras and Mysore Governments over the Cauvery waters, which has been pending for 20 years, will be settled finally before the Viceroy's visit to Mysore in December.

The Viceroy and Lady Reading have been paying an official visit to Lahore. Sir Basil Blackett will meet the Financial Members from the Provinces in conference at Delhi on November 15th.

The Deccan Sabha, the U. P. Chamber of Commerce, and other bodies have cabled to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru supporting him in his efforts to secure equal status for Indians Overseas.

Among the 30 members of the Senate of Madras University recently elected by the registered graduates, is Mrs. Radhabai Subbarayan, B. A., Zemindarini of Kumramangalam.

The Bihar Swaraj party has decided not to nominate any candidates for the local Legislative Council. It will however put up candidates for the Legislative Assembly.

Sir George Lloyd formally inaugurated the Sukkur Barrage scheme on the 24th of October. It is the largest irrigation scheme now in existence, designed to make a fruitful land of the Sind desert.

At a meeting of economists and financiers held in Bombay on the 16th instant an All-India Tariff Reform League was formed.

The Panjab Government has declared the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbhandak Committee and the Akali organizations as unlawful associations and have arrested the office-bearers.

#### ABROAD.

A Rhenish Republic was declared at Aix-la Chapelle on the 21st of October. There have been numerous riots at Hamburg and other places in Germany.

The Saxon Government has unsuccessfully protested to Berlin against Herr Mueller's, commander of the Reichswehr in Saxony, prohibition of the formation of proletarian committees and similar organizations. Food riots are reported in Cologne. The Reichstag has passed the Emergency Law which has saved Herr Stresemann the necessity of dissolving Parliament.

M. Masaryk, President of Czecho-Slovakia, after a state visit to Paris, arrived in London on October 21st.

Mutinies broke out in several provincial garrisons in Greece as a result of an anti-Government campaign. Mutineers are now returning to their work and the movement is subsiding.

Nine hundred out of the 1,640 doctors in the London area have resigned, as the result of the Minister of Health's rejection of the panel doctors' request for arbitration on his notice to reduce their fees.

Lecturing before the East Indian Association, Sir Alexander Cardew declared that Indian prisons, even more than the prisons of other civilized countries, rather conduced to deterioration than improvement.

The supreme leadership of the Italian Fascisti has been entrusted to a National Directory of five members chosen by Signor Mussolini from a list proposed by the National Council.

The Turkish National Assembly has decided in favour of Angora as the capital in preference to Constantinople. An Austro-Turkish political and economic alliance is being discussed.

The British Minister for Labour has announced that the Government is prepared to spend at least £50,000,000 on building work, as a means towards solving the unemployment problem.

General Smuts in a strongly worded speech, whilst sympathising with the French people, adversely criticised French Policy towards Germany. The American Ambassador stated the United States were willing to join in a Conference regarding German Reparations, if asked to do so.

**WANTED**—A Christian Head Master for the Cuttack Mission High School from January 1st, 1924. Must be a graduate with Educational qualifications. Commencing salary Rs. 150/- with free quarters. All Applications should reach the Secretary, BAPTIST MISSION, CUTTACK, by October 31st.

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We greatly need in India today a dispassionate atmosphere in which to pursue our religious enquiries and undertake our spiritual search. To this, Christ, the "Brother of all the World," invites us. He is known by those who have found Him as "Lover of my Soul." Let His spirit dominate.

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## GIFT BOOKS AND PRIZES.

The Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society have a large stock of above at their showroom (upstairs),  
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## The Blue Ribbon Temperance Association.

### ITS NAME.

The Blue Ribbon Temperance Association is an association of men and women, without distinction of race or religion, who are pledged to abstain from the use of Intoxicating Drink and Drugs and to do their utmost to save their country and its people from these curses.

Its name is taken from its Badge which is a small Blue Ribbon. (Blue-metal ribbons at four annas each and buttons with the ribbon painted on at two annas each and plain blue pieces of metal for badges at one pice each can be obtained from Miss Joan Davis, Temperance Headquarters, Lal Bagh, Lucknow.)

### ITS ORIGIN.

In her many Temperance Lecturing tours around India, Miss Campbell, of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, found that many people desired an active Temperance Society in which people of all races and religions might join, on a common footing, to fight this enemy of progress and happiness in India. So the B. R. T. A. was formed and Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians, Punjabis, Hindustanis and Gujeratis, etc., have joined its ranks. In town or village, in *mohalla* or college, among people rich and poor, ignorant and educated, this simple Society can be formed to join together all who wish to see these curses driven from India.

### ITS ORGANIZATION.

The members of any local society, who have signed its pledge, elect their own President, Secretary, Treasurer and Committee. Each local society should link itself up with other Societies in the same district.

### ITS USE.

It helps individuals to keep free from these curses.

It helps, by its regular meetings, lectures, study circles, or lantern addresses to teach the physical, mental and moral damage wrought by this Drink curse.

It helps to express that public opinion which will encourage and persuade the local and provincial Excise authorities to close down unnecessary drink and drug shops and to reduce in other ways, the existing temptations to the use of intoxicating liquor.

It helps members of those castes and classes of society in which Drink or Drugs are doing harm to persuade their *panchayats* to banish these evils from their midst.

The National Superintendent is REV. A. T. HOFFERT,

BULSAR, GUJERAT.

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# The Guardian

Editors { A. N. SUDARISANAM.  
JOSEPH TAYLOR.

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"Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free."

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Manuscript for publication may be sent to the Editor, 95, Beadon Street, Beadon Square P. O., Calcutta. *The Guardian*, while gladly giving publicity to varied opinions from its contributors, does not necessarily identify itself with the views expressed in signed articles.

## NOTES.

*Dipavali*, the festival of lights, will be celebrated all over India this week. This reminds us of the suggestion of an Indian Christian friend sometime ago, whether there was not in the *Dipavali* celebrations a suitable model for the Indian Christian celebration of Christmas. Indian or foreign, there would be few friends indeed who have not been impressed by the beautiful decorations and by the spontaneous and sincere rejoicings of that day among the Hindu population. Indian Christians may not like to be associated with the religious significance of the festival, but he would be a bold one among them, who would deny that at sometime or other in his life, he has not participated or been mixed up in the rejoicings around him. Even upon the most conservative type of Christian, a Hindu friend of his, would on that day pay some attention, should the former come in his way or be nearby. It often happens that our Hindu brethren send their greetings on Christmas day or even call in person "to pay their respects." Christians do not generally, we think, pay the same courtesy to their neighbours by offering greetings on such a great day as the *Dipavali*, and might perhaps show more friendliness, without any violation of religious principle.

*The Servant of India* commenting upon Mr. George Joseph's recent article in our columns, in which he advocated that Indian Christians as a community should define their attitude towards current politics, strongly

demurs to this position. It says—"One hopes sincerely that our Christian fellow-countrymen will refuse to follow so mischievous an advice. We have quite enough communalism, as it is, in India, without needing yet one more application of that spirit; quite apart from the impracticability of a scattered community of about one per cent of the whole population defining, *qua* community, its attitude to questions, most of which must necessarily and primarily be tinged by provincial interests. Mr. Joseph calls the Indian Christian community "parasitic," and says that they are tending to become merely a replica of the Anglo-Indian community. Mr. Joseph has evidently the traditional subservience of these two communities to the bureaucracy in mind; but, once the special privileges reserved to them are removed, one imagines that that subservience itself will rapidly disappear. Nothing will help on that process so much, as insistence on every citizen's individual responsibility to bring about the political triumph of that set of men, who to him individually seem to pursue the right political ideals. We quite agree that this responsibility is little realized by Mr. Joseph's community, who on the whole are still politically unawakened. . . . The fact is, all the angels are never on one side, nor all the devils on the other; each man for himself must strike the balance between what to him seem the more and what the less important features of every party and attach himself accordingly. His religion will undoubtedly influence him in that choice; but to make it appear that Christianity can only be interpreted in terms of either Gandhism or Liberalism or Swarajism or Bureaucratism is surely to render a very poor service both to Christianity and to the Indian Christian community."

The death of Canon D. L. Joshi of Bombay on October 25th is a great loss to the Indian Christian Church; and he will be much missed in the Bombay Presidency. He was one of the revisers of the Marathi Old Testament and had been engaged with the other members of the committee upon this work up to within an hour of his death. Canon Joshi had been in charge of the work of the Church Missionary Society at Girgaon, Bombay, for 27 years. As Pastor and Canon of this church he was very widely known in Bombay, and laboured especially to bring the claims of Christ before the educated Indian community. He was one of the original founders of the Bombay Indian Christian Association in which he took a great interest to the last. We sympathize with the Bombay Christian community and the Church Missionary Society in the loss they have sustained.

In reading the obituary notices of distinguished persons, which reach us from time to time, it is very

noticeable in how many cases the remains have been cremated, presumably at the desire of the deceased person, when living. Both Lord Morley and Mr. Bonar Law were cremated; and it is becoming increasingly evident that this method of disposing of the dead is the most satisfactory solution of the problem in the large cities. Preaching recently at St. Jude-on-the-Hill, London, the Rev. B. G. Bourcher discussed the question as to whether cremation was anti-Christian, as alleged by some people, and if it really offended sentiment. He said that when it was considered that 55,000 people died every year in Greater London and were interred in the suburban cemeteries, it was incredible that people would go on year by year surrounding the city in which they lived with a ring of decomposing matter. He declared that the alleged objection to cremation, that it destroyed the body, was plainly without foundation, and cremation was in no way inconsistent with the teachings of the Christian religion.

So many of the present Viceroy's speeches ever since his arrival have dealt with the political situation in the country, that it is a relief to hear what he thinks of other problems. His Excellency remarked at the Lyallpur Agricultural College. "I have been greatly impressed in India with the narrow field of aspirations which bounds the vision of the educated young men of this great country. Too many are prone not to look beyond Government service or the legal profession as the only possible goal of their educational career in these vocations. There is obviously room for only a limited number, and the opportunities for an outstanding and successful career are definitely restricted; yet around them lies a vast country full of natural resources, and with a population as yet largely deprived of the advantages of technical and scientific training in every direction. There are sources of wealth and production waiting to be explored, waiting to be improved upon and ready to yield their secrets to the magic touch of knowledge." Time was when the main cause for educated young men congregating in a few vocations was their reluctance to explore new regions, or to face the physical hardships in others. Young men in recent years have realized the helplessness and humiliation of their position well enough and will not attempt to cling to old world ideas. They are prepared to handle any work that may be pointed out to them. The colleges complain of a stampede into the science departments. The Commercial institutions overflow. We do not think the blame rests any longer upon young men. The responsibility rests upon capitalists and plutocrats who will not lay out their money for utilities in which educated young men can be absorbed. The story of all settlement and industrial schemes is that they are wrecked upon financial rocks and not for want of young volunteers and recruits.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has issued an appeal for erecting a memorial to the late Mr. W. W. Pearson. Dr. Tagore proposes to construct a hospital in the Santiniketan *asram* with a special ward attached to it for children—Mr. Pearson had, it is said, a great desire to see this done at the *asram* and was himself working for it and contributing money to it whenever possible. The cost is estimated to be Rs. 25,000. Contributions may be sent to the Treasurer, Visva-bharati, Santiniketan, Bolpur. We trust that the numerous friends, who have known and heard of Mr. Pearson, will subscribe heartily to this memorial.

We wonder what the founder of "excursions" would have said about the special £117 excursion trip from England to America to see the *Papyrus* race. The enterprise would surprise him less than the occasion of the trip, for in the History of the now world-wide firm of Thomas Cook and Son, we read: "In September 1843, Mr. Thomas Cook resolved to afford the Leicester

school children a treat, and at the same time keep them out of mischief, by giving them a trip from Leicester to Derby and back at the time of the races." This was not one of the first excursions, for Mr. Cook had started his career with his first publicly advertised excursion train to attract people at Leicester to a big Temperance meeting at Loughborough, two years previously in July, 1841; but it was evidence of the continuance of his philanthropic interests which had mainly occupied his attention and had seemed to be leading him in a career as publisher and travelling missionary in the Midlands of the Baptist Association, until he had the inspiration of "cheap trips" which he turned to such good account. It cost £117 to go and see a horse-race in America. It cost the children and teachers of Leicester six-pence and a shilling respectively to get away from one!

That there is an intimate connection between drink and sexual vice has been recognized by all who have made a serious study of either of these evils.

The percentage of drunkards, who are afflicted by venereal disease, is very high, while investigations conducted among sufferers from venereal disease have indicated that the percentage of those, who have been addicted to heavy drinking, is much higher than the percentage of heavy drinkers in the general community.

That alcohol is directly responsible for inflaming the passions and breaking down the inhibitions of the will, so as to lead to immorality and consequent exposure to disease, has been proven alike by the testimony of victims and the declarations of physician-scientists.

In a book recently published by the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain, the Rev. Dr. A. Herbert Gray treats this subject in the following impressive words:—

"It is not too much to say that until we have grappled with the drink evil in our midst we cannot possibly hope to master this greater evil, sexual immorality, which follows on the heels of intemperance. This one consideration alone would make me an enthusiastic prohibitionist. We have tried life on its present terms and it has beaten us. We have allowed the common sale of a drug that is the proved enemy of our best life. It has damaged us physically, industrially and financially; but its most deadly damage has been done in connection with our sexual life. I cannot but think that if the deadly and intimate connection existing between drink and sexual vice were realized, the will to effective (temperance) reform might appear among us."

#### THE HARD LESSON.

Teach me, O Christ,  
Thy full humility;

May I rejoice that my friends are better than I,  
May I seek, and find, some lowly and humble service,  
Obscure and remote.  
And there may I lose myself in the need of the men  
around me.

Teach me, O Christ,  
Thy full simplicity:

May I be glad in the gifts Thou hast given,  
Desiring no more:

May I deny myself:  
May I believe in men,  
Till by power of faith in their better selves  
I make them what Thou wouldst have them to be.

Teach me, O Christ, these great lessons, and hard:  
Thine own humility,  
Thine own simplicity.

Kashmer.

The Guardian  
CALCUTTA, NOVEMBER 9, 1923.

INDIA IN THE IMPERIAL  
CONFERENCE.

After the arduous labours of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and his colleagues at the Imperial Conference, it will not do for us to be critical of them for what has not been achieved. For what little was possible, we are grateful and pay a tribute to the extraordinary tact and patience which Sir Tej Bahadur in particular has displayed during the past month. His performance at the Conference adds a great chapter to his life. The modest tangible result of the Conference emphasizes the extraordinary difficulty that faced the Indian representatives.

The situation regarding Indians in all the important areas had reached far too acute a stage for any solution to be dictated outright at the Conference. India also had been stirred up over the problem in a manner not to be quieted by any half-measures. Under the circumstances it was not for the Indian representatives to expect too much of the Conference. It appears Sir Tej Bahadur's initial task was to discover what exactly the Conference was capable of doing. Having done this, he set a limit to his ambition and strove with might and main to achieve it, utilizing all the opportunities that lay before him for an exposition of Indian feelings rather than of Indian demand. We fancy he started with a strong mandate from the Government of India and set himself first to persuade the India Office into lending a vigorous support to his position. That body is seldom over enthusiastic about a purely Indian claim and without its wholehearted co-operation Sir Tej Bahadur's struggle would have been a desperate and feeble display. Then what happened was, as one of the Dominion Premiers gently pointed out, the subject of Indians overseas was smuggled into the agenda. The trump card for the Indian case was used then, for as Sir Tej Bahadur divulged later, he meant to withdraw from the Conference if he were not permitted to bring up the question. The greatest piece of work was done next; namely a long series of diplomatic negotiations with the Colonial Office and the Dominion Premiers, where we believe Sir Tej Bahadur begged and argued for all his worth, and prepared the Premiers and officers concerned to accept the proposition, that the Indian case should be listened to with patience and sympathy. The method for this was to endorse the resolution of 1921 and to add the clause that the Dominions may appoint committees to consider the Indian case along with the Government of India Committee before any action is taken in the respective areas. When the ground had been so well prepared, a three-day's speechifying was conducted in which India was advertised to the fullest extent. The resolution or rather as they put it expressively, the *formula*, had been decided upon beforehand and so without any serious debate the resolution was approved with of course the exception of General Smuts.

Taken by themselves the speeches of Viscount Peel, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Maharajah of Alwar are great. They were eloquent or passionate expositions of Indian aspirations and dreams of Indian hopes and fears. Nothing more stately could have been uttered. The Dominion Premiers were, we are told, impressed by the speeches; but being placed in the judgment seat in regard to the Indian case, delivered business-like speeches, retailing cold facts and decisive principles. Viscount Peel confined himself wisely to "general" terms and refrained from committing himself to sentiments regarding practical details.

He dwelt upon the magnificence of India and upon the fact that the Indian problem had come up for solution and was a test as to whether or not the British Empire was in reality the brotherhood of nations that it claimed to be. That Viscount Peel should have thus realized the depth of Indian feeling has been greeted with surprise and pleasure. His Lordship's administration has on the whole been a dismal period for India, and if the attitude that he displayed at the Conference govern his future actions in the India office, then the negotiations that have been carried on with him in regard to Indians overseas will not have been in vain. The Maharajah of Alwar's rolling periods of eloquence were noteworthy for the fact that he identified himself with the Indian public in a manner which could not have been expected of him or his brother princes, judging from the recent instances of estrangement between them and the British Indian public; while the princes have their rights, as distinguished from the Government of India, those rights cannot be exercised so as to effectively keep apart their own subjects and the British Indian population.

The tendency is for the whole Indian population to coalesce, under whatever administrations they may be distributed. The Maharajah uttered gracefully what is a truly nationalist sentiment: "If India had some more definite proposition before it than having to wait every ten years for its destiny to be enhanced, if it had reasonable assurance of a rapid but progressive advancement, I believe that the self-government which is the goal of us all, for two-thirds of India, would be achieved early and smoothly;" and he declared his conviction that "this achievement is possible within a very much shorter period than some people would like us to believe." He made the suggestion that India must be allowed to call herself a Dominion. There is very much in a name on the eve of direct and diplomatic negotiations with the rest of the Dominions and at a time when a widespread publicity of India in the world at large is imminent; such a designation would serve equally well in the hands of those who would obstruct India's real progress and advertise India's status, while seeing to it that the full significance of that title were never attained. We take it that so far as the Imperial Conference is concerned, India shot her last bolt in Sir Tej Bahadur's speech. His speech was a paraphrase of Mr. Sastri's message to him, "Kenya, lost, everything is lost. Reject second-class citizenship in India's name." This Sir Tej Bahadur did, and in proposing the Committees, his object was only to gain time for India's feelings to be calmed and for opening up further negotiations.

The Premiers' speeches were sympathetic, but obviously they are not much concerned with Indian aspirations or with her desire to remain an integral part of the Empire. In fact there was scarcely any reference to these sentiments which were the main part of the Indian delegates' plea. The Premiers of New Zealand and Australia made it plain that the desire of their respective colonies is to remain *White* and the Premiers identified themselves with this feeling. They emphasized also the impossibility of the European and the Indian population existing side by side. There was no question of immigration, and all that remained was giving "satisfaction" to the few that remained in their colonies. The Australian problem was a simple one, that of settling 2,000 people, and the Premier feared no difficulty. New Zealand has practically satisfied those Indians already domiciled there. The Canadian Premier said that there was only one province out of nine in Canada in which restrictions were imposed upon Indians, and that the Federal Government could not dictate to the Provincial Government as it might then convert a local economic problem into a political issue for the whole of the Dominion. He stated that the visits of an Indian Committee would

stimulate a discussion, which as things are at present, would end prejudicially to Indian interests. That is what followed the visit of Mr. Sastri. The one province which is hostile to Indian claims is the one where the largest number of Indians are, and that province has organized an opposition throughout the Dominion which has made the solution of the Indian problem more remote than ever. If the India Government sends a committee, the responsibility for the consequences would be entirely their own. As for the remaining eight provinces, the Premier said that Indians enjoy there rights which Canadians do not have in India; which suggested to him the method of reciprocal treatment as the best line of solution in regard to the inter-Dominion relations. As for South Africa, General Smuts stood out uncompromisingly. His attitude on this occasion serves to strengthen the principle which he upholds; for we see that it is not he, but the Indian question, that has been isolated as a problem: whose solution need not necessarily impair the solidarity of the Empire. On Kenya, the Colonial Secretary did not yield, in view of the fact that the recent decision is itself based upon the best consideration that was possible of the subject. His words are these: "I should be only misleading India if I were to say anything to suggest that the Government could consent to reconsider the decision embodied in the settlement of July last."

We have reached a state of suspended animation. India has had her say and done her utmost; and cannot do more, except by creating a crisis. The Dominions are decisive upon a white colony policy, and in other areas the British Cabinet has to contend with the same powerful principle. The highest advisory body of the Empire in facing the problem of Imperial citizenship for Indians has not been able to overcome the "incongruity" of their status in the Empire. Such an attitude does not impair, as we see, the efficiency of the Empire. Equally with the sympathy displayed towards India, flourishes without any incongruity the South African attitude, radiating its influence to the rest of Africa. India will have to face the question whether or not it would be right and expedient for her to accept the Conference's interpretation, that Imperial citizenship does not mean freedom to settle down in any part of the Empire. The Indian delegates' efforts, supported by the Government of India, have helped to challenge the attitude of the Colonies and to some extent to stay the deterioration of Indians overseas. That gain should be utilized for all it is worth.

### THE PROPHETS AND PEACE.

By J. D. MAYNARD.

To-day, as centuries ago, if any one is found reading the Prophets in the Old Testament and is asked, "Understandest thou, what thou readest?" he is likely to answer, as of old, "How can I, except someone shall guide me?"

On any scheme of interpretation, there is such a bewildering lack of plan in the arrangement of the different parts and in the order of the books that without some definite guidance, the reader is unable to do more than pick out some attractive or helpful passages, and can hardly value the work of the Prophets as a whole. The aim of this short article is simply to point to one of the leading thoughts running through the prophetic writings, and make some suggestion as to what they may teach us.

World-peace is one of their dominating ideals. This is indicated by the position given to a famous passage—that of the swords and ploughshares, spears and pruning hooks—in the forefront of the great Book of Prophets (Isaiah to Malachi). The Book begins

with Isaiah. The first chapter forms one introduction, and draws clearly the contrast between the Zion that *is* and the Zion that *is to be*, which is another dominating thought of the Prophets. Following on this is a second introductory poem or prophecy (Chapter II, 2-4), picturing Zion or Jerusalem as the centre of a world at peace. The passage occurs again in the Book of Micah (Chapter IV), where it seems to have been inserted to relieve the bitter gloom of Micah's own message, which announces destruction for the city, the centre and home of the oppressors of the rural poor. At any rate, Micah was remembered for such a message of doom a century later in Jeremiah's time (Jeremiah XXVI-18), and he himself can hardly have pictured, the city as the home of justice and peace. This sword and ploughshare passage had caught the popular ear, as readily in those days as it has done ever since, so that the Prophet Joel can twist it the other way about—"Beat your ploughshares into swords," etc.—in a rhetorical summons to the nations to come to judgment and destruction in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Joel III: 10).

To us, this famous passage seems like the expression of a pious aspiration, for the fulfilment of which there seems little ground to hope. The Prophets, I think, saw as clearly as we do the difficulties in the way, and they place its fulfilment in the last or latter days; but they indicate clearly the reasonable conditions for its fulfilment. Imaginatively, they picture the mountain on which Jehovah's temple stands overtopping other hills, and nations flowing to it; but to them Jehovah, once the name of a tribal god, had taken on a grander meaning, and stands for the One God of Righteousness, whose people must be righteous. They picture the nations flowing to the dwelling of the God of Righteousness, attracted by the justice and fair-dealing which is understood and practised there. There God, acting through men who understood His principles (as Moses gave the Judgments of God to the people, Exodus, XVIII: 15), would judge between the nations, and decide concerning many peoples (R. V. margin). They could be sure of justice. What wonder then that they should beat swords into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks, and learn war no more.

Take this passage with the many passages of the Prophets against wrong and oppression of the poor, and you see what they pictured for the latter days, when their message should have been fully learned. The thing is natural and reasonable, and so far as the prophecy has been fulfilled in our day, it has found its fulfilment in a small state that probably comes nearer to the prophetic ideal than any other. The League of Nations—such as it is—finds its centre in Geneva, a free state in the Swiss Federation, whose social life was established on the basis of the righteousness taught in the Old Testament, by John Calvin in the sixteenth century. We are made more aware nowadays of John Calvin's faults than his excellencies, but one who has lived there assures me that there is more social equality in Geneva than in most parts of Western Europe, and certainly that little State has never lost the freedom and independence it attained in Calvin's time, and it has been the home of exiles from all the oppressed countries of Europe. And now all nations turn to it, and feel confident that their endeavours after mutual justice and right will find a better home in Geneva than in the compass of any big or well-armed State.

Another great fact about the Prophets is significant in this connection. *They never exhort the people of their own time to war.* In the face of imminent and even actual invasion, they never urge their countrymen to fight, but instead they call them to righteousness, that is, to confidence in God instead of the devices of

superstition, and to the practice of social righteousness instead of the shifts and tricks of varying political alliances. If some of the Prophets are not as clear as a follower of Christ should be as to the way of peace, they indicate quite clearly the way of righteousness in time of war, and an enlightened study of their message would help both preachers and statesmen to see the things that belong to peace.

### THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES IN INDIA.

The short editorial note in a recent issue of *The Guardian* on the small number of properly qualified students in Indian Theological Colleges is timely. It is an important subject for the whole church in India at the present juncture, and it deserves greater attention than it has hitherto received. The suggestion that Indian instruction should be increased is a very useful one, and has been acted upon by all the leading Theological Colleges in India. Most of the Theological Colleges in the West, which train men definitely for the ministry, spare very little time for the History or the comparative study of non-Christian religions, whereas in India these subjects are an important part of the curriculum. In various other ways students are instructed or led to take interest in things Indian. A great deal more can be done in this respect but surely "increase of Indian instruction" is not by itself a sufficient remedy for the present lack of students. Any stick is good enough to beat a dog with: any argument is good enough to rub in the idea of Indianization; but the solution of this problem lies elsewhere.

The clergy for Indian congregations have hitherto been trained in Theological Seminaries maintained by the different missionary societies. Here the denominational theology was faithfully taught, and the students reproduced it faithfully. The congregations, who had been brought up in a particular school of thought, were thoroughly satisfied with what they received from the hands of the clergy thus trained; but now the leading Theological Colleges in India are not narrow denominational institutions. Ready-made theology is not imparted to students. University methods are employed by which the lecturers open up lines of study in different subjects which students may follow independently so long as it is done in a scholarly and devotional spirit; but congregations who have tasted the old wine do not like the new. Before Theological Colleges in India could be filled with properly qualified students, the churches have to get out of the rut of their particular doctrinal shibboleths, and show themselves ready to welcome ministers trained on modern lines.

Another serious difficulty is the question of finance. Churches in India have either attained, or are advancing towards self-support. The policy that is most popular now, is one of immediate economy. The Church Councils may plausibly argue that it is better to have two Indian clergymen say on a salary of Rs. 50 per mensem each, than to have one man, who may have had a higher Theological training say, on Rs. 100 per mensem. This is clearly a short-sighted policy. The latter class of clergy with larger outlook and training are capable, amongst other and more important jobs, of raising far more money from the churches than the locally-trained clergy. In the long run, therefore, it will be cheaper to pay more for what may be called the graduate clergy; but the churches have yet to be convinced that this is so, as everything depends on the men who have been recently trained in these Theological Colleges, whether they will rise to expectations or not—at least from a financial point of view.

There is also another solution to meet the financial problem. Graduates, who receive three year's intensive training in a Theological College, are well fitted to become schoolmasters and college-tutors. If the churches will ordain these men for teaching work, it will

be a great help, not only in schools and colleges, but in the churches as well, since these men will be able to render pastoral assistance more or less in an honorary capacity. The present Bishop of Madras seems to have accepted this principle; it remains to be seen whether others will follow suit.

We may also reasonably hope that in future men of independent means will come forward to undergo Theological training and become honorary ministers to Indian congregations; but at present there are very few such men.

The question may arise at this point, whether the church in India will not produce, in future a set of clergy who may take upon themselves vows of poverty and celibacy. These men will cost very little indeed for their support, and the churches will be only too eager to employ them. This of course is a happy arrangement to be devoutly wished for and earnestly aimed at.

Lastly, we may well ask if we cannot get better results by greater co-operation or union between the different Theological Colleges in India. Investigations are being made under the auspices of the National Christian Council, and it is possible that negotiations may lead at some distant time, to one or two first-rate Theological Colleges in India having a full contingent of students, instead of having several institutions with a handful of them in each.

T. SUTHER.

### THE SON OF MAN.

Christ and His Guru.

BY N. J. BOSE.

(Continued from last issue.)

The outstanding event in John the Baptist's career was his baptism of Jesus. Their relation as *guru* and *chela* had now been brought to an end, and Christ came to him to receive the final mark of discipleship—baptism, which would set a seal upon His life's mission and mark the beginning of His active career. To John, it was the culmination of his own hopes regarding Christ, and the consummation of his work as an ambassador. He saw in Jesus not merely a humble disciple as hitherto, but the promised Messiah, who would redeem Israel and the whole world, and about whom it was his privilege to bear testimony. With true modesty and a sense of propriety John told Jesus that it would be more appropriate that he should receive baptism from Him rather than baptize Him. Such modesty in the foremost prophet of Israel is rare indeed, specially if we look at the insignificant position of Christ at the time. John, speaking of Him as one of his followers, said to the people "In the midst of you standeth One whom ye know not;" but Christ persuaded John to act the part of His *guru* as ordained by Providence, and initiate Him into His spiritual mission by means of *diksha* or baptism, saying "thus it cometh us to fulfil all righteousness." While Christ manifested His deep respect to His *guru* by His submission, the occasion provided John with the greatest privilege of his lifetime. He was amply rewarded by what he saw and heard at the ceremony, and was confirmed in his mind that he had seen the Messiah and that, therefore, his own mission on earth had been completely successful.

Let us with a reverent eye look at the picture for a moment. Jesus Christ—in the full vigour and glory of His manhood—stands there in the midst of the flowing waters of Jordan, taking the holy bath of baptism. With a serene countenance unruffled by any pangs or fears, with his hands linked together in an attitude of solemn supplication, eyes uplifted in holy devotion, lips moving in silent prayer—He solemnly dedicates Himself by this act towards the fulfilment of His life's mission—the salvation of mankind. His face



shines with heavenly joy as with undaunted courage in His heart and unflinching purpose in His eye, He renounces the worldly life and proceeds to lay His hands on the spiritual plough with no intention of looking back. This act of great renunciation and dedication at once received the approbation of heaven. The holy and divine Spirit comes fluttering in the shape of a gentle dove, with its snowy wings and melting eyes and descends on His head. The voice of the Divine Father comes swiftly borne over the winds in those sweet and tender words "Thou art my beloved Son, in Thee I am well pleased." Near-by stands His great *guru* with his unkempt hair and uncouth dress of camel-hair—a rugged *sanyasi* full of spiritual fire and energy—but now filled with a solemn calm and a deep sense of wonder and satisfaction at what he sees before him, and which tells him that the expected Messiah having come, his own work was over.

This picture of these two young men of the greatest spirituality of that age—yet so unlike each other—standing side by side in the waters of the holy Jordan, at a critical period of their lives when the *guru* must begin to decrease and the disciple to increase—forms one of the most characteristic and beautifully artistic pictures that could be found in the pages of history. It was the dawn of a new era in human history when with the rising of the Sun of Righteousness the last, though not the least, of the prophets paled away like the fading moon.

So here we see Christ taking a holy bath in the river Jordan. The bath is of course, symbolical of the change in the spiritual forces within Him. It is an outward physical act to denote an inward change of spirit. By it Christ, during a process of evolution inherent in human nature, dedicates Himself to a higher spiritual life than He has hitherto experienced. He washes Himself clean, as it were, from all cravings of the flesh and love of material things of the world; and consecrates Himself entirely to a life of renunciation and wholehearted spiritual existence. He leaves behind His earthly parental home, the carpenter's bench, and even the ties of human relationship. Henceforth not the bonds of flesh and blood, but obedience to His Heavenly Father's will, is to be the bond of relationship with Him. Purged of the earthly dross which has hitherto clung to Him, He goes forward to accomplish the highest good to mankind. This was the meaning of this holy bath, and herein lies its mystery. It had a two-fold purpose. It was an act of consecration of Himself for the service of mankind. It was no less an act of renunciation of His self-interest in life. Compared with this self-abrogation on the part of Christ, Buddha's great renunciation is of less significance and importance. The true measure of one's sacrifice lies not in the visible wealth he gives up, but in the impalpable pleasures and joys of life—however humble his share—which he renounces for the benefit of his fellowmen. Buddha's renunciation was a striking fact in the history of the world. An influential prince gave up his throne and all that he held most dear for the sake of leading a truly religious life; the fact must have created a great sensation at the time in the Indian world. It appealed to millions who followed in his footsteps and formed a great religious society. The creed not only spread throughout Hindustan; but was rapidly carried to the far-flung boundaries of Asia; but with the wane of the early enthusiasm, the propaganda grew stationary, and has during the past few centuries shown signs of a steady decline. With Buddha, the renunciation came after he had already enjoyed the blessings and comforts of life. It was practically the outcome of his weariness of heart and disgust with the world. He did not give up the world until he was convinced, like Solomon, that it was all "vanity and vexation of spirit." He then made a heroic attempt to get rid of the troubles of life by withdrawing from the world,

and to obtain personal peace and happiness through the eradication of all desires and feelings.

In the case of Jesus the renunciation was greater because it was not due to any self-interest in the pursuit of happiness, nor did it have its origin in a morbid pessimism. It sprang from an exuberant optimism—a faith in His capacity to uplift mankind, and the motive was pure altruism—a desire to serve others. His opportunities in life were as yet unexplored, and its enjoyments little tasted. Marriage, worldly prospects and association with relatives—in fact, whatever could make life sweet and precious to Him were eschewed by Him on the threshold of His manhood, so that He might by His self-sacrifice make life sweeter and better for others. He dedicated Himself not only as a living sacrifice for the good of others, but even determined to lay down His very life to expiate their sins and miseries. The pensiveness of his days of childhood, the serious purpose and close study during His youth, but pointed towards this goal of His *self-dedication* which was marked by His baptism. He now goes out to the world to deliver a precious message which He bears in His heart and to lay down His life in this heroic attempt.

The baptism or ceremony of dedication of this poor carpenter evoked no notice even among his fellow-countrymen. Besides John and a few others, it is probable that no one else witnessed it or knew anything about it; and yet the mission on which Christ entered at His baptism has made itself increasingly felt among the human race during the past nineteen centuries. The Kingdom of God, which was then planted as a small mustard-seed has grown into a gigantic tree giving shelter to myriads of human beings. Truly the baptism of Jesus was a tremendous event in the history of the world.

After His baptism, Christ again retired into the wilderness for a period of quiet meditation, and was there tempted of the Evil One. On His return, He began His active work among the people. It is interesting to note that He began the work where His *guru* had left it, and preached from the same text of "Repent ye, for the Kingdom of God is at hand!"

When John was in prison, he with a tender solicitude for his erst-while disciple sent two messengers to enquire after the success of his work. Jesus Christ, who had just then finished a good deal of important work, instead of describing Himself as the Messiah, sent a most suitable and modest reply, merely asking the messengers to tell John of what they had seen of His work with their own eyes:

"Go your way and tell John what things you have seen and heard: how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the Gospel is preached!"

Here was work which was quite different from any which His *guru* had done. Instead of moral preaching and condemnation of sin, there is loving service for one's fellowmen, and this represented at the time a revolution in spiritual work, and meant the coming of the Kingdom of God.

One can well speculate what immense satisfaction this message must have given to John. It must have brought him supreme happiness to learn of the successful issue of his own work, and the actual presence of the Messiah in a sin-racked world. With the prospect of early death before him, it must have thrilled the heart of the departing *guru* to learn of the work of his great disciple, and spontaneously brought to his lips those words uttered by another great saint: "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation."

## AN OUTRAGEOUS BOOK.

BY C. F. ANDREWS.

*(Specially contributed to The Guardian.)*

The new number of the S. P. G. Quarterly (called "the East and the West") has just reached me by post at Santiniketan. As I was turning over the leaves, I suddenly and unexpectedly found an editorial note, which startled and horrified me. It is written by Canon C. H. Robinson; therefore it may be regarded as certain that the information he gives is correct. The Canon writes:—

The following is an extract from the Imperial Military Text-book by J. Fitzgerald, which we understand has been reissued, and, as stated in a prefatory note, was recommended to Military Students by the Director of Military Education in India. We understand that it is also extensively used by officers, who are being trained in England. We trust that, whether by raising the question in Parliament or by some other means, action may be taken with a view to withdrawing this book from publication. Its circulation in South Africa is likely to do immeasurable harm. The extract is as follows—

"The colour question in South Africa is not yet so serious as that in the U. S. A. but it would be far worse than it is at present if white men in South Africa had gone to the trouble and expense of educating and endowing schools, colleges and universities for the black man. *The Boers have been perfectly right in keeping the black man in his own place.* They may have on occasion overstepped the mark and treated him as their slave; but in this they were only following the example of England who for 150 years had monopoly of the old slavetrade and who signed the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) only on the condition that this monopoly should continue. They have also had the worthy example of estimable and dignified bodies, such as the S. P. G., which owned and worked slave plantations in Jamaica when slavery meant far more than it has ever meant in South Africa."

"Are we then to assume that because our ancestors, two centuries ago, misrepresented the principles of the Christian faith, we may with impunity imitate their conduct and by doing so act contrary to the enlightened conscience of all civilized peoples? We are sorry for anyone who can give expression to these sentiments; but our grief is mixed with indignation when we contemplate the possibility of a civilized government permitting them to be taught to the recruits of its army. The writer's reference to the S. P. G. is at once inaccurate and misleading. The society, never at any time, owned any slaves in the Island of Jamaica. The only island in which it acted as a trustee to an estate worked by slaves was Barbados. In his will dated 1703 by which General Codrington left to the S. P. G. two plantations in this island he wrote:—

"My desire is to have the plantations continued entire and 300 negroes at least always kept thereon, and a convenient number of professors and scholars maintained there. . . . who shall be obliged to study Phisick and Chirurgery as well as Divinty, that by the apparent usefulness of the former to all mankind they may both endear themselves to the people and have the better opportunities of doing good to men's souls, whilst they are taking care of their bodies."

In 1712, the Society sent out a medical missionary, who was directed "to instruct in the Christian religion the negroes and their children within the Society's plantations in Barbados and to supervise the sick and maimed negroes and servants." The effort made by the Society's missionaries to ameliorate the conditions of the slaves and to instruct them in the Christian religion called forth indignant protests from many of the English slave-owners in the West Indies who recognized the undoubted fact, that the acceptance of

Christianity by their slaves must inevitably prove the prelude to their emancipation. One, who witnessed the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies in 1838, and who had shared the fear that the emancipation might be accompanied by disturbance and revolution, wrote: "It was chiefly owing to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that the day passed in peace."

The question concerning the S. P. G. Society and its relation to slavery in the West Indies, however interesting it may be, is not the real reason for my writing the present article. What is incumbent on us here in India, who stand for international fellowship and brotherhood, is to do everything that lies in our power to get this book immediately withdrawn from circulation as a text-book for young military recruits. It is truly terrible to see how deeply and insidiously this race-poison is eating into the minds of the rising generation. There should also be questions asked not merely in the Houses of Parliament in England, but in every Legislative Council and Assembly, in India and elsewhere, enquiring who is responsible for prescribing such a book as a text-book in Great Britain, and who is the Director of Military Education in India; for it is monstrous that anyone approving of opinions, such as those expressed in this book, should be paid out of Indian money.

There appears to me one other lesson to be drawn. As long as militarism is in the ascendant in Great Britain or elsewhere, it is practically certain, that the view, which may be called the 'White Empire' view, will prevail. It is the curse of militarism, that Force becomes worshipped and that the person who is physically weak, is always despised.

## KENYA COLONY:

## British and German Competition.

BY GORDON M. DYCE-KEELE.

The year 1880 marks the dawn of the German exploitation of the coastal towns of East Africa. In 1882 Dr. Fisher, a German naturalist, travelled from Pangani inland to Mount Kilimanjaro and from thence to Naivasha across Masailand.

The itinerary of Joseph Thompson in 1883 is worthy of note. He penetrated to Taveta from Mombasa, from thence to Naivasha and Njamusi and crossed into Kivirona over Kamisia and Elgeyo, ultimately reaching Lake Victoria Nyanza. On his return journey he discovered Mount Elgon, a huge volcanic mountain mass fifty miles square, situated about fifty miles from the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza. The highest point of the crater's rim is 14,100 feet above sea-level. The southern slopes form a series of vast caves, which are inhabited by various kinds of wild beasts.

The effort of Sir Harry Johnston to obtain various concessions from the local Chiefs of the tribes inhabiting the country near Taveta in the Kilimanjaro neighbourhood was brought to a success in the year 1884. In this year also Dr. Carl Peters, representing the Society for German Colonization, visited the inland regions and obtained the signatures of the local chiefs to documents which were equivalent to Peace Treaties. The following year the German Emperor granted a Charter of Protection to the Society for German Colonization, and accepted the suzerainty of Usogara, Unguru, Uzegha and Ukami. Towards the close of the year the British East Africa Association was founded by Sir William Mackinnon on the basis of the concessions granted to Sir Harry Johnston the previous year.

In 1886 a joint British, German and French Commission was appointed to delimit the continental possessions of the Sultan of Zanzibar. It was agreed that his possessions included the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and the Lamu Archipelago, in addition to a ten-mile

belt along the coast from Tunghi Bay to Kipini. The territory behind the ten-mile strip was divided, the northern half to Britain and the southern half to Germany. The following year the Sultan of Zanzibar granted to the British East Africa Association a concession of his mainland possessions between the Umba River and Kipini, a port in Tanaland.

In 1888 Seyyid Bargash, the ruler of Zanzibar and the African possessions of the late Sultan, died. He was succeeded by his brother Seyyid Khalifa, who at once favoured the Germans by granting them a concession of his mainland territories south of the River Umba. This year is also memorable for the fact that the British East Africa Association was constituted as the Imperial British East Africa Company, and obtained a Royal Charter.

A year later Germany laid claim to Lamu and the State of Witu, which was founded by the refugees from Pate.

In 1890 an Anglo-German Treaty was signed, known as the Heligoland Convention, by which Germany renounced all claims to Witu and recognized a British Protectorate over Zanzibar, Pemba and the Sultan's mainland dominions between the River Umba and the River Juba. Germany received in exchange for £200,000 the definite cession of the country held in lease from the Sultan of Zanzibar and the island of Heligoland.

Towards the close of the year 1890 ten Germans were murdered by hostile natives at Witu. Admiral Sir E. Freemantle, who was despatched to revenge the massacre, burnt the town and the natives fled into the interior forests. This year also marks the beginning of the administration of Uganda by the Imperial British East Africa Company.

In 1893 the Imperial British East Africa Company decided to abandon the administration of the area called Witu owing to the strength of the native opposition, and the fact that they were entirely uncivilized. Sir Gerald Portal, the Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, sent an expedition to Uganda to report on the best means of dealing with the country. As a result of his report the rights over the various East African Territories in the British sphere passed from the company to the Government.

A year later, in 1894, a Protectorate was proclaimed over Uganda, by the British Government. In 1895 the Imperial East Africa Company sold all their remaining rights in East Africa to the Government for £250,000 and the East African Protectorate was constituted. Sir Arthur Hardinge was appointed His Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for East Africa.

It was during the year 1895 that the first rails of the Uganda Railway were laid. Sir George Whitehouse being appointed the Chief Engineer. The railway was completed in 1901 and is 584 miles in length. It starts from Mombasa Island, crosses over to the mainland by the Makupa Bridge and terminates at Kisumu on the Kavirondo Gulf, an arm of Lake Victoria; and was constructed mainly by Indian and African labourers under Indian overseers, directed by European Engineers. The total cost of the railway is approximately £6,000,000 sterling. Although it is called the Uganda Railway, no part of the railway touches the Uganda Province. There are 42 stations on the line, the longest distance separating any two being 30 miles.

In 1896 a powerful expedition was organized against the Mazrui. Their forest stronghold was stormed and Mubarak, the chief of the tribe, fled into German territory. The following year a mutiny broke out among the Sudanese troops in Uganda, led by the Kings of Uganda and Unyoro. The mutiny was successfully quelled and the Kings of Uganda and Unyoro were captured and deported to the Seychelles Islands in 1899.

On April 13th, 1907, Syed Abdul Aziz, the last surviving son of Syed Said, the first Sultan of Zanzibar, died at Bombay. During the same year the question of Indian traders in what was then known as "German East Africa" was discussed at the German Colonial Congress. It was recognized, despite vigorous German complaints of competition, that the Indians played a most important part in the economic life of the Colony and could not be expelled from the country without injury to Great Britain. In May of the same year Colonel Hayes-Sadler was appointed Governor of East Africa. In July a banquet was held at Nairobi, during which Sir Clement Hill stated that the first duty of England was to safeguard the natives of Africa.

Early in 1908 large numbers of the natives in Uganda revolted. The Governor made a careful investigation of the whole affair, with the result that twelve tribal chiefs were deported to Kampala, together with forty of the ring-leaders. The first Legislative Council of British East Africa was held in August 1908, at Nairobi.

From this time onwards until 1914 comparative peace and stability reigned in East Africa, and much progress was made in the development of its agricultural and other resources. For some time the question of establishing a means of transport from East Africa to South Africa and other European ports greatly retarded operations. The sea-borne trade was almost entirely in the hands of German shipping lines, which were subsidized from their own Government to the extent of £90,000 a year. Naturally the bulk of the exports of British East Africa found its way into German ports and German goods were returned in exchange. More than half of Mombasa's white population prior to 1914 was of German birth. Early in 1910, however, the Union Castle Line decided to compete with the monopoly of German trade, although no subsidy or even mail contract was forthcoming. Sailings *via* the Suez Canal were inaugurated from London the following year, with the result that the carrying trade again gradually came under the British Flag when the war with Germany broke out.

#### LONDON LETTER.

LONDON,  
17TH OCTOBER, 1923.

At last the Government seems to be waking up a little to the absolute necessity of doing something to deal with the unemployment situation in this country before the winter sets in. Last night the Minister of Labour announced that on October 8th there were 1,251,600 wholly unemployed on the registers of the Labour Exchange—an increase of 5,000 over the week before. Schemes involving 50 million pounds are therefore being put in hand, the scheme mostly being of a railway improvement and road-making nature. This work will immediately effect a revival in the iron and steel trades.

This very fact has brought out strikingly the foolishness of the policy of revengeful reparations against the vanquished countries in the Great War. In announcing some of these unemployment schemes Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Minister of Health uttered a warning about the possibility of a great deal of the iron work required being "dumped" in this country by the bankrupt makers in the Ruhr. It is of course true that to purchase such stock would diminish the chance of many men being employed here, but if we only look a little further back, we shall then see how it is the Allies' reparations policy that has so greatly assisted the beginnings of unemployment in this country, by making such demands on the Central Powers that they were quite unable to continue their huge imports from England which in the ordinary way would have kept the majority of our unemployed at work.

You cannot beggar your debtor and get payment of your debts at the same time.

The Christian Churches have been, not without reason, severely criticized for not taking sufficient interest in this vital subject of work; but a conference was held at Westminster last week on "Unemployment as a Challenge to the Churches," at which practically all the religious bodies were represented. "We are here," said the Bishop of Lichfield, "to give voice to a profoundly uneasy conscience, for no conscience can rest at ease while hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen, who are willing to work, are unable to find it." As a result of the meeting a strong deputation is waiting on the Government with the request that they shall "institute a searching enquiry into the fundamental causes of the persistent unemployment which has sapped the life of the people for so many years." The Prime Minister is also being asked to receive a deputation on the subject, "with a view to large and radical measures being speedily taken to deal with the evil."

As one speaker pointedly said, at the conference "We have found that Mr. Baldwin, the Prime Minister, has a heart; we must discover if he has got backbone as well." It is certainly time that the subject was tackled not merely by ameliorative measures, but fundamentally.

#### Newspaper Amalgamations.

A very serious development in the life of the country is the further huge newspaper amalgamation which has just taken place. Sir Edward Hulton, head of the Manchester firm of proprietors, whose success has been largely built up on Sporting and Sunday publications, has sold his business to Lord Rothermere, brother of the late Lord Northcliffe, and to Lord Beaverbrook, proprietor of the *Daily Express*. The latter has also just bought the London evening paper *The Pall Mall Gazette*, and it seems as if this paper will not long survive its most famous editor of 30 years ago, the late Lord Morley. Lord Beaverbrook, having now the controlling interest in the Hulton *Evening Standard* is almost certain to kill the *Pall Mall* as an undesirable competitor. Lord Rothermere, who I think is more of the commercial man and less of the journalist than Lord Northcliffe, will now have a great megaphone press for the whole of the country, including the *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*, *London Evening News*, *Weekly Despatch*, *Manchester Daily Despatch*, *Sunday Pictorial*, *Sunday Chronicle*, *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, *Daily Sketch*, *Sunday Illustrated Herald* and sundry other publications; and this is the man who has recently placarded the country with his appeal "Hats off to France" in connection with the French Ruhr adventure!

Here is the delightful manner in which last week's "Punch" deals with this situation.

"The Beaver and the Rotherbrock  
Were walking hand-in-hand;  
They laughed to hear the newsboys shout  
"Two-thirty" down the Strand;  
"If we could own the total Press,"  
They said, "it would be grand."

#### True Christian Journalism.

In this connection there was particular opposition in the talk on "Christian Journalism" which I heard Mr. Basil Mathews, the well-known writer and editor of *Outward Bound* give to the members of the Clergy Union at the Church Missionary Society's London headquarters on Monday. "Modern democracy and representative Government must be exercised on a basis of reality and unless reality is mediated truly through the Press, democracy is on a rotten foundation," said Mr. Mathews. "If the Press is rapidly to get into the hands of men whose sole object is commercial profit, there is nothing standing between

us and the disintegration of civilization. We cannot wholly blame the journalist," he said, "he has to live, and papers can not pay without advertisements and circulation. The latter is made by striking the first emotional response of the ordinary man, and if one proprietor and journalist does not do this, another will. The great cause of the low standard of modern journalism is that the education which has taught people to read has not taught them a standard of intellectual judgment. Christian journalism is not talking a lot of religion in the technical sense, but a journalism which will interpret and mediate truth in a free, sincere and intellectually efficient manner. It has got to be interesting and not second-hand stuff about stale ecclesiastical matters, which may interest a small coterie but will not build up the Kingdom of God. A journalist is doing a thoroughly Christian action in writing anything which will accurately interpret the ideas and life of one nation to another."

HUBERT W. PEET.

#### FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD.

By B. AHIRA.

The Bombay Government have done a good thing in peremptorily forbidding their officials from giving certificates to aspirants for service. Those long-suffering members of the public also, who are generally spoken of as "persons of influence," will also feel the relief; as in all future notifications of vacant posts there will be the following clause inserted "Any attempt on the part of a candidate to enlist support for his application from persons of influence will disqualify him for appointment. Intending candidates are also warned that they should not attempt to see any Member or Minister of Government or Secretary, Deputy-Secretary or Under-Secretary to Government unless they are called for a personal interview." What a good thing it would be if similar rules prevailed elsewhere. It is often a real trial to be regarded as a "person of influence" and I have before alluded in this column to the persistence of the recommendation hunter.

The most curious case of the sort, as far as I remember, happened to me about three weeks ago; when a young man of very moderate intelligence, who is accustomed to occasionally visit the *asram* and sit stolidly listening to the conversation going on around, asked me for what he termed "a Certificate of Encouragement." We were unable to guess just exactly what he wanted, but something on paper, describing him as a hopeful student in the way of truth, was the nearest we could get at. As it seemed impossible to tell what use might be made of such a document, I obviously had to decline to furnish it, but gave some verbal encouragement which I fear fell largely on deaf ears; but it was not half a bad idea! How often in periods of ill-health or depression, or overwork, just a word or note of encouragement would make all the difference! That is where the prayerful student of the Bible has a great pull over other men and women, inasmuch as he is the better able to do like David, "and encourage himself in the Lord his God." This is a fault-finding world; but may we all seek rather to be of the encouragers, instead of swelling the already over-large army of critics and fault-finders.

Ministers and pastors of Christian congregations especially would value an occasional "certificate of encouragement." I think hard-worked Government servants, officials, Governors and even the Viceroy himself, would occasionally be glad of such, apart from the empty address of formal welcome. I was glad to see the Depressed Classes of the Bombay Presidency coming forward with such a spontaneous note of

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# The Guardian

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"Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free."

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## NOTES.

We believe the Christian community in Bengal does not realize that this Province is gradually becoming one of the most backward tracts of India from a Christian point of view. It contains a smaller percentage of Christians to the population than almost any other; and, Roman Catholics and Protestant denominations combined, there is scarcely one professing Christian in 300 of the population, in spite of the large foreign element in Calcutta. What were considered benighted districts, like the Central Provinces and Berar, have long ago left Bengal behind. There seems to be a general apathy, affecting alike the Indian Christian community and the European and Anglo-Indians connected with the different churches.

One reason may be the neglect of vernacular literature in Bengal, which has been overshadowed by the greater demand for English literature and work in Calcutta. Since Calcutta ceased to be recognized as the official capital of India, although its commercial importance has, if anything increased, one would have expected to see a largely increased attention devoted to work in the mofussil; but there seems a dearth of younger men, both ministers of religion and laymen, whether Indian or foreigners, who take any interest in the extension of Christian work in the villages. We note as a sign of the regrettable apathy that prevails, that the Indian Christian Literature Fund reports that grants made for new Bengali literature in 1922 still remain unspent. Surely some explanation should be

forthcoming from those concerned when societies of old-standing like the Calcutta Christian Tract Society have found considerable difficulty to provide the sums needful for the reprints of much-used books and tracts.

This whole question of vernacular literature wants looking into. We think the control of the matter is too much in the hands of elderly people who are largely out of touch with present-day aspirations and wants; but these elderly people should not be blamed if young men, who profess to be thoroughly alive to modern needs, stand aside and make no effort to supply them. Some of the readers of *The Guardian* may think it heresy, but we feel what is wanted is a larger number of good Christian novels and fewer commentaries. There is a considerable amount of Bengali Christian literature in existence, as may be verified any day by a visit to the warehouse of the Calcutta Tract Society in Chowringhee. Some of this has ceased to appeal to readers in this politically-interested age, and scarcely represents Christian thought of to-day; but much remains of undoubted value for which, alas, the demand is all too small. Wake up, young men, and see what you can do towards a fresh and up-to-date Christian literature for Bengal!

The desire to improve one's condition in a material way is a right and healthy aspiration; but when it becomes a question of sacrificing character, and those qualities, which are associated with the eternal life, for a mere temporal advantage, it becomes a clog on the Christian life. Just as the water-hyacinth, with its beautiful lilac flower, is steadily choking the waterways of Bengal and diminishing the area of the rice fields, for want of a determined and generous co-operation on the part of the Bengal cultivators to be rid of it—so something seems to be sapping the vital life of the Church. Is it an undue desire for material prosperity?

It is proposed to hold the Fourth Session of the All-India Social Workers' Conference in Bombay from the 8th to 11th December next. A Conference like the one proposed to be held is intended first to secure exchange of ideas and experiences between social workers working in various fields and in various parts of the country; and secondly to offer opportunities for co-operation in and co-ordination of their efforts and activities.

It has also been decided to hold a social work exhibition in connection with the Conference. The Exhibition will consist of exhibits including: (1) books, magazines and pamphlets on different aspects of social work; (2) reports and other literature published by various kinds of institutions of social work; (3) diagrams,

charts, and models showing the various kinds of social work done in this country and outside; (4) demonstrations of different kind of social work.

The following subjects are to be taken up for open discussion at the forthcoming Session:—(1) Charity and Organization; (2) Vigilance and Rescue Work; (3) Criminal Tribe Settlements; (4) Prevention and Cure of Tuberculosis; (5) Training and Provision of *Dais* and Midwives; (6) Training of Social Workers; (7) Co-ordination of Social Work in India; (8) Open Spaces, Playgrounds and Directed games for Children; (9) the Education and Care of Defective Children.

People interested in Social work are invited to join as delegates. The fee per delegate is Rs. 5. The estimated expenses amount to Rs. 10,000 for which donations may be sent to the Secretary of the Executive Committee who is Mr. N. M. Joshi.

Welfare work within the Empress Mills, Nagpur, is conducted by the management itself, outside the Mill premises it is carried on by the Y. M. C. A. in agreement with the Mill authorities. A well-illustrated report of the activities, in 1922 shows progress in different directions. The Mill supplies cheap grain and cloth to the workers. Free medical help alone cost Rs. 40,000 in one year. The two creches, under a lady doctor, have become popular; classes are held for boys and girls, and grants are given to Mohammedan and Primary Schools outside the mills. There is also a Provident fund, and a Co-operative Credit Society. Maternity Benefit Allowances and accident compensations are granted.

The Y. M. C. A. has welfare centres in seven *bastis*. The educational programme consists of day and night schools, magic-lantern shows, lectures and debates. Special emphasis is being placed upon the education of women and girls. Institutes to bring together older people exist in six centres and contain newspapers, library, games, etc. Bhajans, Kirtans, Kathas and games seem very popular. Training is given in indigenous games, and general community betterment was attempted. During the water scarcity, help was given for building, and repairing vessels. Medical volunteers directed their attention to sanitary and medical needs. During the Health Week a varied programme was put up, chief among which, was a Baby show in which the women, competed keenly. The Report points to a steady progress from year to year. The Mill employes appear to appreciate the varied activities prescribed for them. They ought to benefit by these eventually.

The *Labour Gazette* publishes the following facts regarding the frequency and the causes of strikes which have taken place among women operatives in the Bombay Presidency during the last 2½ years. Since April, 1921 there have been 19 strikes where women workers were involved. The total number of women involved was 2,293 and time loss 12,000 days; twelve were due to questions of pay and bonus, five to personal causes and two to other causes; sixteen were settled in favour of the employers, two in favour of the employes and one was compromised. The very large proportion of strikes settled in favour of employers is noticeable.

#### A UNIVERSAL DAY OF PRAYER FOR STUDENTS.

Sunday, 18th November, 1923.

There is a seeking and restlessness to-day among members of the younger generation. China's renaissance and Germany's various Youth Movements are typical of what is going on in different forms in

almost every nation of the world. Young people are critical and impatient. Looking out for the first time upon the world they have inherited, they see it in conflict and confusion. They cannot believe that it need be so. They are determined to find what is wrong; inevitably they blame first the ideas they find dominating the policies of the nations, and eagerly they are setting themselves to find new policies and new methods. With this attitude they are entering upon very critical years. New conditions face all the nations. Europe and her many new nations, terribly handicapped by the exhaustion of her manpower and material resources, is wrestling, not only with innumerable problems of international adjustment, but with even more fundamental questions of social re-organization. Asia, from Constantinople to Yokohama, torn between the conflicting standards of East and West, and seeing glaring faults in both systems, is seeking in various ways for a living synthesis which will combine the best in each. Africa is showing signs of awakening to a new spirit of racial solidarity, and is distracted by the conflicting interests of the different races who have settled on her shores. It is vital to find an educational system which will enable her to develop along the lines of her own genius. Meanwhile the new countries of the Americas and Australasia, drawn every year into closer and closer touch with the old world, find themselves suddenly burdened with new international and interracial responsibilities which have come unsought upon them.

Within this world-wide range of new conditions, the problems which face national groups as a whole, and majority and minority groups within the nations, are bewilderingly diverse and complex; but beneath them all, lies one fundamental problem which the young people of the world are facing with a striking unanimity of spirit. They are determined to discover what is reality. Alike in religion and in life, they will have no cant, no hypocrisy, no mere conventions; and life as they see it, is dominated by convention and superstition, rather than by honest thought and faith. They are trying all ways, examining all methods and testing all theories. Inevitably they are brought face to face with Christ and Christianity. Christ was from all admiration and from some worship and obedience, but organized Christianity, once a noble effort to turn the world upside down, appears to very many of them to have come in its turn under the universal tyranny of convention and superstition.

In this critical attitude there may be much that is ignorant, superficial, and short-sighted, and yet in many cases it can be no other than the Spirit of God that is moving. Though many deny Him utterly and many more cannot see Him as the Supreme Reality of all time and all eternity, yet their striving and their idealism must be a response, however blind, to the yearning of the Father's Love striving mightily to win them to Himself.

It is to share in this great enterprise of the Eternal Love that we would call you. On Sunday, November 18th, in college, home and congregation and in the secret places where men pray alone, let all Christian men and women offer their love and will in prayer to Almighty God, that He may use them mightily to win to Himself the students of the world. So may they come to know Him who is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and give their lives utterly to the service of His Kingdom.

On behalf of the General Committee of  
the World's Student Christian Federation,

JOHN R. MOTT, *Chairman*

MOHINI MAYA DAS } *Vice-Chairmen*

TISSINGTON TATLOW } *Vice-Chairmen*

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*Committee.*

"The Guardian"  
CALCUTTA, NOVEMBER 16, 1923.

**THE TARIFF REFORM LEAGUE.**

The formation of the All-India Tariff Reform League in Bombay is an event of considerable importance to India. The objects of the League were explained by the Hon'ble Lalubhai Samaldas thus: "while it is true as a general proposition that most of us are protectionists, it is only when we begin to examine the details, that we find the existence of a conflict between the interests of various industries within the country; as well as between industries in this country and those in England. It is therefore essential that the proposal of imposing protective duties on finished articles, or removing duties on raw materials such as sulphur, or reducing the duty on machinery, will have to be carefully examined by a committee of economists and industrialists whose considered opinion will give a lead to the public." On the basis of such an enquiry, the League will also carry on propaganda work both in the press and on the platform, till the Government and the Central Legislature take action on the same. In an article in the *Indian Social Reformer*, the speaker accepted the warning that the League might tend to encourage the growth of monopolies, and assured the public that such a dangerous use of the League could be averted.

A Tariff Reform League is a dire necessity in India, and the wonder is that its appearance has been so tardy. In the long-drawn controversy about the right Indian fiscal policy, while opinion amongst Indians was crystallising in favour of Protection, the main criticism levelled was that Indians had not bestowed the scrutiny that the question deserved, but were led away by doctrinaire politicians. Now that the battle has been decided in favour of Protection the next step is to create an organization to study and scrutinize every individual proposal that may arise in pursuance of the new policy. Bombay has led the way in pursuit of this aim and she is exceptionally fitted to make the League a success. Interested critics, however, have turned upon her with the innuendo that her leaders are forging ahead towards their secret goal of creating monopoly trusts. Critics of this type will not cease to be vocal, neither will they abandon their efforts to fog the issues arising out of the accepted policy, or even to get the policy itself reversed. Importers in India and manufacturers in Britain are in reality the only group that bear the standard of Free Trade for India. They must be prepared to accept considered judgments relating to Indian fiscal policy, or their isolation will mark them out as those very hostile Trusts against which they now warn the public.

What has happened is worth narrating again. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, which became famous for its impartial *resumé* of British administration in India, will be best remembered for the refreshing candour with which it explains the justification for the Indian belief that Indian fiscal policy has been subordinated to other than Indian interest. That Report did what decades of argument and agitation did not do; it laid the Government under obligation to examine the fiscal policy of India in Indian interests. The subject which was excluded from the Industrial Commission in 1917 was placed before a qualified Commission in 1921 composed of representatives of all the powerful interests involved. The majority, who refused to accept the arguments of the Indian minority, could not yet escape the facts of the situation. They examined the economic history of other countries, England, France, United States, Japan, and other British Dominions, and found the force of what was true of England. "Even in the case of England it may be noted that her industrial

foundations like those of all other countries were laid under a system of high protection. The fact remains that it was not until English industries had attained a marked pre-eminence that the tariff was felt to be a hindrance to industrial development. Moreover the movement towards free trade was largely directed in its earlier stages at any rate by antagonism to the protection not of industrial but of agricultural interests." The commission examined the theories of classical economists, and found that according to their ideas Indian conditions were certainly ripe for Protection, even after making allowance for the special circumstances which militated against that policy. The probable burden of Protection upon the poorer classes; inclination to industrial rather than agricultural labour on the part of the people, and other facilities for industries were considered; and finally the Commission found that the "balance of advantage" was "heavily" in favour of Protection and accordingly recommended a discriminating application of it.

It was also pointed out that that the customs, import and export duties formed nearly one-third of the Indian revenue, and could not therefore be abandoned. If the duties were inevitable for revenue purposes, then all that was required was to place them upon a scientific basis so as to stimulate home industries, among other purposes. As Sir Campbell Rhodes, a member of the Fiscal Commission, wrote in *The Asiatic Review* recently "were it possible to abolish the duties, the field would be open for a full-dress controversy between free trade and protectionist schools of thought; but so long as the duties exist, their regulation in the interests of the country is an inevitable corollary."

The action of the Government of India upon the Commission's recommendation placed the final seal upon a policy of Protection. Their resolution, which they induced the Legislative Assembly to accept, was a further dilution of the Protection policy, but Protection none the less. The resolution accepts the policy with due regard to the financial needs of the country, and the present dependence of the Government on import, export and excise duties for a large part of its revenue. The resolution agrees that Protection must be exercised with discrimination; that the consumer must be safeguarded and that the creation of a Tariff Board is necessary in order to investigate and balance conflicting interests.

A policy so clearly defined, after the most careful consideration extending over several decades, cannot be hastily tampered with. Upon a proper application, rests the welfare of the large body of consumers, and the growth of those industries round which national hopes centre. From this point of view a Tariff Reform League should arise as a matter of course. The problem is to save it from designing coteries, and keep it a representative and popular body. The promoters state expressly that this is their object, and there is no reason to suspect their intentions. If however popular leaders remain indifferent, then vested interests are bound to dominate the League, and the last state of the consumer may really be worse than his first. For what are the tendencies? The Government of India took care to lay stress in their resolution that they would impose duties as much for revenue considerations as for protecting industries. This indicates that if a protective duty yields less revenue than say an excise duty, the protective argument may go to the wall. The League then would have to watch the Government's arguments; on the other hand if a group of Capitalists, Indian or foreign, form a combine and seek to brow-beat the Government against the latter's legitimate efforts to safeguard its revenue or the interests of the consumer, then too the League should serve as an effective medium for popular representation. At all times its existence should ensure that Free Trade doctrinaires bring forward more substantial arguments in the fiscal controversy than they command now.



That the new policy of the Indian Government needs the most intelligent support from the public has received unexpected emphasis from the pronouncement of the President of the Tariff Board at the last meeting of the Board in Calcutta. When a certain witness made the statement that the general public of Calcutta and neighbourhood were opposed to Protection for the steel industry, the President said, that if that view be true, then he should have to complain that very few witnesses had appeared before the Board to state it. The public, unless it takes an interest in public questions, will thus always run the danger of losing its case by default. What is of sinister omen is the attitude of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber did not at first intend to place evidence before the Board, a duly-constituted body; during its ten weeks' sessions in Calcutta; but announced its intention to move a resolution strongly condemning the proposal for Protection for steel in the meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce in Bombay. The Board wrote to the Chamber and has taken up almost a suppliant attitude in calling for evidence. It now seems probable that the Chamber may consent in the end. Other bodies too, whose interests were involved in the inquiry, did not appear before the Board and the President hinted that these were withholding co-operation. Influential bodies, who are aware of their position and power, appear thus to have taken early steps to belittle the Tariff Board, which is the body upon which the Government depends to formulate its Tariff programme. The duty becomes all the more imperative upon the public to make the Board a working institution. Its existence is for one year for the present, and so the attempt to prove its futility is understandable. If the Tariff Reform League exists to create and clarify public opinion, then the Board will have work to do for many years, and can hardly be dismissed in a year. Both the League and the Board are at the beginning of their career. An intelligent co-operation between the two ought to result in keeping the tariff policy of India upon the right track.

### FELLOWSHIP WITH CHRIST.

By J. ARUNDEL CHAPMAN.

It is now a little more than a hundred years since Shelley met with his untimely death. As long as literature endures, his poetry will keep its unquestioned place. Whilst man has the capacity for loving beauty, the altars which he raised will attract wondering minds and hearts warm with gratitude. Yet in reading Shelley one is often as impressed by the things he has missed, as by the astonishing things he has found. A few years before his death he wrote:

"Alas! I have no hope, nor health,  
Nor peace within, nor calm around,  
Nor that content, surpassing wealth,  
The sage in meditation found,  
And walked with inward glory crowned—  
Nor fame, nor power, nor love, nor leisure;  
Others I see whom these surround—  
Smiling they live, and call life pleasure,  
To me that cup has been dealt in another measure."

Side by side with these words let us place others. Though not without poetic merit of their own, as poetry, both in the original and in the translation of John Wesley, they are inferior to the above haunting stanza. But more startling than any contrast between their poetic excellence is the contrast between their subject-matter and the attitude to life of the poets who wrote them:

"Though waves and storms go o'er my head,  
Though strength and health and friends be gone;  
Though joys be withered all and dead,  
Though every comfort be withdrawn;  
On this my steadfast soul relies—  
Father, Thy mercy never dies."

The contrast is almost complete. There is the languor—a languor, be it said, that is rich in beauty—of the one, the boundless confidence of the other; the feeling in the first case that the big things in life have been missed, the certainty of having discovered them in the second; the crumbling foundations of the one, the granite-like foundation of the other. If we ask what is the reason for this immense contrast, the answer can be given in a sentence. *The second writer had made a discovery unknown to the first.* He had come "to know Christ." What do these familiar words mean, and what experience do they imply?

The New Testament is full of a lofty and unwavering confidence that the precious privilege of every Christian is "to know Christ", to penetrate to His mind and heart, to "get right there" in a conscious and abiding fellowship. The possibility of such a vivid, intimate, and universal experience is continually being challenged; but unless we explain away much of the most definite language in the New Testament, we must affirm that it is meant for all. As long as we are loyal to its manifold and prevailing testimony, we must ever be turning to the practical question as to how we can find it.

The first step is to get to know *about* Jesus, and here we have immense help. The last two generations have thrown new shafts of light on the Gospels, which are the record of His life. It is not too much to say that we enjoy a clearer view of Him than any age since the first, and the figure of Jesus stands out from the pages of the Gospels more distinct, rich, and compelling than it ever has done since the days of the eye-witnesses themselves. What a picture we have of One, who whatever else He was, was perfectly human. Through the gates of birth, through which all others come, He came too; and through the gates of death, through which all others have to pass, He passed also; and the strange eventful life that lies between He trod like other men. He grew up in an ordinary village, in a poor home, in a human family in which there were father and mother, brothers and sisters. When about thirty years of age, He went out on a Crusade for the Kingdom of God.

The ministry which followed was marked by an overflowing sympathy—a penetrating sympathy with children, which has caused the world to think of childhood in a new way; a deep and delicate sympathy with women, which gave to women a new and higher place in life; and a perfect sympathy with men. In His parables we see the immense range of His interests; grasping life at every point, He put into it new and undreamt-of meanings. He gave Himself, in every fibre of His being to the service of others—a service which had behind it as its inspiration, not duty, but a deep human love—a love which was, perhaps, at its intensest when He was seeking those for whom human society had no use. He loved man as man; and even more than that, He made man lovable. His devotion to man was only equalled by His devotion to God. His first recorded utterance showed that God was the centre of His thoughts, and His last recorded utterance before He died was of the same tenor as the first, and all that lay between was made of the self-same stuff—of a love which was supremely conscious of God as Father. And not only did He love God, He made God lovable, by unfolding the Nature of God as it had never been unfolded before, by His death.

Another way of approach is through the records and testimonies of those who themselves have come to know. They tell us how they discovered in Him more than they ever expected. Their tones of wonder, their delights and raptures, their glowing descriptions, in which words are set on fire by the love they breathe upon them, magnify Jesus, and make Him more real and compelling. Our hymn-book is a noble treasury of such devotion.

A further stage forward is marked by the discovery that in Jesus Christ, God has come to dwell amongst men that men might know His mind, and see how deeply and unalterably He loves them. This discovery may come gradually, and be the outcome of a slowly deepening insight, with a clearly-marked stage at which we feel that "God is just like Jesus"; or the truth of it may flash in upon the mind with sudden, and at times, almost bewildering splendour. As we read, think and talk about Jesus, there comes a time when He makes so deep an impression on us, when He appeals so powerfully to our minds, and so tenderly to our hearts, that we know that in looking into His eyes, we are looking into the very eyes of God; that in His thoughts, we have God's thoughts; in His feelings, God's feelings; in His actions, God's actions; that He is God, present with man.

In the deeper sense this vital perception is the beginning of the full Christian experience. "The beginning"—it may be said; "Is not this the whole?" Can anything more be desired than this—the certainty that in Jesus, God has come Himself to show us the true way of life? The New Testament assures us that there is something beyond. The Jesus, about whom with a growing hunger we have been coming to know, whom more and more completely we have been identifying with God, is present with us Himself. To those, who have felt the immense thrill of this, words are cold things in which to describe it. Jesus is no longer in the past but in the present, (the present, let us note, and not the past or the future, is always the true tense of religion), and we find ourselves in a living, personal relationship with Him. About the reality of His presence there is no shadow of doubt; it is an immense dominating certainty; indeed it gives to the word *reality* a new range and meaning. His form is not dim, pale or remote, but clear, haunting, unmistakable, and nigh at hand. It is not someone, who belongs to the past, with the halo of many memories round His head. He is with us in the present as Jesus of Nazareth, the Living One, who is alive for evermore. It is just what He said Himself. "Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the ending of the world." One characteristic feature of this experience is, what in the language of devotion, can only be described as an intermingling of God and Christ. Our previous impressions of this are immeasurably deepened. It is God in Christ who is present to our consciousness; they are identified in the most intimate way; the saying in St John's Gospel lives again, "I and the Father are One."

Whilst there is something in us which is in harmony with Him, something that yearns for His fellowship and love, there is something that is unlike—sometimes utterly unlike—Him. St. Augustine has given powerful expression to this contrast. It forced itself upon Peter when he cried, "Depart from me, O Lord, for I am a sinful man." It forces itself upon us, as we find that we are out of harmony with what we see Christ to be. Then—it may be more slowly or it may be suddenly—this feeling finds its cure. Christ Himself comes to meet us over the gulf which has suddenly yawned between us and Him. He comes along the new pathway of redeeming love, which is the pathway of the Cross. What it cost our Lord to make this way we never can fully tell; but along this path, so wonderfully made over the abyss, the Crucified One comes to offer His own gifts—forgiveness, renewal, peace and joy—and containing and consummating all these things—His own abiding presence. And in sorrow of heart that we have neglected them so long, we find ourselves taking them in faith, which is a mingling of "wonder, acceptance and delight."

Four results of this transforming experience may be singled out. We find within us a new self. Christianity is human nature coming to itself. We are conscious not of what we are making of ourselves,

but of what He is making of us by His indwelling presence. "It is not I, but Christ in me."

The second element is a new and passionate love. As Zinzendorf said, "I have one enthusiasm, one only—it is He."

Thirdly, there comes a new joy, the content and intensity of which make it different from all other emotions.

Fourthly, there comes a new fellowship, which links us in a new and undreamt-of intimacy with those who have made the same discovery. At the same time a wider, though less intense, fellowship links us to all mankind. The Christian has not only a new experience of Christ, but a new experience of man.

Such is the transformation wrought; it is all marvellous, but the most amazing thing of all is, that this abiding companionship with Christ is a free gift, given away by our Lord because He loves us so—a gift as free as the light and as bounteous as the air.

### THE DEATH PENALTY.

The hanging, despite many vigorous protests and efforts for reprieve, of Mrs. Newell at Glasgow on October 10th, the second execution of a woman which has taken place this year, makes all the more significant the growing feeling in Great Britain against capital punishment, illustrated by the Quaker memorial on the subject which is being sent to all Members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The Society of Friends hopes that its reasoned appeal will receive wide support among individuals and organizations throughout the country.

The memorial recalls that it is not the first time that the Society of Friends has petitioned on the subject of the death penalty, the retention of which in Great Britain when abandoned by other countries, is regrettable; and affirms its belief in the sacredness of every human life, and the infinite possibilities of spiritual reclamation. It regards the law of God for the individual as binding upon the community and bases its opposition to legal killing upon the belief that what is wrong for the individual is wrong for the State.

Other aspects of the matter referred to are those dealing with the effects on others. Capital punishment, it is stated, fails as a deterrent, in fact the dramatic interest of murder trials has a dangerous effect. Terrible suffering is caused to the innocent family of the murderer without in any way alleviating the anguish of the victim's friends. Special stress is laid on the effect on the jury who may be called to bring in the verdict, the judge who pronounces it, and the officials who have to carry out the sentence.

The immediate abolition of the death penalty is therefore asked for, and also changes in our Penal Code which will make it more efficient and more humane.

The following is the full text of the memorial.

"The subject of capital punishment has been brought before the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends and in consequence of this consideration we respectfully renew the petition which has from time to time been made by our Society for the removal of the death penalty from the law of our land. Whilst we learn with satisfaction that other countries (some of them, such as Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden closely akin to our own in race and customs) have abandoned the practice, we feel deep regret that it is still retained amongst us.

We re-affirm our belief in the sacredness of every human life, and the infinite possibilities of spiritual reclamation. We regard the law of God for the individual as binding upon the community and we cannot rest satisfied whilst what is wrong for a single person is practised by the State. We base our opposition to legal killing upon this belief.

But there are other aspects of the matter upon which we desire to lay stress. We hold that capital punishment fails as a deterrent—indeed we believe that the immense and dramatic interest which the sight of an individual fighting for his life adds to murder trials, and the consequent inducement to give them wide publicity have a most dangerous effect. It draws the minds of many people, including some of unstable balance and inadequate self-control, to dwell upon the details of such crimes. The tendency of brooding upon deeds of violence or treachery is only too clear.

The capital sentence inflicts terrible suffering upon the innocent family of the murderer without in any way alleviating the anguish of the murdered person's friends. We desire also to call attention to its effects upon others whom circumstances connect with such cases:—upon the jury whose solemn duty it may be to bring in a verdict to which the sentence of death inevitably attaches, upon the Judge who has no choice but to pronounce that sentence, and still more upon those who are called upon to assist in its execution. Upon all these a task is laid which we believe to be often in direct opposition to the dictates of conscience. Whilst urging the immediate abolition of the death penalty we would also ask for such legislative and administrative changes as will make our Penal Code at once more efficient and more humane."

### THE LEAGUE AND THE CRISIS.

By F. E. JAMES.

Did the League do anything at all in the Corfu crisis? It held a discussion in its council, a report of which was sent to the Ambassadors' Conference, whose terms of settlement were in substance the proposals made by the League. It referred the question of its competence to deal with the issue, to a committee of jurists, or possibly later, to the International Court of Justice. Did it do anything else? Yes. It secured publicity, and publicity means delay in these cases. Publicity and delay as a rule, mean moderation; and there is no doubt that Mussolini considerably modified his original attitude during that critical week. The League had given publicity to general world opinion, in so far as the world is represented in the League. That, in itself, is no mean thing. And Mussolini had taken cognizance thereof. But there is one other thing which the League did, which in some respects, is the most important thing of all. It showed Europe and the world, where we should have been if there had been no League. There would have been very little publicity, and probably, very little delay, before actual hostilities might have occurred. Italy would still be in Corfu, and the occupation might not have been so "peaceful." There would have been new antagonism, more groupings of powers, fresh coercion of small nations, and the danger of a general European upheaval. Even to have the League, crippled with incompleteness and inexperience as it is; as a moderating influence in Europe, without any effective interference in any dispute, is a good thing.

There has been much ink spilt by writers in newspapers and reviews in attacking or defending the League without reasonableness or sense. The League is not dead; nor is it wholly alive. Its position, considering the difficulties it has had to contend with, might be much worse; it might also be much better. There is no value to be gained in exaggerating either its achievements or its defects. The Greek-Italian crisis undoubtedly has shaken the League to its foundations. To the small nations it has been a hope and a promise; hidden by Woodrow Wilson, whose voice was then believed to be that of America, they came to Geneva, seeing in the Covenant a charter of liberty and security. How their hopes must have been shattered, and their promises

dimmed when they see this League openly flouted by a great Power with seeming impunity! The way of the small nation is indeed hard. In America, we are already told that the effect of the crisis is to kill the League as a political issue at the coming elections. And France, who never really believed in the League, how her cynicism seems to be confirmed and her doubts strengthened! The British Commonwealth alone stands firm on the issue of the League, and yet, who in Europe will listen now to this voice, however dignified and weighty it be, since France openly flouted its counsels and ignored its threats in the Ruhr dispute?

When all is said, the outlook does seem dark; but there are two consoling considerations, which, it seems to us, should hearten those who wish to see the League succeed. The student of comparative law knows that in early days, the rudiments of justice were administered by a kind of tribal council. At first there were many difficulties. The power possessed by the Council was small, and at best, only a moral power. The strength of the arm still resided in the kindreds and other groups. The Council could only at this stage prescribe the law, and leave it to the parties to carry it out; but gradually, as the custom of referring to the Council grew, the method of the outlawry of one defaulter was invoked, and the assistance of the kindred or groups was called in to track down the outlaw, and so grew up the system in King Alfred's day whereby the injured suitor might get the help of the ealdormen to enforce payment.

As with small communities, so with large ones, and doubly so with nations. In the beginnings of judicial development, whether local, national, or international, the machinery is always weaker than the forces that it ought to control, and it only acquires its full authority and power by the most tedious process, and the most gradual stages. It is not therefore to be wondered at that the League of Nations should have failed at this stage in the first trial of strength, in direct intervention and coercion. The wonder is that the League came out of the trial at all. Largely due to its influence, however, Corfu has been evacuated; and it will be all the harder for any other power, whether great or small, to follow the example of Italy without reference to the League, or to break the Covenant and flout the League as Italy has done. Progress comes by slow and halting evolution, and there must be many false starts and failures before the League fulfils those great functions the fulfilment of which can be its one and only ideal.

The failure of the League to cope with the Greek-Italian crisis has been the measure of the faith placed in the League idea by the nations composing it. Principal Jacks says that in every man there is a "will-to-disbelieve" and a "will-to-believe." They are a necessary part of man's equipment, the same in principle but the opposite in application. The "will-to-disbelieve" is a protection against fraud, hypocrisy and shams—a weapon of defence; the "will-to-believe" is a weapon of attack, the principle of all that is creative in human life. The former ill equips us for the creation of new values, either in individual or national life, or we would add, international life; and this applies to the belief in the League of Nations. "The vision is ours in the degree in which we seek it." Before the League can ever witness the entrance of America, Russia or Germany, it has to convince them that its members are under the sway of the principle of the "will-to-believe," in regard to it, and are striving to make it a reality in their own relationship with the world as well as in the relationships of other nations. This is particularly true of the Great Powers. Nor does it simply apply to the League of Nations. It applies to any vision of world co-operation for peace and international security. And those, who would work towards this end, need not lose heart at the rebuffs received, and fall under the spell of the "will-to-disbelieve," which will never treat anything. Rather is it a call for increased effort and a greater intensity of conviction that only a

League can save the world from utter ruin. We believe that the only hope at present is in the existing League, until a better way is shown, or until a newer, and completer League rises phoenix-like from the ashes of the old. At present, force seems all powerful; but we are reminded by the French, fittingly enough, that "There is one thing stronger than armies—an idea whose time has come." Its time has not yet come; but the world's stern conviction that it will come and must come, will surely bring it to pass; and no one, who has anything to do whatever with shaping of that opinion, in the home, the school, the University, the Church, the temple, the mosque or the Councils of nations, can escape his responsibility.

### KENYA—THE WAR AND AFTER.

By GORDON M. DYCE-KEELE.

When war was declared against Germany, their authorities were confident that an invasion of German East Africa was impossible, unless preceded by extensive preparations for which time would be lacking. The Colony was well defended both by sea and on land, and their forces were ready to attack, as is evidenced by the fact that they successfully invaded their neighbours' territories and repeatedly attacked the railway and other points in British East Africa during the first year of the war. Even now it is difficult to obtain any reliable estimate of the numerical strength of the German forces in 1914. The war-like tribes in German East Africa were very numerous, probably 7,000,000 or more, and there is no doubt that the Germans used this source of supply to the fullest possible extent.

Lord Crawford, in his foreword to Captain Angus Buchanan's book on the war writes:—"At his strongest Von Lettow probably mustered 25,000 to 30,000 rifles, all fighting troops, with 70 machine-guns and 40 guns."

An important point emphasized by General Smuts was the extraordinary strength of the German frontier. The coast-line offered few suitable points for landing, and was backed by an unhealthy swamp-belt. On the west line the lakes and mountains proved so impenetrable that the Belgian forces from the Congo had, in the first instance, to be moved through Uganda. On the South the Ruvuma River was only passable on its upper reaches. The northern frontier adjoining Kenya was the most difficult of all. Only one practicable pass, about five miles wide, lay between the Kare mountains and Mount Kilimanjaro; and here German forces, amid swamps and forests, had dug themselves in against any possible attack.

Actual hostilities in East Africa were commenced by the Germans, who advanced from Tanga three weeks after the date of the declaration of war. Having repelled this force, British troops unsuccessfully attacked Tanga between the 2nd and 4th of November, 1914.

In January, 1915, a British naval force bombarded Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of German East Africa, and occupied the small island of Mafia during the same month. The German battleship *Königsberg* was forced to take refuge in the mouth of the Rufigi River where she was bottled up and sunk, but her ten big guns, each handled by a team of 400 natives, figured subsequently in many land engagements.

During the same month the British seized the port of Shirati on Lake Victoria Nyanza, and on March 6th, 1915, the British battleship *Winifred*, destroyed the only German armed boat on the lake. In the autumn of 1915 General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien was appointed to the command, and measures were taken to connect the Uganda Railway at Voi with the German line from Tanga at a point near its inland terminus. Owing to the subsequent ill-health of General Smith-Dorrien, Lieutenant-General Smuts was nominated as the Chief Command, and landed at Mombasa, on February 19th, 1916.

The capture of the port of Tanga on July 7th, 1916, brought the naval and military forces into close touch for the first time. The combined forces advanced southwards on the ports of Pangani, and Sadani, which were captured on August 1st. Fourteen days later Bagamoyo was taken, and on September 4th Dar-es-Salaam, the former seat of Government, surrendered after a short struggle. The occupation of the entire coast-line was completed by the capture of Kilwa on September 7th; Lindi and Mikindani on September 16th and Kiswero on September 18th by the naval forces. The position of the campaign as defined by General Smuts in October, 1916, was that with the exception of the Mahenge Plateau the Germans had lost every valuable and healthy part of the colony.

The ill-effects of the climate upon the health of the troops, combined with the heavy losses of animals and wheeled transport, necessitated prolonged rest and refit among all units of the British force. It was decided to send home all white troops affected by the climate, with the result that about 12,000 left the country. Kilwa, a port south of the Rufigi position, was prepared as a base, and a considerable force was transported thither by sea. On January 20th, 1917, General Smuts relinquished his command, and was succeeded in May by Major-General J. L. Van Deventer.

The last phase of the campaign was the most difficult of all. Early in January the British forces advanced, and many desultory engagements ensued, in one of which the gallant Captain F. C. Selous, D. S. O., was killed. Little progress was made for some months owing to the difficult nature of the country, and the advantage of the enemy. Later in the year, however, the German forces broke up into small parties and dispersed over a wide area, and as it was impossible to obtain food supplies from their various bases, they began to live upon the products of the districts they were in.

The campaign consequently took on a guerilla aspect and consisted of innumerable attempts by British mobile columns to surround these elusive German parties, but without much success. General Von Lettow Verbeck was in command of the main body of these enemy troops, which was about 5,000 strong. During the first week of December, 1917, the remnants of the German forces evacuated their own colony by crossing the Ruvuma River into Portuguese territory.

The first six months of the year 1918 saw a good deal of desultory fighting between the rapidly diminishing German forces and the pursuing British columns in Portuguese territory. Under pressure from these, the Germans turned northward, recrossed the Rubuma River after a trek of over 1,000 miles, and were presumed to be heading for Tabora. Rapid counter-movements were organized by the British Generals to check this northward advance, with the result that the German Commander was compelled to turn his forces southwards again into Northern Rhodesia. This took place during the first week of November, 1918, and a few days later the Armistice put an end to further hostilities.

The Supreme Council of the League of Nations conferred a mandate upon Great Britain to administer the territory conquered from the Germans early in 1919. The provinces of Ruanda and Urundi in the North West were transferred by Britain to Belgium, with the approval of the Supreme Council of the League of Nations. These provinces contained three-sevenths of the population, and more than half of the cattle of the former German Colony. Further concessions were also granted to Belgium at Dar-es-Salaam and Ujiji, at either end of the Central Railway, over which goods destined for Belgian territory pass duty free.

Early in 1919, an extensive Government scheme to settle ex-soldiers in Kenya Colony was instituted. Grants of land were given by an organisation known as "The Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Ordinance,

1919," which is subsidiary to the "Crown Lands Ordinance, 1915." The land was divided into farms ranging from 300 to 5,000 acres each and leased out at prices varying from three shillings to 50 shillings per acre according to the class of land and the situation. Provision was made for the purchase price to be spread over ten years free of interest or over 30 years with interest at 5 per cent. per annum on the outstanding balance. The scheme proved a radical failure and has now been abandoned.

The boundaries of the East Indies Station on the African Coast were extended during the year 1919 to include Zanzibar and what was the littoral of German East Africa. Dar-es-Salaam was retained as the seat of Government of the conquered territory, now called Tanganyika, under Sir Horace Archer Byatt, K.C.M.G., the first Administrator. July, 1920 marked the dawn of a new epoch in the history of British East Africa. Until that date the country had been administered as a Protectorate, but now it became a Crown Colony under the name of Kenya Colony. It is important to note that the strip of coast-land leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar still remains a Protectorate, under the title of Kenya Protectorate.

The year 1921 found Kenya Colony suffering, in common with the rest of the world, from severe trade depression. Much bitter feeling sprang up on the action of the Indian community to have the restrictions removed that at present prevent them, with their lower standard of living, from occupying the Highland Districts, where the purchase of land is confined to the European community. In August of this year a loan of £5,000,000 was raised under Government sanction for railway extension and the development of Kilindini harbour, Mombasa. The suggestion to establish a Land Bank was deemed to be impracticable. A census of the Colony was published in September.

The highly-organized Indian agitation for equal rights in Kenya Colony received a temporary *quies* in February, 1922, when Mr. Winston Churchill, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated that the Highlands of East Africa would be reserved exclusively for Europeans, and that his decision was final. At the same time he foreshadowed the creation of a great East African Federation to include Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Sir Horace Byatt, Governor of Tanganyika, left the colony for reasons of health early in the year. The official report on this territory was much criticized; especially by the Dar-es-Salaam Chamber of Commerce, who submitted a note stating that it was "admirably calculated to deceive the British public." A serious riot among the Kikuyu tribe occurred at Nairobi in March, twenty-two of the rioters being killed. The year 1922, throughout East Africa, was one of stagnation. The Imperial Government refunded the sum of £500,000 war expenditure in June, helping materially towards assuring a more prosperous future. We hope the information given in this and the preceding articles will help our readers to understand better the Kenya question, which has attracted so much attention this year.

### LONDON LETTER.

LONDON,  
24TH OCTOBER, 1923.

#### American Peace Lecturer in England.

"The American farmer alarmed at the rapidly multiplying mortgages, owing to his inability to sell to a hungry but impoverished Europe, is beginning to realize that little Mary Smith in an Iowa back-block township cannot get a new dress until Mary Slovinski in Galicia can get one too," said Frederick J. Libby, Secretary of the American Council for the Prevention

of War, in discussing the European situation in London last week. A friend of Mr. Libby's of over twenty years standing, writes about him as under:

"Mr. Libby is an energetic American, who studied at Mansfield College, Oxford, and a year at Bonn. He took up work near Boston, but the regular ministry did not offer him the scope he desired; and he became Director of Religious Instruction and of Physical Training in one of the largest secondary schools for boys at Exeter. Religion and physical training seem a queer mixture, but it was this that gave him his chance. He set himself not only to teach a sound Gospel, but to put the existing cadet corps on the unpopular side of school opinion. This he did by organizing games and especially by planning the execution of a work of public service for the township. He got permission to cut a trail through the forest as a kind of public walk for the townsfolk, and set his boys on the job, felling trees, camping out on the job at week-ends, building log bridges, etc. . . . The result was that only a few were left in the cadet corps, and Libby did not fail to point the moral to the school authorities. He did relief work as European Commissioner of the American Friend's Relief work during and after the war, and is now conducting a speaking tour in the chief centres."

#### America and the Allied Debt.

This realization about Mary Smith's dress illustrates a growing willingness on the part of America to participate in world affairs. "But," added Mr. Libby, "America wants a clear indication that Europe is ready in the interests of world-peace and reconstruction to reduce reparations to a practicable figure, to reduce armaments, balance budgets, and stabilize currency. All the American editors, East and West, with whom I have talked recently (and I have visited 30 out of our 48 States in the last few months), agree that the United States will be willing to make such sacrifices with regard to the inter-allied debt as might be necessary to establish the process of world recovery on a sure foundation."

"America's debt due from France totals, with interest, to-day just over four billion dollars. M. Poincare invites us to accept German "C" Bonds in payment, ignoring thereby both our altruism and common-sense. If we want to help France we shall reduce the debt; but we shall not take as a *quid pro quo*, bonds M. Poincare himself deems worthless. In short we stand behind Senator Borah when he said: 'No money for more armies for more wars.'"

Mr. Libby, who has just come to England *via* the Ruhr, says that he believes M. Poincare is dismally beaten. "His policy is a *cul de sac*, and he is fighting the world—England, America, Italy, and the Trade Unions; and it seems to me, that he is fighting God for all the humanitarian sentiments are being flouted. When the world grasps the fact of what winter will mean for Germany this year, things will move rapidly."

He believes that America will participate in the World Court this winter, and after the Presidential Election in November, 1924, will enter the League of Nations with reservations. He advocates the submission of the Versailles Treaty to the International Court of Justice to see whether it does not violate the first contract made with Germany, the "Fourteen Points."

And despite—in fact because of—the gloomy outlook, he declares himself an optimist. "Things are really so bad that it is impossible for anyone to ignore them. For once the bugbear of indifference is banished. If we can really get together now and follow similar education and co-operative methods which brought about Prohibition in America, I believe we ought to be able to banish war in a generation."

#### A Soldier in China.

Sixty years ago a British soldier stood on the walls of Canton looking over the great Chinese town which the army, of which he was a part, was occupying.

And he had what an older generation would call "a vision." It was of the thousands of Chinese in the streets and alleys spread before him, human beings like himself, and he realized with full intensity for the first time, men, women, and children, with whom he had no quarrel or dispute. And yet he was in arms against them! There and then, he decided to quit soldiering, and try to live "in virtue of that spirit which takes away the occasion of all wars." During the succeeding years he brought up his family near Belfast, in this same spirit of peace and reconciliation, and always the great land of China was in his thoughts and in the stories he told his boys. To-day four of them are at work in the great Western Province of Szechwan as soldiers of Jesus Christ.

#### Chinese Ladies in Distress.

Among the most acute sufferers in some parts of China from the present unsettled state of the country are the women-folk of the upper-class families. Particularly is this the case in Chungking, the greatest Treaty port west of Hankow, where 1,500 miles up the Yangtze, the Chialing River flows into the former. Here on a spit of land is a city of 500,000 inhabitants crowded together with water on two sides of them and no room to extend their borders on the third side, because of the century-old graveyards which come right up to the city walls. Even at the best of times the upper-class women-folk probably have not gone outside the city more than a few times in the year; some, indeed, have never been beyond the city walls in their lives, but to-day, owing to the temptation it would be to the brigands—as the women could be profitably kidnapped and ransomed—they are shut up from month's end to month's end amongst a teeming population which has no water-supply except buckets from the rivers, no sewers, no open spaces, and rats described as being "as playful as spaniels," dogs "eleven out of ten" of which, to use a Chinese expression, are diseased.

The working-class woman at least gets some exercise, but the others, some because of deformed feet, or just because of the pure lack of space, get no change or alleviation of their lot.

#### A Ladies' Institute.

No wonder, therefore, that an inevitable development of the International Friend's Institute (which was founded in 1909, largely through the generosity of Chinese merchants working together with A. Warburton Davidson, one of the four boys mentioned above then of the Friend's Foreign Mission Association, and now secretary of a large firm of Chinese merchants), has been a similar centre for the wives of members. This was begun in a small way in 1911, but after having closed down during the war it was re-opened in two small rooms in 1919.

"We have now been able to get a site 100 yards long, commanding an extensive view across the river," Mrs. Davidson told me. "So far, however, owing to the continual drain on the community in Chungking from the forced levies of the brigand generals of China, we have not been able to proceed with a permanent building. We have, however, been able to erect on the site a big mud-walled building where not only is there a rest-room and reading-room and space for cookery-classes, with a badminton court outside, but, what is perhaps most important, a kindergarten for the children, the sons and daughters of the merchants of the great port of Szechwan. What we do particularly want is a skilled kindergarten mistress to develop this side, one who will face the unpleasantnesses of life in Chungking in order to help in this important piece of international work. Can you help me to find one?"

#### A Benevolent Brigand General.

A. Warburton Davidson told me an amusing story which illustrates the topsy-turvy nature of affairs in China just now. "Needing all the help I could possibly get for both the men's and women's institutes, I approached not only the erstwhile Governor of Chung-

king, who gave me a substantial sum, but also went to see one of the brigand generals outside the city. I asked him for 1,000 taels for the work, of which he expressed great appreciation. He said he could not spare more than 500 taels, but this he gave me in the form of one of his cheques on one of the banks in Chungking, the city against which he was encamped!"

Both the men's and the women's institutes form practically the only common ground where East and West may meet on an equal footing in order to get to know one another better. Each body has a joint committee of Chinese and foreigners in equal proportions, and the men's institute is to all intents and purposes the Board of Health of Chungking. It has been able to secure a small open space for a recreation ground two miles outside the city; has helped to promote a forest station and hygiene work, and has initiated visitation in some of the jails.

Effort, however, is now being particularly concentrated on the women's side of the work, for in the hands of Chinese women-folk lie the hopes for the future and the rearing of a new generation which will be able to lead China out of her present chaos.

HUBERT W. PEET

#### FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD.

By B. AHIRA.

The Professor came in the other day evidently a good deal perturbed. It appeared that he had recently been doing up his house and spent a respectable amount of rupees in colour-washing his premises for the *Dipavali*. Within a day or two, one of those itinerant bill-posters and stencil-advertisers that infest Calcutta, had come along and plastered his newly-garnished street-front from porch to window with stencils advertising an infallible diabetes remedy! Now what is a Christian man, let alone a Hindu professor, to do with such people? They exist in every land, their only idea seems to be to mar the God-given harmony of nature or man's art with their unholy scrawls. I believe even the newly white-washed walls of Pompeian villas have been found by the recent excavations to have been scrawled over by irresponsible boys or others in this way.

Mr. Higgins tells me in this connection that what disgusts him most, is the way newly-cleaned and decorated premises and offices, especially the staircases leading to them, in the business part of Calcutta, are almost immediately disfigured by *pan* expectoration (presumably by the ignorant, but in many cases by those who would expect to be called educated men). Surely these filthy habits emanate from *Satan* (the adversary) whose special *forte* is destruction, perversion and uncleanness.

The Christian religion ought to elevate and raise the taste of those who sincerely adopt it, and produce a growing aversion to all habits and practices that mar the simplicity and purity of a natural life. With the spread of what is termed (often wrongly) civilization, it becomes increasingly difficult to preserve that simplicity and purity. The men or women, who desire to live in unbroken contact with the Spirit of God, may often find themselves in positions where only a very close following of the divine principle given to them, can enable them to choose the true way of life. The test comes somehow in this way—how will my action affect my love to my Heavenly Father, and how is it consistent with love to my fellow-men? But a tender conscience sometimes finds great difficulty in elucidating an answer.

Sometimes it is only a foolish egotism that leads to these acts of vandalism, such as cutting one's name on trees, carving initials on the ruins of century-old temples, and such like acts. We may perhaps excuse the ardent lover, like Orlando, of whom Rosalind says: "There is a man haunts the forest that abuses our young plants with carving. Rosalind on their barks; if I could meet

that fancy-monger. I would give him some good counsel." And M. Jacques, "I pray you mar no more trees with writing love-songs on their barks." But stationers' shops were not easily met with in the Forest of Arden, and there at least there was some excuse.

### TEACHING.

Christ,  
Teach us to-day  
To pray, with Thee,  
"Thy will be done."  
Teach us Thy childlike confidence  
In God's good care:  
Teach us Thy fearless courage,  
That, come what may—  
Though the world be shattered around us,  
Though life and joy go up in smoke,  
Though nought be left but pain and tears—  
We may go forward, with Thee,  
Unafraid, as Thou didst go to the Cross:  
Teach us to trust continually  
The rich unfailling love of the Father:

Teach us, O Christ, this day  
Thy trust; Thy heart of stalwart courage.—*Kashmir.*

### THE WORD APPLIED.

#### Disappointment.

*Master, we have toiled all the night and have taken nothing. (Luke. V: 5.)*

There was something very human about Simon Peter, and every one of his recorded sayings is more or less characteristic. His confident attitude, his intrusion of his own thoughts and feelings into his Master's concerns, his tendency to dispute orders, and offer his advice, his rashness and his quick repentances—all come out in one way or another. Jesus had evidently a strong affection for the large, impetuous, warm-hearted, lovable nature. "Simon, Simon, I have prayed for you." He said once; and once and again, "Simon, lovest thou Me?" Here we find Simon complaining of an unsuccessful night's fishing, and rather condescendingly complying with the directions of Jesus: "Nevertheless at Thy word I will let down the net." He thinks it is little use doing so; the hour is not propitious. So the Christian worker may say, "It is the Lord's command; I shall make the usual effort—try another cast of the net; preach or teach or fulfil my Christian duty whatever it be, once more; but without much hope of success." Sometimes we begin to question the causes of our failure. Is it the fault of the net, or is it our own fault, or is it the perversity of the fish, that we are such poor fishermen? The times, we say, are out of joint; everything seems wrong; this is a transition stage; all our creeds are in the melting-pot; the old teaching has lost its spell; people want novelty; the old net, the Gospel, isn't enough nowadays. Thus we are apt to complain; when all the time there is the Master's voice bidding us not to fear or be discouraged, "but launch out into the deep," and He will bring the harvest of the waters into the net for us. We are perhaps forgetting the most vital requirement—forgetting to pray, which will bring Divine power to our aid and enable us to trust with a faith that is above custom and convention. Christ's power is not abated. He is mighty as ever to save, if we but commit ourselves to His Grace and listen faithfully to his voice saying: "Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men."

E. S. O.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Asiatic Review, 5 sh. double issue, East and West, Ltd., 3, Victoria Street, S.W.1.  
The Indian Athenæum, Rs. 12/- per annum, 26 Chowringhee, Calcutta.  
Outward Bound, 1 sh. monthly, Poppias Court, London, E.C. 4. (November number contains first part of Mrs. Starr's Article.)

### CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK

#### INDIA.

The Royal Commission has completed its rules of procedure, and is engaged in examining official documents placed at its disposal by the Government of India. Questionnaires have been sent out to prominent persons and associations. Oral evidence will be heard at Allahabad from November 22nd.

Elections to the Bengal Legislative Council commenced on the 14th and 15th November.

The Armistice day was celebrated in all the important towns of India on November 11th.

It is reported that the new Legislative Assembly will meet in Delhi in the latter half of January, 1924.

Captain E. P. Watts and Mrs Watts were murdered in their bungalow at Parachinar on the Frontier, on the night of the 7th, instant. Pursuit parties have gone out in search of the perpetrators whose identity has not been discovered.

The Government of India have passed orders on the Arms Rules Committee's recommendations.

With a view to centralise the administration of Customs in India, the Government of India have created a Central Board of Revenue composed of two members.

In view of the very substantial collections in Bombay, for the Japanese Relief Fund, the Viceroy has agreed to the closing of the Bombay Fund from November 10th.

The Viceroy visited Udaipur, Rajputana, during the week.

The Lucknow Diocesan Council agreed by 55 votes to 10 to the principle of the Indian Church Measure severing the legal ties with England and the State, "while remaining in complete communion with the Church of England," with the following proviso—"Provided, that in the opinion of the Committee to be elected for that purpose by this Council, the proposed agreement to be made between the Church and the Government of India sufficiently guarantees the continued use in provided churches of the formularies and customs of the Church of England."

The Committee appointed by the Bihar Government to examine the excise policy of the province, have reported that total prohibition will not be practicable. The Local Government agree with the conclusion.

#### ABROAD.

Mr. Baldwin has decided upon the immediate dissolution of Parliament which takes place to-day. The elections will take place on Thursday, December 6th. There are 450 Conservative candidates, an equal number of Liberals and 400 Labour. The two sections of the Liberal party are re-uniting.

The ex-Crown Prince of Germany has entered German territory. The Dutch Government replied to the Allies' request, pointing out that they were not entitled to hold him in their territory, and have also decided to prevent his return. The Ambassador's Conference has delivered a note to the German Government asking for an explanation for their having allowed the return of the Crown Prince.

Sir J. C. Bose was given an enthusiastic welcome at Prague University where he lectured on his latest discoveries. He has been invited by the Universities of Berlin, Scandinavia and Denmark, to address them also.

M. Poincaré has proposed the appointment of a Committee of Experts to investigate Germany's resources. The committee will include assistant delegates of the Powers represented on the Reparations Commission and an expert appointed for each country.

A committee under the chairmanship of the Duke of Devonshire considered Sir T. B. Sappu's request for the reduction of India's contribution to the League of Nations on the ground that she was assessed higher than other parts of the Empire, except Britain. The Committee did not agree to the reduction.

The Bulgarian Government has accepted Serbia's terms, whilst declaring that Bulgaria is not responsible for the attack upon the Serbian Military attaché at Sofia, but that it is necessary for her to bow to superior force.

The Khalif denied that he intended to resign; and declared that as he did not meddle with politics there was no reason for his withdrawal.

Hittler, the German Fascisti leader and Ludendorff, attempted to overthrow the Bavarian Government but failed and were arrested. Ludendorff has been released on parole and Hittler escaped but was rearrested.

<p><b>FRIEND'S SETTLEMENT BOOK DEPOT.</b> 96, Beadon Street, Calcutta.</p> <p>Rs. As.</p> <p>Lecture Notes on Modern European and English History 3 0</p> <p>Fifteen Addresses to Students 0 8</p> <p>Psychology of Indian Adolescence 1 0</p> <p>Extracts from Gita, Gospel and Quran 0 10</p> <p>The Bible. By Ed. Grubb, M. A. 2 0</p> <p>The Christian Revolution. Hodgkin 6 0</p> <p>do. do. (Shanghai Edition) 3 0</p> <p>God in the Old Testament. Aytoun 3 0</p> <p>The Christian Ideal. Wilson 4 8</p> <p>The Religion of Experience. Grubb 2 0</p> <p>Early Christian Attitude to War 6 8</p>	<p><b>BUILDERS OF MODERN INDIA</b> A New Series of Biographies of Indian Men and Women who have influenced the Life and Thought of their Country. Edited by NARAYAN VAMAN TILAK, M.A., D.Litt. IN THE PRESS—REGISTER YOUR ORDER IN ADVANCE <b>NARAYAN VAMAN TILAK</b> The Christian Poet of Maharashtra By J. C. WINSLOW, M.A. Paper, Re. 1-4 Cloth, Rs. 2 Narayan Vaman Tilak, the Christian Poet of Maharashtra, has been described as the Tagore of Western India, and is now generally accepted as the greatest Marathi poet of the last seventy years. His mystical sermons of the Life of Christ, his hymns to Hindu and Muhammadans, while his Christian hymns are sung by beggars at the roadside and have made their way, also into the hymnody of the West. His patriotism found its inspiration in the Christian faith, for it was his ambition, as Sir Narayan Chandavarkar said of him, "to dedicate himself to the service of his Motherland by poetry, politics and social service."</p> <p>IN THE PRESS—REGISTER YOUR ORDER IN ADVANCE <b>MAHATMA GANDHI</b> An Essay in Appreciation By R. M. GRAY, M.A. AND MANILAL C. PAREKH, B.A. Paper, Re. 1-4 Cloth, Rs. 2 This book is offered by its authors, a Scotman and an Indian, as a contribution to the understanding of the most challenging personality of Modern India. The influence of Gandhi's ideals cannot be ignored by anyone who cares for the future of India, and it is therefore imperative that they should be understood. This can only be done by a sympathetic and unbiased study of his life, and of his religious and political ideas. The writers of this brief biography have succeeded to a remarkable degree in maintaining an attitude of once sympathetic and critical, and have produced a book of unusual interest and timeliness.</p> <p>ALREADY PUBLISHED <b>RABINDRANATH TAGORE</b> His Life and Work By E. J. THOMPSON, B.A., M.C. (Heritage of India Series.) Paper, Re. 1; Cloth, Re. 1-4 "This is the best study of the Great Bengali Poet that we have yet seen."</p> <p>IN PREPARATION <b>PANDITA RAMABAL</b> By N. MACNICOL, M.A., D.Litt. <b>MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE</b>, Patriot and Social Servant. By JAMES KALLOO, M.A., B.D. 5 Russell Street CALCUTTA. Y.M.C.A. Esplanade, MADRAS.</p>
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## URBIS ET ORBIS

**A**LARMING rumours regarding Mr. Bonar Law's health have thrown the Ministerial ranks into acute disquiet. Nobody, least of all his own party, acclaims the present Prime Minister as a heaven-sent statesman. But in the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. And in this weakest of weak Governments, Mr. Bonar Law towers a giant above his colleagues. Only Mr. Baldwin on the Front Bench is remotely conceivable as Premier, and there are serious objections to his elevation. Mr. Bonar Law frankly warned his supporters before the election that the state of his health at any time might compel his resignation. When he left office before, he did so under urgent orders from his doctors and at an hour's notice. Seeing before them chaos in the Tory Party if this happens again, it is not surprising that even the slightest of indispositions, such as a cold, is discussed with hushed voices in the Carlton Club. If the Premier does go, will Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Birkenhead return to the fold? I imagine they will. But the feud in Unionist ranks caused by the Carlton Club split may be as difficult to bridge as the disastrous gulf between Asquithians and Georgians. The fact is that only the health of one man stands between the country and a probable political upheaval; many acute judges predict a general election soon after Mr. Bonar Law is compelled to leave office—an event that cannot be long postponed.

**W**HAT will happen then? The rank and file of Labour is confident of early victory, sees in recent by-elections a remarkable change of public sentiment in its favour, and fully expects a Labour majority in the next House. Jubilation, however, is tempered by fear, in the minds of the more intelligent Labour men. Of what use to form a Government if that Government fails miserably to carry out any of its policies, and finds its supporters, within a few weeks or months, hopelessly at odds among themselves, split into brawling groups which hate one another far more than they hate the Tories? Such a state of affairs, many Unionists believe, would end all prospects of another Labour Government in this

country for a decade or more, and might be worth a period of public confusion. In the Liberal ranks, too, I find a strange complacency when the possibility of an early Labour Government is discussed. Toryism, many Liberals feel, has in its brief trial already lamentably and ridiculously failed, notably on the Continent, where British prestige stands lower and British interests are less considered than at any time for a hundred years. Labour's success, it is contended, would compel through force of circumstances the Liberal reunion now so ardently desired, but made impossible through the bickerings of rival leaders. Then, after Labour has failed, the country, still remembering the muddles of Mr. Bonar Law, would put the Liberals in. It is all very plausible, and may well happen that way.

**A** GOOD many honest Tories are grumbling privately at the ineffectiveness of the Government, and one unhappy politician, whose Conservatism is unimpeachable, has gone so far as to describe the Cabinet as "caretakers." The housing mess is bad, and in some ways the agricultural mess is worse. The first made a difference to the urban or suburban vote—and villadom rather prides itself on the Primrose League variety of Toryism—but the agricultural crisis is affecting the rural vote. Of course nobody suggests that the present Government are even remotely the cause of the trouble. But Mr. Bonar Law's admission that nothing can be done to remedy it is a piece of pessimism for which neither farmers nor labourers are inclined to be grateful. After all, one does not usually talk funerals to a sick man. One can hardly wonder in these circumstances that Hodge and his master are beginning to wonder if the Labour Party can do anything for them. Labour has got an agricultural policy of its own—I sometimes wonder where it found it, and what percentage of the party understand it—but its real difficulty is that it is heart and soul, warp and wool, an urban party, and it does not talk land as farmer and labourer understand it, whatever their politics. But if the Government continues to profess its helplessness, Labour may get over this handicap by sheer enthusiasm. I doubt if its agricultural policy would work, but its belief in itself may be catching, as the religious revivalists say.

**B**ELLICOSE talk from Angora and Constantinople should be heavily discounted, especially as the attacks in the Turkish Press began before any Turk could have known the decisions reached by the Allied Conference in London. The joint Allied Note to Angora, according to immemorial precedent, was a compromise between rival French and British views. The French still smart under the "treachery" of Ismet Pasha at Lausanne, when that wily Ottoman led the French on to make proposals for a separate peace at Britain's expense, and then turned around and offered Lord Curzon a separate peace at the expense of France. This incident has had the excellent effect of inculcating in French minds a wholesome respect for inter-Allied unity. The French wished the reply to be, from one point of view, too stiff. They suggested that the inter-Allied Note should narrow as much as possible the scope of discussion at the coming second edition of the Lausanne Conference. They wanted definite and categorical statements made as to what parts of Ismet's objections to the Lausanne Treaty the Allies are prepared to accept, what they reject outright, and what they are willing to consider negotiable. Against this Lord Curzon declared in favour of broad generalities, leaving the real business of negotiation on all points to Lausanne. The upshot was the welding together of the two views. The Turks were told that certain of their political, judicial, and financial demands will not do; but, on the other hand, a most important cession, refused at Lausanne, was made. The Allies now agree to reopen the economic clauses of the Treaty for discussion, stipulating only that this must be concluded and these clauses agreed upon before the definitive treaty is signed. The French, with their eyes on commercial interests in Asia Minor, secured an agreement that individual Allied business firms and groups may in the meantime send representatives to Angora and negotiate agreements with the Turks direct. There may be unpleasant surprises in store for us arising out of this last point.

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**H**OW the world rang when a Prussian officer struck down a lame shoemaker at Zabern in Alsace, before the war. This was "militarism." But is militarism an attribute of the German mentality, or is it a state of mind that supervenes when a victorious army gets the upper hand in any country? The French protest with the utmost indignation against any use of the epithet "French militarism." Well, here is a little incident, and by no means the worst one, that happened at Bochum, vouched for by a *Times* correspondent: "Only persons living within the blockaded area are allowed through the cordon, and each one had to produce his pass to the French soldier at this street corner. The moment he showed his pass, if he failed to stand hat in hand, a soldier with an adroit movement knocked off his hat into the roadway. I saw two N.C.O.s of this post keeping respect for the French uniform in this way. Each time a hat was knocked off the watching troops took no pains to conceal their amusement." The best one can say for this is that it is no worse than what the Prussian officers used to do in peace time. A million British soldiers

died "to end this drilling, trampling foolery in the heart of Europe," as Mr. Wells called it. The French Army lacks even the excuse for such insolence which the Germans possessed—success. The French trained for forty years for the late war, but when the test came they lost battle after battle fighting with superior forces against the invader. Without detracting from their splendid Marne victory, it can fairly be said that their military machine was in every way inferior to that of their opponents. They were saved by their friends, whose interests they now trample upon. If the French Army behaved itself decently, it would be in bad taste to call attention to its inefficiency, almost as noticeable in 1914 as in 1870. But under these conditions I do feel that when French militarism apes the swaggering of the Prussians, it is time somebody referred to the fact that the French Army was proved in the stress of battle in every way inferior to the German. Bullies are always unpleasant, but he who kicks a stronger boy, after he has downed him with the help of three others, is a particularly objectionable type.

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**I**T is time the farce of the Reparations Commission came to an end. This body was set up by the Peace Treaty as the supreme tribunal to decide Reparations disputes, and carefully so constituted that an impartial American delegate as fifth member should ensure that the individual interests of no one of the Allied Powers, when opposed to those of the others, could possibly prevail. This important judicial body has now degenerated into an appanage of the French Foreign Office, and is prostituted by M. Poincaré, whenever occasion arises, to cover with a cloak of legality the deeds of the French. Sir John Bradbury remains our representative on the Commission, impotent and helpless, and is said to have forcefully told journalists in Paris that the Commission is morally dead. Recently Germany has tried to float a £10,000,000 loan abroad, and subscriptions have been received in New York. It is clearly to our interest, as a business community, and to those of the United States and Italy, that German credit should be restored. Now we are told from Paris that the Reparations Commission has unanimously decided that the Germans had no right to issue a loan without the Commission's sanction. A "strong note" will be sent to Berlin by the Commission. Since the Commission represents merely France and her vassal Belgium, this denial of Germany's right to borrow money in New York is astonishing. I have heard the opinion expressed that this time the French have overreached themselves. New York bankers are unlikely to pay any attention to the Commission's veto, and even our spineless Government will scarcely attempt to tell the City that M. Poincaré's orders must be obeyed.

**W**E have deluded ourselves, for more than a year past, with dreams of "industrial truce." Since the coal strike of 1921 there have been none of those disastrous struggles between Capital and Labour to which we had grown sadly accustomed. It is now clear that we

were living in a fool's paradise. There were no strikes because business was so bad, there was so much unemployment, trade union funds were so depleted, that the workers feared defeat if they made a move. To-day trade is picking up, although no one would suggest that we are approaching boom times; the French will take care that we don't. And with the first breaking of light on the horizon masters and men seem about to rupture the truce and go for each other's throats again. The building trades may be brought to a standstill next week, with 500,000 operatives idle; as I write the supreme decision has not been taken. Thirty thousand jute workers are already out, resisting wage cuts; 60,000 men in the pottery trade declare themselves ready to fight threatened reductions of wages at the end of the month. The delegate conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain ominously discusses denouncing the present wages agreement, and unless a settlement is reached another coal strike is possible, though I do not think it probable. And through the Eastern Counties the strike of farm workers threatens to spread—a most disastrous dispute between the lowest paid of our labourers and the class of employers who are hardest hit under present conditions and are, most of them, losing money. Five wage disputes, three of them of capital importance, on the carpet at one time! And we have no Lloyd George to "blarney" the disputants into compromise. Whatever Mr. Bonar Law's virtues of statesmanship, neither he nor any of his colleagues can rival his predecessor in the art of bringing angry and not too intelligent opponents together.

I HAVE often repeated anecdotes in these columns at the expense of French diplomats. Turn about is fair play. Recently the most dangerously well-informed of French journalists was a luncheon guest of the staff of our Embassy in Paris. To him were posed complaints concerning the intolerable embarrassments which the present French activities inflict upon us at Cologne. "Cologne is our worst diplomatic sector," said a young Attaché, earnestly. "You demand impossible things of us daily there, and we have to go through all kinds of humiliating and ridiculous twists and shifts to give you satisfaction." "*Et ce n'est pas fini*," murmured the best-informed of journalists. "*Que direz-vous quand nous allons vous demander d'arrêter le cardinal archevêque de Cologne? Il paraît que ce prince de l'Eglise s'est rendu complice de choses intolérables, et qu'on a des preuves.*" Our diplomats looked at their guest with uncertain smiles. Surely this was spoof? But the Frenchman's face remained impassive. His eye did not twinkle, the muscles of his mouth did not relax, and he quickly passed on to another subject. Great was the consternation in the Embassy after lunch. Soundings were made at the *Quai d'Orsay*, and at the War Ministry. Telegrams were sent to Cologne and Coblenz. The Archbishop of Cologne's conduct, our people were assured from all French sources, had been unimpeachable. Had we taken leave of our senses? we were asked. Then at last it dawned upon the Embassy that the best-informed of journalists had pulled its leg.

NEMO.

## The Week in Parliament

FRIDAY usually finds the House of Commons in a light-hearted mood. The combination of the approaching week-end and the exhilaration and variety of private members' Bills reacts upon the soberest-sided and most puritanical of members and proclaims itself in soft collars and fancy suitings—or at least in a mitigated severity of clothing. There is a freedom from care not always to be observed during the week; and the House is usually in a mood for high jinks. The sessional prize for *curiosa felicitas* must undoubtedly be awarded to the Railways Fires Bill introduced on Friday last. This measure, designed to provide for the payment of compensation in cases where crops are set on fire by passing trains, has appropriately contrived to be brought into the world by the Member for Tiverton (Mr. Sparkes)! But, for sheer rollicking fun, honours are evenly divided between Mr. Newbold's all too rare allocutions, certain bouts of rough and tumble over Lady Astor's Amendment to the Liquor Laws, and the speeches of the opponents of the Performing Animals Bill. The tears of Sir Walter de Frece over the friendliness of snakes, his defence of warm baths for ducklings, and Mr. Patrick Collins's accents of pride in his possession of twenty or thirty lions, including, it is whispered, the British Lion itself, are things that posterity will envy us. Toby Junior finds himself wondering, by the way, for what inscrutable purpose of Providence it should be ordained that hard-shell Tories like Sir Frederick Banbury and Sir John Butcher—people whom Mr. Will Dyson would assuredly draw with horns and tails—soften and become almost sentimental about animals, whilst, on the whole, Labour and Liberals are less sympathetic.

Toby Junior is in an inquiring mood. The spring has moved him to perverse interrogation and he wants to know what on earth becomes of all the petitions that are presented to the House of Commons. Hardly a day passes without some member rising in his place to present the humble petition of the inhabitants of Mad Muckington ("signed, Mr. Speaker, Sir, by two hundred thousand of the citizens of that borough") praying for the abolition of chimney-sweeps or some equally to be prayed for desideratum. A huge, grim-looking, flabby bag, with an enormous sinister mouth and the general appearance of a hideously deformed and overgrown sea slug, hangs behind the Chair to engulf these "humble presents." At a moderate computation, some hundreds of petitions backed by some tens of thousands of sheets of signatures share this fate in each year. But what becomes of them afterwards? Does anybody ever become acquainted with their contents? They are never read out, so it is to be supposed that, unless individual members have the curiosity to fish them out of the maw of the sea slug, they remain there until some kindly sexton comes to give them burial, presumably in the Archives. . . . It is a stupendous thought to take with us for the holidays, that somewhere within the Metropolitan Police Area there is a vast building piled to the ceiling with petitions to the House of Commons that between them all have not availed to alter one comma in a statute.

Monday brings us back to earth again. The House, intent on grappling with the facts of life, comes together to witness Mr. Hope-Simpson and Sir Robert Sanders fighting a battle royal with Chinese eggs—the kind that, according to Mr. Preyman, turn into baby crocodiles in your very egg-cup. More than one million Chinese eggs enter this country in a year. This means that each member of the population of these islands is entitled to one Chinese egg every fifty years. They are imported "in the shell" (as distinguished, supposedly, from those that are shipped ready scrambled or poached) and they travel in "great hundreds," which is to say in flocks of one hundred and twenty. Toby Junior intends to import a great hundred or two of Japanese Easter Eggs, out of the shell, and distribute them amongst his political opponents. Mr. Hope-Simpson and Sir Robert Sanders shall have two each.

The third reading of the Fees Increase Bill was remarkable for two reasons. The first was the conduct of the Opposition upon the announcement of the President of the Board of Trade that the Government had withdrawn the clause imposing charges for admission to the British Museum. One might have expected that the Opposition, having gained its point, would have greeted the announcement with an approving, or even perhaps a derisive, cheer and passed on to other business. But, bless you, that's not the way to conduct Oppositions! And so first one and then another got up and flogged the dead horse, and talked of our precious heritage of learning, which was no longer in jeopardy, and contrived to appropriate a full hour of public time to this unprofitable pursuit. The second incident was even stranger, and consisted in the arguments advanced by Mr. Shinwell against the third reading of the same Bill. According to the hon. gentleman, it was the thin end of the wedge, and in due course the railways, agriculture, and mines would also have to pay the cost of inspection by Government officials, a proceeding which he stigmatized as pernicious. This from an advocate of nationalisation of everything was *un peu trop riche*.

TOBY JUNIOR, M.P.

## Letting Labour In

MR. ASQUITH quite definitely and deliberately jettisoned any chances of Liberal reunion last week, and he did it in a manner which suggested that he would sooner be the first man in his own particular Wee Free village than run any risk of sharing the leadership with Mr. Lloyd George. On the other side of the political hedge, Lord Birkenhead's direct attack on Lord Salisbury shows that these personal feelings are not confined to one party; and those who recall Mr. Chamberlain's housing letter on the eve of the Mitcham election incline to believe that they are not confined to one person in one party.

We say quite frankly that it is a deplorable and disgraceful thing that men who have played a part, and a great and dignified part, in public life, should show themselves so petty. Everybody who has been on the inside of politics knows that the hatred of one's enemies is nothing to the hatred of one's friends; but these personal rancours are usually cloaked with a decent reserve. The deadly feud between Lord Morley and Sir William Harcourt was hardly known outside the Houses of Parliament and the political clubs; but the feud between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George is as well known in Tasmania and California as in London. Everybody within the party wishes to bury the hatchet, but no sooner is it buried than one of the leaders digs it up again.

The result is not merely that the Liberal Party is nearly impotent in the House of Commons, but that it appears contemptible in the country. And on the other side the same conditions prevail on a smaller scale. The Cabinet consists of three men and a tail, while three of the leading Conservatives look on more or less indifferently. We do not suggest that the Government will collapse; it may postpone the inevitable fate of all Ministries more or less indefinitely. Nor will the Liberal vendetta culminate in a scene on the floor of the House. The consequences will be more permanent and fundamental: if these personal jealousies are persisted in, the next Government of this country will be a Labour Government.

In any event, Labour has a great tactical advantage at the moment. It is the only party which has never been in power, and therefore the only party which has no broken pledges. But the tactical advantage is no longer so great as the fortuitous assistance which the quarrels and discords in other parties confer upon it. In every part of the country there are men and women who would willingly vote Liberal at the next election. But these people read the papers, and they see that they are asked to support a party without a programme, and whose main interest is in tripping up fellow-Liberals. Is it to be expected, is it common sense to expect, that these people will vote Liberal because the Independent objects to the National variety? The ordinary man has no interest whatever in these disputes, and he gravitates insensibly towards a party with a programme. That party is the Labour Party, and every lunch or dinner which the Liberal leaders give against each other brings it nearer power.

Probably there are just as great jealousies in the Labour Party as elsewhere; indeed, these things are common gossip at Westminster. But no inkling of them ever reaches the public. Labour does maintain a united front, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's difficulties are not the subject of open jest in every tap-room and bar-parlour. The result is that a Labour candidate in every by-election finds the wind and tide with him. He may promise what he cannot perform; other politicians have done the same. But he does not have to devote his time to defining his precise attitude towards the orthodox and heretical wings of his own party.

Now we hold that a Labour Government would be an unmitigated misfortune to this country and to Europe, and that not because it has wild men in its ranks—every party has them—or because it is utterly inexperienced in Government. A Labour Government would be disastrous because it represents a violent break with tradition, because it is pledged to destroy the existing economic and social system of this country. It would not, indeed, succeed in doing so, but it would do a vast amount of harm in the attempt. Enterprise would come to a standstill while it lasted, or rather enterprise would migrate to other countries, while Labour was cutting off the nose of England to spite the face of Capital. Nor would there be any probability that a Labour Government would be so short-lived, or hold office on so precarious a tenure, that it would be out in six months. A minority of votes in the country might easily give it a majority of votes in the House of Commons that would last three or four years; and Governments, after all, have patronage as well as power, and Labour has a good many camp-followers who would prefer living on the taxpayer in Whitehall to living as obscure trade union secretaries in the provinces. At a pinch, one can live on one's fat, but it is much pleasanter to live on somebody else's, and under a Labour Government the trains to London would be crowded with men who did not want return tickets. Now it is an axiom in politics that every satisfied follower is a permanent supporter; the only real gratitude is that of the man who feels he may lose his job if the other side come in.

We should not, then, expect a Labour Government to collapse at the first shock. After all, privilege and pomp and power are sweet, and men will hang on to them to the last ounce. But a Labour Government would paralyse business, and the very fact that it had thrown grit in the wheels of commerce would make it hurry forward with its schemes of bureaucratic nationalisation. The revolution might not come off. But the mere threat of a revolution would be almost as bad as its execution.

We believe this political nightmare could be avoided, and can still be avoided, by a sinking of internal jealousies in the other parties. The Government, by the admission of its own followers, is not an insurable risk. But let it be reconstructed by the inclusion of the men who are outside, and we see no reason why it should not last its full five years. The Liberals, by the admission of the rank-and-file, cannot expect to impress the country while they are cutting each other's throats. But let them drop this mutual recrimination, and the country will soon listen to them. At the moment

they would have no chance whatever of power, but two or three years of united effort would make them the only conceivable alternative Government. If they do not concentrate on this objective, nothing but further adversity will teach them wisdom, and it will be their job to clear up the mess which the Labour Government has made of England. The reaction from bureaucracy and nationalisation would probably be stark individualism of the old school—the cooling medicine as before, and this particular physic can only be found in Abingdon Street. It is unpalatable, but its tonic properties are undoubted. Unfortunately, at the moment Liberalism has lost faith in its own prescription, and the physician has first to heal himself before he can heal others. But unless he does so, we cannot see any chance of the patient being restored to strength.

We have spoken frankly and even brutally, because nothing but frank speaking will serve. The country is more important than any party, and the party is more important than any individual. At the present moment the position is reversed, and the quickest way to Liberal reunion would probably be for Mr. Asquith to study Chinese politics on the spot, and for Mr. Lloyd George to imitate one of Mr. Wells's heroes, and spend a year in Labrador. On their return, they would find that Liberalism had achieved in their absence what their actual presence forbade. The absurdity of that conclusion only deepens the tragedy of the present situation.

### An African 1776?

IN the sixth decade of the eighteenth century occurred a dispute between the British Government and some colonists in North America over comparatively insignificant taxation problems. Burke and a few men with vision realised that what was here involved was no trivial wrangle, but a matter of high principle. The Government and the country were unable to recognise the mighty issue at stake, and a revolution followed that brought into existence a gigantic World Power, and profoundly changed the course of the history of our planet, so far as we can judge, not merely for two or three centuries, but for thousands of years to come. A similar apathy at home, lack of understanding because of lack of interest, surrounds the struggle for freedom of 10,000 white men in the heart of Africa. In 1760 most literate Englishmen vaguely knew where Massachusetts was, but in 1923 we doubt whether one-quarter of our people, if led to a map of the globe, could within two minutes put a finger on Kenya. It may seem sensational and far-fetched to record the belief that this little-known Kenya question involves, for the future of our Empire, issues of policy more important than any that have confronted the peoples living under the Union Jack since the revolt in the Thirteen Colonies. Setting aside such struggles for our national existence as those with Napoleon and the Kaiser, we nevertheless believe that such may prove to be the case.

Kenya is the "last white man's country" available for colonisation by Englishmen, where a

great and rich civilisation, becoming in time a rival to that of the Mississippi Valley, can arise. Nature has showered on the East African Highlands her richest gifts. In Kenya great cotton plantations may be developed that shall emancipate England from her present economically disastrous dependence upon the Southern States of America for this staple of our great Midlands industry. Fields of grain, rivalling those of the Western prairies, and the untapped resources of an inconceivably rich and gigantic region, are ours if we work for them; and here in Kenya, as in no other undeveloped dependency of the British Crown, the climate permits white men in their millions to lead healthy lives and to raise families. Before this will be altogether true, certain tropical diseases must be stamped out; but medical science has already conquered these elsewhere, and an expenditure of three or four million pounds would eradicate from the entire area suitable for settlement all those human plagues which now render Kenya less healthy than England.

Such is the vision of the future which those pioneers who have gone out into this promised land paint for us. But is Kenya to be a white man's country? There are four times as many Indians as white men in the colony to-day. Indian Nationalists demand equality in all civic rights for the brown man against the white. So strong is the feeling aroused among Indians on this question that the Kenya problem has become of vital importance in our relations with India. In a recent debate on the subject in the Indian Council of State, the claim was put forward by speaker after speaker that Kenya represents an outlet for the vast surplus population of the Peninsula, and that if England denies equal rights to the Indian settlers disastrous consequences may follow in India itself, owing to apprehended explosions of popular feeling. It is, perhaps, not surprising, therefore, that the British statesman upon whom responsibility for the peace of India depends should espouse the cause of Kenya Indians against the whites. Lord Peel, Secretary of State for India, told a large meeting of Members of Parliament on Tuesday that there should be no differentiation in dealing with the emigration question as between native Indians and white citizens of the Dominions. He declared, as his predecessors have done, that the question of settlement in Kenya is no matter affecting merely local interests of the Colony, but has become an Imperial issue. This is, indeed, true. But it is an Imperial issue in a far broader sense than conceived by those politicians who ignore the possibilities of the development of East Africa by white men, in and for an Empire that is and must remain predominantly a white man's Empire. At present two delegations from Kenya are on their way to argue their respective claims before the Colonial Office. Sir Robert Coryndon, Governor of the Colony, and a representative delegation of white settlers are coming to plead their cause, together with an Indian Committee representing the more numerous Indian inhabitants.

We have made some study of the position that exists in Kenya, and we have no hesitancy in stating that any attempt to conciliate Indian sentiments by making the Indians the overlords of the Colony will have incalculably disastrous effects. If



the Government cannot look ahead and see the vision of a great future white man's Dominion, giving back to us what we lost through our own folly when we threw away America, let them consider more immediate and more narrow perils. To give the Indians what they ask, exact legal and political equality, means turning over 10,000 white men, and several millions of the bravest and most warlike African natives, to the control of 40,000 Indians. The white men will not, they assure us, submit to their fate without a struggle. There is every reason to believe that this is true. No sturdy pioneers of our own stock would ever submit, excepting at the point of the bayonet, to control by a mob of brown men, mostly, at that, of the lower castes, or of no caste. One white Englishman in India is accustomed to govern a thousand natives; is there any reason to suppose that in East Africa that same white man would consent to be ruled by four Indians? Let us think this thing out to the end. If the Government gives in to clamour from India, white Kenya will refuse to obey, and will, as it easily can, enforce its own terms upon the brown inhabitants of the country, as it has already dominated the vastly more numerous and more warlike blacks. Are we, then, prepared to send troops, white or Indian, to maintain a brown hegemony in East Africa? The question answers itself. Kenya's white men have nothing to fear from the martial prowess of the Indians, as an article we print elsewhere in this issue perhaps too cruelly makes clear. But assuming the impossible, granting that 40,000 Indians are installed in control of the Colony, what would the hundreds of thousands of native black warriors do? They respect and fear the white man because the white man has met and defeated their ancestors in battle. They neither respect nor fear the brown man, because they know well enough, with the unerring intuition that savages and children possess, that were it not for the white man they could without the slightest difficulty cut the throats of every brown man in East Africa within three days.

On every ground—the highest and most statesmanlike forethought for future generations, as well as the thought which the politician takes for the morrow, but never for the week after next—the duty of the Government is clear. Whatever embarrassment may be caused in India, Kenya must remain a white man's country. Indian settlers should be assured equality before the law, should be given a voice in local affairs, but they should not be permitted to govern the white settlers. It has never been the practice of men of our race, engaged in conquering virgin countries from nature, to oppress or maltreat the people of inferior races, and once their superior status is recognised, our white pioneers in East Africa, forerunners, we believe, of the millions of the future, will show themselves fair and just to their Indian as to their African fellow-subjects. But let us choose the wrong turning in this matter, and we shall be defied by the men of Kenya as once before by the men of New England, and the result will be the same. Let us not again leave the future generations the melancholy task of lamenting over the lack of vision possessed by their ancestors, when these drove to desperation and to separate action a handful of loyal Britons drawn from our best blood.

## Field Punishment No. 1

FIELD Punishment No. 1 has been abolished, and we imagine that few will regret it. There were some old gentlemen who mourned the cat-o'-nine-tails, and these will have a further opportunity of deploring the growing effeminacy of the age; but the general feeling is undoubtedly against them. Field Punishment No. 1 allowed a prisoner to be put in irons and, in a general way, to be "dealt with in like manner as if he were under sentence of imprisonment with hard labour"; but its most famous and most criticised provision allowed him to be "attached for two hours each day to a fixed object"—which generally meant being tied to the wheel of a gun-carriage. This was a painful business. It faintly resembled crucifixion. Hundreds of men, who before the War had never heard of Field Punishment No. 1, have since, with its assistance, obtained quite a definite impression of the sufferings endured by condemned criminals in the days of Ancient Rome. But it was not so much the pain that was objected to; after all, most soldiers would prefer being tied to a gun-carriage to doing the dirty work of the camp. It was the humiliation associated with this punishment that aroused so much indignation—chiefly, it must be confessed, outside the Army. It was argued, with considerable force, that to expose a man in this way must have a degrading effect upon everyone concerned; the horrid example of Prussia was quoted; and against the excuse that there was no very strong feeling about it among soldiers themselves it was urged that if there wasn't there ought to be, and that nothing was less calculated to produce efficient soldiers than the infliction of punishments tending to blunt self-respect.

All this was really unanswerable. Punishments in an army must always be more severe than in, say, a university, for the obvious reason that so much more depends upon the soldier's vigilance. The death penalty for cowardice, treachery, or sleeping on sentry-go will probably never be abolished altogether. Kerensky abolished it temporarily in the Russian Army, and the result will not easily be forgotten. But military punishments cannot remain where they were a hundred years ago; they must change in conformity with the changes that are taking place in our treatment of civilian prisoners. There is no need to anticipate a slackening in discipline. Punishments which would have had few terrors for Wellington's Peninsular veterans become a serious matter in a more sensitive age. It must not be forgotten that in the period when British soldiers and sailors were being savagely flogged for offences that nowadays would get them confined to barracks for a day or two, burglars were also being hanged for theft. The discipline of the British Army in the late war was not worse but better than the discipline of Wellington's troops. Such incidents as the sack of San Sebastian or the mutinies of Nelson's gallant seamen would be inconceivable in either of the Services to-day. So long as any changes that are made proceed from within, and result from the considered decisions of the military authorities and not from ignorant, sentimental clamour outside, there is no need to fear for the discipline of our fighting forces.

## White Kenya and the Empire

By F. S. JOELSON.\*

THE white settler community in the Kenya Colony is aflame with opposition to the proposal of the Colonial Office that Asiatics should be given the same political rights as Europeans. From all parts of the Colony come reports of great meetings summoned at short notice and attended by farmers from a hundred miles or more away. Inflammatory oratory has not been a feature of these gatherings, but the white settlers have pledged themselves to resort to every means in their power to prevent what they conscientiously believe would be a catastrophe to the Empire and to Africa. They are convinced that Kenya is regarded by the Home Government as a pawn in the game, a pawn that can be given to India to assuage agitation in that land. The Imperial Conference of 1921 passed a resolution recognising the status of equal citizenship throughout the Empire—though, be it noted, General Smuts, the South African spokesman, with his intimate knowledge of the Indian question in the sub-continent, dissociated the Union from the vote; and, more significant still, South Africa, the land that wants citizens, has since 1919 had in being a voluntary repatriation scheme, by which the Government pays the fare of any Indian who wants to go back to his birthplace and stay there. South Africa has had practical proof of the danger of Indian settlement amongst blacks, and having found the experience unhappy, sympathises with Kenya's vigorous protests.

Though there may be some underlying truth in the taunt made from certain quarters that the attitude of the Kenya white settlers is selfish, it is far more true that their hearts dictate the cry that comes from their lips. Naturally they do not want to see the homesteads they have carved from the virgin veld left to the experiments in administration of an enfranchised Indian majority, outnumbering them four to one, but there is no doubt that they are equally influenced by a sincere conviction that they would be betraying their trust to the native if they acquiesced in the transfer of power to the Asiatic. Equality in political rights indubitably means Indian domination in Kenya, which would become a mere dependency of India. It would be India's first real encroachment on Africa, and it would certainly not be to the advantage of the African in any way, for the latter despises the Indian for his spinelessness and cupidity, and cannot look up to him as a being higher than himself. Unfortunately, of the thousands of Asiatic Indians in East Africa the vast majority are of very low caste, are dirty of habit, person, and domicile, and are not over-scrupulous in their dealings with the black population.

Culturally, it can scarcely be contended that the Indian has a claim to rule East Africa. Economically, he is a doubtful asset to the country, for only very occasionally is he a producer, while almost invariably he transfers his gains to the country of his birth, and thus deprives the land of his adoption of the use of the profits she has given him. As a merchant he fulfils useful functions in some cases, but in the great majority his place were better occupied by white or black trader. Because of his exceptionally low personal expenditure he can undercut the white man who wishes to open a bush store, and because of his cunning and clannishness he has prevented the formation in East Africa of a class of native traders, such as exist on the West Coast and parts of Central Africa. He thus competes with the black man, on whom he has no compensating influence for good; while the white settler, on the contrary, introduces new methods

of culture, stimulates production and export, brings all that we cover by the term "civilisation," and thus earns his title to participate in the wealth produced by the land, which, be it remembered, he freed from slavery.

Politically, it is safe to say that the vast majority of Indians in East Africa do not yearn for enfranchisement, and would be quite content to continue under the present conditions if it were not for the agitation of a number of extremists, who are violently anti-British. Did not the Indian Association put their Nairobi offices and a motor-car at the disposal of Thuku, the native agitator, who caused the Kikuyu riots last year? Have they not openly held anti-British celebrations, and have their chief spokesmen not declared that they are demonstrating their loyalty to Gandhi by standing aloof from him for the moment, so that when they have gained political equality they can join him? Are these men entitled to the same rights and privileges as the sturdy British settlers who have lived in Kenya for fifteen or twenty years, and who defended her borders during the war?

Now the Indians want to govern the colony for which they were not prepared to fight. Supporters of the Indian case, in order to obscure the issue, have broadcasted in the home Press tales of the prowess of the Indian troops in East Africa. It is perfectly true that the troops of the *Regular* Indian units fought gallantly under their British officers, and it is under the reflected glory from these deeds that the East African Indians seek refuge, for, in truth, *their* record is a sorry one. With childish naivety the Kenya Indian National Congress, as a protest against the assertion that their war record was not good, has published its correspondence with the local government on the question of war service. And what does one find? That it was in May and June, 1918, that this valiant body of patriotic subjects was urging that its members should be allowed to take their part in the fortunes of war! Prior to this a few had been on service as engine-drivers, but it was some four or five months before the Armistice, and when von Lettow's little force was hundreds of miles away to the south, that the passionate warrior zeal of Kenya Indians declared itself. Meanwhile, practically every able-bodied white man had been in the field for three and a half years, and thousands of native Africans had laid down their lives. The losses of Kenya's Indian community were reported to be:

Killed	...	...	...	...	...	—
Died of wounds	...	...	...	...	...	—
Missing	...	...	...	...	...	—
Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	—
Executed for treachery	...	...	...	...	...	5
Condemned to death for treachery, but sentence commuted	...	...	...	...	...	3

In view of these facts—and they are facts—is it to be wondered that the white settlers are up in arms at the idea of their subjugation, either now or in the future, to the Indian community? If equal political rights were granted to-day, perhaps the educational qualification would for a time debar so many Indians from voting that white representation would still be paramount; but it is easy to learn to write your own name, and in a year or two thousands of Indians would pass the simple test, a test that means nothing. Ability to read and write is no evidence of fitness to rule, particularly to rule a backward race, with whom the personal factor counts so much. Character is the keystone of our colonial success, and no formula can replace it to the advantage of the Empire or of the subject races.

No longer will the white settlers brook delay or shilly-shallying from Downing Street. All Kenya believes that their late Governor, Sir Edward Northey, was displaced because he persisted in warning Mr. Winston Churchill that his Indian policy was against the interests of the young but virile colony. All

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Kenya believes that their present Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon, a man of exceptionally wide African experience, has already made himself unpopular to the Colonial authorities by his manifest reluctance to put into effect their pro-Indian plans. Will he have to resign because he refuses to execute orders which his experience on the spot teaches him to be contrary to the country's welfare? Kenya feared that he, too, would be sacrificed, but the spontaneity and vigour of the settlers' protests may keep for her a Governor she trusts and a dominant control of a territory that will some day be a white stronghold in the Tropics.

## Black Reaction in France

By WILLIAM BOLITHO.

PARIS, MARCH 27TH.

EUROPE for the last hundred years, when it is stormy, has sat puzzling over the French. Every ill wind seems first to blow from this turbulent western corner. It was so when France was weak; now she has the strongest peace-time army ever known and the ugliest temper these fifty years. By all tokens, this bodes evil. It keeps her neighbours from the rest they need. All soothsayers are scanning the French horizon, searching their history-books for parallels, thumbing the new-fangled economic charts, recalling the old aphorisms in which our ancestors registered their theories about this disturbing nation. So far all this learning has had poor success in its predictions. There is a dead calm over France, and its financial ruin that has been so reassuringly prophesied for the past few years seems somewhat overdue. France is obviously not quiet, and she appears to those who want a restful life, uncomfortably far from that ruin, which the pundits said was close at the door. The franc is still resisting astonishingly. If, as may be, the German Government holds up its hands soon, it will rise another ten per cent. at least. The people on the whole seem to bear their bankruptcy with immoral ease.

The economic soothsayers who have been holding forth since the treaty was signed seem to have slipped somewhere. They naturally protest that the error is simply one of date. Sooner or later the economic gag will and must work on this disturber of the peace. But it is just this question of date which is most important. No policy can be built on the knowledge that France, somehow, somewhere, will collapse, in ten, or it may be thirty, years. And there is a little fact which troubles the most devout believers in economic infallibility. Its high priests did most often name a time in which their predictions would come to pass. That day, month, or year is past, and fulfilment has not come. We, whose honour it has been to receive advice from their own mouths, for example, remember, no longer ago than the New Year, the prediction that the entry into the Ruhr would send the franc to one hundred to the pound sterling. The speed would be greater than ever tumbled the Austrian crown; once at seventy, the franc was doomed, and spring would see the end. Now the franc has not behaved like this. Last week, on a mere rumour, it rose ten points against sterling with insolent perversity.

There is no doubt that the financial sins of France will by mathematical Nemesis some day fall upon her citizens. But for the present these predictions belong to the airy limbo where professional optimists seek their arguments, and with them must go those still more dangerous and more precise political forecasts which depend for the most part upon them. The franc ought to be at two hundred—and is not. According to the best soothsayers, France long before this should have been a revolutionary hell of rioting workmen and rebellious soldiers with a grudge against war and reparations and a perfectly innocuous foreign policy. The serious weeklies of the Left continually predicted

this for 1921. They, too, have been forced to put off the day.

Unwilling to retire into those realms of vagueness which now harbour the economist, the political prophets of ruin and revolution now talk with a calm, imposing confidence of a Radical victory in the elections next year, of the repudiation of M. Poincaré, of the withdrawal from the Ruhr and, perhaps, even from the left bank of the Rhine. This is most popular, and it may be true. But there is no visible sign of it in Paris. Instead, however unpleasant it may be, there is every indication of a growing reaction. It is likely to outdo Italy in its Jingo violence, and be even more dangerous to the rest of the world.

There is not much in this prophecy business, but since signs have been spoken of, let us look at them. The working class are still very far from having recovered from their tremendous defeat in the general strike of 1920. The Communist party is dying daily. It consists of merely a handful of lieutenants. Several of them are obviously on the same road to power over which Millerand, Briand, and Viviani passed so long ago. Socialism is going the way of the Muggletonians, or any other sect which has lost its interest for the masses. Lenin and the indifference of the younger men (who, their leaders bitterly complain, care for nothing but sport) are to blame. The entry into the Ruhr did not produce a single protest strike; there was hardly a public meeting of more than a handful.

The Radical Party so confidently tipped to sweep the country at the next elections is obviously and admittedly moribund. Its leaders are lukewarm. M. Herriot's chief wish in the Chamber is to avoid being taken for an anti-Nationalist—and Nationalism is the enemy he is supposed to destroy. M. Doumergue, leader of the Radical party in the Senate, made a speech so profusely and unreservedly in favour of the Ruhr expedition, that M. Poincaré had it put on the hoardings up and down the country. M. Caillaux is still an exile from Paris, growing older; his adventures have soured and narrowed a mind never very universal; and any attempt on his part to climb back to power would find many open and secret enemies in his own party. With such leaders the programme cannot be very daring. It is, in fact, quite hopeless. The party have never pronounced one intelligible word against the Ruhr adventure. If M. Poincaré wins, they lose; if he loses, they are accomplices. If he wins an apparent success, he will sweep the country against them, long before France discovers the tin under the gilt; if the whole thing ends in utter visible ruin, the only party who will gain is that which opposed it—the Communists. This is the Radical party which is to come back to power against a powerful reaction in a twelve-month. Its foes are strong, united on the wave of success. The election machinery of Prefects is in the hands of the Reaction or helpless against it; the Press and the money of the country are behind it. It seems to me that the odds bookmakers would lay on the next French elections are different from those of our cheerful prophets.

In all this there is but faint and small hope for those who look for peace and quiet in Europe for the next decade. It is best to face it. As far as any outward sign can tell us, France is marked for a long period of reaction. The financial situation exasperates rather than helps it. The strong, proud man, when ruined, does not often take to his bed; he is more likely to turn highway robber and rogue. Europe longs for peace and for some bridge to the old days of "tranquillity." It is more likely that it is on the edge of a period of struggle, turning the world upside-down. Beside it the days that followed the first French revolution were piping times of comfort. If signs mean anything, that is whither they point.

## MIDDLE SECTION

## Sarah Bernhardt

By E. T. RAYMOND.

I AM old enough to remember Sarah Bernhardt, if not in her very prime of fierce womanhood, at any rate when, to her finished artistry, she still added a sufficiency of that marvellous vitality which was perhaps the greatest of all her splendid gifts.

And as a very young man I felt exactly as I did in middle age—that the actress, in the more narrowly histrionic sense, was the least thing about her. She was too great, too vivid, too vital to fit into any scheme. She dwarfed the rest of the company, in a way no actress should do. There was an emptiness when she left the stage. She shamed other stars as daylight does a lamp. Nobody could really play up to her, and if everybody could have done so the effect would have been too terrible, like the performance of the Imperial Broddingnagian band to poor Gulliver, for mortal ears. The pleasure—if one can use so mild a word to describe the feeling Bernhardt aroused—was something that could not be compared with that which is given by simply splendid acting. The Shakespearian definition of acting can hardly be bettered. It is "to hold the mirror up to Nature," to please by showing life more or less as it is. Sarah Bernhardt's theory, as well as her practice, was the exact opposite. She did not want to represent; her aim was to create. And I cannot help thinking that if she had been only a very little less than she was she would have been a very poor actress indeed.

No woman (except perhaps herself) ever acted in private life as Bernhardt acted on the stage. But then no king, from Nebuchadnezzar down to George V., ever spoke blank verse like Shakespeare's Henry V. That does not mean that Shakespeare was absurd, or that Bernhardt overdid her parts. It simply means that Shakespeare on paper was more of a king than any monarch who ever lived, and that Sarah Bernhardt had vitality enough to give impossibility the force of fact. She did not express life any more than Shakespeare; she made it. She was not the actress, who dexterously translates, but the artist, who creates. She was to the stage what the great begetters, like Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Dickens, as contrasted with the great interpreters, like Balzac, Jane Austen, and Thackeray, are to literature. I should no more expect to meet, in any conceivable circumstances, any one of the many women Bernhardt was on the stage than I should anticipate the sensation of seeing King Lear in the flesh. But Phèdre, La Tosca, and Marguerite Gauthier are, like Lear, just as real (and rather more interesting) as Mr. McCurdy.

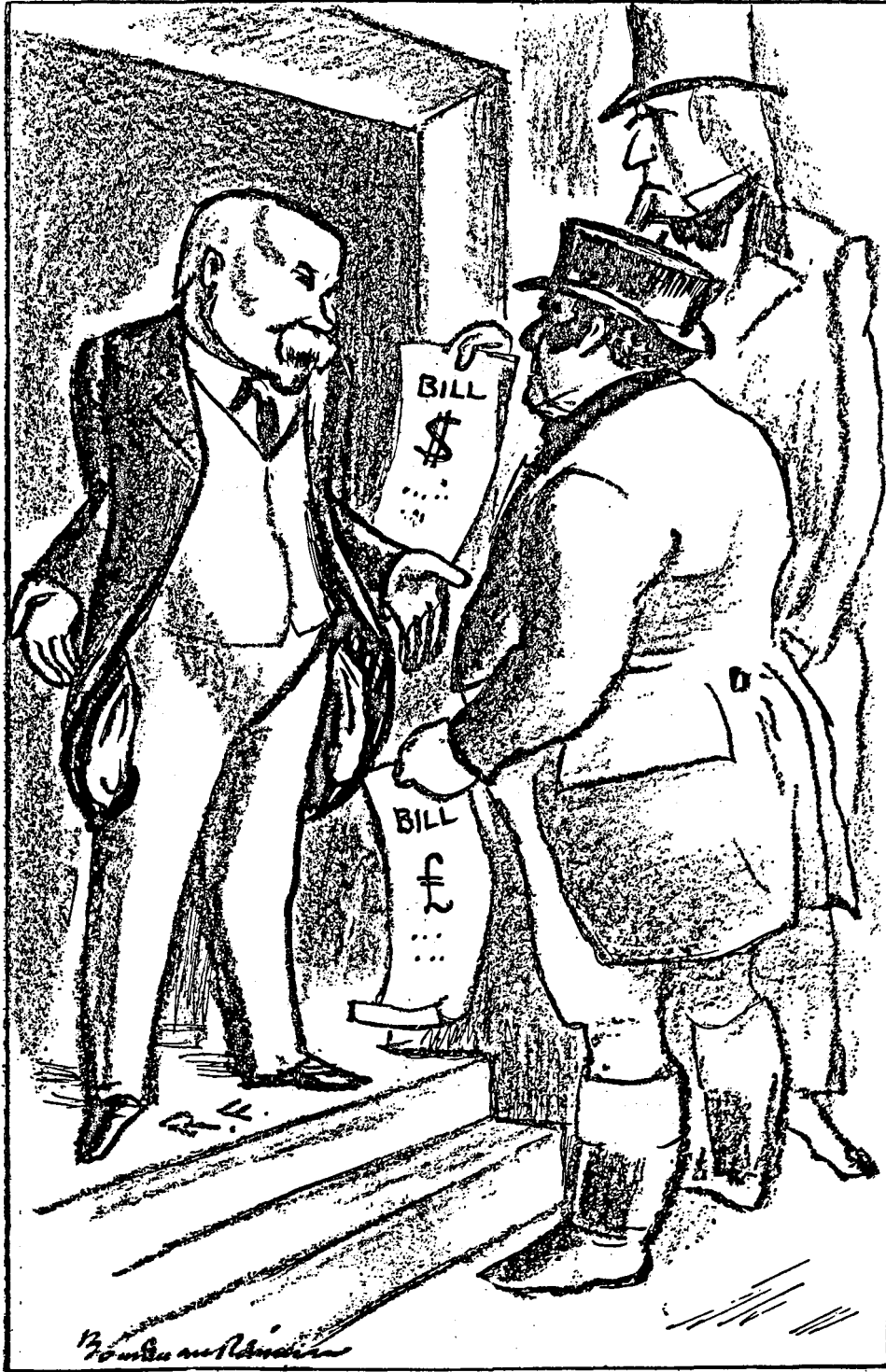
There were always wordy battles, when Bernhardt was in the zenith of her career, as to whether she was quite equal to her predecessor Rachel, like herself a Jewess. There can be no such comparisons between Bernhardt and any of her successors. She belonged to an age which, better or worse, was quite unlike our own. We may have all sorts of qualities which entitle us to smile in a superior way at the nineteenth century. We may deplore its floridity, question its judgments, scoff at its standards of taste. But we can neither deny nor rival its courage. The largeness of Bernhardt belonged to her century. It was an age of giants, of giants sometimes weak-kneed, sometimes a little shambling in gait, sometimes one-eyed, sometimes a little weak and wobbly, as is the way of giants if they take too much (as these did) of the intoxicating cup of flattery—but still giants. There was a splendid courage about the eighteen hundreds. People were not afraid to attempt big things in a big way. The

great sprawling pictures, the great sprawling poems, the synthetic philosophies, the all-embracing political and economic theories, Frith's *Derby Day*, Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, the "doctrine of silence in forty volumes," the *Bab Ballads* expanded to three acts, were all as much an expression of this bigness and this courage as *Les Misérables* and the acting of Bernhardt. A novelist to-day fills fifty note-books with exact records of conversations and inventories of ten middle-class houses in order to get truth and atmosphere. A painter spends three weeks in studying an effect of light on a farmyard puddle. An actor studies from the life every gesture and tone of a young fop or an old fribble. The men and women of the nineteenth century, perhaps lazy as well as courageous, preferred the great effect to the small refinement. They slashed away at their vast canvases, sometimes producing a fine thing, sometimes a very dreadful thing, but never a small triumph.

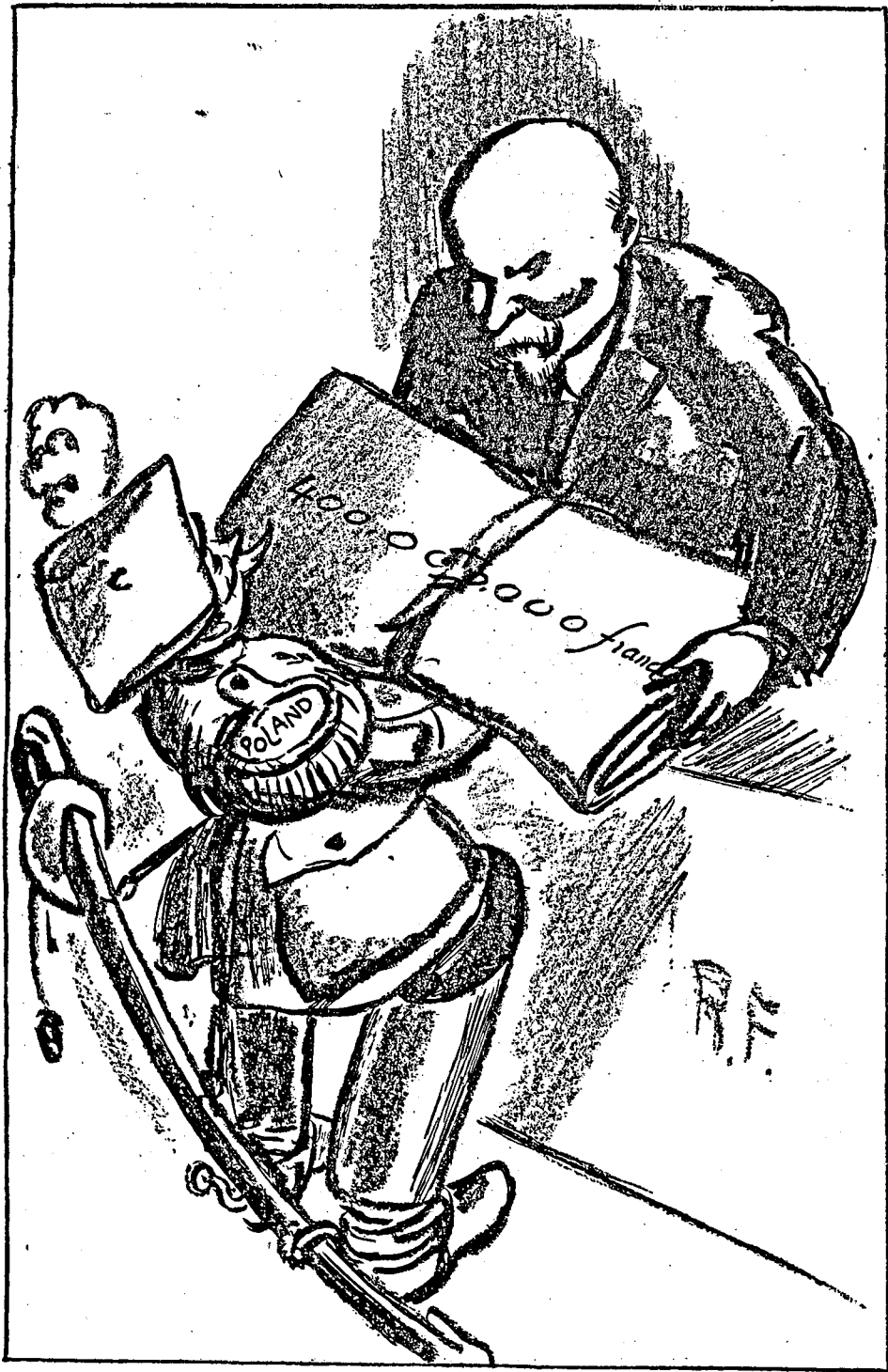
And if the ambitions of the artists were on this grandiose scale, so, too, were the antipathies or appreciations of the public. The nineteenth century was, perhaps, not very discriminating, but it had zest. It had passions. To-day nobody really cares a button about Einstein. Half the Victorians would cheerfully have burned Darwin, and the other half elevated what Mr. Bernard Shaw (I think) calls an "inspired pigeon-fancier" into the prophet of a new no-religion. To-day a millionairess is content to wait—and perhaps she is wise—till she can get the last work of genius from the circulating library. In the 'fifties and 'sixties poor people not only read Dickens, they bought him. The theatre shared in this enthusiasm. It was hated by the Puritans as the favourite lure of the devil. But it was also elevated as the temple of fine art. Theatrical taste was pretty low, and the taste of the great actors was generally lowest of all. For Irving rubbish had an infallible attraction, and Bernhardt was not much better. But these little weaknesses may be pardoned the Victorians when we remember how, while they were often too kind to mere barn-storming, they went on their knees to the great ones who carried barn-storming to the height of genius. They realised that, after all, barn-storming, carried far enough, is the highest the theatrical art can give—that, while bad melodrama may be very feeble, good melodrama is the best of all drama.

It is idle to regret the change of taste. It is in the nature of things. Two centuries had to elapse before the Elizabethan passion for breadth and bigness found some sort of counterpart in the nineteenth-century giantism. The interval was devoted to specialist refinement and the little masterpiece. We are back again in that atmosphere. Not only are our artists specialists, but their patrons also. It is the mark of the fogy to prefer Tennyson to Mr. Masfield. But it is the mark of something much worse to like something of Mr. Masfield without positively loathing everything of Tennyson. That is catholicity, a thing the modern cannot abide. Better, in the present sectarianism, to have a bad dogma of exclusion than no dogma of exclusion at all. When fear of breadth is thus spread among the public, it must affect the artist. The grand manner will return, of course. But for the moment it is gone, in all the arts, in the Church, in politics, even in the law—our judges have become as colourless as civil servants, our barristers as commonplace as stockbrokers. It is doubtful, therefore, whether an analogue to the Bernhardt legend could be reconstructed, even if a second Bernhardt were to arise.

But a second Bernhardt will not arise. Such a phenomenon only comes from a happy conjunction of temperament and circumstance, and the circumstance will be wanting if the temperament arrives. In saluting the dead actress we are saying a long farewell to her kind. We shall not look upon her like again.



BANK



PT!

## The Singing Voice

By FRANCIS TOYE.

THERE is undoubtedly a revival of interest on the part of composers in the possibilities of the human voice as a means of musical expression. It is, I suppose, a reaction against Wagnerianism, which was itself a reaction against the autocracy of the voice in the realm of Opera. In so far as Wagner did his bit in overthrowing the pretensions of singers as distinct from what they sang he is permanently entitled to the gratitude of musicians. The singer is wholly admirable as a servant of music, and wholly detestable as its master. The trouble is that the singer, directly he or she achieves any great competence, always seems inclined to capricious dictatorship. *Omnibus hoc vitium cantoribus*, wrote Horace nearly two thousand years ago, and those who feel inclined to look up the quotation for themselves will see how apposite the whole of it is to modern as well as ancient music.

Nevertheless, Wagner, in carrying out a necessary reform, did a certain amount of harm. It was once the fashion to pretend that Wagner wrote for the voice as well as, if not better than, the Italian Opera-composers—Bernard Shaw, if I remember rightly, put forward such a thesis in *The Perfect Wagnerite*—and that the Ring could be sung with as much vocal beauty as *Rigoletto*. The first claim is, perhaps, a matter of opinion; I do not think it is justifiable, nor, I fancy, do most other people. As for the second, it may be possible, even preferable, to sing Wagnerian Music-Drama beautifully—Wagner himself thought so—but it is not apparently necessary. At any rate, it is not so considered by Wagnerian enthusiasts, who often seem definitely to prefer what can only be called traditional barkings to beautiful sounds.

Wagner expressed himself primarily in the orchestra, relegating the voice to a subordinate position, and his operatic successors—including Richard Strauss up to *The Rosenkavalier* period—did likewise. Not only that. A number of song-writers even, nurtured on Wagnerian traditions, became increasingly inclined to transfer the principal musical interest to a pianoforte accompaniment, and composers generally never seemed to bother their heads as to what was effective or even possible for the voice. In this they were (and are) clearly wrong. Nobody would think himself justified in writing unsuitable passages for the Oboe or the Tuba. Is there any reason why the voice alone should be driven outside the pale of consideration?

Against all this unmerited contempt there is at last a reaction, which is shown, I think, by contemporary experiments in Unaccompanied Song and Vocalisations. Unaccompanied singing is, of course, no new thing in itself. There are the folk-songs to begin with, and not only in the streets of Cairo and Bombay and Rome, but in the streets of London many of us have long sampled its delights as well as its drawbacks. Personally I have a great deal of sympathy with the ideals of the apostles of the movement. I agree with them that the voice by itself can be completely satisfying; indeed, I have experienced such complete satisfaction. Nevertheless, I am not sure that the effort to transplant Unaccompanied Song to our concert-rooms will be successful. There is always a tendency to formlessness in writing of this kind. Such formlessness is not really consonant with the formal poetry set to music; something more rhapsodical is needed. What is more in juxtaposition to other music and in the midst of the somewhat rigid atmosphere which, consciously or not, is associated with concerts, this formlessness, if any, becomes accentuated. Doubtless the average audience does not bother much about form,

indeed, hardly realises its existence as such. But it does experience a vague sense of aimless meandering, and begins to feel bored. Perhaps, reclining in the comfortable arm-chair of a private drawing-room or swinging in a garden hammock such a defect would hardly be noticeable; concentration is not so rigid, and the senses can find contentment in the most general of general impressions. Such conditions, however, are far removed from those that prevail in any public performance of music. The most effective piece of modern unaccompanied vocal writing I can call to mind is at the end of the first act of *The Immortal Hour*, and there the scenery helps by creating in the spectator the illusion of being in a wood. True, the protagonists of Unaccompanied Song are not Schuberts or even Duparcs. Some day a genius may arise to show how this particular form of composition can be treated with complete success. Till then, I think, the influence of our modern environment will continue to prove too strong for its somewhat tenuous appeal.

Vocalisations (that is to say, the singing of notes without words) seem to me more likely to win the voice's battles. Essentially they are hardly newer than is Unaccompanied Song, for what are they, after all, but a development of *coloratura*? Everybody nowadays thinks of *coloratura* in terms of acrobatics. But *coloratura* may have a definite musical interest, as anybody who has ever heard the Queen of the Night's arias in *The Magic Flute* properly sung will realise; Mozart makes these trills and runs pulsate with venom and spitefulness. At least two other composers besides Mozart held the secret of expressive *coloratura* writing: Bach and Purcell. Compare their writing with that of Handel and the difference will be plain. Handel most emphatically had not the gift of *coloratura*. When he tried to be expressive, as in *All We Like Sheep*, he was merely grotesque. Normally, his writing in this style is mere ornamentation; it is something quite extraneous; it adds nothing to the musical sense. And Verdi and Rossini, to mention only two other great composers, were, speaking generally, like unto him.

Modern vocalisations, then, are descendants of the Bach-Purcell-Mozart *coloratura*, not of the more familiar species popularised by prima-donnas in the Albert Hall. Even so they have moved far from the ideals of their parents. Agility and florid expression are become merely incidental to them. They present the voice precisely like any other instrument. Delius, for instance, shows a great partiality for such treatment of the voices in some of his works for chorus and orchestra—which is curious, for, of all composers, he writes, I think, worst for the voice. Holst uses them in a similar manner at the end of *The Planets*. These instances must suffice to illustrate the modern use of the voice in what may be called an orchestral capacity, though there are others, and I have no doubt that the future will see many more.

Experiments in the treatment of the voice as a solo-instrument have been made by Cyril Scott and Rachmaninoff (neither very distinguished), by Wellescz (so difficult that it is hardly possible to sing), and by Arthur Bliss, who, in my opinion, has by far the greatest talent for such work. *Rout*, his most successful essay in this form, has, it is true, nonsense syllables intended to heighten the colour effect, but they were added after the music was written, and do not, in any case, affect its character as a genuine vocalisation.

Artistically speaking, the orthodoxy of one generation is always apt to become the heresy of the next, so that no one need feel surprised at the reviving interest in the voice among serious musicians. It was bound to come and is very welcome, for of all instruments of music the human voice is the most varied, the most expressive—and the most natural.

## THE DRAMA

### The Cinema Scores a Point

By EDWARD SHANKS.

THERE has recently been shown at the Scala Theatre a film which moves me to take back a good deal of all I have said on this page about the cinematograph. I have argued here more than once that the screen ought to be used rather for the recording of actual events than for the presentation of imaginary events. I have also argued that for the presentation of imaginary events it is probably by nature unsuitable. This is not true: the thing can be done.

*The Golem* is founded on a novel by that cheerfully gruesome writer, Gustav Meyrink, and is, I presume, a German production. The scene is laid in Prague and it may be of Czecho-Slovakian origin. But I deduce that it is German from the fact that no name of actor or producer is given on the programme. This, let me observe in passing, is a shame. I feel no great tenderness towards that singular race, either in art or in politics, but I cannot see why, when they have done a thing conspicuously well, they should be deprived of the credit of it. They need, in so many ways, one might say, all the credit they can get.

The scene is laid in Prague, and, for the most part, in the Ghetto. The Golem is a legendary figure of the Jews. Make a clay figure, discover the proper Word of Power, set it on the figure's breast; and it will come to life and obey you. The Emperor orders that the Jews shall be expelled from Prague. The Rabbi begs for an audience, and meanwhile, stimulated by this danger, sets to work on the Golem. The Word of Power is revealed to him; and the Golem is brought to life. He is a monster, apparently eight feet high, half human, reminiscent of the clay from which he has been made. The Rabbi takes him to the palace; and when the Emperor and his ribald Court have, by their irreverence, called down on themselves the wrath of Jehovah, it is the gigantic muscles of the Golem which hold up the falling rafters and preserve the Emperor alive. So the Jews are for the moment respired, and the Golem's work is done. But when the Rabbi seeks to pluck from the monster's breast the Word of Power and to return him to his original lifeless clay, he objects. He begins to act as an independent creature, not as an automaton. The Rabbi's daughter, though betrothed to Chilo, her father's pupil, has a Gentile lover, one of the Emperor's courtiers. This night is the one they have chosen to spend together; and Chilo, his suspicions being aroused, induces the Golem to break down the girl's door. The lover flies to the top of a high tower. The Golem pursues and throws him over the parapet. So far, so good. But this is not enough for the animated clay figure, who proceeds to set most of the Ghetto aflame and then breaks its gate and emerges into the city. He frightens away all but one of the children who are playing outside the gate. This one remains. He takes it up in his arms and, in the course of its play, it plucks the Word of Power from his breast and he falls, a lifeless lump, on the ground. The Jews give thanks and carry back the figure to the Ghetto to preserve it against a future emergency.

The story is a good one; but better stories than this have been terribly mangled on the screen. The nameless producer has worked here, however, with very great skill. The story is told rapidly and succinctly. The temptation in cinematography is to show more than need be shown and to show everything too long. But in this film we proceed briskly from scene to scene. The captions are brief, lucidly worded, and, though done in a lettering intended to suggest the

Hebrew script, fairly readable. There are no offensive close-ups. The producer has shown great talent and sensitiveness in varying the size and shape of the picture thrown on the screen. Some of his effects are remarkable, notably the magic scene in which the Rabbi invokes the spirits and learns from them the Word of Power. And the acting is very remarkable, indeed. Exaggeration, indeed, there is: it seems at present to be inseparable from film acting. But it is exaggeration of a far less disconcerting and nauseating type than one usually encounters. As a rule, love scenes on the screen are calculated to make any decent and sensitive man wish that he could enter a monastery at once. Here the nameless actor and actress achieve something approaching to the reasonable and sympathetic. And the nameless actor who takes the part of the Golem is something like a genius. The production seems to me to prove two things. In the first place, far greater restraint in film acting is possible and desirable than seems hitherto to have been thought so. In the second place, nowhere else are speed and the omission of the inessential so absolutely necessary.

"For the purposes of this book, the journey excluded England, because observation and reliable report showed little there that was not a faint echo of what was to be found on the Continent." So Messrs. Kenneth Macgowan and Robert Edmond Jones in *Continental Stagecraft* (Benn, 25s.); and their suggestion is one against which there is no argument to be presented. We English must content ourselves with having produced the dramatist whose supremacy the whole world cannot and dare not dispute. But this remark leads me suddenly to a salient point in this book. Messrs. Macgowan and Jones put the setting first, the actor second, and the dramatist—nowhere. Now I was brought up in the old-fashioned school, which believed the dramatist to be, not indeed the only, but the most important person in the theatre.

Of course, in this summary I have been a little unjust. Messrs. Macgowan and Jones are principally concerned with stage effects, with setting and lighting, and have given these matters the first place in their book; but they have some very acute and stimulating remarks on acting. But they never mention a dramatist except as a *corpus vile* on whom the producer may try the effect of his machinery. Now, it would be ludicrous to argue that stage effects cannot be used to æsthetic purpose. If so, why a stage at all? And experience shows us that undoubted æsthetic sensations may be derived from Shakespeare, from Schiller, from Molière, by the application to their works of modern methods of which they never dreamt. But, though one would hardly suspect it from the discourse of Messrs. Macgowan and Jones, there will be new dramatists in the future, well acquainted with these methods. What will be the effect on the drama, on that core of the drama which is the word, written and meant to be spoken, of the movement here described? What will be the effect of Hasait screens, cloud machines, *Jessnertreppen*, and the rest of them? It is possible that the necessary technical qualifications of the dramatist will be immensely increased, and that he will find it necessary to be his own producer, that the core I have named will diminish in importance. On the other hand, it is possible that one kind of technical efficiency may cease to matter—the kind that consists in getting all your characters together in one place and keeping them there as long as possible in order to avoid changes of scenery. When a change of scenery means no more than switching on a different light, the dramatist may fall into the casual Shakespearean habit of explaining difficult points in the plot by bringing on two or three characters in a "street scene" of five or ten minutes' duration. But, having raised this important point, I am compelled to leave it over until another time.



## NEW BOOKS

## Novels

THE BRIGHT SHAWL. By Joseph Hergesheimer. Heinemann. 7s. 6d.

TALES OF THE JAZZ AGE. By F. Scott Fitzgerald. Collins. 7s. 6d.

TALES WITHOUT MORALS. By Arnold Palmer. Selwyn and Blount. 7s. 6d.

COLLEAGUES. By Geraldine Waife. Chapman and Hall. 7s. 6d.

THE CAPTAIN MORE. By John Brandane. Cape. 7s. 6d.

MOST vivid colours; pale armies moving at night, with much jingling harness, between rows of marble palaces; lovely dancers; fatal women; impossible loyalties; a glimpse of all these Mr. Hergesheimer affords with more than his usual skill. *The Bright Shawl*, however, is not merely picturesque. Had it been so, one would enforcedly have been indulgent to a texture so dazzling in design. But this brief excellent story is something more. There are two kinds of adventure. The one is an escape from the facts of life to a phantasmagoria, and the other is a restatement of life in simpler and more effective terms. It was the second kind Charles Abbot sought when some forty years ago he visited Cuba and insinuated himself into the Conradesque politics of this not yet liberated island. Most writers would have been tempted to describe his development as a series of disillusionments, but Mr. Hergesheimer, while he refuses to veil the crudity of the boy's idealism, proves his growth into being a strong and secretive politician, a lofty as well as a proper and natural sequel to his enterprise. Nor, sensitive as the author is to all glaring, strange, foreign things, does he once suppose Abbot's interest and surprise to proceed from the Spanish mystery alone. Cuba in itself is not romantic; the collision between Cuba and the northern adventurer supplies the romance. Indeed, the hard, practical intelligences of the Latin conspirators, and the relative triviality of their aims and methods, would make the story sordid were it not for the nobility—the indefinable nobility—attending these obscure and dandified rebels. So it is that Abbot, in his old age, can censure the victims of a world-catastrophe because they cherish "no sustaining vision of an ultimate dignity behind men's lives." The struggle of which he and his friends were the heroes was, in comparison, a pot-house brawl. Yet if that struggle was worthily directed to a great ideal and was informed by a passionate companionship its minuteness in bulk is irrelevant. With such reflections Abbot protects the fragrant charm of his memories against the dissolving cynicism of the young men of a more melancholy generation. These young men might reply that his campaign for justice and freedom had been not uncomfortably conducted in fancy dress. And it is a considerable objection to Mr. Hergesheimer's romanticism that it is so fanciful, so largely picturesque. He would be the greater artist if he could, without boring or irritating himself, seek a less artificially perfumed romance. That, as his experiments have but too clearly shown, he cannot do. Nevertheless, *The Bright Shawl* is a very fine and lovely piece of work, and, after the contemptible stuff of his recently published here, will reassure the reader as to his remarkable talent.

It would be pleurably instructive if all authors appended to collections of their short stories the full, frank notes which Mr. Fitzgerald appends to *Tales of the Jazz Age*. Mr. Fitzgerald is brilliant in the worse sense of the word, and it is an arguable proposition that he takes himself more seriously than any of his published works would entitle him to do. Yet this

glittering and speedy invention has its charms. Mr. Fitzgerald is not dull. Even when he is obsessed by the delusion that he is capable of satire, even in *The Diamond as Big as the Ritz*, his mind goes on working. And the notes collected in the index assist to explain how he got into this very nasty mess which it is vain to hope that he would not call his art. He is interested in human nature. But also he was educated at Princeton, which I understand to be one of the more expensive of American colleges, and a strictly proper temperament forbids him to take the willingness of young women to kiss and to be kissed as brightly as they themselves would do. Money and rouge. Money and rouge. It is hard to get behind them to the slim, ingenuous talent of the young author; harder, perhaps, for the reader of this actual volume than for the reader of its predecessors, since so much of the merely frivolous, from a schoolboy experiment in tushery to a dialogue so bad as to be awe-inspiring, is included here. This is not a good book, but it is the book of a man who may be, or might have been, good. It is spirited and gay, or, when sentimental, impeccably sentimental.

Mr. Palmer's voluntary tedium is so pronounced as to be almost spectacular. Take, if you please, the best of the lot: *Hotel Windsor—Beau Sejour*. Here you have the diary of a dull, elderly man, attracted by the opposite sex, but not so strongly attracted as to forget either his hypochondria or his pride. "Feb. 14 (St. Valentine's Day).—Arrived at half-past three. . . . I think I shall like this place," down to "They are to be in the hall to-morrow morning at ten-thirty. I want them to see the flower-stalls before they are denuded by purchasers." And in the three weeks intervening an unconscious betrayal of the diarist's muffled, tepid flirtations, of his snobbery, of his folly. It is excellently accomplished. Yet something in the reader—call it, if you like, his old Adam—protests that it is not enough so roundly to imagine a character; that a plot should be added to show that character in action. With this old Adam my own sympathies reside, and while admiring Mr. Palmer's humour and skill, I regret this inclination to devote them to themes so slight as these.

The heroine of *Colleagues* is a lecturer at a teachers' training college. She falters her way through a number of hard-headed rivals, expert in intrigue, to dismissal and penury, from which she is at last happily rescued by a friend; a female friend, for this is a novel without a man. Miss Waife has no particular success in describing character, and the febleness of Marian appears at times to embarrass even her. But the sincerity of the book is so evident, and its setting so unusual, that one willingly overlooks its artistic deficiencies. Hardly a novel, but a quiet and amiable protest against man's inhumanity to man—or, rather, woman's to woman; the difference lies only in the technique.

Nor has Mr. Brandane the power of making his characters as distinct to the reader as they are to himself. The doctor, the minister, and the old soldier, after whom the book is called, *The Captain More*, all seem very much alike. Villainy, prodigality, courage, sweet affection, have a jaded and time-worn air. But the Hebridean island, its customs and its legends, come out astonishingly plain, and one would gladly accept duller company than is in fact offered if one could mark the night wanderings of Alasdair, hear the scraps of folk-lore, see the horse-breeder's convoys land for the August fair, and linger amid the Highland life even then, a century ago, and there, in distant Aros, declining. Elopements, and gambling with treacherous dice; hamesuckers and smuggling give an appearance of bustle to these rambles; but strongest of all is the refrain, "Long ago. . . . Long ago."

H. C. HARWOOD.

## The Renaissance

ASPECTS OF THE RENAISSANCE. By Rachel Annand Taylor. Grant Richards. 12s. 6d.

**T**HOUGH it is probable, that no book can now add to our knowledge of the Renaissance, a period so alert, so passionate, so coloured will always create a desire in those who respond to its appeal to record their personal reaction to its influence. Indeed, as time goes on, and the world gets uglier and more uniform, this desire may even grow, and the problem of each student will be to find a new method of approach to the old story. Mrs. Taylor, whose own scholarship has evidently been nourished by Walter Pater's famous volume, has adopted the method of grouping the famous personalities into types, and in a set of chapters, beginning with the "mediaeval dream," and the "social" and "intellectual" conditions and contrasts of the period, goes on to discuss the scholar, the artist, the courtier, the women of the time, the city state, the Papacy. This enables her to group together individual character-studies under their appropriate heading, and thus to give us a less limited and more complete historical picture.

It is surprising how much she is able to say, in such brief compass, of the individuals in each group, yet each personal study is only, as it were, a paragraph in a chapter, wherein one characteristic human force and activity is emphasised. It may be said at once that the method is successful and conveys—in a way, for example, that Pater's Essays did not—a picture of the time, of the stage as well as of the actors; it makes her volume a history in a sense that such essays seldom are. Just as the unity of Pater's book was contained in his "conclusion," in which the threads of each preceding chapter were caught up and woven into a philosophy of æsthetic experience, so the unity of Mrs. Taylor's book consists in defining a historic period by way of the characteristic types that contributed to its interest and beauty.

Every page in the volume gives evidence of the author's desire to write well, of her love of rich cadence and splendid names, so that where a sentence, as sometimes happens, is filled with names or allusions, we can read it for our pleasure in the vowels, because these, like the jewels and dresses and ornaments of the period, bring before us the rich atmosphere of the Ducal Courts, and that background to life in which the personalities of the time delighted. Her own style, which seeks to reproduce this effect, has a massive and sonorous richness:

The Renaissance spirit works both with the despots and against them, rejoicing equally in tyranny and tyrannicide, in the tradition of Cæsar and of Brutus. Memories of Imperial Rome made more endurable the blood-lust of the Visconti and the banquets of the Borgia: Periclean Athens entered into the growth of Medicean Florence. But the antique histories also quickened the fair, fierce dream of Freedom, that beautiful chimæra for ever preying on the heart of a humanity that carries the pulses of slavery in its blood.

In his preface, Mr. Gilbert Murray quotes these concluding words as an example of the author's brilliant *obiter dicta*. These enliven the sombre music of her prose, but the book is best judged by two chapters, on the *Courtier* and the *Women*, for these have rarely found a place among the pageant of artists and princes that other essayists have loved to celebrate. The quality of the writing may be suggested by the following quotations:

There is no mistaking a Renaissance head, moulded, disquieted, by conflicts of sense and soul. Sometimes the elements are exquisitely liquefied—flow into lineaments steeped in a lovely dissolvent dream—of gods and angels, as in the drawings of Leonardo and his school, and in the languid beauty of the young men disposed about the frescoes, or in the listening music-haunted faces of Giorgione. More anguish troubles the irregular grace of Botticelli's folk.

The medals tell a still truer story, presenting, as they actually were, the Renaissance tyrants.

Or this:

The idea of beauty is masculine; but if a woman can fulfil it, she shall have recognition. The woman-worship of romantic lore is over; but the Renaissance passion for beauty will not let its women be thrust away to breed and be silent. The women do as the men, without much controversy. . . . They came as comrades, too, rather than lovers. . . . Women were made, and described, as wonderful works of art.

The Renaissance was a time, inexplicable in the deeper causes of its occurrence, that lived by sight and not by faith. The desire for beauty and the capacity to create it were more potent and widespread than at any modern period. Quality rather than quantity was its aim. We have reversed all that, and the sole defect of this beautiful study, evidently inspired by home-sickness for that wonderful past, is its concluding glance at the present world and its future. If anything is certain, surely it is the impossibility of expecting that "the people must bring the Renaissance this time." All distinctions are, by definition, aristocratic; the people do *not* hunger for any of these things; and there is no reason why Art, which deserted the world for a thousand years, should not eventually desert it for ever. But a lost cause is always dear to an Irishwoman, as Mrs. Taylor's last paragraph reveals her to be.

## An American Critic

LETTERS OF JAMES GIBBONS HUNEKER. Laurie. 21s.

**B**ENEATH the surface gusto of Mr. Huneker's letters there is an undercurrent of disillusion and sadness, perhaps, not so much in the words themselves (which are brave enough) as between the lines. It grows more and more marked as we approach the end, when he himself began to feel the devastating effects of decades of journalism. He seemed to realise himself that of all the many books he had written probably not one was destined to survive:

I'm too old, weary, and so I think unless I win some grand lottery, I'll settle down on a nice spot, go easy, revise my memories for publication and die where my parents died and in the burg I was born. The return of the native! It comes to all—the Button-molder at the cross-roads of life! (You remember *Peer Gynt*?) I hope to be ready. The game has not been worth the candle, but, after all, it is life. The only life we shall ever know—in our present estate of flesh and bone.

In his last years there was the additional burden of illness and economic necessity. He was driven; he wrote against time, often for fourteen hours in a stretch. We find phrases like: "The awful job I'm at—200,000 words in 5 months"; "I . . . wrote the book [*Painted Veils*] in 7 weeks, 78,000 words, and with a pen." Or again:

What I was complaining about, and it is the eternal plaint of writers, is my lack of time in which to write a play or novel that will sell. Schopenhauer was right when he said that time was precious, not money. For 5 years of leisure I would sell my soul; even 3 years. But as I said in *Steeple-jack* I'll die with my boots on in some rotten concert-room or at the opera.

Notice that he says "a play or novel that will sell," not one that will be a lasting work of art. And "shop" runs through his letters from the beginning, when he writes: "I do all the work signed 'Old Foggy';" to the last letter in the book, where he says, "I'm up to my eyes in disagreeable work." He seldom has time for developing general ideas in these letters. They are concerned almost exclusively with the everyday of journalism—prices, lengths, proofs, interviews. Few people have had a wider acquaintance among writers, musicians, and artists. Sooner or later he seems to have met nearly every one of importance. He was the kindest of men, yet for the sake of a striking phrase he was often cruel. One can

imagine him heading this review, "The Playboy of the Seven Arts," or "The Press-agent of the Muses."

In some ways Huneker was greater as a personality than as a writer or critic. About four weeks before he died the writer of this review sat with him and a musical critic in a New York restaurant. The blight of prohibition was already upon the land. In place of the famous Pilsner which Huneker had praised so many times there was only a sickly "near-beer" (one-half of one per cent. alcohol); in place of Burgundy, a gritty *vin ordinaire* served in tea-cups and known as "red ink." Huneker talked as he wrote, of the only thing he knew or cared about—the Seven Arts. (In his letters from 1914-1918 allusions to the World War are very few.) He talked with high-coloured, dynamic phraseology. His talk, as his printed page, was sprinkled with names, quotations, dates, allusions. He knew the art world as a racing enthusiast knows horses—all the records, capacities, pedigrees. His mind was like a card-catalogue; it was rarely that he slipped up in regard to facts. Yet all this knowledge was an inherent weakness in his work. He could tell what Flaubert said, or Remy de Gourmont, or Huysmans, or any of scores of others; his quotation was nearly always to the point, but his own work lacked any real synthesis or characterisation. The creative spirit was lacking in him, either in real or imaginary biography. He was generous to a fault in hailing new writers. Often it was almost as though he regarded newness in itself as a merit. There was hardly one of the iconoclasts and rebels of his generation to whom he did not give enthusiastic welcome. Yet in his later years even his flair for the newest art was growing weary. In 1916 we find him writing:

Buy a few *great* pictures and sculptures . . . don't tolerate rot because it is signed "1916." Remember, John, all these petty revolutions, interesting, even significant at times, will never even defect for a moment the broad current of eternal art. It's so in music and literature; it's so in art. There is a norm, and these young chaps may fume and splutter, but back to it they must revert else rot and drop from the parent trunk.

If Huneker was not a constructive critic himself, he will at any rate always have a place in American criticism for having been one of the first to break away from the dead level of academic respectability. He was for a long time a lone voice crying in a wilderness of Puritan provincialism. If his voice was sometimes loud and raucous, it was, perhaps, the only way in which he could make himself heard.

## On On

ON. By Hilaire Belloc. Methuen. 6s.

MR. BELLOC was never quite so brilliant as when he invented himself. Characteristically, he did it in a hurry, probably between the cup and the lip, or while he was running to catch a train. Characteristically, also, he only adumbrated his fine conception, not stopping to fill in the lights and shades, and neglecting to add any finishing touches to his masterpiece. Personality is the whole secret of the essayist. Mr. Belloc's work stands or falls according to the reader's like or dislike of his personality. It has always been easy to indicate the flaws in his intellectual make-up just as it has been easy to ignore them rather than mar one's enjoyment. His latest book is far from being his best, though there is not a dull page anywhere in the thirty essays it contains. Inevitably Mr. Belloc's work is like Mr. Belloc. Just as he failed to complete his bravest invention, so he fails to complete his work. The finishing touches have not been made. Probably that is why these essays were more impressive when they appeared separately in the pages of THE OUTLOOK and other papers than they are now, gathered together in a single volume.

Mr. Belloc can only be compared with himself. He is a kind of incarnate anachronism, audacious, unyielding, dogmatic, prejudiced, certain of his own mind, and, withal, delightful. The new essays are as vivid as ever, more disgruntled than usual, perhaps, and as full as ever of wise saws and modern instances. Perhaps his essay *On a Piece of Rope* is the most satisfactory in the book:

If you can describe clearly, without a diagram, the proper way of making this or that knot, then you are the master of the English tongue. You are not only a master—you are a sign, a portent, a new discoverer, an exception among your fellow-men, a unique fellow.

The passage is typical of Mr. Belloc's writing; the way he wrests his subject around to such literary considerations is even more typical. He examines his subject—rope—from twenty different points of view, and writes so clearly and concisely that there is no pause throughout and no need to sum up at the end. But at a second reading the flaws are more evident. His various views, his several points of approach, are not welded together as they used to be; the old inevitability, the logical process and complete ease of his argument are not what they were. Also, though he has more to say to the paragraph than nine out of ten living essayists have to say in three, he is losing the knack of repeating himself effectively. Sometimes he is dangerously near to tautology. Mr. Belloc derives from Rabelais, and his style has always been repetitive. But the repetition in his famous essay *On the Approach of an Awful Doom* (perhaps the best he ever wrote) is not of the same kind. Then it was his strength; to-day it is his weakness, and one is forced to conclude that so much repetition means so much padding.

For all that his new book, though uneven, is excellent reading. Mr. Belloc, by his very virtues, has made something of a legend out of himself. He drives home his prejudices by pretending to take the reader into his confidence. His whims are propaganda for his ideas; he is preaching all the time, though the reader does not suspect it. He has a thousand tricks to play with his words, and he can turn a phrase exquisitely at will. The matter of his essays is, on the whole, better than ever, though the writing is not so good, and any critical reservations we make are made for that reason. With a little revision and, perhaps, more care at the first writing, there was a first-class book in *On*. The essay on *An Educational Reform*, though it is ironical (and Mr. Belloc is a master of irony), is unworthy of him, not for what it says, but for how it says it. Between this and the essay on *Truth and the Admiralty* there are differences of quality that will not escape even the most casual reader. Mr. Belloc, like all writers of his type, is cursed with facility. But however used to it we may be, we must take pains with our irony or it will fail, as it fails here.

For its implicit criticism of this age Mr. Belloc's book is valuable, if for nothing else. He sees through our modern shams and humbugs, and they have poor shrift at his hands. He brings the same fine common sense to bear upon even the mere trifles of life—

Thank God, this island has at least a frontier. It is the inviolate sea. I remember a boy at school who used to read the passage as though it ran "the violet sea," so as to make sense, and I applaud him still. "Surrounded by the violet sea," read this sturdy youth. We all knew what "violet" meant: it was a sort of blue. But what the devil was inviolate? Lucidity is the soul of style. Therefore, I say, I applaud that youth.

We need that kind of insight nowadays more than anything else, and we applaud Mr. Belloc, though it is still worth remarking that, even here, the repetition occurs. Twelve years ago Mr. Belloc would have said the same thing in half the space.

## An Extraordinary Story

BEASTS, MEN, AND GODS. By Ferdinand Ossendowski. Edward Arnold, 12s. 6d.

ONLY a vast European war, with its effect of revolution in Russia and the disturbance and excitements thereby created in Mongolia and Central Asia, could have provided a distinguished scientist with the necessity for such adventures as are here described. In 1920 Dr. Ossendowski, a Polish professor, who had previously held official positions in Russia, was living at Krasnoyarsk, a town near the Mongolian and Siberian frontier upon the Trans-Siberian Railway. There the Red Revolution caught him, and, like all who were suspected of sympathy with the Whites, he had to fly into the forests, and, with an axe, some cartridges, a kettle, dried bread and tea, to take his chance of surviving. After incredible hardships, including complete solitude for a considerable period, another refugee joined him, and in the hope of reaching at length the distant shores of the Pacific, what proved to be a tremendous journey through the heart of Asia was begun.

The sights of snow, mountains, and animal life were diversified with the discovery of mutilated bodies, for the Reds were still scouring the forests for refugees or the remnants of the retreating army of Kolchak which had traversed the same ground. As he penetrated further South, however, hostility to the Bolsheviks increased, and among the Tartars, when mutual suspicion was allayed, he generally found a welcome. The effect on himself of a return to primitive conditions is described in the following vivid passage:

In every healthy spiritual individual of our times, occasions of necessity resurrect the traits of the primitive man, hunter and warrior, and help him in the struggle with nature. It is the prerogative of the man with the trained mind and spirit over the untrained, who does not possess sufficient science and will power to carry him through. But the price that the cultured man must pay is that for him there exists nothing more awful than absolute solitude. . . . One step, one moment of weakness and dark madness will seize a man and carry him to inevitable destruction. I spent awful days of struggle with the cold and hunger, but I passed more terrible days in that struggle of the will to kill weakening and destructive thoughts.

This is one of the author's rare confessions, which are written as a rule in the impersonal and vivid manner of Defoe. It is the bare statement of the succession of adventures through outer and inner Mongolia, countries to most of us with no associations, and across the frontier of Tibet, whence he was forced to retrace his steps, that makes the narrative so interesting. A vast tract of Asia comes to life in his pages, and Tartars and Soyoes, Lamas and Buddhist monasteries, poisoners and Tibetan brigands become credible and familiar to our experience.

The general style of the book, based, we gather, upon "an album" or diary, induces the reader to surrender to stories that would seem incredible in any other circumstances or setting. Indeed, that all this happened but two years ago is so startling in itself, amid the confusion of Reds and Whites, Chinese and Mongols in the ferment of Uliassutai and Urga, all plotting against each other in these towns, that we feel as if thrown into a chaotic world where anything is possible, and the only sure thing of the morrow is some catastrophe or surprise.

The most extraordinary incident is this: Tushegoun Lama, a Russian Kalmuck, who escaped from the Bolsheviks, and because of his mysterious powers had great influence with the Mongols, gave the author an example of his "science." Telling a shepherd who was in the tent to stand, the Lama bared the man's chest and with all his force struck him with a knife.

He opened the chest of the Mongol and I saw the man's lungs softly breathing and the distinct palpitations of the heart. . . . He appeared to be in deep and quiet sleep. As the Lama began to open his abdomen I shut my eyes in fear and horror and when I opened them a little while later, I was still more dumbfounded at seeing the shepherd with his coat still open and his breast normal, quietly sleeping on his side and the Tushegoun Lama sitting peacefully by the brazier smoking his pipe. It is wonderful, I confessed. I have never seen anything like it. . . . Did you see it? I asked of my companion. What? . . . I realised that I had become the victim of the hypnotic power of Tushegoun Lama . . . for I had not believed that after slashing open the bodies of his victims he could repair them again so readily.

The end of the book, where he arrives at Urga on his way to the railway that will take him to Peking, and makes the acquaintance of the Living Buddha and the extraordinary Baron Ungern von Sternburg, the scourge of the Bolsheviks in Mongolia, in a city unchanged, save for the general's motor and wireless station, after a thousand years, is the most remarkable. One must surrender to accounts which one has no power to criticise, and the circumstances and resource and will-power of the narrator combine to create the most extraordinary book of travel and adventure that this generation is likely to produce.

## The Buffs in the Great War

HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE BUFFS [EAST KENT REGIMENT] 3RD FOOT: 1914-1919. By Colonel R. S. H. Moody, C.B. The Medici Society, 7s. 6d.

THIS fine record of a great regiment's achievement in the late war has been made possible in its present form by the piety and generosity of a number of its officers and ex-officers and of Kentish men and women. It contains, in upwards of 600 pages, the history of the Regular, Territorial, and Service battalions of The Buffs in their various theatres of war. It has two colour plates, a dozen plates in monochrome—from the wonderful series at the Imperial War Museum—and nearly thirty maps. It is printed on good paper and excellently bound. At a rough estimate we should put its selling price, if produced under ordinary commercial conditions, at about thirty shillings. At its present price it seems certain that almost everyone connected with the regiment will possess it, and that it will be treasured in many humble homes whose owners could not have hoped to have it in ordinary circumstances. But if there be any without military or territorial connections with The Buffs who are interested in military history they will find here unusually good value for their money.

The Buffs did well in the war, but they could not have been expected to do otherwise. They started with two line battalions that had always been high in traditions and achievements, notable for smartness, discipline, and tenacity. And when the time came to fill the ranks with recruits, to embody the Territorial Army, to call up the New Armies of Kitchener's creation, they drew upon a county that had been, as it were, England's frontier and outwork facing Europe through all its history, that had always bred men very hard to beat. And one fancies one can discern through all these records the characteristics of the man of Kent, a calmness and sunniness of temperament allied with a steadfastness and doggedness of will, that make him so good a fighting man.

Colonel Moody tells his long and elaborate story in honest and straightforward fashion. We confess that he does not appear to us to be a master of style, even of what may be called "soldier's style," which can be very good on occasion. But he relates the military events with care and apparent precision, and adds to the history a real human interest by the accounts of hundreds of acts of gallantry and devotion in those

minor actions that are so often forgotten. It is these stories above all, stories which, once collected, take their place in the permanent records of regiment and county, that make his book so valuable as a storehouse of bravery and honour and as a link in the annals of Kent.

## Shorter Notices

THE A.B.C. OF ENGLISH SALT-GLAZE STONWARE: FROM DWIGHT TO DOULTON. By J. F. Blacker. Stanley Paul. 15s.

Mr. Blacker's "A.B.C." series of collectors' books, mainly dealing with Ceramic art are well known, and serve the useful, if comparatively humble, purpose, that the general title implies. The present volume sets out at great length the history of the various potters who during the early eighteenth century and later used salt-glaze upon stoneware, and over two hundred illustrations show typical and rare examples respectively. Some of the early specimens from the Fulham factory, which may be seen in the London Museum, are especially noteworthy for their simplicity and that kind of rustic elegance which nowadays is called "quaint." The greatest number of examples reproduced here are of the homely beer-jug—brown at the top and biscuit-coloured below, though the salt-glaze potters made innumerable other vessels besides small figures and grotesques of ornamental value only. The word "ornamental" is very misleading, for many of the little animals, paperweights, and so on, shown here are of the most detestable ugliness. But they are of a certain age, and age by itself does, no doubt, produce a sort of glamour which appeals very strongly to the uncritical collector. In his Introduction the author assures the reader that he has an infinite capacity for taking pains, and that a lady collector has written to tell him that most of his books in this series are very helpful, and that his "Pottery" book is "absolutely the best published." What further need, then, has Mr. Blacker of witnesses to his accomplishment?

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF CONTEMPORARY SOURCES FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE WAR. By M. E. Bulkley. (Clarendon Press.) 10s. 6d.

The Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has undertaken the publication of an extensive series of monographs in which some attempt will be made "to measure the economic cost of the war and the displacement which it was causing in the processes of civilisation." For an undertaking like this it is of primary importance that all the data should be made easily accessible, and so one of the first volumes in the series is a bibliography. The mass of material bearing on the subject is almost inexhaustible; the present volume deals only with the United Kingdom; it is merely a selection, but even so covers 629 columns. The introduction states:—"Owing to the circumstances of the time—the Defence of the Realm Regulations, which severely restricted the publication of information, the scarcity of paper (especially towards the end of the war), and the absorption of the greater part of the nation in practical and strenuous work which allowed little leisure for the recording of facts and impressions—the literature for the period is unfortunately in many directions meagre." This was, perhaps, fortunate, for had it not been the case, the literature would have become completely unmanageable. Miss Bulkley, the compiler of the bibliography is to be congratulated on the way in which she has accomplished her task, and the publishers on the clear type and neat arrangement.

THESE LIBERTIES. By E. V. Knox ("Evoc" of *Punch*). Methuen. 4s. 6d.

The great thing about Mr. Knox as a comic writer is the extraordinary regularity with which he "comes off." Other writers, Sir Owen Seaman, Mr. Milne, and Mr. Hubert, for example, have at their best been more boisterously funny than Mr. Knox ever is. But "Evoc" always maintains a certain level of funniness, always keeps his equanimity, and never seems to the reader to be slightly disconcerted (as are sometimes other humorists) by finding that he cannot be funny as usual. His present book is made up of parodies, some in prose and some in verse. It is, perhaps, a pity that some of those whom he parodies, Mr. A. S. M. Hutchinson and Mr. Edgar Rice Burroughs amongst others, will so soon be forgotten. They are obvious and easy marks for the parodist, of course, but they offer him only a temporary and ephemeral success. Moreover, their works are quite possibly unread by most of those who are best able to appreciate Mr. Knox's wit. He is on firmer ground, therefore, when he burlesques Mr. George Moore, in prose, Mr. Chesterton, in both prose and verse, and the styles of a whole group of modern poets, from Mr. Hardy downwards. The cunning parodist is he who selects his victims with care, and stands, therefore, a chance of being borne to immortality upon their wings.

KEATS. By H. I'A. Fausset. Secker. 6s.

Mr. Fausset's study is not only a searching analysis of Keats's spiritual development as revealed in his poetry, but also a fine and eloquent piece of prose. His praise of Keats is of the best kind, namely, the kind which is fully alive to the shortcomings of its object, and does not hesitate to expose them. His outlook is healthy and robust, and it is not only Keats who comes in for some salutary knocks. We like Mr. Fausset's passing punch at the Pre-Raphaelites, who, he says, "indulged their own romanticism by sentimentalising a delicate fragment, *The Eve of St. Mark*, and disregarding a gigantic torso, *The Fall of Hyperion*." Of the early Keats, Mr. Fausset says: "Certainly his first creative effort was not so much that of active desire as of surfeited sense, compelled in its own interest to rid itself of absorbed and crowded impressions." But in *Sleep and Poetry* there is already a development both in effort and understanding. Here Keats had ceased, says Mr. Fausset, "to see life as an exotic spectacle, women as nymphs in tapestry, and virtue as the mock chivalry of a Calidore." He had realised that poetry implied not pleasurable indulgence but a passionate struggle for truth, as it imaged itself in beauty." Thenceforward his work stiffens. His luxurious and undisciplined reactions to the beauty of nature are controlled into a rich and economic—indeed, rich because economic—medium for a matured self-expression. Mr. Fausset's analysis of Keats's steady mental and artistic progress up to the perfection of his finest Odes and the superb fragment of *Hyperion* is excellently done. We look forward to more criticism from him, for, judged by the present essay, he is among the best of living English critics.

THE LAST DAYS OF TOLSTOY. By Vladimar Tchertkoff. Translated by Nathalie A. Duddington. Heinemann. 7s. 6d.

This book, by Tolstoy's literary executor, deals with the old man's "going away" from Yasnaya Polyana. The painful matter of Tolstoy's relations with his wife and their effect on the later phases of his spiritual and physical life has been the subject of much speculation. There has been a good deal of unbalanced talk from several points of view; Gorky's for example; that of the champions of Sofya Andreyevna, and of those who are more Tolstoyan than Tolstoy. The reader would do well to keep an open mind on many points: confident that Tolstoy was true to his high ideals all the time. "For a great ship a great journey" we are told: enough that the Master could welcome his forty-eight years with this woman as a discipline of the soul. In his examination of the conflict of motives in Tolstoy, M. Tchertkoff displays that essentially Russian logic which is a little puzzling to foreigners; especially when it inclines, as it so often does, to casuistry. It is one thing to hold fast to one's reverence to Tolstoy: it is another to say, as M. Tchertkoff does, that "this life incontestably proves the possibility of carrying out in practice the lofty truths to which he gave verbal expression." It is not a question of sincerity; but the Russians have this special tendency to think, in their fine old peasant phrase, "not with the brains but with the sides." *The Last Days of Tolstoy* is most widely valuable for its facts. The biographer's letter to Dosev (1910) puts Tolstoy's position at that time in a clear light. In an appendix M. Tchertkoff makes plain his own attitude to the widow who had shown hostility towards her husband's friend for nearly thirty years.

A SINGER'S PILGRIMAGE. By Blanche Marchesi. Grant Richards. 18s.

This book is a great singer's anecdote. "I think that, on the whole, there are more fine voices in England than anywhere else. I think I can really assert that the greatest voices are to be found here, especially in the lower classes." This is one of the *obiter dicta* in Mme. Blanche Marchesi's reminiscences, which range from the influence of Prussian militarism on Richard Wagner to tiffs with concert agents, anecdotes about royalties, and outspoken remarks about anything under the sun. Mme. Marchesi has lived amongst interesting people and makes no effort to be charitable against her better feelings, hence this method of autobiography can hardly fail to entertain. Siegfried Wagner's "fat, uninteresting face" makes her reflect that great geniuses should not marry, or, at any rate, leave "wives and children behind them." Mme. Cosima Wagner impressed her hardly more favourably than her son, as is shown by the story of her call on that august lady, when she was rash enough to mention Ternina's singing in *Tosca*. Cosima, in a high-pitched voice, asks: "What is that, *Tosca*?" Kniese, who was present, besought her not to press the question. She insists. Kniese refuses. Mme. Marchesi, with the *diablerie* of the "star," comes to the rescue. "*Tosca*, madame, is by Puccini." "Puccini! Kniese, and who is Puccini?" "Madame, please do not ask; it is nothing for you to speak of." Cosima and Kniese sink back into their chairs and sigh. But Mme. Marchesi is unabashed: "Madame, Puccini is an Italian composer who has written several operas which have had much success." And Cosima, no true daughter of Liszt who spent his long life befriending the young composers of all nationalities, "with a glance which might have pierced a rock," says: "I am profoundly wounded,

astonished, and amazed that a Madame Ternina lowers herself to sing music of such an unknown man." Mme. Marchesi is not herself without the vanities of her sex and profession. But through all her desultory pages there runs a thread of fine gold—a profound belief in her art and a pride in its traditions. And though she never forgets that she is a Frenchwoman, in her musical sympathies she is a good European.

## CORRESPONDENCE

[Whilst we open our columns impartially to correspondence we take no responsibility for the opinions expressed.]

### AMERICAN ISOLATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—Pardon me for insisting that the effect of non-cancellation of European debts and non-participation in the reconstruction of the outside world by America are not incalculable, as you say in your issue of March 10th last.

The only American interest that can be affected is her foreign trade, and as that is so ridiculously small in comparison to her total trade, foreign and domestic, being only 5 per cent. of that total. As it consists almost entirely of raw materials like wheat, cotton, and copper, which the rest of the world must have, it seems that the penalties threatened by the interested European monitors of America are entirely imaginary, as they cannot be applied.—Yours, &c.,

SAMUEL ADAMS,  
of Ottumwa, Iowa, U.S.A.

Paris, March 15th, 1923.

### LIBERAL REUNION.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—In your issue of March 17th, Toby Junior, M.P., suggests that the rank and file of both wings of Liberals should take reunion in their own hands and knock their leaders' perverse heads together. That is just how one feels.

Sir John Simon's lucidity is only a chilling, barren logic that repels; it has no warmth, no soul. Mr. Asquith, with an equal lucidity but some more warmth, has singularly failed to re-establish himself. His arid Liberalism is without inspiration. With age a constitutional inertness has grown. Neither he nor Sir John Simon will put heart into the Liberal Party. Mr. Lloyd George is still the renegade of Asquithianism. In this

regard he will remain the renegade and will not stand in white sheets. His recent incursions into journalism have been unfortunate for his reputation as being above merely mercenary considerations. True, he is not a rich man; but neither is he a poor one. Carnegie has seen to that. He ought to have been better advised. Undoubtedly, apart from his Coalition failures, he has fallen in the scale. Yet he alone seems to have the fire and imagination that could put heart into the Liberal Party. His hankering has been after a Centre Party, and undoubtedly that would have drawn in and fused a great mass of opinion which is not reactionary, thinks Conservatism too old-fashioned, and yet dislikes the old arid shibboleths of Liberalism represented by the Asquith-Simon school. Sooner or later such a party will have to emerge if the country is to be saved from a dominant Labour Government, brimful of undigested theories, which, though its reign may be short, will yet have set us on a path of disintegration that will be past retrieval. We cannot light-heartedly experiment in Socialism, as our Colonies can, without the risk of coming to grief in our complex world-wide responsibilities. After all, it was Mr. Lloyd George who armed Labour with the weapon that it has been able to use so effectively, and why not now let him lead the attack in its misuse? For Labour has already side-tracked its wiser and more moderate men, and is out for wild experimenting and that discrete abnormality Internationalism.—Yours, &c.,

Dorchester. E. KENNETH.

March 21st, 1923.

### TREES BESIDE THE ROADS.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—In the reconstruction and forming of new roads, it is to be hoped that in all the cities and towns (where it is possible) trees will be planted on each side of the road. It will add greatly to the charm and beauty of all such cities and towns, and be most refreshing to the passers by.—Yours, &c.,

Norwich. ARTHUR MEACHEN.

March 23rd, 1923.

### A DYING EPOCH.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—Having read THE OUTLOOK with great interest for several months, it struck me that some of your readers might like to hear the impression your articles make on an Englishman who, having spent many years abroad, sees modern English thought and English politics as expressed in the pages of your periodical from a perspective unattainable to those on the spot.

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*Rise and fall*

## THE VINEYARD OF VULGARITY.

By H. DENNIS BRADLEY.

The first element of education in the choice of a wine is a knowledge of the vintages. In some years the vines are generous, in some refined, and in some they are crude or poor in quality. The connoisseur observes each year with tender solicitude, for in a decade's time the fermented fruits may yield to him some new sensation.

The wonderful vintages of 1800 and 1804 are comparatively fresh in our memories. We were joyously revelling in the virtues of Pomeroy 1804 when the war broke out in 1814 and decreed its consumption to be unpatriotic—in public.

So, also, do the vintages mark history in all things. There are the vintage years of literature, of art, of poverty, of prosperity, and of corruption. By the birth-mark of the vintage on the bottle we have proof of the quality of its contents. It would be well to apply this acid test to men.

When James the First ascended the throne in 1603 there were only sixty peers, and during the two previous centuries only ten new peerages had been created. James, during his reign, created forty-five new baronies, which to relieve his pecuniary embarrassment he sold at ten thousand pounds a time.

Now, although the price in neither blood nor money is recorded, we know that the number of peerages, baronetcies, and knight-hoods created by Mr. D. Lloyd George during his demagogic reign (1918-1922) exceeded in prodigality anything known in history. Is it just that the valorous war deeds of these lordly ones should be deprived of their true insignia? Is it not a mere courtesy that these bold baronets and courageous knights should be requested to wear upon their crests the date of their creation?

Posterity should know the glorious years when honours fall thick upon the valiant, when the Honourable Lord Lighthot of 1917, Sir Tommy Hereweare of 1919 fame, and the bellicose warriors of armohair Armageddon and post-war peace and plenty for themselves, received value for money in "services rendered."

What matter their lack of courtliness and of aspirates? Are not their hearts—and pockets, too—of gold? When our feet were cold did they not suggest a cap to fit us? When the nation's heart was torn and bleeding did not the sparkle and spirit of these trusty knights of the night-clubs inspire us to fresh sacrifice?

Let us pay them tribute, and date the birth-mark of their honours as we do our wines. Let us may forget their deeds, let us brand them with the year of their distinction as fermented fruits of vassalage.

Turning from the new nobles to a much older subject, the vintage of Pope and Bradley's productions continues to appeal to the unobtrusive aristocracy. There is no atmosphere of vulgarity in the House, and even the prices are refreshingly modest. Lounge Suits from 49 2s. Dinner Suits from 41 14s. Dress Suits from 316 16s.

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I hold no mandate for the Germans. I have reason enough to be biased against them, but I hope my personal friends will always find me loyal, whatever their race or nationality may be.

England cannot afford to vacillate in the position she holds in the world. We should have been much better able to avert the war in 1914 if we had not taken Rodjesvinski's assault on the Dogger Bank fishermen during the Russo-Japanese War so meekly. What "bloody deeds and death" will it cost us to make other nations take us seriously after we have submitted to France's dictatorship in an affair we have repeatedly declared to be wrong in our opinion and derogatory to our interest?

One thing seems clear: a nation with the resources at Germany's disposal should never be forced to disarm to the extent that Germany has been compelled to do, whether it was her own fault or not, as European morals are no longer proof against the temptation to break in and steal. Also, buffer States, where it is necessary to establish them, should be armed at the expense of their big neighbours to their full capacity. The danger of their country becoming the seat of war will be a greater safeguard to peace than treaties, to the sanctity of which no country is willing to sacrifice its existence.

In Germany, militarism absorbed many of the best intellects of the country, which, since she has been disarmed, are cast into other spheres where their efficiency will only sharpen competition for her neighbours.

So the struggle for supremacy between the forces which, like the gods of ancient Greece, were born to harmonise, has brought about the downfall of a brilliant epoch. Russia massacred her hundreds of thousands to abolish capitalism, and then saw her peasants in the most fruitful part of Europe starve for want of bread. Germany's overworked labourers stabbed her army in the back in the thick of the battle, and spread chaos where order had been almost oppressive; and in our own country public opinion, the source of all England's greatness and welfare, was polluted by a prostitute Press, and the peerage, the highest honour in the gift of the Crown, was bestowed on scophants of ignorance, sensationalism, and criminality—and darkness broods over the face of the earth. Science itself, whose scepticism had discredited the thrill of mysticism, revealed wonders more miraculous than any invented by the imagination, and revived a credulity scarcely inferior to that of the dark ages. Compared with this moral and intellectual intoxication, the question of "wet or dry" is unimportant. The worst a drunken man can do is trifling compared with the sustained influence of a hysterical woman.

A healthy middle class is essential to every State, and it was the lack of that class that crippled the Russia of the Czars more than anything else. It possesses all the qualities of the human species in a condition capable of development, and not perverted by generations of luxury nor warped by rude surroundings and purely mechanical labour. The whole potentiality of a nation depends upon its maintenance. An individual combining these qualities in a proportion to each other suited to the requirements of the time will rise to almost unlimited heights; in the great majority of cases they will neutralise each other and be passed on from generation to generation; and individuals in whom they are grouped disadvantageously will sink into the proletariat, but the tradition of better things in the past will support their self-respect and enable later generations to retrieve their former station.

Tanks, aeroplanes, and gases may annihilate a civilisation, but it is the nation that has built up in generations of the past some positive combination of the human qualities that will quietly assume the lead in the dawning epoch, be it what it may.—Yours, &c.,

THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN.  
Goslar-am-Harz, March 7th, 1923.

#### A CORRECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—With reference to the review of one of our publications entitled *Cole's Heraldry and Floral Forms*, in the March 24th issue of your journal, may we draw your attention to the fact that your reviewer gives the price of this book as 12s. 6d. net, whereas it should be 10s. 6d.—Yours, &c.,

J. M. DENT AND SONS, LTD.

London.

March 24th, 1923.

We are requested to state that in the second letter on the subject of *Our Air Peril*, published in last week's issue of THE OUTLOOK, the signature should have been Frank Morris.

## CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

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## FINANCE

By URBANUS.

THE Treasury has seized the opportunity afforded by the firmness of the Gilt-edged market to give credit another push in the right direction. A fortnight ago it suspended the issue of 4½ per cent. Treasury Bonds, which it has been offering almost weekly for nearly a year past. This step was taken by the market to portend a return to 4 per cent. as the standard rate for short-term borrowing. It was not necessary to wait long for confirmation of this surmise, for at the end of last week the prospectus of a new 4 per cent. ten-year Treasury Bond was published. By way of tactful introduction of the newcomer the Treasury decided to make a public offer of a fixed amount on the lines of an ordinary public issue, and to give away a little in the matter of terms. The amount of the issue was almost trivial, a mere £15,000,000, and the issue price of 94½ was such as to ensure a yield allowing for redemption in 1933 of £4 14s. per cent., which compares with only £4 10s. returned by the recently suspended 4½ per cent. bonds at their present market value. Naturally, this tempting morsel was eagerly swallowed by the market, the amount being applied for three or four times over, with the result that on the opening of dealings a price of ¾ to ⅝ premium was established. It seems almost certain that bonds of the same issue will, after the turn of the financial year, be offered for weekly tender with the Treasury Bills, with the object of covering the revenue deficit which may occur in the first part of the new period and of further reducing the amount of the Treasury Bill issue, which incidentally has already fallen by nearly 50 per cent. since its highwater-mark of £1,221 millions was reached in June, 1921.

I said a few words last week on the high importance of working for a progressive lowering of the cost of the National Debt in view of the increasing difficulty which in the nature of things must henceforward attend efforts at further administrative economies. The success of the new Treasury Bond issue is pleasing evidence of yet further progress in this direction, but, on the other hand, it is wise not to leave out of account certain indications which suggest that we must not expect too much of the next year or so. The raising of the New York bank rate is one of them. It is often argued that while there is no free transfer of gold between them it does not much matter whether there is a difference in the discount rates in two financial centres. This, however, is not quite true. The difference of 1½ per cent. between English and American bank rates cannot, of course, under present conditions, draw gold from this country, and so force the Bank of England to raise its rate to protect the gold reserve. But it does tend to induce financial interests to invest their funds in America in preference to this country. For instance, recently a small but quite definite demand has been reported here for high-class American Railroad bonds. These can be bought to pay slightly more than similar British securities, and while it is true that if the exchange went to par they would not turn out to be quite so favourable an investment as they appear to be at the present moment, on the other hand, if the exchange weakens they would become more remunerative. It is not suggested that the demand for these American bonds has yet been on a scale sufficient to influence the exchange, though the exchange is noticeably less firm in tone than it was a month ago. But a further stiffening of money rates in New York might easily affect the exchange to a more pronounced degree, and the Bank of England might then think it wise to raise the Bank Rate. Or

again, if the trade revival, a none too robust plant at present, were to develop more vigorously, the competition of industry for capital might equally drive the Bank Rate up and gilt-edged stocks down, so that it is not safe to rely too confidently on a continuing easing of the National Debt burden.

The franc has been jazzing about in the most disconcerting manner during the week. On Thursday of last week it touched 67.30. Then people began to wonder whether there was anything at all in the "great French victory" on the Ruhr, and the franc began to waver. At mid-day on Monday it had drifted back to 73.30 again, when suddenly, without any rhyme or reason, it plumped back that evening to 70.30. On Tuesday it closed at 71, and on Wednesday it opened at 71.65. Hardly anyone here believes that the rate can be kept down to its present level, but whether there has been manipulation or not, it must be remembered that the French Government has at the moment a special reason for desiring a steady exchange rate, in that it is in the middle of raising its big loan, which report says is going none too well. Meanwhile, I notice that the Paris correspondent of the *Financial Times* says that the Municipality of Paris is proposing to spend a trifle of 7,000,000,000 francs (£100 millions at the present exchange) on a new river harbour and on railways, slaughter-houses, police barracks, and other "embellishments." *Quem deus . . . !*

Judging from the report for last year, the general position of the Canadian Pacific Railway has taken a turn for the better, despite the slump in the West which covered the first three-quarters of the period. Net earnings show an increase of over two million dollars, despite a fall of more than three times that amount in gross receipts. Part of this improvement is, of course, due to decreased costs and better organisation; but the fact that in September the gross receipts for the year were over \$11 millions lower than in 1921 shows that the excellent harvest also played a considerable part. A similar result was secured by the Company's ocean lines, and special efforts are being made to run services from Japan to England and France in twenty-one days.

The Company ask approval for expenditure of over \$7½ millions for additions and replacements, in which the chief items are for the Chateau Frontenac Hotel, at Quebec, and for repairs to the permanent way. Despite its many ramifications, the system is still capable of further profitable development, and it is proposed to lay down some hundred odd miles of branch line in Alberta and Saskatchewan, and to sell 4 per cent. Consolidated Debenture Stock to meet the expenditure. This may give investors in this country an opportunity to increase their holdings at slightly favourable rates. The ten-year 6 per cent. note certificates of the Company issued in 1914 fall due in July, and provision has been made for their repayment. The total amount of the certificates is considerable, \$52 million; but as the Government requisitioned them during the war in connection with the fixing of the American exchange the mass of them is now presumably held in the United States.

A week ago I drew attention to the "boom" in new issues and the variety of sources from which the appeals came. Several have now been added to the list, and with the Treasury Bonds no less than 16 have appeared in seven working days, representing some £24 millions. With the exception of frankly speculative ventures, they were on the whole distinctly successful, and seeing that at least £16 millions of cash will have to be found by April 4th, it is clear that there is no shortage in the capital market. For the moment there is a falling off in offers, but after Easter some large issues are expected.

COMPANY MEETING.

LONDON & THAMES HAVEN OIL WHARVES.

The twenty-fifth ordinary general meeting of the London and Thames Haven Oil Wharves, Ltd., was held on March 26th at Winchester House, Old Broad-street, E.C., Lord Kylesant, G.C.M.G. (the Chairman), presiding.

The Chairman said: As you know, we issued during the year the balance of our Ordinary share capital. The premium received on this issue—namely, £137,500—has been added to the reserve. The whole of the company's Ordinary capital, amounting to £475,000, is now issued and fully paid up. Out of the profits of the past year we have also placed the sum of £37,500 to reserve, bringing the reserve fund up to £475,000, the same figure as that of our Ordinary capital.

Turning to the credit side of the balance sheet, the amount for freehold properties, &c., has been increased during the year by £130,000 to £828,786. Our leasehold property remains at a nominal figure; while the item for machinery and movable plant has been augmented by £4,000 to £105,299. These additions have been made after due provision has been allowed for depreciation, and, as stated in the report, the whole of our works have been maintained in good order. The amount under the heading of investments also shows a substantial increase, while we had at the end of the year £50,000 on deposit.

After making the adjustments mentioned, and adding £10,000 to the employees' benevolent and superannuation fund, we recommend the payment of a final dividend of 5 per cent., making 10 per cent. for the year, free of income-tax, the same as for the previous three years, carrying forward £67,469, as against £61,202 last year. The equalisation of the dividend payments over the two half-years is in accordance with the wish expressed by the shareholders at the last general meeting.

During the year under review we landed considerably over 1,000,000 tons of oil products. This means that during every twenty-four hours we were dealing, either by receipt or delivery, with 6,000 tons of oil or spirit. Twenty years ago the quantity we dealt with was under 250 tons every twenty-four hours. I am told that rumours respecting the future of our company have been current of late. While the company is certainly in an enviable good position, I may say that the statements which have appeared are without foundation. We have made it our consistent aim steadily to build up the business of this company as a well-managed and prosperous concern, carrying on a valuable public service, and we intend to continue working with this end in view.

The Report and accounts were unanimously adopted.

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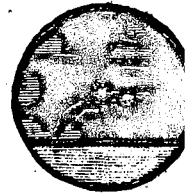
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# The Outlook

Vol. LI. No. 1316

SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1923

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## URBIS ET ORBIS

THE Budget has been on the whole favourably received. A fairly equable compromise between the claims of the community for lower taxation and the need to maintain national credit by continuing debt reduction has given general satisfaction. Mr. Baldwin made an unanswerable point when he showed that about half the war debt must be refunded within seven years, and that this can be done on much more favourable terms if the country in the meantime bolsters up its credit by reducing the debt, year by year, out of revenue. The difference between first-class credit, and only fair credit, when it comes to re-borrowing, may easily represent dozens of millions yearly in interest. Those faults which can be found in the Budget flow out of the inherent vacillation and timidity of this Government. Take, for instance, the tax on betting. Its mention was greeted with general cheers throughout the House. Unquestionably public opinion is solidly for it. How characteristic of the Government to shift the responsibility for the final decision on to the shoulders of a Commission! There was no valid objection to declaring that the tax had been determined, and leaving only the administrative details to be worked out by the Commission. A little more courage, too, I believe would have forced the brewers to co-operate in taking twopence instead of a penny off the beer duty. The reduction in income tax disappointed many people who hoped for a shilling instead of sixpence, but Mr. Baldwin's caution here may have been due to foresight; it is less disturbing to have sixpence off this year and probably sixpence next, than a shilling now with the possibility that sixpence next year might have to go on. Mr. Baldwin's Budget speech was clearly delivered, and it amused me that the only interruptions were two from Sir Robert Horne.

MR. GARVIN'S prediction of the Prime Minister's resignation was a pretty piece of manoeuvring on behalf of the ex-Coalition Ministers and the Centre Party (which so obstinately fails to get born), but shock-tactics are out of place in contemporary politics, and the *Observer* has cried "Wolf" too often. As a mild

sensation to keep us awake through the Sunday sermon, it once had its uses; but now that people golf instead of pray, the tactics seem to need alteration. In any event, and unless the luck of health goes against him more than is anticipated, Mr. Bonar Law ought to be able to carry on through the rest of the session, and I fancy he wants to hold office for at least a year. After three months, however, anything may happen, but the situation will be clearer by then. Personally, I cannot see the Die-Hards letting go their grip, and the Die-Hard desire is for Mr. Baldwin to succeed when the vacancy occurs. They would swallow the three ex-Unionists at a pinch, so long as Lord Birkenhead is left out in the wilderness; and there are some—not a majority—who would forgive Mr. Churchill—on terms. But I find little genuine enthusiasm for Mr. Chamberlain, in spite of his admitted honesty of purpose and past services; and if he attempts to carry Mr. Lloyd George on his shoulders, he is doomed to failure. There is no question of a Conservative-National-Liberal *rapprochement* in the House, although in the constituencies, and particularly in Scotland, opinion is not sharply against it—particularly where Labour is strong. But it would have to be a sweeping Labour victory which compelled the older parties to forgo their personal jealousies, and there is no immediate sign of that. At the moment, if I may risk the pun, politics are more personal than political.

TWO important speeches in Berlin this week indicate increasing readiness on Germany's part to come to terms. This change of mood should be encouraged in every possible way by our Government, which, however, continues timidly aloof, in fear of harsh words from the Paris newspapers or a snub from M. Poincaré. Some of the London Press did not reproduce Herr Stresemann's elaboration in the Reichstag of the Bergmann scheme. He pointed out that the sums required by France and Belgium together so closely approximated the amount Germany was ready to offer in January that it must be possible to make a new concrete offer after German industry has been sounded and brought into the services of the guarantees necessary to the flotation

of a loan. There is much to be said for Herr Stresemann's argument that Germany should make a direct offer to all the Allies in which not the total sum, but the method of payment, should be the first consideration. It is manifestly impossible at this time to fix a total sum for Germany to pay. But Herr Stresemann admits that the first purpose of the German offer must be the restoration of the devastated areas. We in England must not permit a feeling of hopelessness at the folly and waste and pig-headedness of French policy to discourage us from working for a settlement. It cannot be too often repeated—I know I have repeated it here *ad nauseam*—that real prosperity, real recovery of our industries, are impossible until this foolery on the Continent is ended and the nations get back to peaceful work. Progress is slow, but progress has been made in these last weeks since M. Loucheur made his famous visit, and if Downing Street and the Foreign Office will only wake up, they can accelerate the end of this ridiculous and disheartening trench warfare in the Ruhr by intelligent negotiation with both sides.

I DO not always agree with Mr. Austen Hopkinson, but his objection to the Co-Partnership Bill is valid. It seems an excellent idea for a wage-earner to invest his savings in the business in which he is employed. But if trade is depressed, he may lose his employment and find difficulty in realising his capital, except at ruinous loss; while if the business went bankrupt, he would stand to lose both wages and savings. Except with railways and other standard industries, the thing seems too risky; and in railways the small holder of shares is not wanted. When the share unit is £100 the wage-shareholder has no chance. On the whole, I must confess that the Post Office Savings Bank strikes me as the best stocking yet available for the small man. It is not exciting, but it is safe, and the capital cannot depreciate. This class of business, however, might be more encouraged by the great joint-stock banks. It is quite true that they advertise their readiness to open deposit accounts of a pound and upwards at interest, but I have never seen a recognisable working-man doing so. And I should not have the pluck myself to walk into the head office of, say, Mr. McKenna's bank, with a single Treasury Note, and demand an account with sixpence a year interest. That is one of the things one would not do, except on a bet.

THE Irish Republican leaders are caught hiding in ditches, like the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, or in caves in the sides of precipices, like the hero and heroine in Messrs. Conrad and Heuffer's admirable novel, *Romance*; but the important point is that they are caught. The Irish Civil War has entered upon, one may hope, its final phase. A month ago there was no talk of *catching* these people. Pitched "battles" of sorts were being fought against them. When a Civil War enters upon this present phase, it is all over but the shouting. There was Civil War in England on the days of the Battle of Worcester and the Battle of Culloden, but twenty-four hours later the issues were: which oak tree was

Prince Charles hiding in, which of the Scottish isles was Charles Edward making for? The war was over. So now at long last in Ireland, where there has been no battle worthy of the name, and the "war" has been conducted with extraordinary incompetence on both sides, so that it has been a kind of caricature of military operations, we have come to the oak-tree conclusion: which peat bog is sheltering De Valera?

AN Irish correspondent wrote: "The outrages in the South of Ireland, chiefly the acts of nocturnal incendiaries, have become too frequent to enumerate, much more to describe. Riversdale, the seat of the Raymond family, in Kerry, is among the number of those very lately reduced, for the greater part, to ashes. A private letter from Charleville asserts that the farm horses of a distinguished sufferer have, in that neighbourhood, been destroyed by fire. The Attorney-General himself, the Right Hon. W. Plunkett, has, it appears, exerted himself for an ungrateful people, attacking and laying waste his property while he was labouring to secure to them the protection of laws which they set at defiance. These demonstrations are equally prevalent in the County of Cork, and have in some instances been accompanied by personal outrage to unoffending individuals. The perpetrators traverse the country in gangs of eight or ten armed ruffians at a time; but they have in no recent instance been identified by the victims of their ferocity." The Irish correspondent who wrote the above dated his dispatch April 19th, 1823. Its publication a century later by the *Times* was a happy stroke of irony.

IN a recent issue of the *Fellowship Forum*, published in Washington, appears the following: "With a population of 1,100, Mentone has not a Catholic, foreigner, Negro, nor Jew living in the city. Practically every man in the city belongs to one or more fraternal organisations." The *New York Nation's* attention was called by this item to Indiana's One Hundred per Cent. American hamlet: "Limited indeed is the information available about this undefiled community. The town lies in Kosciusko County, just between the adjacent hamlets of Latta and Sevastopol. But—Mentone, Kosciusko, Latta, Sevastopol? Could it be that this community that now vaunts its complete uncontamination by the foreigner was settled by foreigners? Think of the parades that one would be able to see in Mentone! Think of Fourth of July in this one-hundred-percenter's Eden! East on Main Street come the Tall Cedars of Lebanon; west on Main Street go the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. Around and around the public square march the Templars with their gilt epaulets and shiny swords, and around and around the public square stride the Modern Woodsmen of the World with their khaki uniforms and polished axes. South from the schoolhouse pushes the column of the Mystic Order of the Veiled Prophets of the Enchanted Realm, and north from the Methodist Church advance the Knights of the Maccabees. The Eagles are lurching at the hamburg stand, the Elks have a hot-dog and pickle picnic on the courthouse square,

while the Moose are in the courthouse listening to a patriotic address. And on the Baptist Church lawn the Ladies' Aid peddles tepid ice cream and cake under rows of swinging Japanese lanterns to folks who belong to all of the organisations at once and can't tell which to march with."

\* \* \* \* \*

NEW YORK wishes to use the Anglo-American debt to found a new "super-University" in London. London, because the *New Republic* regards London as "the centre and clearing-house for the English-speaking world." And this is to be accomplished, says the *New Republic*, out of the debt:

England owes America some four billion dollars, under the recent debt agreement. There are tens of thousands of Americans, including many of our richest citizens, who feel that this debt should have been remitted. So far as their means permit, they can as private citizens bring about a revision of the settlement far better than mere remission. They can buy these British bonds from the American treasury and place them in a fund for the endowment of this greatest of universities. Let every American who favoured the remission of the debt calculate what addition that would have made to his tax bills for the rest of his life. So much he could easily afford to give in the form of British bonds to the endowment of this university. There would be, at once, an imposing sum, we guess some tens of millions. . . . Suppose that a body of the greatest educators of the English-speaking countries were to draft plans for the world's greatest university, to commemorate the common effort in the world war, to testify to the common hope in peace and civilisation. And suppose that the very character of the endowment were commemorative of the effort, testimony of the goodwill and unity of the English-speaking nations. It is not conceivable that the project would be allowed to fail for want of funds.

The project, of course, will fail for lack of funds. But it is a splendid dream, the more welcome because of the gesture about London. Why not have two Universities, or two branches of a common University, one in Washington, the other here? Each student to complete his course half in London, half in America. There would be plenty of money for the enlargement of this project—when the *New Republic* had finished collecting those British bonds!

\* \* \* \* \*

A CONTRACT to marry, said Mr. Justice Rigby Swift on Wednesday, was binding, like a commercial contract. It is a solemn thought. A young man takes a young woman out to dinner and, over the champagne, asks her to marry him. She replies, "Certainly, old thing." With those fatal words, it appears, a contract has been entered upon as enforceable as the lease of a house. It is idle to argue, as the defendant did in the case before Mr. Justice Swift, that the girl has subsequently insulted your mother; for, as the Judge pointed out, if a display of temper were held to prove unfitness for marriage, half the weddings in the country might never take place. But it is alarming that young men and women plunge heedlessly into these irrevocable contracts without giving the matter anything like the serious and detached consideration that they would give to the sale of a horse. Yet you can resell a horse; whereas engagements to marry are apparently almost irrevocable. A copy of Mr. Justice Rigby Swift's judgment should be posted to every military "mess" and appear on all the college notice-boards at the universities. The law on this important point is not widely enough known to the young.

NEMO.

## The Week in Parliament

AT question time on Monday the Prime Minister, for the first time since Parliament met, was not in his place, having devolved his duty upon the Home Secretary, who showed himself characteristically non-committal in reply. Members, however, were all agog to hear the Chancellor upon his Budget, and, therefore, passed over these Abridgements of the Law without comment. Budget night in the House of Commons is traditionally a grand occasion. The Chancellor, for once absenting himself from questions, makes an almost ceremonious entry just after a quarter to four, in order, in the words of the formula, "to open his budget," a phrase reminiscent of the nursery rhyme about "a dainty dist to set before a king." In the case of Mr. Baldwin's Budget, the birds began to sing almost immediately, and they sang to the tune of "Sixpence off the income tax," a fine old song with the inspiring refrain, "Yo, ho, ho, and a bottle of beer." Toby Junior is constrained to remind the Chancellor of the more popular version of the same chant, which begins, "Fifteen pence off the income tax," but of which the chorus is the same. It goes in this manner, and he may wish to remember it against the preparation of his next Budget:—

Fifteen pence off the income tax,  
And bigger reductions every year,  
Sugar and Tea and a Geddes Axe,  
Yo, ho, ho, and a bottle of beer.

\* \* \* \* \*

If the Chancellor's statement was remarkable not only for its lucidity and comprehensiveness, but also for its break with what Mr. Asquith described as the traditional jocosity of Budget night, that was not the only breach of tradition. It has always been the practice of Parliament after witnessing the opening of the Budget and listening with becoming decorum to the allocation of the Leader of the Opposition, and, perhaps, an ex-Chancellor or two, for the rank and file of all parties to betake themselves reverently to their homes, in order, by virgils, prayer and fasting, to prepare themselves for the fray of the morrow. Whatever else may be its faults, there is, however, no false modesty about the Labour Party. They are one and all as competent to frame a Budget or criticise national finance and expenditure as any capitalist going: in fact, to paraphrase Napoleon, every private Member carries a Chancellor's Budget in his gripsack. Accordingly an orgy of wrangling took place and the Budget debate did not assume its accustomed proportions until the second day, when Mr. Asquith, Sir Robert Horne, Mr. Hilton Young, and Sir Godfrey Collins all contributed remarkably good and interesting speeches. Mr. Snowden's effort on the third day was a poor and partisan affair much below his proper level: and immeasurably the finest speech of all, notwithstanding his own opening speech, was the Chancellor's reply—thirty-five minutes of extempore argument and enunciation, with hardly a note and with never a falter. Toby Junior, who has always believed that Stanley Baldwin would rise to great occasions since the day when he first saw him as a young Minister in 1917, takes off his hat to the Right Honourable Gentleman and congratulates him not only upon a sound Budget and a fine piece of exposition on Monday last, but even more upon the brilliance and overwhelming force of his reply to his critics on Wednesday. Mr. Baldwin has definitely placed his name among the great English Chancellors by his performances this week.

\* \* \* \* \*

Meanwhile the lighter side of Parliamentary life continues to receive its unflinching contribution from Mr. Hope Simpson, who, not content with the success of his improvisation with the Minister of Agriculture on a similar theme, rose at question time on Wednesday and launched at the Minister of Health in particular, and the Treasury Bench in general, an avalanche of two hundred tons of "liquid egg yolk" (ugh!) imported from China, solicitously inquiring as to the amount of preservative therein and the general condition of the consignment. Mr. Neville Chamberlain regretted he was unable to furnish exact information as to the amount of preservative, adding, however, that the custom of the trade was to insert 1½ per cent. of boric acid. Friends of Mr. Hope Simpson were heard suggesting to him that he should urge on the Government the propriety of extending the principle of the Merchandise Marks Act and stamping the amount of preservative upon the yolk for the information of the public, but he seemed reluctant to put it forward at the moment: doubtless intending to save it up for the final stages of the battle of eggs.

\* \* \* \* \*

Last week's all-night sitting was an intimation to the Government that when all the Opposition choose to shoot together, a very effective barrage can be put down. For once both wings of the Liberals worked, on the whole, with the Labour Party in pressing upon the Government for reasoned amendments to the Army Act, based for the most part on the personal experience and knowledge of Members. As a result, Field Punishment No. 1 went into the limbo of the past, and a considerable attack was made on the sanctity of the death penalty. Important alterations may be expected next year.

TOBY JUNIOR, M.P.

## The Ten Thousand

WE who live in the nerve centre of the world's greatest political unit are accustomed to hear with good-humoured tolerance, impatience, or boredom, those of our breed who come back from the farthest corners of the earth, from little outposts of Empire, convinced that the local problems and issues in their own tiny spot on the map should monopolise the attention of the Colonial Office and Parliament. These pioneers, so we tell ourselves, and truly, lack perspective. They cannot see the woods for their own individual tree. Of all the thousand racial squabbles now proceeding in every part of the inhabited globe, the struggle of ten thousand white men in East Africa to maintain the supremacy of their race seems at first sight parochial. Interesting and important, no doubt, to the ten thousand, but scarcely worthy to claim serious attention from administrators in London who stagger under the burdens of a quarter of the human race.

Mighty and earth-shaking problems have, however, often in human history, focused themselves in distant wildernesses, and dramas in which the fate of humanity was staked have played themselves out before rude and sparse audiences, unnoticed by indifferent or ignorant rulers in the centres of power of their ages. In sacred history, we have the record of those few years in Palestine. No immediate echo reached Rome of the works and death of an itinerant Judean preacher in the reign of Tiberius. In secular history, the march of the ten thousand, a change in military tactics in the levies of a barbarian and insignificant State called Macedon, petty disputes over stamp tax and tea duties in New England, were at the butset ignored by, or unknown to, contemporaries.

The North-Eastern provinces of Africa constitute a country greater than the United States of America, where the native population is just under ten millions, about the number of persons who live in Canada. These vast territories include a tract of 277,000 square miles lying at an elevation of more than 4,000 feet. This fertile, potentially healthy upland, equivalent to a belt of ninety miles wide stretching across the American Continent from Montreal to Vancouver, can grow two crops a year of wheat, corn, and almost all staples of foodstuffs that the Empire so sorely needs to make us independent of foreign supplies. The climate of these highlands is more equable than that of France. We must visualise a vast rolling plain, seamed with rivers and dotted with lakes, with here and there great mountains jutting up. The plateau itself is very like an English park, and is populated by myriads of animals. Except for the nomadic savage, it lies empty of mankind, as did the Western prairies of America fifty years ago. It is a virgin land, awaiting the coming of the white

man, ready to nurture and breed a great race, to rival in wealth and population the Mississippi Valley. This is our heritage, the refuge for our teeming millions whom it is doubtful whether our industrial system at home can much longer support. It is the "last white man's country" yet undeveloped and suitable for Englishmen to conquer.

If we know what East Africa offers, as most Englishmen unhappily do not, we see at once that the dispute now in progress between ten thousand white pioneers in Kenya, and the forty thousand Indian immigrants, for the control of Kenya, involves a principle and issues perhaps no less important to the men of future generations than the dispute with our North American colonies five generations ago. Is Kenya to be white or brown? The Governor of the Colony, Sir Robert Coryndon, surrounded by his leading citizens, is in London to plead the cause of the ten thousand. Arrayed against him in conference he will find the Agha Khan and envoys from India, as well as representatives of Kenya's Indian population. The issue is clearcut. Are the Indian immigrants now in the Colony to be given equal voting rights with the whites? If they are, Kenya apparently passes from the white man to the brown. The Immigration Laws will be at once let down, and not Kenya only, but the whole of East Africa, Tanganyika, later Uganda and perhaps Zanzibar, become Indian. It is easy to sit comfortably in London and spin plausible and attractive theories about racial equality. Why should not our Indian fellow-subjects be granted the same rights and facilities anywhere in the Empire as we ourselves? We lack space in this article to go into the complicated arguments that will be brought forward; but we most earnestly believe that the claims of the Indians must be withstood, without compromise, in the interests of the stability of the Empire itself, and of the whole white race. We know that a formidable agitation has aroused deep feeling in India itself in favour of equality with the white man in Africa. This explains the attitude of the Government of India.

But, however embarrassing it may be to give the Kenya white men what they want, our statesmen must look to the future and stand firm. Weakness or compromise will not imperil the future of the white race in East Africa, but it may result in secession from the Empire itself. Let there be no mistake here. The British Government has not the power, if it had the will, to impose Indian equality upon those brave ten thousand white pioneers. The class of Indians now in Kenya are, to put it mildly, not fighters. The rule of a few men of one race over many thousands of another must always, whether we like it or not, depend in the last resort on force. We govern India by force, and we govern the natives of East Africa by force. Those natives, or their fathers, have met us in

battle and gone down before us. They now respect us as warriors, and dimly realise that we govern them justly. To deny supremacy in the land which they have won from Nature and the savage to our white ten thousand would, in the first place, drive the ten thousand to suppress the Indians by force. That could be done in a day. This inevitable result we could not prevent, if we would, without sending troops to fight for the brown man against the white, and whether we visualise white or brown troops employed in such circumstances, the whole conception is absurd. But let us assume for the sake of argument that the white men, rebuffed in London, settle down as an impotent minority in a brown man's country. Hordes of black spearsmen would soon be at the throats of masters whom they despised, and we should have to transport white armies to quell the natives in the interests of the Indians, or see this whole mighty country of rich promise revert to savagery. Racial equality may be advocated from armchairs in London clubs, or from the sanctums of Fleet Street editors. But to suggest equality between brown and white, in a country where the population is overwhelmingly black, is as absurd as to place the black man on a level with the white. Which last proposal the advocates of Indian supremacy in Kenya must, were they logical, adopt.

## The Budget and the Future

THE tax reductions in Mr. Baldwin's first Budget coincide extraordinarily closely with the financial policy outlined in these columns a few weeks ago. This may be a sign that the Government regards THE OUTLOOK as the King of Israel regarded the major prophets—we had not observed any other indications that Downing Street considers our views to be inspired—or it may be merely a proof that most people, confronted with a proposition in political mathematics, will work out pretty much the same solution. However that may be, the coincidence leaves us with little to criticise, and we fancy that the country will be reasonably well satisfied with the figures and their application.

Only in one respect could Mr. Baldwin have done more. A little more pluck would have given him his tax on betting, and the yield secured during the remainder of this year should have been a valuable guide to the Treasury in framing its 1924-5 estimates. It is well known that the estimates of the yield vary very considerably—there are, in fact, no reliable data to go on—and the first few months of collection would necessarily be rather experimental. But once the thing was in working order, it would probably contribute fairly steadily to the revenue; and we believe that if Mr. Baldwin had taken his courage in both hands, and imposed it at once, he would have been able to abolish the Corporation Profits Tax entirely, and he might even have risked a small reduction of the sugar duty.

The Corporation Profits Tax is definitely shown to be a bad tax, a restraint on enterprise, and it will have to go at the earliest opportunity. Its imposition was a mistake; the yield is small, and the effect is harmful. As to sugar, we are, on general grounds, inclined to sympathise with the critics of the Chancellor, but the only reason for reduction would be to reduce the cost of living, and the experience of the reduction of the tea duty last year shows that the last person who benefits from such reductions is the consumer. There are no grounds for believing that the reduction of sugar would produce any different effect, and therefore we hold that Mr. Baldwin was justified in holding his hand.

He will be denounced, of course, by the great confectionery interests who support the Liberal Party; and Labour, which is infected with Pussy-footism, will use the reduction of the beer duty and the retention of the sugar duty to angle for the women's vote—the battle of the sexes will play an increasing part in future Budgets. But in this matter Mr. Baldwin has easily the best of the argument. There was a clear case for the reduction of the beer duty, and our only regret is that in the preliminary negotiations between the Treasury and the trade, the brewers have done rather less than their share. It should have been possible for them to have borne a greater portion of the reduction.

National finance has now reached a point at which for the next few years greater importance will attach to questions of expenditure than revenue. It used to be said that expenditure depends upon policy, and that is, broadly speaking, one of the eternal verities. But at the moment expenditure depends very largely on the results of past policy, and the greater portion of the outgoings from the Treasury are due to two legacies from the war—pensions and debt service. As to the former there is little to be said. Nobody proposes to reduce the war pensions; they were nobly earned, and the nation intends to pay them to the uttermost farthing. But at the moment we are concerned with the details rather than the principle, and it is to be noted that the amount will be considerably reduced during the next five or seven years, as the children of fallen soldiers who are receiving educational grants reach the statutory age of sixteen.

That in itself constitutes a slight relief of the burden of taxation; on the other account, the matter of debt service, a real reduction has been made during the past three years, and every improvement of the country's credit automatically assists this movement. The time will come when the debt can be funded on lower terms—interest rates are sinking all over the world, precisely as wages are falling—and it is to the reconstitution of the debt that we must look for substantial relief. That, and not the madness of the capital levy, is the sound road towards reduced taxation, and in the opinion of financial experts, the operation should become possible during the next quinquennium. The time is not yet ripe, and it would be almost as harmful to operate prematurely as to postpone it too long; but if Mr. Baldwin's debt redemption proposals are maintained, and trade continues to improve as steadily as it has done this



last six or nine months, the major operation should become possible under his Chancellorship—always supposing, what is indeed rather a large supposition, that the personnel of the present Government remains unchanged for its nominal term of office.

If Treasury policy shapes on these sound lines, and if the rest of the world permits us to remain at peace, the future of British finance becomes reasonably assured. We believe that certain reductions of Civil Service expenditure are still possible—Mr. Baldwin would do well to look into that hotbed of waste, the Labour Exchanges—and with small savings in these and other directions, a further reduction of taxation should become feasible next year. Nothing heroic can be looked for, consistently with the paramount object of reducing the debt; but it should not be beyond the power of the Government to reduce the income tax by threepence in 1924, and a further threepence in the following year. These successive reductions, although individually small, would each ease the position of the taxpayer and liberate a certain amount of money for industry; everything which helps to make saving easier assists trade. When these reductions have been made, the time will, in our opinion, have come when the debt could be funded on lower terms—and this should in itself make it possible to reduce the income tax by another shilling. It would then stand at three shillings in the pound—a figure still sufficiently high, and still enough to remind us of the war for the rest of our lives, but at least it would be a tolerable impost. From that figure we do not see any prospect of further reductions for at least another decade, beyond which prophecy becomes futile.

We have taken a wider sweep than is customary in reviewing a Budget, but in the present position of national finance it is impossible profitably to confine attention to the actual twelvemonth, and some remarks that fell from Mr. Baldwin indicate that he, too, is looking further ahead, and is even contemplating the position that he will hand over to his successor. This is the only sound method for a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and whatever else may be said against the present Government by its opponents and even by its candid friends, there is a general admission that its financial policy is sound. That is a fact which the country is not likely to forget when confronted with subversive Labour proposals.

## A Terrible Whigging

THE Croydon Corporation has had a terrible whigging. For months past they have been persistently "asking for it"; and, now that the House of Lords has so generously given it to them, it is to be hoped that they will be satisfied and that we shall hear no more of their preposterous "improvement" scheme. Not a single member of the Upper House was found to speak or vote in favour of pulling down a beautiful sixteenth-century hospital in order to widen the road. On the contrary, peer after peer rose to express his horror at the suggestion. It was left to Lord Curzon to administer the *coup de grâce*, and he did

it in his own inimitable way. The members of the Croydon Corporation, he roundly declared, were "men destitute of any sense of duty, and imbued with the lowest utilitarian spirit." Impossible-people, in fact—nearly as bad as the Turks.

Yet it is impossible not to feel sorry for these unhappy Councillors. So far from having no sense of duty, it is obvious that they believed themselves to be doing their duty—to Croydon. For Croydon wants the Whitgift Hospital pulled down. It said so distinctly on the occasion of the recent poll. It was pointed out to Croydon that for road-widening purposes it would be just as easy to pull down the public-house on the other side of the street. Croydon was asked to choose between the Whitgift Hospital and the public-house. It voted loudly and joyfully for the pub. You can get a drink in a public-house, but the Whitgift Hospital is no use for anything except to give shelter to a few poor old women. It was pointed out to Croydon that if it would only wait for a few months an alternative route for motor traffic would be opened. Croydon refused to wait. It was pointed out that a loan had been sanctioned for Croydon in 1912 on the express condition that the Hospital was not interfered with. Croydon did not care. It is obvious that Croydon hates the Whitgift Hospital. And in these circumstances there is at least some kind of an excuse for the Croydon Town Councillor who tries to carry out the wishes of his constituents.

What they forgot was that Croydon is not England, and that the rest of England has a right to be heard in this matter. We cannot prevent the people of Croydon from building bad houses, but we can prevent them from pulling down the only good one in the place. If we gave away this principle in the case of the Whitgift Hospital we should no longer be in a position to protect, say, Shakespeare's grave if a wave of Vandalism were to pass over Stratford-on-Avon—as it very well might. Croydon may be allowed to do what it likes with the parish pump, always provided that the pump does not happen to be a specially good pump, or a pump of unusual historical interest.

It is fashionable to laugh at the Lords, but even the most hostile of their critics will admit that, as politicians, they are not altogether lacking in astuteness. They have not often in recent years been found championing an unpopular cause. They cannot afford it. The fact, therefore, that such language as was used about the conduct of the Croydon Corporation has not been heard in their lordships' House since the brave days of Mr. Asquith's Parliament Bill is not without significance. The Lords knew that they had the country behind them. They knew that every newspaper was on their side. Ancient buildings have been destroyed more rapidly in the last fifty years than ever before and the destruction has got to stop. It was mentioned in excuse for the Corporation's action that old Temple Bar was removed because it impeded traffic. Defenders of the Whitgift Hospital could not want a better example to reinforce their case. For the fact is that for months past the City has been pleading with its present owner to give back Temple Bar, in order that it may be re-erected in an honourable position on the Embankment, and has pleaded hitherto in vain.

## How to Clean up Kenya

By DR. W. J. SIMPSON.

TO prospective emigrants from Great Britain who have no desire to go to Australia, South Africa, or Canada, and prefer an English colony in the tropics, there are open the extensive, sparsely populated, and fertile highlands of Kenya Colony. There the unoccupied land is suitable for the planting of British colonies on an organised system, and only awaits capable hands for its agricultural development. Away from the few towns that have sprung up during the past twenty years, this part of the country is on the whole naturally healthy. It is only when a town or hamlet is formed without any regard to sanitary laws that ill-health creeps in. But this can easily be avoided, and the mistakes which have been made in the existing towns and which have rendered them unhealthy are object lessons not to be repeated in designing and arranging the plan of new settlements. Even the towns that are to-day unhealthy can be made healthy at a price. The longer this is delayed the higher will be the price. It is necessary to emphasise the fact that though the highlands of Kenya Colony are situated in the equatorial region, yet they possess a climate not inimical to white men and their families. In this respect they differ from the coastal districts, which are hot and humid like other low-lying tropical lands bordering on the sea. Though they can, and ought, to be made healthy by methods like those employed by the Americans in the Panama Canal zone, and by the British elsewhere, still they are not suitable for permanent European settlements. They, however, give to the young Britisher the same opportunities as are afforded to our merchants, planters, and administrators in other of our tropical possessions, where residence is broken by periodical visits to a temperate climate, and where it is necessary for the children to proceed at an early age to Europe to be brought up under a more favourable environment for their physical development and education. There are no problems that could not be easily overcome by forethought and suitable sanitation.

Nairobi, the capital of the colony, is nearly 6,000 feet high, and should, from its situation, be one of the healthiest towns in the world. It is the social and trade centre, meeting-place, and market of the people in the surrounding farming and plantation districts, just as Naivasha and Nakura are higher up the railway line. A better site could have been chosen close by with a more suitable soil, which would have rendered its thorough drainage less difficult and less costly. It is a difficulty that can be overcome, and it is not because of the site and soil that Nairobi, notwithstanding its height and good climate, has acquired, except in the European residential quarter, a bad reputation for unhealthiness. This is due to the want of a good drainage system, to its insanitary condition, to the pouring into it of Asiatic and Indian immigrants of the poorest class without any efficient control and regulation being put into force as to their settlement, their housing, their overcrowding, and their insanitary habits, to the absence of effective sanitary laws, and to the further absence of a sufficient health department to administer such necessary laws.

The town is only some twenty years old, with a mixed population of less than 30,000 inhabitants. It is famous for its slums, which cover the greater portion of the African, Asiatic, and Indian quarters, and it has become an endemic centre of plague. This disease first appeared in the Indian bazaar in 1902, when Nairobi was about two years old, and had only

5,000 to 6,000 inhabitants. In that short time, according to the reports of the medical men who were concerned with the suppression of the disease, the Indian bazaar had become extremely insanitary and favourable to the spread of plague once it was imported. In carrying out measures of suppression "enormous quantities of dead rats and their dung were discovered in almost every house in the bazaar, and the accumulation of rubbish in a large majority of the dwellings was appalling, and the studied exclusion of light and air gave rise to a sickening stench." These were much the same conditions under which plague gained headway and prevailed in Bombay, and which gave rise to the housing schemes in that city. To return, however, to Nairobi, Dr. Spurrier wrote:

As regards the Indian bazaar, here is the opportunity to remark that in young Nairobi, with unlimited space around and with the breezes of the highlands of British East Africa blowing unhindered from every quarter, a state of things had arisen which reproduced the worst features of an old, densely crowded city of the East. Damp, dark, unventilated, overcrowded dwellings on filth-soaked and rubbish-bestrewn ground, house hundreds of people of most uncleanly habits, who loved to have things so and were so let.

The suppression of the epidemic cost about £30,000, and included the destruction of the Indian bazaar. An early experience of this kind, it might have been inferred, would have served as a lesson and an incentive to the administration to prevent such a state of things arising in a new bazaar. It appears, however, not to have been so, for in 1907 Mr. Bransby Williams, Assoc. Inst. C.E., was sent out by the then Colonial Secretary, when the Protectorate was transferred to the Colonial Office, to report on the sanitation of Nairobi. After describing among other things the overcrowded and insanitary condition of the new bazaar, which had been erected on a new site, and which covered nine acres of ground in a prominent and central position of the town, he remarks that "the Indian inhabitants have succeeded in reproducing there many of the features of the overcrowded slums of ancient Oriental cities." He recommended and laid out a plan for the acquisition and demolition of the bazaar and the erection of a new one elsewhere, which should not be "made a common lodging-place for half the floating population of Nairobi as is the present one."

The bazaar still stands in the same place, although it should not, and continues to be pre-eminent among the other slums of the town as an endemic centre of plague and a danger to the country. The same remarks apply to the other small towns where Indians, who are the carriers of plague and the creators of insanitary areas, settle in more or less large numbers.

It is time that the local administrators recognised their duty as protectors of the health of the people, and in doing so displayed some courage, and carried out a sanitary policy, dominated solely by a desire to advance the health, interest, welfare, comfort, and prosperity of the whole community under their charge. This policy should not be influenced, as it has been in Kenya Colony, with its two and a-half millions of indigenous Africans, by outside pressure, not from the best type of Indian, for whom everyone who knows him entertains the highest respect, but from agitators, whose business it is to produce discord, and who expect that the small numbers of their countrymen who have immigrated to this colony, and the majority of whom they would have no dealings with in their own country owing to caste restrictions, may with impunity break all the laws of health, endanger the rest of the population, and interfere with and impede the progress and prosperity of the country.

To root out the endemicity of plague in Nairobi, and prevent it from being a favourable soil for its propagation if imported, it is necessary to make a clearance of the Indian bazaar, and transfer it from its position in the European commercial quarters to the north side of the Nairobi River, which is a narrow stream. It should be there erected under sanitary safeguards and control, so that it may never become—as its predecessors—a danger to the community. The other slums on the south side of the river should be likewise dealt with, only leaving high-class Indian shops. The Indian and Asiatic commercial and residential area should be laid out on healthy lines and separated from the European and the African areas by park zones of at least 300 yards in width, which would serve as recreation grounds. There is plenty of room on the north side of the river for future expansion, and there are excellent sites for every class of Hindu and Mohammedan, where each religious community can have their mosques and temples in their own quarter and their own amusements without any great danger of interfering with each other's comfort.

It has to be recognised that when dealing with a variety of races, differing in customs, habits, prejudices, amusements, needs, and forms of religion, the only sound principle is to provide for them different quarters, where each community can be brought more or less under the influence of its principal men, and where sanitary law is enforced rigorously by the health authorities obviously for the benefit of that community. It is impossible to have a healthy town when the residences of the different races are mixed up with one another or in close proximity to each other. This point of view has to be taken into account in town-planning in Kenya Colony. The problem is not quite the same as that which presents itself in England, where the population consists of Europeans only, and where it has been more or less solved by the Garden City movement. Modifications have, in Kenya Colony, to be introduced to meet the requirements of different races and to prevent the spread of tropical diseases, many of which are spread by infected rats, flies, and mosquitoes. In Kenya Colony, where the area is unlimited and where the aim should be to prevent slums which, in the end, are very expensive, and establish healthy settlements and towns, the town plan should be laid out on garden city lines, with distinct quarters for each race, separated by a sufficient space of park land of the width equal at least to the length of Westminster Bridge. These park zones are important and useful. They provide recreation grounds for the children and young people of the different races; they separate the residential quarters of each race from one another, giving greater freedom to each to live their own mode of life and according to their customs without offending the susceptibilities of their fellow-townsmen and without being a nuisance to those who have different customs; and they serve as a valuable and very effective barrier against the extension to other parts of the town of any disease that may have broken out in one quarter and is spread by infected rats, flies, or mosquitoes, while at the same time they allow of concentration of effort on the particular infected locality, and thus facilitate the eradication of the disease. With this principle put into practice, and the healthy growth and expansion of the town provided for on the town plan, then all the other health requirements, trade needs, and amenities of a commercial town can be added as required, among which would be rapid means of communication between the different parts of the town, facilities for satisfactory transport and easy access to railways.

## Parliamentary Oratory

By REGINALD BERKELEY.

IT would be a dangerous experiment to dogmatise upon the art of speaking in Parliament; for the subject is one upon which the Father of the House himself might be excused from laying down the law. Few things are more difficult to isolate and exhibit than the various qualities which go to make for success or failure in any branch of human expression: notoriously Robert Louis Stevenson at the height of his fame failed in *The Art of Writing* to indicate with any sort of generality in what the art of writing lay: and the task of dissecting the kindred but even less tangible art of successful speaking in public assemblies into its component parts, though perhaps less extensive in scope, is certainly not less delicate.

A few general principles, however, must be obvious to anyone who has ever listened to a debate. In the first place, the House of Commons, like Queen Victoria, objects to being addressed as a public meeting; and that is the reason for the comparative failure of some of the Labour Members of whom great things were expected and from whom great things may yet come. The immense sincerity and enthusiasm of, for instance, Mr. Kirkwood and Mr. Hardie would, I believe, exercise a powerful effect if they would only treat their fellow members as possessing at least equivalent intelligence with themselves. But they have acquired the public meeting manner. Within a few sentences of beginning their speeches they are lost in a tempest of rhetoric and exaggeration: somebody laughs: they turn upon the interrupter as if he were a heckler in the parish hall: more people laugh: and the speech, which probably contained some valuable criticism or suggestion, is swept away in a torrent of ridicule. A member who began in the public meeting vein, but is fast acquiring an excellent House of Commons manner is Mr. Wallhead, whose speech not long ago on the situation in the Ruhr was, to my mind, in style, construction, matter, and moderation a remarkably good piece of work. Incidentally, it may perhaps be permitted to say that the Queen's real objection, had she paused to analyse it, was not so much that Mr. Gladstone spoke to her like a public meeting, as that he spoke to her and everyone else like a kind of physical embodiment of the Athenæum Club. Anything less "popular," anything further removed from the pandering to public bad taste which is the real vice of public meetings, than a speech by Mr. Gladstone would be difficult to imagine.

In the second place, no greater mistake can be made with regard to the House of Commons than to imagine that it is the place for oratory. It is not. Oratory may be defined as the theatrication of public speech; and, of all places in the habitable globe, the last in which to attempt anything of the kind is the House of Commons. Shareholders' meetings, Courts of Law, Medical Councils are all unfavourable enough: but the atmosphere of the House operates upon the intending orator like a canopy of wet blankets over a pin-point of flame. It descends inexorably and smothers him.

This is not to say that slipshod speech is the rule, or that one's thoughts may not be clothed in fine words. But they must not be somebody else's cast-off clothes. Phrases that sound natural and apt in the mouth of Mr. Asquith would sound pontifical and indeed preposterous in the mouth of Mr. Newbold. In fact any form of words must tend to sound bizarre that is not the accustomed medium of expression of the speaker. To take an illustration, the beautiful maiden speech of Mr. Welsh, the miner poet, lit up by rare similes.

and literary graces, would have sounded incongruous and even absurd in the mouth of a Captain of Industry. Major Paget's grim picture of the fear that eats into the hearts of men during a bombardment, would have been robbed of most of its effect in the mouth of a conscientious objector. Speaking in the House of Commons is, in fact, the highest development of the art of thinking aloud: and it is in proportion as a member can elucidate and express his thoughts just as they come into his mind, that successful speeches are made. Hence Mr. Balfour. Hence Mr. Bonar Law. Hence, nowadays, Mr. Asquith.

That is one of the reasons, perhaps the chief reason, why speeches in the House are as a rule short. Another obvious reason for their curtailment is, of course, the general recognition by members of the rights of other members to the time of the House: and yet another reason is the presence of the Speaker or Chairman, watchful to pounce upon irrelevancy. But the most potent factor is the necessity of speaking extempore with its corollary in the rule that speeches must not be read. A member may have full notes, but he must not read his speeches on pain of being called to order and, in the discretion of the Speaker, asked to resume his seat.

*Autres pays autres mœurs.* In France, partly because of more exuberant racial characteristics, partly, no doubt, because of the different procedure, speeches tend on the whole to be longer and certainly more oratorical. In the Assembly of the League of Nations, contrary to expectations, they are on the whole short. In America, where the whole of life is passed upon a grander scale, where dancing-girls wear out partners, orchestras, shoe-leather and floors alike in their fifty-hour non-stop Dervish performances, where the lifts whirl one upwards forty storeys at a bound, precipitating one's heart and stomach into one's boots in the process, and where Dr. Frank Crane discourses with unaffected simplicity to sixteen millions of readers daily—in America it seems that their public oratory is upon the same magnificent plan. Senator La Follette has held the Senate entranced for more than eighteen hours, a feat undreamed-of here, even by Mr. Biggar in the days of Irish Obstructionism; and it is hard to know whether to compliment most the Senator upon his achievement or the Senate on its extraordinary patience. But that was long ago. It is high time the record was broken. At any moment, one feels, the wires may be set flashing with the news that Congressman Blank has talked continuously for three weeks, wearing out in the process several suits of clothes, a host of chairmen, and a whole army of stenographers: and the apostles of British supremacy will burst out in the Press that it is time Britain took the lead.

On the whole, if we have not the honour of holding the record, I think we are happier with our short speeches. In all seriousness a long speech is a great strain on the attention. Even the greatest public speakers, like Mr. Lloyd George, begin to lose their hold upon the House of Commons after more than an hour and a-half: and there is no subject that cannot be dealt with more than adequately in such a time. The House expects lucid, businesslike speech from its members; and, with a possible exception in favour of that general favourite Mr. Jack Jones, is utterly impatient of speaking for speaking's sake. Commander Kenworthy, by sheer force of personality, has succeeded in establishing a kind of prescriptive right to speak at any time and on any subject. But he is invariably brief and very wisely confines himself to trenchant criticism and an occasional burst of sarcasm or invective.

The recent successes of Mr. Pringle make one think that the House would have no objection to an occasional relapse into the Disraelian floridity. His

excellent blending of irony and rhetoric on the occasion of the Government defeat was appreciatively received, especially his adaptation of Disraelian phrases to the situation and his coining of new ones to describe "the cold Christian spirit of the late Lord Chancellor." Mr. Pringle, indeed, is developing day by day in felicity of expression and in command of polished invective. It is hardly too much to predict that before the end of this Parliament he will be one of the most formidable debaters in the House.

## Kangaroo, Lion and Ape

By WILLIAM BOLITHO.

PARIS, APRIL 17TH.

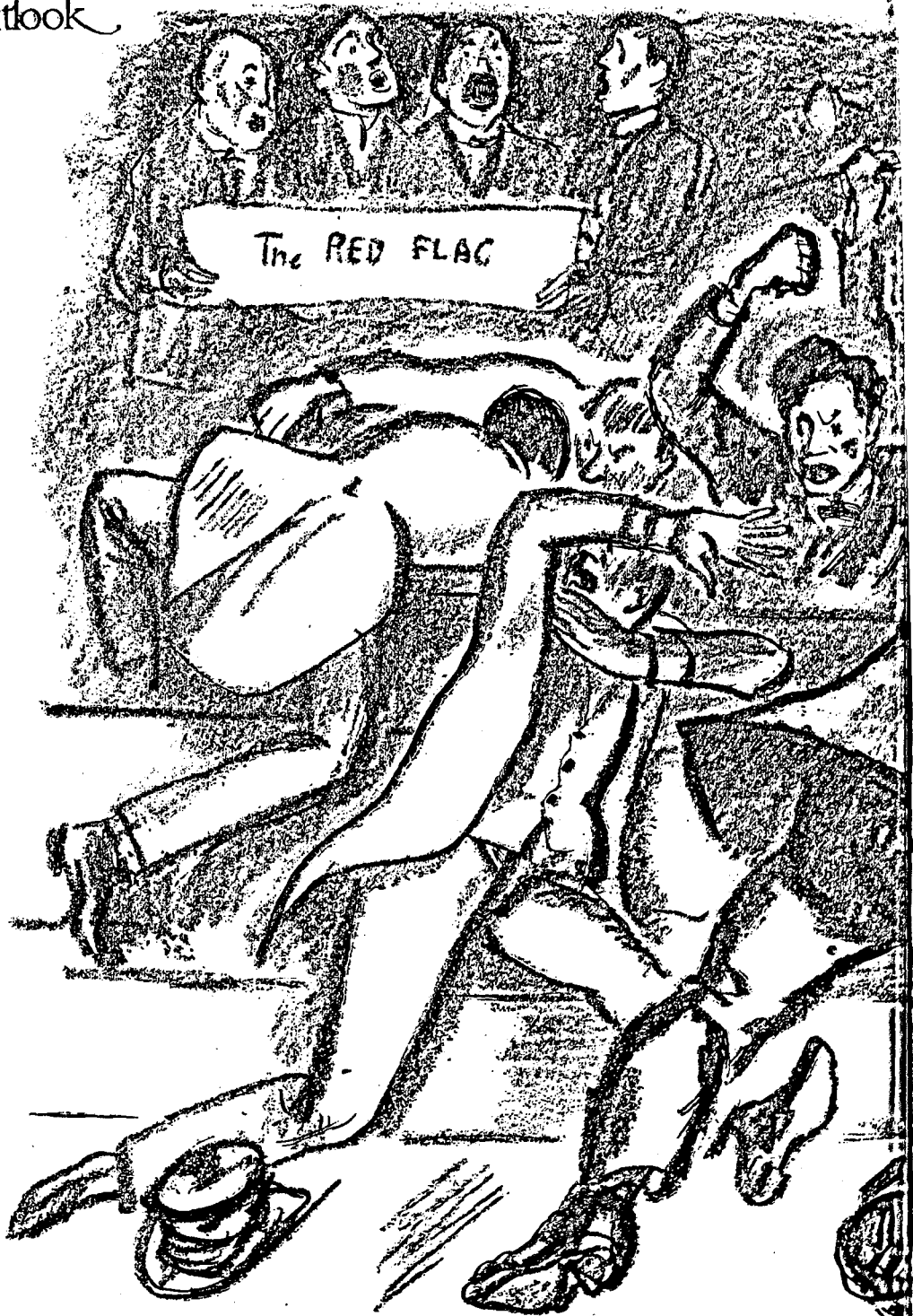
**M**ISFORTUNE is taming Siki, once called Battling, the negro conqueror of Carpentier, and it is teaching him a lot. This ex-mission-boy from the French Gold Coast, afterwards scullery-hand in a Palace Hotel on the Riviera, was chosen because of his mediocrity as a pugilist to provide an easy victory for the champion. By a lucky blow, and an apt fit of rage, he upset the plan, won the championship, and a quick popularity in the city where it is sweetest—and quickest gone. Six months have passed since he had his hour, when the frowsy Faubourg Montmartre, the street of "sports" and music-halls, turned his visits into gay processions; when accompanied by his cunning master and manager, he passed lazy afternoons, leaning negligently on fashionable bars, his hand on the bottle, puffing cigarette smoke in the face of scandalised American tourists.

The pair quarrelled. Money was short. Both had other ambitions than a life partnership. Siki accepted the offers of a rising publicity agent, educated in the latest school of that modern science.

The new manager has his theories. Hero-worship to him is not a natural phenomenon, it needs the encouragements of art. He considers that a champion boxer, like an actress, must capture the imagination of the public. He must create an original and attractive personality for himself, or the work of the Press agent will be in vain. Carpentier, whose portrait was in all good French hearts, did it brilliantly. To them he was Gentleman Georges, the salon darling, whose clothes were good enough for an actor.

But that style is dead. Siki himself killed it. Never more in our time will a "society" boxer get a hand in the Paris ring. Unfortunately, Siki would not see it at first. In his thick way he had admired and envied Georges. He had the idea that he should get the fashions and the style as part of the spoils. In spite of the good rings and the gold stick, it did not come to him. Yet he yearned to go to Cannes, to reappear magnificently on the scene of his greasy exploits in the scullery, as a celebrated and respected society pet. Surrounded with a court as numerous and of the same glaring splendour as that of Carpentier, he would pass along flowered terraces with lavender gloves.

The Irish adventure broke up his controversies with the new manager about these ideals. The negro's defeat, his feeling that the world was against him, made him pliable. Time tempered his ambitions. He surrendered to modern publicity without conditions; his spruce manager began to build up an attractive personality for his charge, with a free hand. Siki, off his guard, had once let drop that he liked animals. The other seized on the idea. It had always been obvious to him, that Siki should be presented to the Press and public as a sort of noble savage, fierce and rough, but exotic and superb in his wild violence. The long celebrations of Siki had spoiled this rôle (the magistrate had called him a



CHORUS: *The people's flag  
It shrouded  
And ere their  
Their life-blood*

PARLIAMENTS



*Woodcut illustration*

st red,  
yred dead :  
w stiff and cold,  
every fold. (Bis).

midnight pest), the public had not taken kindly to the romantic ideal, and the buoyance with which he had started it was gone. But a cheerful, soberer savage, who loved wild animals, who sported with the elephant and lay down with the wolf, primitive but law-abiding, would be very different and sure to go down with the public. The ingenious manager was enraptured with the idea.

So as a first step, during the stay forced on them in Ireland by the British refusal to let Siki as an undesirable pass through their country, the manager set about forming a nice collection of wild beasts. Unfortunately, Ireland is lacking in that article at present. All that could be bought was a sickly kangaroo. This they acquired; after a few days of awkward caresses it died. The manager, his mind on better things, did not fret. He sent it to the stuffer with instructions to hurry on the work. Their return to Paris, he planned, was to be something of a mad, merry carnival with lots of gaiety but with something behind it to make people think. The stuffed kangaroo would do that, and wake up that fickle, bored crowd. But he had still better up his sleeve. He informed the now morose pugilist that they would buy a lion in Paris from one of the fairs, and that Siki and his Inseparable Lion would yet be as famous and as much photographed as Carpentier's tight-fitting morning-coats. Afterwards, perhaps they would think about a battling-gorilla and the sensational fight Siki would have with it. It would make people talk, and to make people talk is the most important thing in publicity.

Siki is not recorded as having said anything in reply. His confidence in his luck, once so remarkable, had been affected by various woes. Europe was getting a little too much for him. But on his reappearance in Paris last week on his way to buy the lion, they took him up the Faubourg which had once seen his revels. He drove up in an open taxi, hung with coloured ribbons, with five-hundred sports trying to hold on, and make out what was inside. When it stopped, they saw a sad, black face framed in two limp boxing-gloves, which were tied to the wrist of a dead kangaroo, which flopped its lamentable and odorous body over his back. The art of stuffing in Dublin is apparently not advanced. Siki and his faithful kangaroo moved slowly up and down the street in a succession of cheers, silences full of wonderment, and witty remarks. The absurd rumour that the hero was fighting a kangaroo ran to the boulevards, and brought fresh contingents, on the run, to jeer at the unhappy boxer and his frightful companion.

Later in the afternoon, undeterred by this tragedy, the manager brought his ward, with his dead pet, to the *Foire des Trones*. There amid a bewildered crowd of journalists and Press photographers assembled for the occasion, Siki and his kangaroo entered the cage of one of the lions. His wife, an anxious spectator, had been assured that the tamer would not leave his side during the few minutes the photographers needed; but the glum look of her husband was not reassuring. She could not be restrained from repeating over and over in a sad way: "What will Siki do with a lion, and me with a small baby at home?"

As he stepped down the stairs with his limp burden still clutched to his side, he gave the first sign of emotion he had shown since his return. Seeing the lion sniffing through the bars at his friend the kangaroo, who trailed behind, he gave a laugh, a hoarse, short laugh. It seemed to contain a lot of feeling; then he resumed his melancholy. He is still plunged in gloom, for his live lion is ill, and an ill lion he finds still more troublesome, and just as odorous, as a dead kangaroo.

## MIDDLE SECTION

### The Importance of Doing Things Badly

By I. A. WILLIAMS.

CHARLES LAMB wrote a series of essays upon popular fallacies. I do not, at the moment, carry them very clearly in my memory, but, unless that treacherous servant misleads me more even than she usually does, he did not write of one piece of proverbial so-called wisdom that has always seemed to me to be peculiarly pernicious. And this saw, this scrap of specious advice, this untruth masquerading as logic, is one that I remember to have had hurled at my head at frequent intervals from my earliest youth right up to my present advanced age. How many times have I not been told that "If a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well"?

Never was there a more untruthful word spoken in earnest. For the world is full of things that are worth doing, but certainly not worth doing well. Was it not so great a sage as Herbert Spencer who said to the young man who had just beaten him at billiards, "Moderate skill, sir, is the sign of a good eye and a steady hand, but skill such as yours argues a youth misspent"? Is any game worth playing supremely well, at the price—which most games demand—of constant practice and application? Against the professional player, I say nothing; he is a public entertainer, like any other, and by his skill in his particular sport he at least fulfils the first social duty of man—that of supporting himself and his family by his own legitimate exertions. But what is to be said of the crack amateur? To me he seems one of the most contemptible of mankind; he earns no money, but devotes himself, for the mere selfish pleasure of the thing, to some game, which he plays day in, day out; he breaks down the salutary distinction between the amateur and the professional; eventually his skill deserts him, and he leaves behind him nothing that is of service to his fellow men—not a brick laid, not an acre ploughed, not a line written, not even a family supported and educated by his labour. He has been a parasite upon society. It is true that he has provided entertainment for a certain number of persons, but he has never had the pluck to submit himself to the test by which we demand that every entertainer should justify his choice of a calling—the demonstration of the fact that the public is willing to pay him for his entertainment. And, when his day is over, what is left, not even to the world, but to himself? Nothing but a name that is at once forgotten, or, at best, is for a few years remembered by stout gentlemen in clubs. The playing of games, certainly, is a thing which is not worth doing well.

But that does not prove that it is not worth doing at all, as the proverb would, by implication, persuade us. There is nothing more agreeable and salutary than playing a game which one likes, and the circumstance of doing it badly interferes with the pleasure of no real devotee of any pastime. The man who minds whether or not he wins is no true sportsman—which observation is trite, but the rule it implies is seldom observed, and comparatively few people really play games for the sheer enjoyment of the *playing*. Is this not proved by the prevalence and popularity of handicaps? Why should we expect to be given points in, say, a game of lawn tennis, unless it be that we wish to win by means other than our own skill? "Ah! but," my reader may say, "the weaker player wants to receive points in order that he may give the stronger one a better game." Really, I do not believe that that is so. Possibly, sometimes, a strong and vain-

glorious player may wish to give points, in order that his victory may be the more notable. But I do not think that even this is the true explanation. That, I suspect, was given to me the other day by the secretary of a lawn tennis tournament, in which I played. "Why all this nonsense of handicaps? Why not let us be squarely beaten, and done with it?" I asked him. "Because," he replied, "if we did not give handicaps, none of the less good players would enter." Is that not a confession that the majority of us have not realised the true value of doing a trivial thing badly, for its own sake, and must needs have our minds buoyed and cheated into a false sense of excellence?

Moreover it is not only such intrinsically trivial things as games that are worth doing badly. This is a truth which, oddly enough, we accept freely of some things—but not of others—and as a thing which we are quite content to do ill let me instance acting. Acting, at its best, can be a great art, a thing worth doing supremely well, though its worth, like that of all interpretative arts, is lessened by its evanescence. For it works in the impermanent medium of human flesh and blood, and the thing that the actor creates (for what we call an interpretative artist is really a creative artist working in a perishable medium) is an impression upon, an emotion or a thought aroused in, the minds of an audience, and is incapable of record (in words, or lines, or colours, or sounds) or of transmittance to others. Acting, then, let me postulate—though I have only sketched ever so briefly the proof of my belief—can be a great art. But is anyone ever deterred from taking part in amateur theatricals by the consideration that he cannot act well? Not a bit of it! And quite rightly not, for acting is one of the things about which I am writing this essay—the things that are worth doing badly.

Another such thing is music, but here the proverbial fallacy again exerts its power, as it does not, for some obscure and unreasoning discrimination, in acting. Most people seem to think that if they cannot sing, or play the piano, fiddle, or sackbutt, admirably well, they must not do any of these things at all. That they should not indiscriminately force their inferior performances upon the public, or even upon their acquaintance, I admit. But that there is no place, "in the home," for inferior musical performances, is an often expressed untruth that I flatly deny. How many sons and daughters have not, with a very small talent, given their parents (and even the less fondly prejudiced ears of their friends) great pleasure with the singing of simple songs? Then one day there comes to the singer the serpent of dissatisfaction; singing lessons are taken, and—if the pupil is of moderate talent and modest disposition—limitations are discovered. And then, in nine cases out of ten, the singing is dropped, like a hot penny. How many fathers have not banished music from their homes by encouraging their daughters to take singing-lessons? Yet a home may be the fresher for singing that would deserve brickbats at even a parish concert. I may pause here to notice the curious exception that people who cannot on any account be persuaded to sing in the drawing-room, or even in the bath, will without hesitation uplift their tuneless voices at religious meetings or in church. There is a perfectly good and honourable explanation of this, I believe, but it belongs to the realm of metaphysics and is beyond my present scope.

This cursed belief, that if a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well, is the cause of a great impoverishment in our private life, and also, to some extent, of the lowering of standards in our public life. For this tenet of proverbial faith has two effects on small talents: it leads modest persons not to exercise them at all, and immodest persons to attempt to do so

too much and to force themselves upon the public. It leads to the decay of letter-writing and of the keeping of diaries, and, as surely, it leads to the publication of memoirs and diaries that should certainly remain locked in the writers' desks. It leads Mr. Blank not to write verses at all (which he might very well do, for the sake of his own happiness, and for the amusement of his friends), and it leads Miss Dash to pester the over-worked editors of various journals with her unsuccessful imitations of Mr. de la Mare, Mr. Yeats, and Dr. Bridges. The result is that our national artistic life now suffers from two great needs, a wider amateur practice of the arts, and a higher, more exclusive, professional standard. Until these are achieved we shall not get the best out of our souls.

The truth is, I conceive, that there is for most of us only one thing (beyond, of course, our duties of citizenship and our personal duties as sons, or husbands, or fathers, daughters, or wives, or mothers) that is worth doing well—that is to say, with all our energy. That one thing may be writing, or it may be making steam-engines, or laying bricks. But after that there are hundreds of things that are worth doing badly, with only part of our energy, for the sake of the relaxation they bring us, and for the contacts which they give us with other minds. And the sooner England realises this, as once she did, the happier, the more contented, the more gracious, will our land be.

There are even, I maintain, things that are in themselves *better* done badly than well. Consider fishing, where one's whole pleasure is often spoilt by having to kill a fish. Now, if one could contrive always to try to catch a fish, and never to do so, one might—But that is another story.

## The Lover Comforts Himself

By J. C. SQUIRE.

THIS pain will pass  
As other pains have past,  
And she'll be kind again  
As she once was kind.  
'Tis but to wait,  
Loving and patient still,  
Only a space to keep  
A constant mind.

How could she know  
Her coldness hurt so much?  
She went before she heard  
My fault confessed.  
If she could see  
This moment all my thoughts,  
She'd blame herself and fly  
To bring me rest.

She is so sweet,  
So generous and just,  
It could not have been she,  
'Twas I was wrong:  
O would she come!  
O, if through night's soft air  
Her tender heart, awake,  
Could hear my song!



## THE DRAMA Revue Revisited

By EDWARD SHANKS.

LATE in the day, but obviously better late than never, I have witnessed *The Nine O'Clock Revue* at the Little Theatre; and this gives me an opportunity of returning to a subject on which recently I have said but little in these columns. Time was when I was an enthusiast for revue. It was so easy to see in the entertainments devised by Mr. Charlott and Mr. Grattan and others an immense amount of raw material which needed only development to turn into something of the first rank. There was in the happy-go-lucky, improvisatory nature of these performances the promise of an art-form which might reflect the gaiety, the easy cynicism, the craving for pleasure which are, if not the essential part of modern life, yet a part of it which must be reckoned with. And the thought that the theatre might develop a form which should have some genuine relation with modern life was too much for me: it went, if I may be allowed to make this confession, straight to my head.

Gradually the intoxication receded and I came to my senses again. I began to realise that while the revue needed only development, development was precisely what it was not going to get. The persons responsible for it had given into their hands, by an accident, something which might have had a real vitality and validity of its own. The matter rested here. The ambition of the modern theatrical manager seems to be to remain out of contact with life and to keep his audience out of contact with life. He may be right. This may be the way to make your theatre pay, though I do not think so. At all events, he prefers to consult the ready-made ideas of the upper middle classes in the stalls and the lower middle classes in the gallery. These two classes think alike: the one imitates the other. This makes it easy to please both together and to tell both no more than they know already. Telling people what they know already is considered in the theatre to be the surest road to fortune. In an age when fashions in dress, in literature, in art and music, change with bewildering rapidity, and when no religion is too foolish to be accepted so long as it is labelled "new," theatrical managers maintain their obstinate denial that there is any attraction in novelty, or that the public wants to be told anything that it did not know before.

Perhaps it was a wild notion that the revue might become a criticism of modern life: at any rate, I was wild enough to entertain it. But a little experience showed me that I was wrong; and my enthusiasm diminished. Already I begin to look back with senile emotion on those vanished days when I was still enthusiastic, to talk about the great age of 1917 and 1918, to give my reminiscences of Miss Teddie Gerard and Mr. Gilbert Childs, as I have heard persons older than myself giving their reminiscences of Irving and Toole. Was the revue better in those days than it is now? Was I younger then and more impressionable? Or is it that I was deceived then and am disillusioned now?

The last solution seems to me to be the most probable. I was quite right in holding that the revue had a great opportunity: I am right now in holding that the opportunity will never be taken. But for all that there is no reason to overlook a form of entertainment which fills some one-third of all the theatres in London. The dramatic critic, I hold, has a duty to keep an eye on all that goes on in the theatres: if he dismisses any form of entertainment as being without artistic value he mistakes his function. He is not merely a critic of artistic values: he is a critic of a part of our social life. It is his business to record and

comment on one of the manners in which the English amuse themselves after dinner.

I therefore make no apology for returning to the revue, which, if it does not criticise modern life as it should, reflects one aspect of it in a very interesting way. *The Nine O'Clock Revue* is particularly interesting merely on account of the hour at which it begins, to which I have already referred in these pages. It is an entertainment devised for the benefit of those who have fed well and in at least moderate comfort. It proclaims by the choice of that hour that it has one eye on comfort. And it is an entertainment. Its materials are slight. There are seven principal performers and a chorus of eight persons described rather pleasingly in the programme, not as "The Chorus," but as "Girls." These fifteen persons simply exert themselves between nine and half-past eleven to keep their audience amused. To call this an artistic effort would be logically correct, but to be logical to that degree would be to approach the confines of pedantry. Is an after-dinner speaker an artist? Is the gentleman who talks well during dinner an artist? There is a beauty of art and a beauty of nature. There is the beauty of a painting by Fragonard and the beauty of a kitten playing in the sun. The pure personality of the actor as expressed in the revue is much nearer to the kitten than to the Fragonard. Miss Beatrice Lillie, Mr. Morris Harvey, and the rest of them do not pretend to be other persons. They gambol before us and (if I may be allowed to use the figure) run after their own tails for our delight. There may be a good deal of art which goes to creating the impression that they do this naturally and unconsciously. But a jeweller who counterfeits a butterfly's wing so well that we are deceived by it and think it is a real butterfly is aiming at, and achieves, the beauty of nature, not the beauty of art. So with these; and very charming it is.

It is a pity about Miss Beatrice Lillie. In any other country she would be certain to become a great actress. As it is, she is incomparable. I do not believe that there is anyone else on the English stage, except, of course, Sir Charles Hawtrey, who gets effects with so little apparent effort. Miss Lillie has no voice and her movements are rather stiff and angular than graceful. But the effect of her simplicity is amazing. I once saw her in a slightly objectionable bedroom scene, which would have been more than slightly objectionable if anyone else had been playing in it. Miss Lillie brought out her lines with a childlike frankness and confidence which completely deodorised them. And it is the something childlike and naive in her which makes her so attractive. Her material here is almost negligible: three or four songs of no importance and two or three sketches. One might almost say that she walks through her part. She makes no effort, underlines nothing, speaks and sings in a conversational tone: she does appear to be completely unconscious of the existence of the audience. And in any other country she would be encouraged to cultivate and develop the talent for childlike vulgarity which I am sure she possesses. But Miss Lillie in this country is kept anodyne and mild. She might be biting, but those ideas which the upper and lower middle classes share between them take the edge off her personality. I repeat that it is a pity, and that here we have revealed the worst fault of the revue.

The remainder of the cast makes an excellent setting for Miss Lillie. Miss Anita Elsom, Miss Marie Blanche, Mr. Morris Harvey, and Mr. Bobby Blythe all work extremely hard. The chorus is well chosen and well drilled.

And that is what *The Nine O'Clock Revue* is—an excellent thing to go to after dinner. After all, you need not go there till about half-past nine, when you will have dined well and will still have two hours of it in front of you. Two hours is really quite enough.

## NEW BOOKS

### Novels

COLIN. By E. F. Benson. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.  
 ELEANOR IN THE LOFT. By Grace Rhys. Cape. 7s. 6d.  
 ANN'S AN IDIOT. By Pamela Wynne. Philip Allan.  
 7s. 6d.  
 PETER WHIFFLE. By Carl van Vechten. Grant  
 Richards. 7s. 6d.

LET us take off our horn-rimmed spectacles, for there are things best seen not clearly but in a gentle mist. Stir up the fire, logs on a foundation of coal. Make sure that at your elbow the glass, or, if you prefer it, the cup, is plenished. Hours, the elastic hours of evening, before you, and behind you a hard day's work and a good dinner. Spring's sleet without, a shaded lamp and the little spluttering noises of the hearth within. And a novel or two of the kind that makes no demands; a novel that passes imperceptibly into dreams.

My own favourite is *Colin*. Through it Mr. Benson has released all the profound æsthetic pleasure he takes in the contemplation of wealth and titles. Before dinner you call it, in yourself or others, snobbery, but after dinner. . . . Well, it would be nice to be the eleventh earl and own, together with the estates on which large parts of London and Brighton are built, a house more magnificent than ever appeared in an auctioneer's lists. It is nice, too, to read about people who are and have these things. A pact with the devil which each generation must renew, or be unhappy, is the pepper to the dish. There was a Colin, the first of the Staniers to prosper, who did Queen Elizabeth a service, and presuming on it rose to success as the bubbles in a glass of champagne rise to the surface. Now in these latter days lives a Colin, in looks the very spit of the first, in fortune the less happy because he is by half an hour the younger son. He hates Raymond because of that half-hour, and Raymond returns the hate because Colin has all the wit, the beauty, and the charm—that strong, sparkling Bensonian charm! Mr. Benson invites us to witness the deterioration of Colin's character until the devil who has made it his habit to specialise in Staniers possesses him entirely. You do not see the devil; nothing but a shadow which may be the shadow of a pine tree; nothing but a sinister congruence of dates; but he is very close to Colin. Then you have, too, prefatory glimpses of a villainous Victorian Stanier, palsied and inarticulate, dining in a knitted jacket across which the Garter gleams, and of a sumptuous cat licking from that blue ribbon its master's crumbs. It is all very ably worked out, as Mr. Benson's stories always are, and this one has rather more meat in it than some of his later ones have had. A pity, perhaps, it is that it is not yet finished, and that it pauses where Colin, having all he sought, mocks with his gleaming smile his unhappy wife. Six months form a long interruption to a serial. Yet, incomplete though it be, *Colin* is a fascinating story written by a master of the art of clean, supple, and athletic narration. We have to go farther and fare worse.

To *Eleanor in the Loft*, for instance. Eleanor, at almost eighteen, had reached the age of catching men, but her mother was jealous and her father was obtusely indolent, so that when the house-party met Eleanor was said to have gone with the children to the seaside, while actually she had been dismissed to the stables. The young men, of course, found her out. And old men found her, too, including Sir William Gore, whom Sinn Feiners batter into a pulp, ostensibly because he is a Unionist politician, but really, as you and I can easily discover, because he is over forty and wears false teeth. It is intolerable that blushing maidens should have anything less than

Felix Ardmore, that handsome young horse-tamer. Father is found staggering in his cups, and mother grows green with disappointed pride, while Eleanor, sweet Eleanor, escapes from her loft and rides in her brother's breeches over the hills and far away with a dashing young millionaire. So good, too, for the millionaire, who, until he met Eleanor, was rather curt and rude. Dreams, more dreams; not this time of escape into immeasurable power and incredible wealth, but simply of Mr. Right.

Miss Wynne, unlike Mrs. Rhys, makes no bones about it. Mrs. Rhys is conscious of the world about her. She has something to say about the Irish Republic, and complicates her fantasies with visions of a world wherein the strong constructive policy of women like the Countess Markievitch and Miss McSweeney has superseded the bloody destructiveness of men. Mrs. Wynne, whose *Ann's an Idiot* promises to be a best-seller, properly refuses to consider anything but sex. The plot is something like this. Ann is eighteen and convent-bred. Her nose is small and flabby. Her mouth is large and passionate. She is altogether irresistible. On her way to join her parents in India she meets the perfect man, a major and a V.C. At first the major avoids her, so, being innocent, she goes and sleeps with him on deck. He, when he awakes to find her there, proposes marriage to save her good name. Then Ann, on her arrival, is kidnapped by an extraordinarily handsome native. She would be. If Ann belonged to me, I would not trust her in an hermetically sealed glass case. The V.C. hoicks her out of that, and she goes back to England, and is kidnapped by white-slavers. The V.C. hoicks her out of that. "He drew Ann towards him with a hand that shook a little. 'Thank God,' he said. 'Ann, Ann!'" But if I were freely to indulge in quotations from this galutious book I should never stop. The novel is a classic of its kind, for nowhere else will you find the peculiar blatancy of the type described by optimists as the Early Victorian female exposed. A subordinate theme is Miss Wynne's call to the old country in the name of Anglo-Indians. Indians, she says, are so dark, so different, so revolting, so bestial, so like monkeys, that it is a shame that no law is passed to prevent white women from succumbing to the temptation of marrying them.

West Briton was for a long time in Ireland a term of abuse. It signified the sort of Irishman who wanted to be an Englishman—but more interesting. I do not know if Americans have invented the term West Britisher. If and when they do, Mr. Carl van Vechten should be a candidate for the distinction. Mr. Carl . . . ? Yes, Mr. Carl van Vechten. "There is no knowing," says Mr. Hugh Walpole, who has beaten his drum outside so many booths that he could almost do it in his sleep, "there is no knowing what Carl van Vechten will do next." And again, "When I come to *Peter Whiffle* I am tempted to throw aside all criticism." And again, "His humour is so whimsical that it can frequently be missed." Really, if we did not know our Walpole, we should suspect him of deliberate ambiguity. *Peter Whiffle* is the book which hardly one of us did not wish to write at seventeen, and none of us was incapable of writing. Mr. van Vechten has a passion for copying out long lists of words, and, of course, he mentions all sorts of recondite and out of the way authors; not only this but he introduces many of his contemporaries under their actual names or under a thin disguise, often in a way that makes one doubt his good taste. His sense of humour is of the infantile kind which thinks it witty to call a pet cat George Moore. The whole book smells of the lamp and the reference library. It appears to reproduce all that Mr. Carl van Vechten has read. He has not studied the best authors, but it is quite amusing so far as it goes.

H. C. HARWOOD.

## The Irish Guards

THE IRISH GUARDS IN THE GREAT WAR. Edited and compiled from their Diaries and Papers by Rudyard Kipling. 2 vols. Macmillan. 40s.

EVERY regimental historian has one problem of difficulty to face at the outset of his work when dealing with the late war. To the man in the ranks, to his battalion commander even, it was all obscure. He was the sport of hidden but all-powerful deities, who hurled him into battle, dragged him forth, put him into a cattle-truck or a lorry and sent him to a new front, issued him orders, cancelled them, repeated them; handling meanwhile hundreds of thousands of men in hundreds of other battalions in similar fashion, of whose fate he was unaware. The historian feels it to be his duty to find explanations. His difficulty lies in the risk that in seeking the order which lay behind the chaos he will explain that chaos away. It will appear as though these men had lived in a world that might have been terrible, but was ordered and comprehensible. At once reality goes. The returned veterans will look upon his pages and declare that it is a very pretty picture but you mustn't call it war. "A battalion's field is bounded by its own vision," as Mr. Kipling remarks in his introduction.

Mr. Kipling has very nearly solved the problem. On the human side his work surpasses in interest, and by far, any history of military operations in the late war we have seen. He has reproduced the atmosphere, the bewilderment, the sickening filth, the numbness of fatigue, as well as the comradeship and that curious automatic response to training and tradition that, somehow or another, carried men through. He has reproduced also the spirit of an exceptionally fine regiment of picked men, its racial peculiarities, its philosophy, and its humour. Of the outside world he has explained just enough to give his story cohesion, and on one or two occasions not quite enough. For example, talking of the retreat from Mons, he says: "At Bavai the two corps diverged, not to unite again till they should reach Betz on September 1st," and goes on to give the roads they followed. Those unacquainted with the history of the war may ask why they diverged. There is no mention of the Forêt de Mormal, which does not even appear upon the map illustrating the retreat. Such omissions are, however, rare, as are, so far as we have discovered, errors like that which robs the 62nd Division of one of its finest exploits, the capture of Solesmes across the flooded Selle, by calling it the 61st.

As regards his own regiment the achievement is, as we have said, remarkable. He is one of those writers who have most fully realised the effect to be produced by quotation without comment. Mr. Strachey is another, but he employs quotation unfairly and always with ironic intention. Mr. Kipling has discovered how dramatic is the quiet, reticent war-diary, with its persistent understatement and its lack of enthusiasm. He likes to repeat its statement, when the 1st Battalion returned from the pea-soup Neuve Chapelle trenches to the Collège des Jeunes Filles at Béthune, that this excellent billet is "furnished with a large square where drill can take place"; or when it returned from the hell of the Battle of Festubert that the men on parade "stood very steady and moved their arms well considering that they have not had much practice in steady drill lately." And, of course, he is quite right. There is much of the spirit in which the war was fought in these unemotional entries, while as for the Guards, they would not be themselves without the accompaniment of that inevitable, eternal close-order

drill which is bound up with their existence. He has, moreover, not forgotten how to tell an anecdote dramatically or wind up an argument with one of those telling phrases that we used to suck, like a boy sucking an acid-drop, when we came on them in the short stories. Take this, for example, of the inquisitive Welsh Fusilier attached for instruction, who after a thousand questions inquired how often we went over the top:

"I'll show you. Come with me," replied the other Celt, and, moving to a gap in the parapet, lifted the Welshman in his arms that he might the better see what remained, hung up in German wire, of a private of some ancient fight—withered wreckage, perhaps, of Neuve Chapelle. "He went over warist," said the Irishman.

Or the description of "Cock" Byrne, a "character" of the 2nd Battalion:

He had the gift, with many others, of crowing like a cock (hence his *nom de guerre*), and vastly annoyed the unhumorous Hun, whom he would thus salute regardless of time, place or safety. To this trick he added a certain infinitely monotonous tom-tomming on any tin or box that came handy, so that it was easy to locate him even when exasperated enemy snipers were silent. He came from Kilkenny, and when on leave wore such medal-ribbons as he thought should have been issued to him—from the V.C. down . . . and he revolved in his remote and unquestioned orbits, brooding, crowing, drumming and morosely supping his tea, something between a poacher, a horse-loper, a gipsy and a bird-catcher, but always the philosopher and a man of many queer worlds.

Or the little note on the visit of the King, who "uttered no threats against his enemies, nor guaranteed the personal assistance of any tribal God"; or how the 1st Battalion took the parole of two German officers captured in the Marne battle and invited them to dinner, knowing "nothing then except the observances of ordinary civilised warfare."

In his account the incidents of daily life take a greater place than the battles, but these battles are admirably recorded from the battalion's point of view: the stark fury of Ginchy, the counter-attack at Gouzeaucourt, the blood and mud of the Salient, the thrice-heroic defence of the 2nd Battalion in the Lys offensive, after which the handful of survivors were "rather rude to men of other Divisions when discussing what had happened in the forest." The maps, deliberately archaic, are things of beauty, though we confess the B.E.F. left us with a sneaking regard for something more up-to-date and utilitarian. Lastly, an experiment to determine the dramatic interest of the work may be recorded. A member of the less warlike sex was with difficulty induced to look at it; from whose hands each volume in turn has had to be torn for the writing of this review.

## \*The Last of the Victorians

DE SENECTUTE: More Last Words. By Frederic Harrison. T. Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d.

THE last of the Victorians, as we may be excused for calling him, had begun to correct the proofs of this book when he died at the great age of ninety-two. All the essays which it contains were written during the past few years, and so we have the interesting opportunity of reading a new book which yet may be taken as an example of Victorian literature. Is it possible to find in its pages a clue to the character of a period which the world is now anxious to define, amid the fierce reaction that has followed, and the few surviving voices that assert it to be both maligned and misunderstood?

Frederic Harrison himself denies in this very book a common character to Victorianism, and has no difficulty in showing how divers in aim were the men

of letters with whom it is associated. That reminder is valuable, if we also remember that its great names would not have been the men of genius that they were if each had not also possessed a strong personal idiosyncrasy. Allowing for this, however, and remembering that periods are largely artificial, it is also true that the genius contains no less than surpasses the spirit of his age, and that a common attitude of mind may well accompany remarkable differences. If this book may be taken as a guide, its qualities are learning, seriousness, earnest pre-occupation, and a desire for a synthesis of knowledge amid the chaos of new discoveries, new beliefs, and the rising criticism of traditional religion. All these are present, and their trenchant assertion is extraordinary in a man so full of years.

Except for the essay which gives its title to the book, no one would suppose the writer to have been otherwise than in his prime, and this essay with its apology for old age is the only one in which old age seems in need of any defence. In it we see, together with some interesting criticism of the Georgians, a veteran's pathetic desire to justify his seat in the sun, which is curiously akin to that of a young man anxious to defend his inexperience. Except where he was thinking of old age, Frederic Harrison was not old, and his pages are more full of thought than those of any younger essayists whom we have met lately. For example:

Golf is not a game, because the stroke of one player does not determine or affect the stroke of his opponent, as in all games outdoor or indoor, from cricket to chess. It is a race, not a game.

Or take this criticism of Georgian poetry:

It is so intensely personal, so monotonously lyrical, short, scrappy, occasional. . . . Poems, to be worthy of that high title, must be something more than snippety verselets about the writer's own private aches, loves, and thrills.

It is interesting to find Mr. Harrison defending the accuracy of Mr. Lytton Strachey's picture of the reign of Queen Victoria, though he draws a somewhat less ironic interpretation from it, and defends the Crystal Palace building in an amusing way. He is no less interesting in his defence of Attic tragedy, which he prefers because the lyric element was confined to the chorus and not allowed, as in Shakespeare, to suffuse the whole. By this criticism he distinguishes the qualities of the two dramas, without depreciating the method that each adopted for itself. The most brilliant essay is that which traces the story of Constantinople from its foundation to the present day. It is a vivid and interesting picture which enriches a department of general literature now less practised than it was in Victorian days. The set pieces on the centenaries of Dante, Molière, and Fielding are equally alive; and successfully escape the solemnity that too often parades itself on these occasions. The book concludes with a brief defence of Positivism, which he shows reason for believing to be the only synthetic philosophy as yet offered to the world. It is a delightful invitation to the study of Comte, who is now taken as read by the majority that does not read him. Mr. Harrison well reminds us that criticism of details does not impugn the truth of the general plan of any scheme of thought.

How crude (he says) was the science of physics and biology in the age of Aristotle and Plato! How potent have been their attempts at a synthesis! . . . How scanty was the science of Descartes and Bacon! Yet how deeply did it transform the thought of mankind!

It is a pleasure to read writing of such conviction and sincerity, so well supported by knowledge, so little oppressed by its weight. The book makes us feel that most of us, his younger readers, are cast in a smaller mould, and that the Victorian age had a

quality of conviction not transmitted to its descendants. The work of such men may lack subtlety and humour, but it is strong, self-confident and courageous, and in its difference from our own provides a body of criticism that no one familiar with it can feel to be either unworthy or possible to ignore. To rival such work is a test that will demand the best efforts of younger writers.

## Gauguin's Letters

THE LETTERS OF PAUL GAUGUIN TO GEORGES DANIEL DE MONFRIED. Translated by Ruth Pielkovo. Heinemann. 8s. 6d.

IN Paul Gauguin the painter and the personality were in inextricable confusion. Art to him was wholly subjective expression. He could not have stood outside it as did Cézanne, whose outward life was uneventful like that of any sober citizen. Gauguin flung himself passionately into life; he needed the stimulus of grandiose adventure; his restlessness carried him to the ends of the earth. It finally drove him away from civilisation to the South Seas where he spent the last twelve years of his life. "Who is he then?" Strindberg once asked, and answered his question by saying:

He is Gauguin, the savage who hates a wearisome civilisation; something of a Titan who, jealous of his Creator, in his idle moments makes his own little creation; a child who breaks up his toys to make others; he who denies and defies the rabble, preferring to see the sky red, rather than blue, as they do.

There was amazing variety in Gauguin's career—sailor, stockbroker, painter, prince of the symbolists, innovator, rebel, beachcomber. It was a life that seemed rather to belong to the Renaissance or the

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age of the Spanish Conquistadors than to the nineteenth century. A complex and sinister ancestry was in his blood—French, Spanish, Peruvian, Celt—a grandmother, the daughter of a Spanish nobleman, a famous socialist pamphleteer; a grandfather who stabbed her in a fit of jealousy and was condemned to twenty years' penal servitude for the attempt. From the one he drew his disdain for compromise and conventional morality, from the other his headstrong violence. A legend has grown up about him, more particularly because a few years ago an English novelist took his career as the basis for a novel. It was a wholly distorted and superficial portrait of the man and artist, a sort of synthetic picture of what comfortable and placid suburbanites imagine a "mad" artist should be.

For this reason the *Letters of Paul Gauguin* are especially valuable, for they help one to disengage the real man from the accumulated fiction and romance, and the man, of course, stands out greater than any fictional presentation. Gauguin told his story three times, first in a spiritual autobiography *Noa Noa*, published during his lifetime; then in his intimate diary, *Avant et Après*, published posthumously; and lastly in these letters to his friend, counsellor, and banker, Georges Daniel de Monfried. They cover the period when at the age of forty-three he permanently turned his back on civilisation and extend to within a few weeks of his death twelve years later. Where *Noa Noa* was an idealised presentation of his life among the natives, these letters show the shadowside. They make sad and tragic reading. Their chief burden is one of ceaseless struggle with poverty and ill-health. They record bitter quarrels with the petty colonial officials and missionaries who were exploiting and corrupting the natives. There are also continual flings at the facile painters of Paris to whom success came so easily, and at the picture-

dealers who took advantage of the artist's desperate financial condition.

There is something cruelly ironic when once de Monfried wrote suggesting that Gauguin should paint more thickly so as to give a richer surface, and he replied:

I do not refuse, and I should often like to do so, but it is growing more and more impossible, for I have to take the expense of materials into account. I have hardly any left, despite all my economy, and I cannot ask you for more until I have some assurance as to my means of life. If you can find anyone who will promise me 2,400 francs a year for five years, and besides that a supply of paints, I will paint thickly, or any way you like, though it takes three times as long.

This was written in 1899—a hundred pounds a year would have kept Gauguin happy—and in less than twenty years his pictures sold for hundreds of pounds each.

But even in these letters, filled as they are for the most part with discord, the note of mystical beauty that was Gauguin's peculiar quality sounds through. What he sought was the answer to the world-old question which he used as the title for one of his most famous pictures: *Where Do We Come From—What Are We—Where Are We Going?* Thus he writes:

Here in my isolation I can grow stronger. Poetry seems to come of itself, without effort, and I need only let myself dream a little while painting to suggest it. If I can have only two years of health and freedom from these financial worries which have taken too great a hold upon my nervous temperament, I can reach a certain maturity in my art. I feel that I am right, but shall I have the strength to express it affirmatively? At all events I have done my duty, and if my work does not live, at least the memory of an artist will remain, who freed painting from many of the academic shackles and from the fetters of symbolism (only another form of sentimentalism).

It is in passages like this that the fine quality of Gauguin comes out—his simplicity and sincerity. Whatever else he may have been—and he was every-

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thing that a reputable citizen is not—he gave his life to his art and to the vision that was in him. He brought something new to the world's store of beauty; he suffered for it and made others suffer. He paid, and he did not whine.

The translator has accomplished her task adequately. She has added a running commentary on Gauguin's life, which is satisfactory enough as far as facts go, but which contributes little to the interpretation or comprehension of Gauguin's art or personality. Mr. Frederick O'Brien has added a foreword, but has little to say that isn't trivial and commonplace. The publishers have given the book an attractive dress.

### Slaying the Slain

WAR: ITS NATURE, CAUSE, AND CURE. By G. Lowes Dickinson. Allen and Unwin. 4s. 6d.

**T**HE human mind is a very mysterious affair. It is certainly amazing that, after the battlefield horrors of the last few years, it should be necessary for literary men of repute, with plenty of other work at their hand, to spend their time writing books on the horrors of war. One would have imagined that all the people in the world who still thought war desirable would have been shut up in lunatic asylums or hanged as dangerous criminals. But one gathers that this is not so; for Mr. Lowes Dickinson addresses whole chapters of personal appeal to people whom he apparently considers neither mad nor criminal.

Of course, he has no difficulty in making out his case against war on orthodox lines. He proves quite conclusively that war is generally started by company promoters and financial gentry with a view to furthering their private interests, and that the call to patriotism and other respectable emotions is only a clever trick of the public orators and writers who are on the same side as the aforesaid financiers. He shows that the peoples of the world are not really interested in the real causes of the wars; and that the diplomats are, in the main, a lot of dummy figures who seem to serve no useful function except to make things worse than they would be if they were digging potatoes instead of making treaties.

But somehow, all this does not seem very effective. It may be because it is so obviously true that we are bored to death by its repetition. Only very philosophical persons are in love with the Truth for its own sweet sake; the normal man likes a strain of uncertainty in his philandering. But probably the failure of so much earnest anti-militarist propaganda (in spite of its perfect logic and accuracy) is due to a deep-seated error which undermines so much of what it says.

The anti-militarists lack the sense of proportion—which is one of the most fundamental necessities for the complete human mind. The real trouble is not that men are still so savage that they insist on killing each other in battle. The root difficulty is that they are devoting more and more time to the comparatively modern and highly "civilised" art of profit-making. Within reason, this is a most meritorious and necessary pursuit; but in its modern form it has reached such swollen proportions that there are not enough oil-fields and coal and iron mines to go round.

Mr. Lowes Dickinson seems at times to see all this quite clearly. For example, he writes: "It will have been observed that power, markets, and territory were, on all sides, the only motives operative in the minds of the statesmen who were conducting, in the dark, the policies of Europe." But then he seems to remember that he is writing a book about the abolition of war, and that it is necessary to convince the readers that the military spirit is the root of the evil. He forgets

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that he has already proved that the commercial spirit is the whole of the trouble. So the picture gets out of proportion; as in the case of cubist art, we are not convinced that the bogies are alive. So when we are told that war is the cause of all, or almost all, present evils (and Mr. Dickinson almost goes as far as that) we simply do not believe it, for we know quite well that the last Great War was the outcome of the abominable habits of peace. So when people try to scare us white with tales of what will happen during the next air raids, quite well-balanced people shrug their shoulders and say that, on the whole, it will be no great loss to humanity if another greater war blots out the most of our present peace.

The real problem of war is first and foremost the greater problem of Peace; and the anti-militarists will get what they desire all the sooner if they get their picture into the right perspective.

## CORRESPONDENCE

[Whilst we open our columns impartially to correspondence we take no responsibility for the opinions expressed.]

### "THE WOES OF THE FARMER." TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—In your leader on the "Woes of the Farmer" in THE OUTLOOK of April 14th you put your finger on many of the reasons for the sad state of agriculture in this country. There is no question that the farmer has been exploited from many sides, but to a degree he himself is at fault, or, perhaps, the nature of his occupation. Of all classes he is the most conservative and slowest to adapt to new conditions. His fine independence is an admirable quality, but it does not often work to his advantage. In the modern world life has become too complex not to require continual and swift adaptation. The man who cannot do this must fall by the wayside. The modern man must make use of all the facilities which science and art has placed at his disposal. He cannot carry on the same way simply because his grandfather did so. And that too often is what the farmer tries to do. He does not like "new-fangled" ideas—like co-operation, modern machinery, science.

This is where he must be educated. The advantages must be proved to him by ocular demonstration. Not till then will the average farmer accept modern advances. To accomplish this takes time, money, and infinite patience, but before there can be any vital improvement in agriculture the agriculturist himself must change. The sailing vessel can no longer compete with the steamer; the sowman's bag no longer with the grain-drill.—Yours, &c.,

EGBERT HUMPHREY.

London, April 17th, 1923.

### THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ANIMALS. TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—A few months ago an American adventuress (using the word in no offensive sense), published a travel book in which she vigorously defended the gorilla against the charge of ferocity. Although it has a savage appearance and a horrid roar, the gorilla, it appears, is a harmless vegetarian, which flees from the sight of man and never turns upon him unless attacked.

The *Times* has now performed a similar service for the Canadian wolf. The wolf is less dangerous than the gorilla, for it continues to run away even when attacked—it runs faster, in fact! In the words of one of the *Times* correspondents who has actually encountered the beast in its native lair, the wolf, however hungry, simply "fades off the landscape" directly it sees a man. Those stories of trappers fighting for their lives are apparently all moonshine. Our immunity from attack is not due to our superior courage, nor to the power of the human eye (as anyone will agree who has tried it on the cat or on animals at the Zoo), but simply to the fact that gorillas and wolves are much less truculent than they have been represented to be. Nor do bears hug. There is even something to be said for rattlesnakes.

Thus is the moral character of the brute creation being gradually rehabilitated. Every new travel book tells the same story. If we leave them alone, they will leave us alone. Unfortunately we won't.

I am glad to see that the much advertised "new policy" at the London Zoo appears to consist of studying the psychology of animals, as opposed to the mere compilation of catalogues recording, without explanation, their various "habits" and the structure of their bodies. I fancy that the most fierce of them will be found, on closer acquaintance, to "roar like any sucking dove."—Yours, &c.,

H. CAMPBELL PEARSON.

London, April 15th.

## FINANCE

BY URBANUS.

THE City was pleased with the Budget, with its ingenious compromise between the rival claims of tax reduction and debt reduction. In principle it is framed on sound lines, for the sinking fund provision of £40 millions (rising to £50 millions the year after next), though, as has been pointed out, it will not redeem the entire debt for over 150 years, is a good deal higher than most exponents of the orthodox financial doctrine had dared to hope for. Whether in practice the Budget will work out according to plan is, of course, much more doubtful. Mr. Baldwin was careful to make it clear at the outset that he was not too confident that his estimates would not share the fate of Sir Robert Horne's, only in the contrary direction. Thus, while he cautiously allows for a reduction of £6 millions in customs and excise (exclusive of the further loss resulting from the beer duty reduction), he thinks that income tax and super tax (apart from the 6d. reduction in the former) would yield only £41 millions less than last year, although £30 millions of last year's receipts were arrears, and although the 1s. reduction last year was expected to affect this year's revenue to the extent of £20 millions. Moreover, he is setting the two lame ducks of last year, E.P.D. and Special Receipts, to produce practically the same amount, £53 millions, that they succeeded last year in raising out of an estimated amount of more than double. One cannot, therefore, feel too confident that these two aftermath items will not fail us again.

But the principal reason why the City is disposed to regard the budget as at least "optimistic" is that Mr. Baldwin has saddled future economies with so heavy a mortgage. From the two aftermath items I have just mentioned he expects for this year net revenue over aftermath expenditure of £37 millions. Out of this "windfall" he has pledged himself to tax reductions not merely absorbing the whole £37 millions this year, but requiring an additional £10 millions next year and an additional £20 millions in the year after. In other words, a first draft of next year's budget would show a very concrete debit: "Cost of 1923-24 tax reductions £47 millions plus sinking fund increase £5 millions equals £52 millions" offset by two very nebulous credits—"proceeds of betting tax, further economies." It is to be hoped that it will pan out all right, and certainly Mr. Baldwin's courage in replacing the sinking funds in the face of the opposition of the business interests deserves some reward, but—

The feature of the week on the Stock Exchange has been the buoyancy of the leading industrial stocks. The move began last week with the shares of the two great tobacco combines, Imperial Tobacco and British American Tobacco, while on Tuesday the budget was made the excuse for pushing up many of the favourite "counters" in this market by shillings at a time. I think that there now is a real danger of this process going too far. Many shares which on any reasonable valuation should return at least 6 or 7 per cent. to the investor, pay on the basis of last year's dividends only 4 per cent. or less. Admittedly last year's dividends will in many cases be increased, but a price level which already discounts a doubling of distributions can hardly attract the careful investor. Let me take a couple of examples. The 10s. ordinary shares of the British Cellulose Company, despite its notorious past, and the fact that it has never paid a dividend, have reached the dizzy height of 16s. The £1 shares of the African and Eastern Trade Corporation stand at 43s., though the Company closed the year 1921, the last for which accounts are available,

with a loss of nearly £1½ million, and of course passed its dividend. I take these two cases, not because I think they are outstanding examples of over-valuation, but merely to illustrate what I believe to be a definite transition into the danger zone. Of course with the public in its present mood the ball may be kept rolling merrily for some time yet, but I cannot help feeling that there is a nasty setback not far off.

During the past month a large number of the important insurance companies have issued their reports for last year, and the general impression created has been that a considerable improvement has taken place in the position of this class of enterprise since the close of 1921. The most noticeable increase is in the case of Marine business, which, of course, was very hard hit by the slump in trade, while the Fire loss ratio, which always seems to rise in periods of bad trade, has taken a step towards normal. A further point of importance to life insurance companies and to investors in their shares is the change in the method of assessment for income tax briefly referred to by Mr. Baldwin in his Budget speech. In the past these concerns have been taxed either on their investment income less general expenses or else on their trading profit. It is now proposed to make the basis of taxation only that portion of actual profits which is allocated to shareholders. This constitutes a generous concession on the part of the Chancellor, and should be of assistance to the companies concerned. At the same time, it must be remembered that the reduction in income tax lessens to some extent the incentive to spend large sums on life insurance. Some reflection of the improvement in the position of the big companies is found in the prices of the shares, which have gone up by some 12 per cent. since the beginning of the year. Half this rise has taken place in the past fortnight, and is probably due mainly to the anticipation of a favourable Budget.

The foreign exchange market, which has been comparatively peaceful ever since the extraordinary improvement in the currencies of France and Germany following the occupation of the Ruhr, was on Thursday startled by a fresh convulsion. German marks, which had fluctuated around 90,000 and 100,000 for two and a half months, suddenly broke in the course of the morning and were quoted as high as 145,000 marks to the £. The only indication given was the raising on the previous day of the forward rate from 3,500 to 7,000 marks per month over spot. The selling of marks which led to the drop is variously attributed to Paris and Amsterdam, but whatever the source may have been it is clear that the German Government were either caught napping or have decided to abandon the mark to its fate. For it is now admitted on all sides that the stability of the German currency during recent weeks has not been due to chance, but to steady control by Germany, brought about and maintained in order to render possible the import of coal and other commodities at reasonable prices in terms of marks.

At present there has been no fresh break in marks, and this fact alone seems to indicate that official support has not been withdrawn. Further evidence in support of this supposition is afforded by statements which have recently appeared in the Berlin Press, to the effect that the Reichsbank has increased its gold deposit in the Bank of England to 200 millions of gold marks. This sum, £10 millions sterling, compares with about £2½ millions which were held here some four of five weeks back, and so large a transfer can hardly be reconciled with a determination to let the exchange take its course.

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## URBIS ET ORBIS

GERMAN diplomacy worthily maintains its ancient traditions. A more inept or tactless document than Berlin has produced after so much labour could scarcely be imagined. Reparations are offered provided every penny is raised abroad, which means in New York and London. Language is used about the Ruhr calculated to wound the pride and steel the heart of every Frenchman. Of course, informed persons understand the difficulties of the Germans. They cannot make a real offer of immediate cash, because they could not pay. Why not simply say so, and make a solemn, binding, and irrevocable proposal to submit the Reparations problem to an impartial international committee of experts, as suggested by Mr. Secretary Hughes, and to carry out whatever measures that committee may decide upon? This suggestion is indeed made in the Note, but because of the rest of the subject-matter, and its own vagueness, it will be ignored or derided in Paris. I gather, also, that Germany would insist that France, as well as herself, agree in advance to be bound by the result of the committee's inquiry. This may be fair and just, but it is not practical politics, for France would not so agree. Germany's next step, when she has sufficiently digested the consequence of her latest blunder, should be to ask for the committee, and promise to carry out its findings, *without imposing conditions*. The Reich has nothing to fear from such a course. Impartial arbiters would not demand the unattainable, and any reparations settlement that Germany could carry out would be better for her than the present situation. But, the Germans will say, France would not permit such a tribunal to function, or, if she did, would not accept its award. Of course. But, in either case, France would have world opinion to face, Germany's moral position would be unassailable, and against the weight of such imponderables as must then be called into play, France in the long run would be helpless. It is too much to suppose that Germany will realise this. Her otherwise incredibly efficient war-machine was overthrown through diplomatic bungling, and the *Wilhelmstrasse* seems to have learned little from its misfortunes.

KENYA is a Crown Colony, administered under the Colonial Office. The case of the white settlers who demand as an irreducible minimum the terms outlined by the Colonial Secretary three years ago in an official dispatch is dealt with elsewhere in this issue. I am here concerned to call attention to the interview given *Reuter's* agency by the Rt. Hon. S. V. Sastri, P.C., who has come from India to attack the arrangements made by the British Government with a British Colony. Mr. Sastri uses such phrases as, "the newly created Legislature of India will not tolerate for one moment the idea that East Africa should be closed to Indian immigration," and complains that the reservation of the Kenya Highlands for white settlers was "without the consent of the Indian Government or the Indian people." Mr. Sastri and his friends should be told frankly that such remarks as these are singularly misplaced, and display an arrogance that would be funny if it did not have behind it a great weight of misconception in India as to the position of that country in the Empire. Partly out of good taste, partly out of a natural desire not to wound anybody's feelings, Englishmen seldom comment frankly on the basis of our relations to India. Sometimes such rules must be broken. When an Indian speaks of what India "will not tolerate" in the relations of one white people to another, he resembles the small boy defying his parent or schoolmaster. Only weakness in our administration of India could have produced such a spectacle as this delegation headed by Mr. Sastri presents, and the weak Viceroy, of race alien to our own, should be recalled. I am no Jew-baiter, and realise Lord Reading's great services to the Empire. But our dominion in India was won by force, Anglo-Saxon force, and rests in the last resort on force as well as justice. When the Indian sees placed in supreme authority over him a member of a race not noted for its combative prowess, he tends to lose sight of what stands behind our ill-chosen representative. No man should be permitted to rule India who is not of our ruling race. For the rest, such statements as those of Mr. Sastri do not help the progress of the Indian people towards parliamentary government. Upon their own behaviour in the next years of this probationary period depends whether or not the

Government of India Act will have to be revised, and Indians are ill-advised to take advantage of a temporary weakness of those above them to attempt interference between the Mother Country and one of her Colonies settled and administered by her own sons, of her own race.

THE American Supreme Court is the Ark of the Covenant of the people of the United States. Against its interpretation of the law, President and Congress are powerless. Congress, to be sure, can pass a new measure directing that liquor under seal in foreign ships within American waters shall be exempt from seizure. But Congress is not in session, and will not be again until December. We, on our side, cannot possibly accept a decision which is clearly a breach of international law, and we shall have all other maritime Powers on our side. Comment in the American newspapers shows clearly enough that intelligent opinion over there recognises the absurdity of a claim which nullifies one of the oldest principles of international law—the immunity from seizure by a third Power of cargoes in transit from one country to another. Apparently one small concession has been made. Beverages intended for the use of crews, if kept under seal in American waters, will not be confiscated. But nothing may remain in the hold of the ship which it is the "intent" to sell to passengers on the high seas. The Supreme Court has evidently accurately interpreted the meaning of the law passed by Congress. But I believe that body has the right to throw out enactments which are contrary to treaties, just as it can declare any law it chooses to be "unconstitutional." Principles of international law which have never been challenged, and for which America has herself contended almost more strongly than any other nation, would seem still less open to attack than an individual Treaty. But however cogent this argument, the difficulty seems to be, my American friends tell me, that the Supreme Court decision is like a law of the Medes and Persians. The maritime conference which is shortly to meet, here or in Paris, to decide what to do, will thus face a difficult dilemma.

FRANCE has learned at Lausanne that sabre-rattling is a game two can play at. I have no desire to defend the impossible Turks for having moved fresh divisions to the Syrian frontier. But it is easy to understand their reasoning. Is not Marshal Weygand in the field equivalent to at least two army corps? This French Ludendorff has drawn up the plans for all the warlike or "coercive" measures which France has adopted since the Armistice. Why should he suddenly be sent from the Western front to Syria? Clearly in order to draw up military plans, whether for attack or defence. The Turks, as is people's way in these circumstances, assume the former. The presence of this redoubtable warrior on their frontier causes alarm at Angora, Mustapha Kemal decides to take no chances, and so moves up his troops. If Weygand would come home, no doubt the Turkish forces would withdraw. French policy has been such that when either Marshal Foch or his famous aide take the train for any capital, the

neighbours of the favoured country cannot be too much blamed if military precautions are taken on their frontiers.

I AM quite sure Lord Gisborough did not intend to be comic when he protested against the visit of the King to the Vatican, but there is something irresistibly funny in his remark that the newspapers "hope by a conspiracy of silence to hoodwink and blind the people." The *Times*, as it happens, has published an article on the subject, and must therefore be exempt from the charge of conspiracy; but according to Lord Gisborough this makes the thing even worse—"the *Times* article was inspired by a Jesuit." I never yet saw or heard of a Jesuit in the ungodly thoroughfare where newspapers are manufactured. The plain fact is that the visit to the Vatican has excited very little interest in this country, and therefore the newspapers have given little attention to it. It seems an entirely natural act, but not a very important one, for the King to call on the Pope. England is certainly not likely to go over to Rome *en masse* in consequence, but equally it has got tired of the old Protestant fulminations. Men care less about these divisions than they used to, and the bitterness has gone out of religious controversies. I doubt if Lord Gisborough and the Church Association will be able to revive it. All the gall in human nature goes naturally into international politics in the twentieth century; the attempt to restore the old bitter flavour to religion comes too late. The human animal cannot hate a rival faith with old-time fervour while he is so busy hating rival nations.

I AM rather surprised at the sudden outburst of indignation over the new house assessment for income tax. Sir Robert Horne made it perfectly clear, when he reduced the income tax from six shillings to five last year, that the assessment on house property was to be increased; and although he did not say so in so many words, he left little doubt in the minds of his hearers that most of what the Treasury lost on the swings they intended to get back on the roundabouts. The real ground of complaint does not, to my mind, lie in the fact that the assessment is to be raised—after all, anybody who buys or sells a house, or even rents one for that matter, is perfectly well aware that the value of house property has increased during the past ten years, and the old assessment is out of date. The trouble is that there has been a great deal of profiteering in houses, as in other things, and that tenants were forced to purchase at an extortionate price in order to keep a roof over their heads. The vendor walks off with the cheque, the purchaser is left with a property he did not want to buy, an overdraft at the bank or a mortgage deed—most of these purchases were purely nominal—and then is asked to pay more tax on the increased value. This seems to be adding insult to injury; the wretched householder has been cut up first by private enterprise, and then, when the wound is still sore, the State comes along and rubs in salt. Unluckily there is no remedy—except that the increased yield from this source will make it easier for Mr. Baldwin to reduce the income-tax

another sixpence next year, instead of the three-pence which was all that seemed possible a week or so ago. It is an arguable proposition whether it is better to pay more tax on one's house and less on one's income—it does not matter much to me.

**F**OREIGNERS on May Day stood amazed to watch red flags, Soviet coats of arms, and incendiary placards of all kinds, borne through our streets and shepherded by smiling bobbies. I hope the Japanese Embassy, when reporting the "incident" in Grosvenor Square, did not neglect to inform Tokyo that on May Day cranks are allowed to do pretty much as they like, so long as they leave property unmolested. In democratic America, the demonstrators who tried to beard the Japanese Ambassador to demand the restoration of Saghalien by Japan would have been thrown into dungeons, as dangerous Bolsheviks engaged in formidable and mysterious conspiracy. The *Morning Post*, in an extremely witty leader on Thursday, said: "We discovered an almost universal belief among our working classes, in whose name the representations to the Japanese Embassy have been made, that Saghalien is a horse which ran without much success in some of the winter steeplechases." I do not know whether Mr. Colvin is right in identifying this island as the ancestral home of the Hairy Ainus, and thus accounting for its particular interest to the leaders of the Labour Party. The sudden excitement here about Saghalien is indeed puzzling. I can understand without difficulty Labour members demanding that Japanese troops withdraw from Soviet territory, because of their friendship for Russia. But Moscow can scarcely care twopence about this bleak and almost uninhabited Pacific desert, unless it desires to continue the practice of the Tsars and send political prisoners there to freeze. There are still Japanese troops in Siberia. If the Labour Party insists upon interfering with a matter which is not its concern, why not demand the restoration of the mainland?

**D**E VALERA always leaves the spectator wondering whether he is a knave or a fool. In this country we have preferred to adopt the kinder explanation of his actions, but Michael Collins's latest biographer assures us that Collins thought de Valera a knave, and an unusually cunning one. Which was he when he offered this ridiculous truce? At first sight it seemed a fatal confession of weakness, a plain invitation to his enemies to sail in and finish him off. He seemed, in the popular phrase, to be "asking for it." And he has got it. The "truce" is being observed only by one side. The Irregulars who, at de Valera's bidding, laid down their arms find themselves vigorously pursued by Free State troops; and the Government, that there might be no mistake about their intentions, executed two more prisoners on Wednesday. But note the result. The Irish Labour Party, which before angled for Republican support, immediately begins to blame the Government for not accepting de Valera's terms. Had de Valera thought of this? It will certainly add to the Government's difficulties in the Dáil, for what the Irish people want more than anything else is peace.

NEMO.

## The Week in Parliament

**T**HE "breathless versatility" which Lord Grey of Falldon once ascribed to Mr. Lloyd George is beginning to make claims upon other Members of Parliament. Thus Mr. Edward Wood, President of the Board of Education, has been conducting a little flirtation with Foreign Affairs in the shape of the League of Nations Council which shows every sign of developing into a *grande passion*. Mr. Harcourt Johnstone, again, is to be congratulated on making a successful maiden speech and winning Bucks Club Golf handicap in the same week: whilst Sir William Joynson Hicks has been dividing his energies between certain aspects of Broadcasting and the Revision of the Prayer Book. Toby Junior is all for revision but suggests that a beginning should be made with the Telephone Book, which by the joint operation of slovenly type and the increasing number of persons of the same name is fast becoming unintelligible except to those who are prepared to make its perusal a life pursuit.

The incidents at Wembley over the week-end have bulked quite as largely in the Counsels of an Empire as if one of the Dominions had disappeared into the sea. Such is the reward of propinquity. Mr. Pringle not long ago said of the Home Secretary that he was not nearly so harmless as he looked. Mr. Bridgeman has evidently come to the conclusion that he must live up to this character; for he lashed out in defence of his Department and the police in a manner hardly to have been foreseen by his attackers. Mr. Jack Jones began the comedy with a private notice question on Monday, reinforced by Mr. Mosley who suavely demanded to know whether it was the policy of the Home Office to encourage hooliganism, and criticising the ineptitude of the Management Committee of the British Empire Exhibition (nobody had a word to say about the popular Mr. J. C. Clegg and his band of merry men). Something in Mr. Mosley's air of unsuspecting innocence, and his own position of vantage immediately behind, must have awakened in the mind of the naughty Jack some recollection of what in our boyhood we used to call a "three handed mill," i.e., a general scrimmage in which all the combatants fight each other (*vide* Midshipman Easy passing for a description of the three-cornered duel—a similar pastime). As soon, therefore, as Mr. Mosley resumed his seat and before the Home Secretary, much affronted at this unexpected buffet from his late "honourable friend," had time to gather his forces together and crush him, Mr. Jones in tones of complaint that might have moved a statue, demanded to know why the "good-natured" and "well-behaved" crowd at Wembley should be stigmatised as hooligans. Mr. Bridgeman murmuring some obscure saying about "candy" and "a kid," administered a sharp rebuke and left them, reinforced by another Labour Member, to fight it out among themselves. On Wednesday, the attackers, with more united forces, returned to the fray; but Mr. Bridgeman in the interval had brought up his reserves consisting of 12 inspectors, 53 police sergeants, and 530 police constables—in fact, as the right hon. gentleman said, "twice as many as have ever been provided before at any cup-tie."

Whether on account of the inspiring quality of Mr. Baldwin's leadership, or because of some quality in the summer air, Ministers are becoming positively uppish. Following upon Mr. Bridgeman's success, Mr. Chamberlain got himself hotly embroiled with Mr. Pringle, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and Sir Alfred Mond. Mr. Pringle put down an amendment in order to object to the Second Reading of the Rent Restriction (Continuance) Bill, on the ground that it did not disclose the proposals of the Government for the new Amending Bill. Mr. MacDonald reinforced this objection. The Minister of Health made to the Leader of the Opposition the necessary soft answer, and then turned "by way of indemnification" to take it out of Mr. Pringle, only to find himself the recipient of a sound castigation from that doughty old warrior, Sir Alfred Mond, who stoutly defended the right of Mr. Pringle to put down an amendment, and remarked bitingly: "It looks as if the right hon. gentleman regards it as *lèse majesté* against himself."

### A DIALOGUE ON THE CALEDONIAN BILL.

*A Labour Whip (Scottish):* . . . D'ye see, now, McWhatnot. Ye'll get up at eleven an' talk it oot.

*McWhatnot, a Labour Member (also Scottish):* Umph!

At 10.50 question put and division taken.

*The Labour Whip (hissing over the back of his bench):* What for did ye no talk it oot, McWhatnot? Did I no tell ye tae get on yer legs, man.

*McWhatnot:* Oh aye. But I did nae just think I would talk it oot, man.

*The Labour Whip (spluttering):* Ye did nae think ye—. Ye're a damned traitor tae yer country, McWhatnot.

*McWhatnot (with gleaming eyes):* Whit's that ye're sayin? Will ye say that outside noo? . . .

*The Speaker (as the tellers come up the floor of the House):* Order, order.

*The Teller for the Bill:* The Ayes to the right. . . . Bill ordered to be read a second time.

TOBY JUNIOR, M.P.

## The Supreme Court's Dry Humour

WE in this country have hitherto regarded with mingled amusement and bewilderment the introduction and administration of Prohibition in the United States. America went officially "dry" on July 1st, 1919. Since then, we gather out of the conflicting statements made by "dry" and "wet" propagandists—every American seems to be one or the other—the enforcement of Prohibition has not been an unmixed success. This, the "drys" tell us, is due to smuggling of liquor on a vast scale from abroad, largely in British ships from British ports. Diplomatic controversy between the Foreign Office and the State Department, concerning the juridical and ethical aspects of "rum-running," is still in progress, and no doubt will provide perplexing questions for diplomacy throughout many years. Even now a most vexatious problem is exercising the pundits of international law—the right of the United States to seize a British ship outside territorial waters because the vessel's small boats entered the three-mile limit and there broke the law of America by selling Scotch whisky. We wholly approve the reported attitude of the Foreign Office in maintaining its right to support British trade in whatever legal enterprises it may undertake abroad. If it is legal to sell spirits in British territory, it is legal to sell them on the high seas, and considering our debt to America we simply cannot afford to give up any legitimate enterprise which may help to redress the balance of trade between this country and our great creditor. The questions involved in the American claim that smuggling should be controlled at the source are, however, admittedly most difficult. We do not deny that the United States has here a case which deserves sympathetic and careful consideration.

But far broader and more important issues than the rights and wrongs of Prohibition are involved in the decision of the United States Supreme Court that foreign liners must not have alcoholic beverages on board during their sojourn in American waters. America has the right to make whatever laws she chooses, and to compel her own citizens, and foreigners on American soil, to obey them. She may prohibit drinking, smoking, dancing, laughing—anything. But the Supreme Court decision goes far beyond that right. It attempts to control the habits of foreign subjects on foreign soil, and even demands that foreigners on their own territory must break the laws of their own country! Italian and French ships are legally required to supply rations of wine for their crews; British ships are compelled by British law to carry brandy for medicinal purposes. A ship under the Union Jack is British territory. This is a fundamental principle of international law, which appears in every text-book on the subject

that has ever been written. It is one of the few foundations of international law that has never been disputed before—not even in the Great War. It is a right which we cannot and will not abandon.

Suppose that the Government of Holland prohibited the presence of tobacco on all vessels within Dutch waters, and that Dutch policemen climbed on board a British ship at Rotterdam and dragged the purser off to jail because a box of cigarettes that he might later sell to a passenger in the Channel was found locked up in his own cabin. However ridiculous the incident, it would have to be taken seriously, and redress would have to be made for the outrage. We cannot suppose that the United States Government propose to hale before the bar of justice a British officer who may have a bottle of Bass reposing in his cupboard, or even standing on his sideboard, aboard the *Majestic*. Yet that is apparently what the Supreme Court decision imposes upon the Federal Authorities in New York. The United States Government may have the right to forbid the sale of liquor or of tobacco on foreign liners in American waters. But it can be no concern of any foreign Power what stores of tobacco, or sweets, or spirits, or anything else, repose in the bowels of a British ship, so long as no attempt is made to sell them until the vessel is again on the high seas. It has not yet been claimed that the high seas are American territory; yet the Supreme Court decision, according to the cabled version, lays it down that vessels are prohibited from "bringing into American ports intoxicating liquors under seal intended for the use of passengers on the outward voyages." In other words, the American Government claims to control the regulation of a foreign ship not only when it is in an American port, but when it is on the ocean. We fail to see how the intentions of a British captain on the high seas can be any concern of a foreign Government. This is like arresting an American visitor in London on the ground that he may commit a burglary when he goes back to New York.

This ridiculous ruling, were an attempt made to put it into effect, contains the seeds of serious trouble. Fortunately, the strong sense of humour existing in both countries will probably prevent any real clash. The leading organs of American opinion have not been slow to point out the ludicrous implications of the Washington decision. "It is a fool situation," says the *New York World*, "viewed from any angle, but the fault is not the Supreme Court's; it had a statute of fanatical foolishness to interpret, and it has been just as liberal, apparently, as it could be." There seems to be a very general agreement, at any rate on this side of the Atlantic, that this law will never be pressed home. That is the worst of Puritanical legislation; its enforcement is next to impossible. There have been sumptuary laws, laws of usury, laws against betting, and the Prophet Mahomed,

one of the most powerful despots the world has ever seen, attempted to impose Prohibition upon Islam thirteen hundred years ago; but every one of these enactments has been a dead letter from that day to this. They rouse little protest. Decent people do not care to be distinguished from their fellows as supporters of drinking, of gambling, or over-dressing. They prefer to say nothing, and quietly ignore the law up to the point dictated by their own common sense. In the meantime, it is important to notice that though the decision of the Supreme Court has indirectly the effect of imposing an American law upon foreign vessels even on the high seas, the Court explicitly recognises that the high seas are not, after all, American territory. For it allows even American steamships to sell intoxicating liquors outside the three-mile limit. It is said that prompt advantage will be taken of this concession, and that a fringe of "floating bars" will soon appear along the American coast, where thirsty citizens may indulge in that kind of furtive, sneaking drinking which the rest of the world is so anxious to avoid. This is no concern of ours, but we think it ought to be officially announced here, good-humouredly but firmly, that we are not prepared to abandon the doctrine that British ships are British soil, and we have no doubt that when this aspect of the matter is soberly considered we shall not be asked to do so. To push this Gilbertian situation to its logical conclusions, we find only three possible ones: (1) The Supreme Court ruling must not be enforced; (2) Britain must fight America; (3) British ships must hereafter keep out of American ports. Of these three solutions, we fancy both countries will prefer the first.

## The New Prime Minister ?

EVERYBODY will regret both the cause and the necessity of Mr. Bonar Law's trip to the Mediterranean, and wish him a speedy recovery. A dumb politician is a contradiction in terms, one of those portents of which, like the more obscure truths of religion, it is only possible to say, *Credo quia impossibile*. But even a sight of Genoa, where unparalleled feats of oratory were performed a bare year ago, should act as a stimulus, and we shall hope to see the Prime Minister back again in June fully restored to health.

There is likely to be a great outcrop of political speculation during his absence, but most of this talk will be promptly discounted by the prudent. Mr. Law has no present intention of resigning, and if his voice returns, there is no reason why he should. He is unlikely to be able to hold office for the full five years, even if the present Parliament lasts so long, but with any luck in the matter of health, he should be able to carry on another year or two. The Government, after a very bad start, has shaken down, and it is perceptibly stronger than two months ago. It owes something

of its increased prestige to its finance; and an adverse critic would add that it owes still more to its opponents. The continuance of the split in the Liberal camp has reduced the chances of that party to zero; and Labour would have been more effective had its arguments been more intellectual and less muscular. Its more noisy elements, whose chief weapons seem to be the waving of arms and the singing of "The Red Flag," are unconsciously acting as recruiting agents for Conservatism.

The real interest of the next few weeks centres around Mr. Baldwin. Is the acting Prime Minister the stuff of which actual Prime Ministers are made? The Chancellor of the Exchequer has already led the House on one or two occasions with success, but that might happen to anybody—the occasions on which he officiated were not very critical. But the present House is hardly likely to get through a whole month without scenes, and it is at such times that men reveal their true quality. If Mr. Baldwin can maintain his position creditably, the time will probably come when his temporary leadership will be translated into permanence.

His rise on the whole has been slow; he sat in the House of Commons for years without anybody in particular being aware of him. That is merely to say that his character is solid rather than brilliant, and the same solidity was shown at the Board of Trade, when the Coalition's double-face on fiscal questions was too much for him, as it was for many other men. It was during that period of storm and stress that the newspaper reader first became aware of him. But to the ordinary man Mr. Baldwin is still a name, rather than a human being; we doubt if anybody has got so near the Prime Minister's seat who remained so impersonal to the crowd. He has none of Gladstone's magnetism, none of Salisbury's biting wit, nothing of the Balfourian quality of subtlety; he has none of the clear legal clarity of Asquith, or the phrase-making genius of a Lloyd George. He stands out as a plain man, who speaks his mind about the world as he sees it, without any particular claim to see more or deeper into the heart of political things than the next man.

With this mental make-up a man can only be a Conservative; he is the ordinary middle-class man personified. He has never said or done anything out of the common, and probably does not want to. But it happens that there comes a time when the world tires of brilliance, which, like beauty in the proverb, is only skin-deep; and in Lord Birkenhead's devastating antilogy, it prefers character to brains. That is probably the real secret of Mr. Baldwin's progress; he has stood still, but the world has come back to him. Because he is the normal man, he has never been cartooned or maligned or attacked; but he happens to be the normal man in possession, and there is no particular reason why he should not stay there.

Mr. Baldwin is a sound Conservative, but he has not that particular touch of fanaticism which turns the Tory into a Die-Hard. He has none of the stuff of which political saints or martyrs are made; he can see the other side, and see it without passion. For that reason he is never likely to evoke violent antagonism—a valuable quality in a Prime Minister. It must be that he is a party leader, but in a very real sense he is also the leader



of his country, and long experience shows that when a Prime Minister evokes excessive animosity in home affairs the authority of government tends to decline in foreign policy. He is accepted in Europe, as at home, as a party mouthpiece, not the head of the nation.

We fancy that Mr. Baldwin will come through his preliminary canter successfully. A man does not drift into that position, as was once said of a Lord Chancellor, without some ability, and the hardest part of the task is often to get there. In another few weeks, the reversion of the Premiership may be his by right. But if and when he actually succeeds, it will be necessary to strengthen the team considerably. It is a good thing to have an ordinary man at the top. But there is much to be said for the quick-scorer and the hard-hitter having a place in the eleven.

## Kenya's Charter of Liberty

**N**EGOTIATIONS between the delegations of white and Indian settlers in Kenya Colony and representatives of the Colonial Office are now under way. Our readers are familiar with our view of the vast importance of this little understood controversy in a remote corner of the Empire. The presence in London of an unwanted and meddlesome delegation from India itself, seeking to interfere in the question, proves our point that Indian agitators are trying to make the alleged grievances of their fellows in Kenya the "thin end of the wedge" for the ultimate domination of a brown race over millions of black men who were first conquered by white men, are now being civilised by them, and whose welfare is a trust the British people cannot betray. Once the Indian claims were granted, all South Africa would be in a blaze, while the colonists of Kenya, as we have pointed out, are prepared to resist to the death any attempt on the part of the British Government to break faith with them. We are assured, and we believe, that the Government have no intention of breaking faith. But our pioneers in Kenya, public school men most of them, the best of our breed, doers and not talkers, are no match in dialectic for subtle-minded Orientals. We rejoice to learn, then, that they have taken their stand, as an irreducible minimum, upon what may be regarded as Kenya's Charter of Liberty, the dispatch from Lord Milner, then Colonial Secretary, dated May 21st, 1920. We are able to publish below this important document in full.

Lord Milner's pledges are not what the white men of Kenya asked or wanted. But they accepted them, after their own demands had been whittled down, because Governor Northey assured the settlers that the Milner Note, once agreed upon, was final, and disposed permanently of the Indian controversy. Upon the solemn promise of the British Government thus given, more settlers have gone out, more land has been opened up for settlement, more capital invested, in the past three years. It is inconceivable, if the Kenya delegation hold fast to their Charter of Liberty, as we are assured they will, that they will not receive what it should not

have been necessary for them to come to England to ask.

We have no desire to seek to fasten upon this Government the sins of the last. But there must be no more weakness. It is sheer impertinence, to put it mildly, for Indians to insist that the bargain made by the Colonial Office with the British settlers in a Crown Colony be revised or set aside. The demands of the Indians are thus summarised by Lord Cranworth in the *Empire Review*:

- (1) The right to hold any position in the Civil Service and Local Military Forces.
- (2) The right to equal representation with the European on the Legislative Council on a common franchise.
- (3) The right to acquire land in the reserved portions of the Highlands.
- (4) The abolition of the principle of segregation.
- (5) The right of unrestricted immigration.

It is really outrageous that two Indian delegations should be permitted to come here to urge these things. Points Two, Three, and Four are not open to discussion at all, if the pledged word of the British Government means anything, as will be clear to anyone who reads Lord Milner's dispatch. Points One and Five may well be left to the white men of Kenya, who know local conditions, and who will not permit the importation of cargoes of Indians of the lowest caste, bringing filthy habits and all manner of disease. No unprejudiced visitor who has been in East Africa can doubt that plague and venereal complaints would run like wildfire through the natives once the Indian population grew beyond the ability of the white men to segregate. The Indian demands, as presented, are not, of course, what the Indians really want. They conceal their designs, in the belief that if they can get the vote, and unrestricted immigration, Africa will in time become a dependency of India. Eleven years ago Mr. Jevanjee, foremost Indian merchant in Kenya, then a member of the Legislative Council, and now on the Kenya Indian Delegation in London, let the cat out of the bag. He said: "I would go even so far as to advocate the annexation of this African territory to the Indian Empire. . . . Let it (Kenya) be opened to us and in a very few years it will become a second India." That is the real aim of the brown agitators, though they are now more cautious about avowing it. Let the Government stand firm, keep faith with Kenya, not attempt to curry favour with the Indians by tampering with the Milner pledges, and what might become a menace disruptive to the Empire, that would cost us Africa, will be dissipated in a few weeks. Africa would never, in any case, be Indian; but if to coddle the Indians we attempt to impose the slightest step towards racial equality upon the white men of our race in Africa, Africa will remain white—but an Africa in which the British flag will not fly, another America, lost to us by bungling no less crassly stupid and criminal than that which led New England to revolt against the Mother Country in 1776.

### LORD MILNER'S PLEDGE TO KENYA.

DOWNING STREET.—May 21st, 1920.

Sir, I have the honour to inform you that I have now had an opportunity of discussing personally with Major-General Sir Edward Northey and with Sir Robert Coryndon the various questions affecting the Indian Community in British East Africa, which have formed the subject of correspondence with

yourself and the India Office and the Indians Overseas Association; and before arriving at a decision on these questions, I had the advantage of receiving a deputation which was introduced to me on the 19th of April by Lord Islington and which included Indian representatives sent from East Africa.

2. I have given very careful consideration to these important questions, as I was desirous of securing, if practicable, an adjustment of the existing situation, which clearly tends to create discontent in a section of the community in British East Africa. I do not propose, however, to review the situation at length, as you are fully aware of the position; and it will suffice if I comment briefly on the main points which have been raised and on which a decision is required.

3. The Indian community would wish to have equal rights with the European settlers in regard to representation in the Legislative Council of the Protectorate, that is to say, that their representatives on the Council should be elected instead of nominated and that the method of election should be the same as that recently introduced for European representatives. Lord Islington, in introducing the deputation to which I have referred, stated that he realised that a solution of the present difficulties could not be found in granting the franchise to Indians in the Protectorate generally on the same basis as to Europeans. I fully share this opinion and I have hitherto held the view that having regard to the very small number of the Indian community who can be regarded as qualified to exercise a franchise the time has not yet come for basing the representation of Indians in the Protectorate on the elective principle. I am, however, impressed by the representations which have been made to me both by the Indian representatives from East Africa and by the Secretary of State for India as to the importance which is attached by the Indians to the election of their members. I have, therefore, decided that arrangements shall be made for the election of two Indian members of the Legislative Council on a special franchise as to which I shall await your recommendations.

4. It will follow as a result of elective representation of Indians on the Legislative Council that the same arrangements should be made in connection with Municipal Councils and in this case also I shall await your recommendations as to the detailed arrangements to be made.

5. As regards Indian immigration into East Africa, I could not countenance any restrictions which would place natives of India at a disadvantage as compared with other immigrants; and subject to the Protectorate Immigration Ordinances which are of general application, there must be no bar to the immigration of Indians.

6. The removal of the restriction on the acquisition by Indians of agricultural land in the highlands of the East Africa Protectorate has been strongly urged. The Earl of Elgin, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, informed the Governor that it was not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community in regard to the acquisition of land, but that as a matter of administrative convenience grants of land in the upland area of the Protectorate should not be made to Indians. The ground for this decision was that the area of agricultural land in the Protectorate suitable for European settlement is limited. This decision, which applies only to agricultural land, has been re-affirmed by Secretaries of State subsequently; and I do not feel that I should be justified in reversing it. It is clear that if the limited area, on which alone European Settlers can live, were thrown open to the competition of Asiatics, who are physically fitted to settle in other areas from which Europeans are by nature excluded, there would be, taking the Protectorate as a whole, a virtual discrimination in favour of Asiatic as against European settlement. I cannot regard the Indian claim on this point as just or reasonable: on the other hand, I am anxious that reasonable opportunity should be afforded for Indian agricultural settlement, and I am advised that there are areas of adequate extent and good quality, which could be set apart for that purpose without infringement of native rights. Sir Edward Northey has made certain suggestions on this subject, and he will inquire further into it on his return to East Africa. I think it very desirable that there should be no doubts of our sincerity in this matter; and I hope therefore that there will be no delay in provisionally selecting at least one area for Indian settlement, which the Commission, which, as I understand, has been appointed by the Indian Government for this purpose, may be invited shortly to inspect.

7. A further matter to which much attention has been directed is the policy which for convenience may be termed "race-segregation." I regret that this policy should have given offence to the Indian community, and I feel sure that they are under a misapprehension in the matter. There is no question here of discrimination against the Indians. In this case, as in that of land settlement, I have no wish to sacrifice Indian to European interests. But I am convinced that, as long as

the Indians are fairly dealt with in the selection of the sites, the principle that in the laying out of townships in tropical Africa separate areas should be allotted to different races is not only from the sanitary point of view but also on grounds of social convenience the right principle. It is in my opinion best for all races, European, Indian, or native. I desire therefore that this principle should be adhered to in residential areas, and whenever practicable, in commercial areas also.

8. If this principle is to be effectively carried out, it seems to me necessarily to follow that as a general rule no transfer of land, either by way of ownership or mortgage, between Europeans and Asiatics in townships should be allowed. There may no doubt be exceptional cases, in which it would be unjust or inadvisable to forbid such transfer, but these can be met by leaving discretion to the Governor-in-Council, to give sanction, when some special reason can be shown. Similarly, when township plots are put up to auction, Europeans should not be allowed to bid for plots in the Asiatic quarter or Asiatics to bid for plots in the European quarter.

9. As regards education, to which reference is made in the memorial of the 22nd of March, 1919, from British-Indian subjects in East Africa to the Viceroy of India, I should be glad to see improvements effected in educational facilities for all classes in the Protectorate. The local Government has increased materially during the last few years the provision made for education; but, owing to the lack of funds progress has not been as rapid as I could have wished. I trust however that you will give close attention to the question of increasing educational facilities in the Protectorate, and that in this respect full consideration will be given to the claims of the Indian community.

10. The question of medical and legal practice in the Protectorate is raised in the same memorial. The position in regard to medical practice is determined by the Medical Practitioners and Dentists Ordinance 1910, which was sanctioned after consultation with the General Council of Medical Education and Registration and the British Medical Association. I understand that the greatest care is taken by the General Council in considering any medical diplomas brought before them; and I see no reason to doubt that the holder of any diploma which is a guarantee of fitness to practise would be declared by the Council to be eligible for registration in the United Kingdom. I am not therefore disposed to suggest to your Government any amendment of the existing Ordinance, which already provides for the practice of systems of therapeutics according to Native, Indian or other Asiatic method by persons recognised by the community to which they belong, to be duly trained in such practice.

As regards legal practice, under the rules of Court locally in force, persons are admitted to practise who have been admitted to practise in some other part of the Empire, a provision not less liberal than that which obtains in most Colonies and Protectorates. I should however see no objection to arrangements being made for the High Court in East Africa to admit to practise an applicant who has obtained the necessary qualifications for admission in India or any other part of the Empire but has not yet been actually admitted to practise in that country, if it is only a matter of formality or the payment of a fee which is delaying such admission. Apart from this, I do not see any reason to suggest an alteration in the existing rules.

11. A further complaint made by the memorialists is that Indians have not the privilege of trial by jury. It had already been suggested by you that trial by jury for Indians might be introduced experimentally after the war, and I have to request that you will take the necessary action to give effect to this as soon as possible.

12. I do not wish to deal in this dispatch with the recent currency changes in East Africa, but as the subject was raised by the deputation on the 19th of April, I may remind you that this is a matter of extreme difficulty, to which I have given most careful consideration; and that I do not anticipate now that any alteration in the new arrangements will be made. I explained to the deputation that the action taken by the Government is in the nature of a compromise, which I believe meets, as far as circumstances allow, the conflicting interests of all sections of the community in East Africa.

13. I have dealt briefly with the specific grievances which have been brought to my notice, and I do not wish to prolong this dispatch. But in conclusion, I must refer to the report of the Economic Commission, as certain statements and allegations in the report with regard to Indians in East Africa have provoked strong protests. I much regret that such expressions should have been used, and I was glad to have the opportunity of informing the deputation which I received that they do not represent in any way the views either of His Majesty's Government, or of myself, and that in examining these various questions of policy affecting the Indian community in East

Africa, I dissociate myself altogether from those parts of the report.

14. I have addressed this despatch to you in the "secret" series, as I have requested Sir Edward Northey to make public these decisions on his arrival. In the meantime, I do not wish them to be announced but it would be convenient if you will inform me by telegraph some days in advance when the announcement is to be made. After Sir Edward Northey has made his announcement, the despatch may be transferred to the "public" series.—I have, etc.,

(Signed) MILNER.

THE OFFICER ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT  
OF THE EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE.

## Krupp and Russia

By HUNTLY CARTER.

THERE has undoubtedly been a big trade push in Germany which lasted up to the time of the invasion of the Ruhr. This push has two important meanings. On the one hand it has revealed a real intention on the part of Germany to fulfil certain obligations of the Versailles Peace Treaty. On the other, it has shown Germany's power to recover, under unexampled economic conditions, even to the point of the exploitation of foreign countries. In the latter respect we find an attempt to renew the spirit of penetration which was a marked characteristic of German financial, commercial, and economic enterprise before the war. Most of us know that Germany spread a network of banking organisations over most parts of the civilised world, which, but for the war, would have entirely covered it by now.

As an instance of Germany's capacity to trade we may take the fur industry. German furriers obtained a very large supply of Dutch and German kid-skins. By an unexampled process of dyeing and dressing they were able to give them a finish that gave them the appearance of the best squirrel-skins. They sold vast quantities to English furriers at 1s. 6d. per skin, which the latter easily resold at 4s. 6d. per skin. These skins cost the German furriers about 9d. each. The Germans kept their technical hand in, so to speak, during the war, for those who traded in furs were in the habit of collecting rabbit-skins in occupied territories in France and Belgium, and thereafter dyeing and dressing them in the most approved fashion before sending them to market.

A rather pretty fable has arisen out of this kind of trading. One of my fellow-passengers in the train between the Hook of Holland and Berlin was an English trader who had done, and is still doing, big business with German fur firms. To me he confided the news that German furriers have something like £8,000,000 stowed snugly away in English banks. Moreover, he stated that he himself had been heavily bribed on divers occasions to do some of the stowing. Continuing to argue on these lines, he came to the conclusion (which I omitted to share) that on the whole German business men had been feathering their nests fairly well since 1920, and might be considered a pretty prosperous lot. In fact, the banks in the Allied and neutral countries might be said to be groaning under the weight of secret German hoards. I could not help wondering why the French banks do not yield up their hoards to the French Government and so enable the latter to pay for the invasion of the Ruhr with gold marks instead of with paper francs. What has been done in minor industries has also been done in greater.

We may take Krupp as a typical instance of conversion from war to peace purpose, and of foreign industrial and commercial penetration. The history of the past two years of Krupp is really the history of Germany straining every nerve to develop its foreign economic and commercial relations with those countries which exhibited a

reasonable amount of tolerance. Having received much tolerance from, or perhaps shown a great deal towards, Russia, it has of late been concentrating on this country. Certain other important conversions of vast industrial undertakings have taken place which reveal the double purpose of peace and penetration. The idea of the conversion of the warlike port of Kiel to a commercial port is based upon the resumption of trade with Russia. Sea-borne goods are by this means to pass from Germany to Russia, or the reverse, without touching Polish territory. The goods would be distributed by rail from Kiel or collected there for shipment to Russian ports. Very considerable sums have been expended on this project, towards which a grant from the Reich has been obtained. A very large quantity of work has already been carried out.

The idea of the conversion of Krupp to peaceful ends has also been working out towards Russia. The manufacture of ploughshares instead of sabres is indeed very closely bound up with the question of agricultural concessions by the Soviet Russia Government. It will be remembered that the conversion of this vast and unique manufactory for implements of war to an equally vast manufactory for the mechanism of peaceful industry took place soon after the signing of the Peace Treaty. It may be said that the transformation is unique, for in no other country directly affected by the war has a conversion on a similar vast scale taken place. Indeed the establishments with similar war functions in the victorious countries continue on their old lines now the war is over. The firm of Creusot, for instance, is as busy as ever contributing to the warlike ambition of France.

A few facts of the conversion may be of interest. The conditions of the Armistice and of the Peace Treaty of Versailles enforced upon Krupp a complete turnover to other uses of the shops hitherto given up to war work. On the other hand the blast-furnaces, iron and steel works, the rolling mills, and many other departments could, as far as coal was to be had, carry on their old work. Other sections could simply resume the old peaceful industries of pre-war time. There was, however, essential difficulty in finding useful occupation for the men and the shops that had formerly been devoted to making war material. Thousands of machines, of certain types, of which large numbers had been provided, have been sold to peace industries after having been divested of whatever special devices they had. The whole aspect and structure of the machining shops have been transformed, and therefore a return to the making of war material is an utter impossibility. Among the first things the Cast Steel Works at Essen took up after the conclusion of the Armistice was the repair of locomotive engines and of railway wagons. At the same time the Krupp Works started manufacturing new locomotive engines and wagons of their own. Other kinds of products the manufacture of which was taken up, were motor trucks, motor vehicles, agricultural machinery, machinery for the textile and paper industries, and a great many other products.

In the spring of 1922 a report was issued indicating the progress made and the developments taking place. It said that the new Steel Wire Works at Essen had fulfilled all expectations. The tool and fine steel works had been extended. The organisation of the trade in iron was also considerably extended, more especially in central Germany, the eastern coastal districts, and abroad. Three new steamers had been constructed at the Germania Werft, Kiel, and one bought abroad for the transport of ore. The locomotive and railway carriage departments were fully occupied, and a Russian order for sixty-eight locomotives had been completed. The construction of harvesting and other agricultural machinery was on the increase, and one or two new important departments had been opened. But throughout the

preceding year the Inter-Allied Commission of Control had continued their activity at the works at Essen, the result being a further destruction and dispersal of installations and machines, including 43 per cent. of the machinery of the Mill Steel Factory. The number of persons employed at the works amounted to 100,689.

All this has a significant bearing on the territory conceded to Krupp by the Russian Government. It has recently been stated on reliable authority that the legal difficulties which at first existed concerning the concession have been overcome, and the agreement between Krupp and the Russian Government can now be carried out with the assistance of English financial circles who are associated with Krupp.

A mixture of business and philanthropy is said to have actuated Krupp in acquiring a concession of land in Soviet Russia. They saw in the famine of 1921 an opportunity to assist in the reconstruction of Russia while introducing their own agricultural machines. One of the terms of the agreement was that they were to offer the peasants a model of farming conducted on modern lines. The territory offered for this purpose amounted to 50,000 dessjatines. At first a number of insuperable difficulties to taking up the concession presented themselves, including the chief one of finding the money necessary to overcome unfavourable conditions—state of buildings, means of transport, and natural obstacles found in rainfall, etc. This was eventually overcome by a proposal to employ English capital to carry out the enterprise.

There is no need to give in detail the full particulars of the agreement. Twenty-five thousand dessjatines will be immediately cultivated by the most up-to-date mechanical means, including the use of steam ploughs and tractors. Taxes are to be paid in kind. The duration of the concession is fixed for thirty-six years. The enterprise is in no way concerned with the question of colonisation or settlement. It is exclusively an attempt to replace in the national economy of Russia the produce of the large landed estates that have been destroyed, by means of farming operations on a large scale employing the most modern appliances. As it is the first experiment of the kind, it will naturally serve as a model and thus contribute at the same time to raise the standard of Russian agriculture and to increase the export of German agricultural machines to Russia.

The significance of the latter statement may be gathered from one of Dr. Nansen's articles on Russia now appearing in the German newspaper *Press*. Dealing with the question of the urgent necessity of putting into cultivation Russia's vast agricultural districts, he shows that the return to cultivation, perhaps by slow stages, will require the increasing use of immense quantities of new and scientific agricultural implements. Both the Russian Government and the German manufacturers are aware of this need. The Soviet Government has reached a full understanding of the decisive importance of agriculture and intend, if possible, to put over 100,000,000 peasants in possession of proper means to restore the agricultural industry.

The German push to provide mechanical appliances may be taken as a sign not only of German enterprise, but of a real power to recover economically if only a reasonable opportunity is afforded. It effectually disposes of the silly lie that Germany has been standing still with its hands in its pockets absolutely doing nothing for itself. There is no intention of the German people to remain idle while their country is falling to pieces under the weight of the Peace Treaty. But apparently there is every intention on the part of the French to force them into idleness. Their invasion of the Ruhr is a clear instance. Krupp can no longer export. They are still producing on a fairly large scale because the Government are keeping the works in the Ruhr going by granting credits to enable them

to pay the workmen. In return the Government receive invoices. These are accumulating at such a rate that very soon a mammoth depository will be needed to put them in. At the same time heaps and heaps of finished goods are accumulating. Invoices held against credits, and goods held against the probable expulsion of the French. Such is the situation in the Ruhr. The French have paralysed German trade, but they cannot paralyse the industriousness of the German people. This is the thing to note.

## MIDDLE SECTION

### George Santayana

By BERTRAND RUSSELL.

**A**FTER twenty years, Mr. Santayana's *magnum opus*, *The Life of Reason*,\* has reached a second edition, differing from the first only by the addition of a characteristic preface. This new preface tells us that there is hardly a page which perfectly expresses the author's present feelings, but that he has not attempted a revision because "some readers would perhaps prefer the original to my revised version, and if I lived another twenty years I might myself prefer it." There has been, he says, "no change in my deliberate doctrine; only some changes of mental habit." The chief of these is that "Nature has come forward, and the life of reason, which then held the centre of the stage, has receded." One may surmise that this change is due to the war, which has certainly inclined most reflective minds to minimise the part of reason in human life, and has made human life itself appear more intimately a part of Nature than it did when we defined *homo* as *animal rationale*. This, however, is not said by Mr. Santayana, and may be a false interpretation of his change of mood.

Mr. Santayana is a philosopher whose importance has not been adequately recognised. Professors pass him by because he is not pedantic, and the general public because he does not flatter the prejudices of our age. It may be suspected, however, that his books will outlive those of many men who have had a greater contemporary vogue; this is probable just because his writing is not topical. He is not a "modern," in the sense in which the pragmatists are modern in university philosophy, or Mr. H. G. Wells in popular thought. The intellectual background of our time is composed of conflicting tendencies. First, there is the heritage of the romantic movement and the French Revolution; this leads to an extreme individualism, exemplified in contemporary art and in the philosophy of Nietzsche, as well as in much of German idealism. Secondly, there is the idea of evolution, originally in conflict with religion, but now reconciled with it; this idea leads to a disbelief in finality, whether in thought or in social systems, and to a mystical faith in "progress." Thirdly, there is physics and industrialism—the mind and body of the new world that is growing up independently of our conscious desires, creating a new organisation and a new rigidity to replace those of the Middle Ages. The chaotic character of our world—in art, in thought, and in politics—is largely attributable to the conflict of industrialism (which has been in the main an instinctive growth) with the beliefs and ideals that we inherit from Rousseau and the romanticists.

Mr. Santayana is aware of these modern forces, but as an observer, not as one who is subject to their operation. So far as his own tastes and interests are concerned, there are other periods in which he might have lived—seventeenth-century France, for example, or

\* *The Life of Reason, or The Phases of Human Progress*. By George Santayana. Constable. 5 vols. 8s. each.



THE SHADE OF GLADSTONE



*Bondman and Brown*

DS THE G.O.M.'s SUCCESSORS.

the age of Tacitus. His knowledge of the present is like other men's knowledge of the past, an external affair, lacking instinctive sympathy. I do not say this by way of criticism, since our age is destitute of some of the most important elements of human excellence. What these are, Mr. Santayana endeavours to make us know in his urbane, uncontroversial manner. He loves, first and foremost, the Greeks, and among the Greeks especially Democritus and Plato. He admires the Roman Empire, and he cherishes an affection for the Catholic Church—without, of course, accepting its dogmas. He holds that the Latin races alone understand civilisation, and that the best of the English and Germans are hardly more than inspired barbarians. I cannot recall any mention of Russian literature in his works, but I am convinced that if he were compelled to read Dostoevsky he would treat him even more scathingly than he has treated Browning and Walt Whitman; while what he would say of Tolstoy as a prophet may be inferred from what he says of Kant:

The "categorical imperative" was a shadow of the ten commandments; the postulates of practical reason were the minimal tenets of the most abstract Protestantism. These fossils, found unaccountably embedded in the old man's mind, he regarded as the evidences of an inward but supernatural revelation.

Mr. Santayana is a believer in physical science, and in a sense a materialist. But he holds these doctrines, not as moderns do, but as Lucretius did. If I had not read what he says about Epicurus, I should be tempted to call him an Epicurean; certainly he would have felt at home with those aristocratic Ghibelline Epicureans of whom Dante found such attractive specimens in Hell. He would not feel at home with Einstein, because relativity disintegrates matter into a flux of events, and seems to destroy its solidity and power. He loves solidity perhaps more than any other quality; he would like our beliefs, our social systems, and the external world to have as far as possible the character of Roman architecture. In our age, such things as railways, sky-scrapers, and the Assouan dam have something of this Roman quality, but our thought, as yet, has none of it. It may be suspected that if, in time, our ideas become again as rigid as an iron building, they will not take a form which would please Mr. Santayana, because they will not be mellow with age. He likes the rock to be overgrown with moss, concealing its alarming immovability beneath a veil of softness. He loves the pieties and myths that gather about ancient tradition, and it is doubtful whether he could ever like anything radically new. But it is time to turn from his tastes to his beliefs—which, however, like those of most good writers, are an embodiment of temperament, and can hardly be appreciated without some understanding of his likes and dislikes.

Mr. Santayana's philosophy is at once ethical and naturalistic. He views man as an animal plunged into a given environment, and endowed with a variety of tastes and impulses. "Reason" consists in taking account of our whole nature, and also of our environment as revealed by science, and endeavouring to produce the greatest attainable harmony, both inwardly and outwardly. This involves a certain humility, and also a certain capacity of renunciation. He hates those who, like Fichte, essentially deny that we have any environment, and think that our own ego is all that we have to consider. He hates also those who, like the romantics, admire an impulse for its strength and passion, and not for its power of contributing to life as a whole. He takes pleasure in the limitations to individual power, and even to collective human power, because they are indications of a wider order, a possibility of a more enlarged cosmos. Every impulse is in itself good, but it becomes contrary to the life of reason when it is allowed to defeat the satisfaction of other impulses which have equal rights. In

his *Life of Reason* he traces out the harmonious development of human nature in the successive fields of common sense, society, religion, art, and science. On all of these, he says many illuminating things, but most readers will derive the greatest pleasure from his occasional trenchant criticisms of current forms of unreason.

There is in all his writing an extraordinary aptitude for producing *le mot juste* about whatever topic he is discussing. For this reason, as well as on account of his admirable style, he lends himself to the method of selection, employed by Mr. Pearsall Smith in *Little Essays drawn from the writings of George Santayana*. In some ways, his merits are more apparent in this form than in his complete works; for, while all his writing is good in detail, one cannot but feel something lacking in the whole. What it is that is lacking, it is not easy to say. His mind is synthetic rather than analytic, and synthesis, nowadays, is only possible by a certain wilful blindness. Whatever synthesis is suggested, something is known which contradicts it. Moreover, every synthesis, once accepted, becomes a mental prison; the pleasure of synthesis is so great that its votaries fight against everything that would destroy it. Reason has its place in life, but that place is, perhaps, not paramount. If our reason were divine, we could worship it and let it rule us; but it is human, and liable to err. To respect it unduly is to retard progress, even intellectual progress. Perhaps it is on this account that the reader feels no very ardent desire to live Mr. Santayana's reasonable life; perhaps it is for reasons that have more to do with the old Adam. Which it is, I cannot tell; but the feeling persists in spite of all his admonitions that it is well to become what he would call a "humble animal."

## "My Flight"

BY MILLICENT SUTHERLAND.

I WAS in La Brie when the wireless message came through to the nursery garden that the weather would be fine on the morrow. I had been planting Bengal Roses for several hours, and the earth had been friable and inviting. It seemed to offer capital to the plants that had come up from Allier, and to promise interest in blossoms, scent, and colour, if I could linger long enough to set these Fellebergs and Hermosas at rest on this winter day. The *pépiniériste* came round to pull up his apples to leave room for our privets—a story of exchange which reads inexplicable, but would take too long to explain. He it was who told me of the message, for he had installed wireless in his house. "Mais, Madame, va voler," said the gardeners, and dropped their trowels to look up at the sky.

The night was very still. In the morning the British Air Attaché in Paris came to fetch me in his car. Perhaps it was a stimulus to pass through the slummiest slums of Paris—the very road of wooden shanties, of broken anti-aircraft emplacements, the clang, clang of the ever-wending Paris tram passing in this slippery, slimy Boulevard, the ugly people in the ugliest street of this delectable city, the spot where the Germans fought a battle in 1870 and would have fought a bloodier one in 1914 had they been permitted—the whole fester of the environment stilled one's beating heart and made one crave for space and for escape.

Out there, at Le Bourget, it was all sunshine. The aeroplanes lay like glittering locusts outside the hangars; the heavy twin-engined W.S.B. Handley-Page—GEBBI—was the king creature of the group. My valise was opened in the *douane*; they charged me 15 francs excess. "Naked ye came into the world

and naked ye will go out," thought I, drawing my fur coat the closer as they checked my passport.

"It will be fine—very, very fine," said the Air Attaché, with both feet firmly planted—a flying squadron leader of the war likes to feel his feet firmly on ground to-day.

The Handley-Page cabin holds a row of twelve straw chairs—six on either side—and twelve spittoons, fixed in front of each chair. On the seats were those invigorating journals, the *Daily Mail* and the *New York Herald*. The length of the cabin were windows, and, above the windows, a rack in which surely some wag had placed, neatly folded, a row of *Gardens*, published by *Country Life*. With me were four travellers: a honeymoon couple who, loving greatly, would gladly together die; a young, fresh-cheeked Frenchman; and an old Englishman with a camera. We were ensured instantly complete isolation, for cotton-wool was handed round and each ear stuffed with it.

The pilot looked in and gave us a friendly nod. He pointed to a miniature trapdoor in the roof, and remarked facetiously: "That is where you must get out if we fall into the sea." The wireless operator closed the lavatory door, and then the outer door. At 12.14 we were off; lightly bumping and running, we sped across the aerodrome and rose into the clear, cold stillness like a bird of passage. It was some sort of bird this, that bore us now, not an insect, as it had seemed on earth—a great, noisy, grumbling bird, bound on migration; an eagle from the mountains, a vulture from the desert; a phoenix from its ashes, fashioned into some monstrous Tisiphone by the deadly accuracy of man.

And beneath us, as the pilot divined our fate by bletonism, what did we see? Doll's-house villages and brown, chequered game-boards of agricultural fields; white and yellow threadlines of roads and miniature puffs of smoke from miniature engines; trees from a Noah's Ark, and smudges that might, on a child's copy-book, have been ink, but were, in reality, forests; the whole *Boutique Fantastique*, but not a sign of the dancers. Human creatures, where were they?

Higher, ever higher! The altimeter marked 3,000 feet, the speedometer registered 80 miles—and the roar went on stunning slowly, though the tympanum of the ear was protected. Those twin Rolls-Royce engines had mercy on neither men nor angels. And we were nearing the angels now. Up and up into the golden ether—the earth hidden absolutely—we rose above the clouds. Were they clouds, these marvellous, pink-tinted, snowy clusters that touched us? Rather a thousand Himalayas condescending to a thousand Alps, and, embrace after embrace, breaking, to reknit in glorious kaleidoscopic infidelity. We were near them, we were in them (how fearsome that moment), we were out of them again. This splendour of panorama seemed to offer revelation. To my excited vision, the turquoise sky reflected the sapphires of the Throne of God—the Halls of the Everblest. The pink rays were the light on the living faces of our dead. Truly, "there are no dead" amongst us. There was no audibility as we passed on our way—so none could cry out, "Seigneur Dieu, Fils du Roi Eternel—Montre-toi à nous," but it seemed as if this could be the only desire.

We were dropping now and slowing down, not too long might we linger in the smoke of incense: 80 miles—70 miles—2,000 feet—1,000 feet. We were skirting the coastline, and, through the drab, grey mist, could count motor-cars and carts, and note again the tillage and haunts of men. How ugly! I was glad when we rose over the sanddunes, and marked the outline of the shore, the little fishing-boats, and the estuaries of the Channel, and the ships on the sea—ships going East and coming West—so absurdly small to us.

Now we were over the sea and throbbing steadily. From the immense height we saw through the sea, and the water itself seemed to have lost visibility. We saw brown rock extend far from the coast of France, and we saw the green-weed hair of mermaids and the brown weed, the trail of the sea-serpent: all the marvels of the ocean one could expect to be revealed—glistening hoards, coral strands, and dead men's bones. One figured the magnificent sight that, from above, spotted submarines, and downed them forever.

Only eleven minutes and a-half crossing the Channel and we were in England. The air thickened without cloud or obvious change, and, for the first time, the journey became slightly monotonous. The aeroplane bumped a trifle; rising and sinking, it sent a sensation to the pit of the stomach. And the engines, in perfect regularity, roared through the cotton wool to the very secrets of one's brain. Looking down one fact was revealed. In France, the chessboard below was brown; here, in England, it was green, the squares and patterns a little larger, pasture *versus* cultivated earth. And there were the gardens of England at last, and cottages nestling in the gardens. To try and divert my attention from slight physical discomfort, I fetched down my paper from the rack and read: "Remove all decaying leaves from among Brussels sprouts and green kale, so that more air may circulate about the plants." And, as I digested this appropriate advice, the wireless was recording: "Hello, Lympe." B.I. answering, "Thanks"; and again: "Hello, Croydon." B.I. answering, "I am passing over Tunbridge." Lower we dropped—was this Dorking—Hindhead—Leith Hill? I seemed to identify these. The clock marked twenty minutes to three. Exactly on time, at 2.45 we alighted, and, prancing gracefully to our position like a coach and four, drew up, in perfect style, before the offices of the Company. Men ran out into the aerodrome with papers—a bell rang. The pilot stepped down from our GEBBI, and I also. Standing beside him on the ground, I felt stupid and giddy, almost forlorn, like the baby on the shore!

"I've been racing those Instones for the last hour," he said, "and beaten 'em by a minute." I shook hands with him and said, "Thank you very much." I believe he was astonished, and we turned together, as the Instones, smaller machines, fluttered to earth in our wake and disgorged a passenger-load of Japanese. "East and West," I commented, prepared to enlarge on the queerness of this impression. Again he looked astonished, and I realised that, to this sort of sky-pilot, nothing in the world could be strange again. I went through the Customs, handed in my passport without being questioned, and joined my silent fellow-travellers in an autobus that rattled us to Northumberland Avenue, just as the street lights were going up.

The honeymoon couple looked pale, and she nodded against his shoulder; the Frenchman, less rosy than at the start, sat up and took notice, both in Tooting Bec and Battersea Park; and the old gentleman chose the front seat, "to get the air," he said. That was all. We had been speechless together so long, we remained speechless to the end. In fact, my thoughts were now dull earthworms and reiterated just this, from the *Garden*:

"A quantity of horseradish may also be lifted now, and stored, as a convenience, during wintry weather."

In the waiting-room of the Victoria Hotel, I grew normal—even vain. Powdering my nose, I remarked sententiously to the female attendant: "I've just flown over from Paris." No reply: her eyes were glued to *Town Topics*. Then I *knew* I was in London, and once more I would go out to her highways and byways. I moved through a posse of mounted police, waiting to protect a Prime Minister from a truculent mob, and hailed a taxi.



## THE DRAMA

### R. U. R.

By EDWARD SHANKS.

A GENTLEMAN, looking like a dreary Harry Tate in evening dress, approached me in the bar and said, unprovoked by me, "What I want to know is, Is this a skit on Capital or a skit on Labour? Sometimes I think it's the one and sometimes I think it's the other." I replied to him firmly that it was both. This left him dissatisfied and more than ever at sea; but I think it was right. In so far as it has to be considered as a satire, this play is an impartial, tolerant, and even encouraging satire on the whole of the human race.

But it is perhaps better to take it first as a play, as an evening's entertainment, than as an allegory. Looked at in this light, it will pass severe tests—or so I think. It seems to me to be one of the best and most amusing pieces I have witnessed for a considerable time. But, it appears fair to say, on this point I am probably a prejudiced judge. The fantastic, and more especially the scientific fantastic, has an appeal for me which I never can resist: I would as a rule rather read a bad book in this style than a good book in another. There is no explanation for this partiality; and I have embarked on this personal confession only so that the reader may make due allowances for what follows.

The scientific romance is rare enough in the world of books: on the stage it hardly exists. Therefore Rossum's Universal Robots, who give their name to this play, came to me with a glamour which may have been partly adventitious. They are artificial men, without souls or initiatives. Old Rossum, the physiologist, in attempting the chemical synthesis of protoplasm, hit on another substance which behaved in the same way as living matter, though its constitution was different. Young Rossum, his nephew, the engineer, set to work on this foundation and produced a simplified and improved human body—the human body as the Creator might have designed it if he had had the luck to be an experienced engineer. As the General Manager puts it, his design was

Very neat, very simple. Really, a beautiful piece of work. Not much in it, but everything in flawless order. The product of an engineer is technically at a higher pitch of perfection than a product of nature.

And they have no souls. They are bought and sold, they have no desires, they do nothing but work, they do whatever they are told, and they cost only fifteen pounds apiece. The island factory pours them out by the thousand. Everywhere they displace labour. Prices come tumbling down: the world is within sight of an age of idle prosperity. But the Governments of Europe have been using Robots as soldiers; and simultaneously Dr. Gall, Head of the Physiological and Experimental Department, has been making unauthorised experiments. Helena Domain, wife of the General Manager, has been urging him to give the Robots souls, in the fantastic hope that thus they will love humanity more; and he achieves this end, as he vaguely explains, chiefly by increasing their irritability. So the Robots rise all over the world and slay their masters and makers; and only the little handful on the island of the factory is left. Then these, too, are ringed about by their assailants, besieged, conquered, slaughtered—all save one. Alquist, Head of the Works Department, is preserved because "He is a Robot. He works with his hands like the Robots." And afterwards they come to him and beg him to rediscover the secret of their manufacture, which has been destroyed. He cannot: he is a builder, not a scientist. He despairs: for he is a

mystic, and cannot endure that life should pass off the face of the earth. Then he observes the first stirrings of the passion of love between a Robot and a Robotess; and so is enabled to sing his *Nunc Dimittis*.

This last act is, I think, a mistake. It makes its way in the theatre, partly because of a touch of mystical fervour, more by reason of the splendid acting of Mr. Brember Wills; but it does not survive happily in the memory. Young Rossum, preferring to make his Robots in a factory rather than by a prolonged physiological process, presumably dispensed with what would have been useless organs of reproduction. A friend kindly recalls to my memory the story of the Cherubs who went to hear St. Cecilia play the organ. "Donnez vous la peine," said the Saint, obligingly, "de vous asseoir, messieurs." "Mais, madame, nous n'avons pas de quoi."

But, this aside, the invention of the piece is just probable enough to give its exciting situations full play. And its situations are exciting enough. The Robots are cunningly presented, just sufficiently human and not too human. Here, of course, actors cannot render the precise image suggested by the description of a Robot; and even a novelist would probably be reduced to saying, "I cannot hope to convey the impression made on me by these uncanny and terrible creatures," or some such words. The point is to suggest, no matter by what means, a feeling of uncanniness; and this is successfully done. Marius and Sulla in the first act are faintly inhuman. Radius, the super-Robot, in the second act admirably suggests a closer approach to humanity with a consequent increase of uncanniness and so heightens the horror of the cloud that is gathering over our race. This horror is made to grow and then to hang suspended while the last doomed humans discuss their fate among themselves. Mr. Karel Kapek, whatever else he may be, is obviously a master of thrills; and the end of the third act when the Robots burst into the house is as well done as anything of the kind I have ever seen.

As an allegorist, I am by no means so sure of Mr. Kapek. The parallelism between the fable of the play and the present economic situation of the world is fairly exact; and one has at first a false sense of profundity as one recognises subtle points of resemblance. Thus Helen's belief that the Robots will love humanity more if they are given souls corresponds to the pathetic efforts of "slumming" ladies at the end of the last century. But an allegory is not to much purpose unless it shows the subject it represents in a new and revealing light; and I cannot see that R. U. R. does this. It translates the struggle of Capitalism and Bolshevism into new terms with remarkable ingenuity; but, in doing this, it really does no more than invent a new language to express old thoughts. If Mr. Kapek were only an allegorist, he would not be very interesting. His great merit is that he can write an unusual play which holds the attention of an audience. He is a dramatist, not a preacher.

The play is not very well served by the acting, since the two characters which sustain the greater part of it are not well cast. Mr. Basil Rathbone, who plays the General Manager, alternates between light comedy and a romantic manner not required by this play. He does his best, but he makes a trivial figure at the end of the race. I last saw Miss Frances Carson, who takes the part of Helena, his wife, in a farce in which she was the *vis-à-vis* of Mr. Seymour Hicks; and here she seemed to imagine that she was in the same piece. But Mr. France, Mr. Brember Wills, and Mr. Clifford Mollison acted magnificently, and Mr. Leslie Banks, as Radius, the super-Robot, was horrible—which, of course, I mean as a compliment. The new lighting system was used with discretion; but the back-scene in the last act, thrown, I imagine, by a slide on the Hasait screen, wobbled, though I cannot think why it should.

## NEW BOOKS

### Novels

THE GRAND TOUR. By Romer Wilson. Methuen. 7s. 6d.

THE COMMANDMENT OF MOSES. By Stephen McKenna. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.

THE CONQUERED. By Naomi Mitchison. Cape. 7s. 6d.

THESE tales and talks, these preposterous sentiments and regrets, these passionate flirtations with the hidden face of the moon, which *The Grand Tour* comprises, are supposed to have been committed to letter and journal by a sculptor who thus excuses himself: "After summing up existence in a block of sculptured marble, there is still so much left over, so much I have been obliged to discard, to knock off from life as I make the chips fly in an effort to obtain from mere stone a residuum that shall be pure fact unclouded with ambiguities and muddle-mindedness, that I am left with a regret similar to that of a hero who in order to obtain his goal must neglect, even destroy, a thousand wonderful and interesting objects." The real author is not man but woman, not French but English, not sculptor but novelist. These differences, however, have not prevented Miss Wilson from impressing every page with the spirit and experience of Alphonse Marichaud. Who would believe that a member of the sex justly held never to be more conventional than when it is wanting, so that a cynic has been led to exclaim "No sight is more disgusting than that of a woman drunk," could have riotously attained the high spirits and mocking irony of *The Eiffel Tower*, that perfect picture of the night out? Perhaps the intoxication chapter in *The Death of Society* should have prepared me for what Miss Wilson can do, but really the success with which she has adapted herself to Marichaud is remarkable. Save for tender or faery touches unmistakably her own, it is, you would swear, a young man of genius writing.

What more did Miss Wilson intend than the interpretation of a most fortunate artist, a young man like those of Periclean Athens or Renaissance Italy, removed by his talents, his wealth, his facility in light *amours* to a plane wherein, all material desires gratified, nothing matters but art and friendship and philosophy? And what merit has she shown besides dexterity? Well, I take it that Miss Wilson, too, wanted a holiday with chips; that obliged in the art she lately practised to "discard, knock off from life" so many casual emotions she has not set herself to entertain them for a while. Chance encounters with men of strange character set us dreaming. We are shocked by sudden visions dissolving like clouds. We suddenly discover in ourselves a quaint ambition or a childish pleasure. From such elusive and incomplete experiences in their diverse manners Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith and Mrs. Woolf have derived an art no less elusive and incomplete. But for Miss Wilson this is not quite attainable. She is not reticent enough, and at the same time she appears to strain after an impossible solidity. On cobwebs Mrs. Woolf can erect a cobweb palace, while Miss Wilson, like the hero in her own *Cathedrals Engloutie*, is sketching the designs for a façade of a glorious building which no foundation could sustain. This, you may say, is necessary to the illusion of Marichaud's authorship. He could record the starting points of romance, the impressions from which a story could have been constructed. I prefer to think that Miss Wilson has been impeded by her training in coherent narration, and that the restlessness of her book is a result of her creative passion being unsatisfied. Here for a moment she may play the Narcissus and hold the world like a mirror to Marichaud's face. But the world is too

strong and too various. Faces leer with malice or grimace with pain. The shadows in yon corner conspire, and threateningly advance. Dash the mirror down before it is too late, and our lovely egotist, our golden youth, is beset by reality. In fearful haste Marichaud breaks from friend to friend and emotion to emotion, tries to overwhelm each with words, and, his effort vain, hurries on. This is half a tragedy, this half a comedy; but on, on! The reader, amused, perplexed, annoyed, toils after. Not for Miss Wilson, Mr. Smith's demure irony or Mrs. Woolf's sensitive lyricism. She is, for better or for worse, condemned to waste of all the costly marble embedding her sheer naked statues. She must destroy, and all the humour and the beauty illuminating these fragments can conceal from no one that here lies not her proper task. She must destroy, striking hard and deep. We cannot afford to let this powerful romantic stroke life's surfaces, and push from herself longer her high duty of releasing in an ideal world the passions which in this report upon reality she may but suspect and hint.

The characters of *The Commandment of Moses* are steeped in a profound lethargy. For Joan is at first some excuse. She has been the mistress of a married man who was killed before he could obtain his divorce, and her somnambulistic grief is convincingly described. The sorrow had to be as secret as her love. She drifts queerly acquiescent, and before she has recovered her powers of self-direction has fallen in love with Jack, a young man of strait morals who confesses that he could not bring himself to marry even a widow. There, then, is the situation, ancient and interesting. Mr. McKenna, as if hypnotised into sharing Joan's early stupefaction, does nothing to develop it. Some of Jack's friends know Joan's past, and dully speculate whether he ought to be told of it. People come to town and go to country houses. Sometimes the engagement is broken off, and sometimes it is renewed. Conversation studded with dots which perhaps represent yawns: "Miss Prendergast . . . had to . . . go away suddenly. I . . . think I'll go and dine at the club." Or, "I'm afraid . . . it'll probably . . . be the last evening we shall have together . . . for some time." At last Joan will tell him or write it down for him. "The biggest thing in my life, . . . and it goes into two lines." Jack, the most incurious of lovers, as Mr. McKenna is the most incurious of novelists, remarks: "If you *want* me to read it I will," but he does not. His mother, "after a struggle," presumably against a yawn, "that caused her to bite her lip," puts her arm through Joan's, and they all slept happily ever afterwards.

By the qualities of her intelligence, Mrs. Mitchison has succeeded in presenting a chronicle of Caesar's campaigns which is equally free from pomposity and pedantry. By the qualities of her imagination she has been able, while avoiding weak regrets and factitious romance to invest the ever defeated tribes of Gaul with a melancholy loveliness. We are invited by the chapter headings to compare these Celts with the no less unfortunate and divided Irish. But Meromic the Wolf, returning now under force and now of his own will, to his Roman master, is less a symbol of a race than of something half-tamed in every human heart. *The Conquered* is a peculiarly fascinating work. Behind the strong machinery of Rome and Gaul's pathetic treasons there is whispered a lost song from the world's youth. In the quaint sunny opening, in the magical conclusion, in the sacrifice to the Shining One that song is almost recaptured. Then again it is lost. But always it gives the book a poetic significance. Unless Mrs. Mitchison in composing it has been favoured by unusual good fortune, and if on themes less immediately attractive to her she can labour with the same rare union of simplicity and insight, she is assured of an especial position among modern novelists.

H. C. HARWOOD.

## Tennyson

TENNYSON. By Harold Nicolson. Constable. 12s. 6d.

THE Master's yonder in the Isle," asserted Andrew Lang in the refrain of a ballade in which he enumerated other poets who were not bad in their way but who were not comparable with the Master. Ten or fifteen years ago young men just attaining their majorities were apt to be astonished by old fogies who expressed opinions like this. The opinion of the old fogies was generally emphatic; and they were not men who admired Tennyson for the earnest morality or the edifying domesticity of his work. So the young men shrugged their shoulders and gave it up as a bad job. Now, a little older, they are beginning to discover that in abusing or neglecting him as a symbol, they are making much the same mistake as the generation which idolised him in the same capacity. After all, it comes to much the same, as criticism, whether you praise or abuse the author of *Mariana in the South* for having written *The May Queen*.

There is a great deal of work to be done in rescuing Tennyson's reputation from the undeserved flattery it had in his own day and the undeserved denigration it has had since. Very much of this work has been done by Mr. Nicolson at a blow. Some of the work he regrettably and unaccountably declines to undertake. Writing of the years during which Tennyson produced *The Idylls of the King* and *Enoch Arden*, he says:

It will be wiser, and in the end fairer to Tennyson, to leave this period for the judgment of future generations. Its effect upon our own can only, in spite of the magnificent poetry which the *Idylls* contain, be one of estrangement and hostility, since it is impossible for us to conquer the impression (doubtless an incorrect and transitory impression) that these poems of the Faningford period are for the most part intellectually insincere.

There is something a little too diplomatic in this. Critics before Mr. Nicolson have been obliged to confine themselves to asking the public to believe no more than the public is likely to stand. It may be politic, though it may also be "intellectually insincere"; but there is certainly an impolitic naivety in the critic who announces to the public that this is what he is doing. It would have been bolder in Mr. Nicolson, and in the end, we think, a more successful strategy, to have delivered a direct attack on this difficult strong point. Even if he had failed he must have done something towards clearing the way for those who will follow him, and he would have preserved the integrity of his essay.

This criticism, just as we think it to be, has the air of being a little ungrateful. For Mr. Nicolson has undoubtedly brought air into a very thick jungle of misapprehensions and prejudices; and he uses his pioneer's axe with careful but ruthless hand. To him Tennyson is not the Bard, ministered to by adoring wife and friends and by an adulatory monarch and people. Nor is Tennyson to him merely the humbug who assumed this ridiculously undeserved position. The subject of his portrait is a great, frustrated, unhappy, and profoundly interesting man. Tennyson, like so many men of acute poetic sensibilities, found it hard to come efficiently to grips with the world. Some of this kind have described fantastic and irregular orbits to eventual disaster: Verlaine may have been a poet of the first rank, but he was certainly a failure as a man. Tennyson was seriously in danger of such a failure; but certain chances of his life and certain elements in his character, which Mr. Nicolson very accurately distinguishes, preserved him from catastrophe and led him into a career of solid prosperity. But, at one time, "he mooned about the cheaper taverns of the metropolis; he huddled on the outside of the coaches which bore him from village inn to

village inn; and he left it to Milnes and Sir Robert Peel to devise the means for such subsistence."

The tragedy of Tennyson, considered from the point of view of poetry, was very like the tragedy of Swinburne; but he was his own Watts-Dunton. Something in himself made it possible for him to avoid the worst excesses, to keep in check the wild and melancholic side of his nature and to write with conviction such poetry as appealed to a prim and sentimental age. He was not the poet he might have been. He was, on the other hand, a man who married and brought up a family, attained honour, and left a fortune. And he was also (this is a point to which sufficient attention is never given) a public force in his own day. His rhymed exhortations to the nation and the household do not survive as poetry; but they are still alive and interesting as historical facts. He was not only one of the men who were made by the Victorian era: he was also one of the men who helped to make it, and not one of the least. Perhaps no Englishman (with the possible exception of Byron) has ever, being a true poet, received so nearly universal a recognition of his poetry. Disraeli's curious little sniff at him is an interesting incident which one would like to have substantiated by Disraeli's reason; but then Dizzy was never representative of his age. Very likely he felt about Tennyson much what we are now beginning to feel.

The turn of the tide is signalled by Mr. Nicolson's essay; but the tide has made a great amount of headway in its first moments. This book is a very vivid and readable study of a personality. It is also on the literary side a very discerning and acute analysis of a mass of poetry. Mr. Nicolson shirks part of the work he ought to have undertaken; but the literary criticism he does undertake is done very well indeed. It is high praise to say that his examination of Tennyson's literary method is often on a level with his examination of Tennyson's character and ideas.

## Economic Adventures

GUILDS AND CO-OPERATIVES. By Odon Por. Translated by E. Townshend, with introduction by A. E. Labour Publishing Co. 5s.

THE English have always had a fancy for adventures; but they have usually been of the gallant-sailor sort, with plenty of big-game shooting to fill up their spare moments while they are conquering the earth. But the Italians, who conquered the world many centuries ago, have settled down to more intellectual kinds of roving. For example, their truly exquisite marionettes have just arrived; and now here is a book on social economics by Mr. Odon Por; which, if his news be all that he claims for it, may well be as important as the discovery of America! He quite modestly hints that the Italians have analysed one or two fundamental factors of the human mind; and out of these they see hope of building a social structure which will put Socialism and Toryism, and all the other isms (except that ugly word "Regionalism"), out of the running as political creeds.

Here are some of his sentences. "Socialist theory, its traditional proposals for the structure of the new Society, have entirely broken down." "Nothing has been gained in social efficiency by advocating nationalisation. Man's motives cannot be changed by laws. It is to the interests of the State to encourage men to productive action even if its motive is the fighting instinct or the love of gain." "Class war is sterile: nothing permanent has been created by it." "Democratic assemblies where everybody's finger may legally be inserted in everybody else's pie." "To talk about a regenerated humanity or an ideal State.

is like talking about heaven, and excites a thin and abstract enthusiasm."

Epigrams like these from Mr. Por and from one of A. E.'s usual charming prefaces, will soon convince the reader that he is not dealing with street-corner performers on tubs; or the light gas-bags of the National Guilds League, who, with reckless bravery, have led their cause out of one ambush into the next. Mr. Por is a Guildsman—not a Communist dictator who (like the bad girl of the family) has taken the wrong turning.

There is no need to accept Mr. Por's theories; for his book is also the latest statement of what has recently been happening in Italy, and a valuable forecast of what seem likely to be the next developments. He gives an analysis of Mussolini's and d'Annunzio's latest policy which will be startlingly suggestive to the political world in general. But the chief contributions to thought in his book are the details of an Italian theory (and practice) of industrial economy which may, perhaps, set a model for the rest of Europe. In brief, this theory and practice throws the chief emphasis on the work of production by individual or voluntary co-operative effort. It therefore tends to ignore the bureaucrats and politicians and their State; it also pushes on one side the destructive extremists as a social nuisance. It is a scheme of social reform which has room for all decent citizens, and even for many of their more harmless failings.

The translator may be congratulated for farseeing judgment in grasping the importance of Mr. Por's book as a brilliant contribution to the urgent arguments of present-day Europe. The only weak spot in the book is Mr. G. D. H. Cole's appendix on the Guild Movement in Great Britain. After the firm grip and deep thought of the Italian writer, Mr. Cole seems rather an amateur.

## The Meaning of Words

THE MEANING OF MEANING. By C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards. Kegan Paul. 12s. 6d.

THE power that words as such have had over human conduct and thought is almost inconceivable. Instead of being instruments they have become all too often masters; instead of being a means of communication they have become a barrier. They are petrified instead of living objects, all because their function has not been adequately analysed. In other fields of endeavour—in physics, astronomy, chemistry—new conceptions have taken the place of old, but when it comes to grammar and the meaning of words the modern is almost as much under the sway of a mere verbalism as the mediaeval scholastic. The authors do not overstate when they say:

Words may come between us and our objects in countless subtle ways, if we do not realise the nature of their power. In logic . . . they lead to the creation of bogus entities, the universals, properties, and so forth. . . . By concentrating attention on themselves, words encourage the futile study of forms which has done so much to discredit grammar; by the excitement which they provoke through their emotive force, discussion is for the most part rendered sterile; by the various types of verbomania and graphomania, the satisfaction of naming is realised, and the sense of personal power factitiously enhanced.

Anyone who wishes to obtain an insight into the extraordinarily divergent connotations a word may acquire need only read the chapters on *The Meaning of Philosophers* and *The Meaning of Meaning* in this book. No less than sixteen groups of definitions are distinguished, some of which can be further subdivided. Yet philosophers are supposed to be primarily concerned with clarity and accuracy! Is it any wonder when they themselves so disagree that the ordinary man has a contempt for metaphysics? This

is unfortunate, for never in the history of the world has there been more need for philosophy in its true sense than at present.

According to our authors the root of the trouble lies in the superstition that words are in some way parts of things or always imply things corresponding to them. On the contrary, the connection between a thought and an object is an elaborate chain of causal relations. It is with the tracing and analysis of this relationship that Mr. Ogden and Mr. Richards are chiefly concerned. Roughly, the sequence is as follows: (1) Symbolisation of reference; (2) the expression of attitude to listener; (3) the expression of attitude to referent; (4) the promotion of effects intended; (5) support of reference. This mere enumeration gives some idea of the complexity of the subject.

The authors have brought together a tremendous amount of material in support of their thesis. They have read not only the technical literature on the subject, but also widely in general literature upon which they have drawn for illustration. This adds greatly to the interest of their book. Sometimes we feel, however, that they have allowed themselves to become obscure through falling into the philosophical jargon which is the temptation of nearly everyone who deals with abstruse questions. Why it should be difficult to tell, for there are writers, like Mr. Bertrand Russell, who can deal with the most abstract problems in a way that is perfectly lucid. To some extent the difficulty is due to the bad typographical organisation of the book and its overloading with quotations which sometimes are distinguished from the main text by being printed in smaller type and sometimes not.

Whatever the faults of execution—excessive condensation is one—the book is nevertheless an important contribution to knowledge. As far as we know it is the first time that the new theories of language have been brought together in one volume

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and have been adequately analysed. "The practical importance of a Science of Symbolism," the authors say:

even in its present undeveloped form needs little emphasis. All the more elaborate forms of social and intellectual life are affected by changes in our attitude towards and use of words. How words work is commonly regarded as a purely theoretical matter, of little interest to practical persons.

We think the authors have made out a strong case for their theory. We hope they will at some future time elaborate certain parts of it in more popular form, for it is important, not only in philosophy and psychology but also in education and literature, that the functions of language be clearly understood and brought into focus with modern thought. The *Introduction* by Professor J. P. Postgate, and the supplementary chapters by Dr. Bronislaw Malinowski on the *Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages* and by Dr. F. G. Crookshank on *Language and Medicine* contribute interesting sidelights to the problem.

## These Enthusiasts

FRANCIS THOMPSON, POET AND MYSTIC. By John Thomson. Simpkin Marshall. 5s.

THE chief characteristic of the enthusiast is his lack of humour. Mr. Thomson is no exception to the general rule. His book is an immense panegyric, a piece of bad propaganda, rather than a critical or biographical study of Francis Thompson. Poets in every age have suffered from the well-meant praises of their fervent but indiscriminate admirers, but surely no pseudo-critic-biographer has ever cast away rhyme and reason so far as Mr. Thomson has done. Quoting Blake's famous statement that he (Blake) was more famed among the archangels for the books and pictures he created in ages of eternity before his mortal life, he writes that

we have not yet been told what the archangels think about the Hound of Heaven; possibly they are still considering Blake, and, if so, we can only surmise their fresh delight when Thompson's great ode is reached.

It is difficult to believe that he is almost serious. We rub our eyes and give a sidelong glance at the page to see, as it were, if Mr. Thomson's tongue shows in his cheek. But no. "Unlike Blake," says Mr. Thomson in another place, "his mysticism is never too deep for our mental conception, nor are his visions of awful holiness ever curtailed with 'vapours impenetrable.'" Such an excuse for the obscurity of the Prophetic Books is a touching tribute to enthusiasm, but it leaves one a little thankful that Francis Thompson was not, at his worst, utterly intelligible, since it has fallen to Mr. Thomson to write about his poetry.

As an exhaustive collection of all the complimentary things that have ever been written or said about Francis Thompson and his work this book cannot be over-valued. Mr. Thomson is not a critic, and as a considerable section of his volume is concerned with his author's poetry he often finds himself in difficulties. But enthusiasm conquers all things, and Mr. Thomson meets his reader with a bright little extract from the *Fortnightly* or some significant paragraph from Patmore or one of the early reviews of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch—omnibus criticism with a vicarious vengeance. But when all is said, enthusiasm, even of this kind, is a forgivable quality even when it walks naked in the valleys of poetry. As Mr. Thomson says, Francis Thomson has not yet been set in his proper station among the poetic stars. His own book is a sufficient proof of that. That it should have been left to Mr. Thomson to sum up the merits (we need

say nothing of the demerits, since he does not) of the most outstanding poet of this century shows that the present neglect with which we are charged is only too true. After the poet's death he lacked no lip-service, and it is fairly certain that in twenty years' time he will be generally over-estimated. The last volume of the *Cambridge History of English Literature* has comparatively little to say of him, much to the shame of the editors.

It is a very old story: death, discovery, praise, neglect. Now we are in the midst of the first adulations, with Mr. Thomson as the potential conductor. This is the third edition of his book, which has been enlarged. It will not, however, be the standard work on the poet.

## Shorter Notices

EGYPT—OLD AND NEW. By Percy F. Martin, F.R.G.S. Allen and Unwin. 21s.

The strong point about Mr. Percy Martin's handsome volume is the system of illustration by coloured photographs pasted on to dark backgrounds. The result is very effective—in the case of the photographs of ancient Egyptian ruins, often beautiful. The general appearance of the book may be described in Mr. Martin's own words—which he applies, we regret to say, to that gem of architecture, Al Azhor University—as "decidedly imposing." The letterpress, however, will impose on no one; it appears to have been written or dictated at a great speed, and to have received no correction in the press. There is a useful chapter on cotton, and Mr. Martin makes some intelligent observations on the general economic position of the country. But his history is thin and muddled, without being brief, and his chapters on sport and education are altogether inadequate and show a surprising talent for leaving out the most important and interesting facts. This would not matter so much if he did not patronise the historians and sneer at the organisers of sport in the country. The descriptive chapters, which form the larger part of the book, are not even good guide-book writing; for instance, it is painfully obvious that Mr. Martin has never been to Alexandria. The Pyramids and the Sphinx get one page between them, whereas nearly a whole chapter is devoted to the modern town of Port Said, which, in Mr. Martin's eyes, grows more and more "beautiful" and "attractive" every year—it could hardly grow *less*! The amazing confusion of Mr. Martin's style appears to be the result partly of typists' or printers' errors, and partly from his determination never to say what he means in ordinary plain English; here is an example. Mr. Martin is describing the history of Turkish suzerainty in Egypt:

In more recent years it had constituted the so-called Nationalist Party (not altogether without their claims to consideration), to cultivate closer relations with Stamboul, and to profess admiration for Turkish ideals.

It is an amusing exercise to try and re-write that sentence in an intelligible form. Apparently, "their" should read "other" and "constituted" should read "induced," or some word with a similar meaning. If that is so, what Mr. Martin is trying to say is that the Nationalists naturally turn to the Suzerain for support against the British, and that Turkey also bribed them to do so.

A HISTORY OF ENGRAVING AND ETCHING. By Arthur M. Hind. Constable. 42s.

In this exhaustive volume the Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford completes his previous studies by bringing his history of engraving from the fifteenth century to the year 1914. It aims at providing the student with a complete guide to the subject, including many modern names, and its wealth of information, classified lists, bibliography, and index comprise a work of reference the value of which precisely lies in baffling the reviewer. Where so much ground has to be covered the amateur of particular artists is necessarily tantalised by the succinct statements that are inevitably devoted to each. We turn to the work rather for information than appreciation, to increase our knowledge of a school or a period rather than to satisfy our curiosity concerning any favourite master, which only a monograph devoted to him can adequately supply. For the collector, on the other hand, the volume is a mine of information. The method adopted, starting with two chapters on the processes of the earliest engravers, combines the chronology of the subject with the phases of its development, so that the beginnings of etching and its progress during the sixteenth century are treated in one chapter, the reproductive engravers in another, and the great portrait engravers in a third. By this means the print sellers and the department of portraiture in engraving are conveniently studied in a sequence which is not only one of time but one of intention and subject. Where reference, even to the chief artists, is necessarily summary, it is hardly fair to quote, but Mr. Hind enlivens his pages with generalisations that, taken in their context, often

illuminate the period or the artist with whom he deals. Thus, discussing the exquisite and bitter art of Goya, he says: "The time of Charles IV. was analogous in its reaction against the severity of the reign that preceded it to that of Charles II. of England, and the satirist is seldom silenced in a period of moral licence." A distinction is also drawn between the true satire of Goya and the pseudo-satire of such an artist as Félicien Rops, who is the recorder rather than the critic of excesses. Of Whistler, Mr. Hind remarks: "No etcher has ever known better what can be achieved by the unfilled space." Mr. Hind holds that "engraving and etching have contributed far more than painting during the past hundred years to preserve the artist from mere anarchy," and in them he looks for the expression in which modern tendencies may define themselves.

### CORRESPONDENCE

[What we open our columns impartially to correspondence we take no responsibility for the opinions expressed.]

#### EQUALITY ZEALOTS AND KENYA.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

Sir,—The fight you are making to protect the little band of white settlers in Kenya from the yellow peril entitles you to the gratitude of the white man throughout the world.

In view of all experience it is difficult to understand how British statesmen can consider for a moment the proposal of a few misguided zealots to give the low caste Indian equal suffrage in Kenya, thereby dooming the country to yellow control. We, in America, have had two sad and expensive experiences resulting from the attempt of theorists to raise inferior races by the magic of legislation or political proclamations. I refer to the horrors of the reconstruction period following our own civil war, and to the virtual destruction of Mexico following the inauguration of President Wilson's "spiritual union" policy.

I note by Press dispatches that a Mr. S. V. Sastri is the chairman of a delegation now en route to London to demand equal rights for the Indians of Kenya. An Indian of the same name accompanied Mr. Balfour to the Washington Conference of November, 1921, and acted as one of the five representatives of the British Empire. I shall never forget this Mr. Sastri, because strangely enough, while acting in the capacity of a plenipotentiary of the British Empire he overlooked no opportunity of spreading anti-British propaganda.—Yours, &c.,

JOHN KIRBY.

Washington, D.C., April 15th, 1923.

#### "AMERICAN VIEWS ON MR. MENCKEN."

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

Sir,—Arguments for and against Prohibition are unending. Each side quotes figures and statements, juggles facts, and gets no further. To drink or not to drink is a question which each individual should decide for himself. Prohibition and its sister fanatics are infringements on the most precious possession we Britshers have, our freedom. Liberty of conscience and liberty of action are our heritage. America may be an awful warning or a shining example just as she strikes you, but the "Boss rule" which flourishes there will not suit lovers of British freedom.

Liberty does not spell licence any more than temperance spells total abstinence, though there are plenty of people about who do not seem able to recognise this simple fact.—Yours, &c.,

HELENA THOMAS.

"Westgate," Sudbury, Harrow,  
April 29th, 1923.

#### MR. CHURCHILL'S WAR FEATS.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

Sir,—A manuscript copy in the British Museum contains these lines, from 1685, when the appointment of John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, as Commander of the Royal Dragoons, was ridiculed:—

Let's cut our meat with spoons:  
The sense is as good  
As that Churchill should  
Be put to command Dragoons.

—Yours, &c.,

"CAWNPORR."

Glynde (Lewes), Sussex.  
April 26th, 1923.

#### GARDEN OR GARAGE?

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

Sir,—Will you allow me, through your columns, to appeal to all who have an influence upon the government of London in a question which may appear to affect only the people of St. Pancras, but which does, it seems to me, touch every citizen amongst us? In the middle of Mornington Crescent there is

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an extensive garden which, in a week or two, will be alight with May blossom. It is proposed to disfigure this haven with a motor garage; indeed, unless the London County Council step in and acquire our patch of greenery as an open space, there is no question that such a desecration is but a matter of months. This may all appear merely a domestic trouble of our own. But surely the amenity of any one section of London ought to be the concern of the rest of it?—Yours, &c.,

J. BROWN.

1, Mornington Crescent, N.W.1.  
May 1st, 1923.

#### POLAND, FRANCE, AND LITHUANIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—I notice a paragraph in your issue of the 28th ult. in which it is suggested that the French militarists need a war between Poland and Germany as a pretext for occupying Berlin. This somewhat far-fetched suggestion is made on the strength of certain statements about Poland which, I am sure you will forgive me pointing out, are totally erroneous. For instance, when you say that a "Nationalist Party, headed by Dmowski, expects to come into power at any moment," you must have forgotten the fact that Roman Dmowski quite definitely retired from active politics nearly three years ago. As for the alleged intention of the retired statesman to obtain for the Poles the frontiers he demanded at the Peace Conference, I am sure that as regards the present constituted Polish authorities there can be nothing of the kind in their mind. Their leaders have stated over and over again that they regard the Polish frontiers as now definitely fixed by the various treaties and they have no intention of asking for more. Where, too, is the authority for the statement that "The Lithuanians last winter were egged on by the Poles and French to occupy East Prussia, and promised Vilna if they did so"? On the face of it, the statement is absurd, for, in the first place, Lithuania is a little country of two million inhabitants and could not easily occupy East Prussia, which is inhabited by over four million people; and in the second place, Poland, as anybody must at once admit who knows her recent history, would never, in any circumstances, consent to give Vilna, a Polish city, to Lithuania. Neither do I think that the Lithuanians themselves would agree with your suggestion that Lithuania herself is in peril. Indeed, very recent occasions appear to indicate that they consider themselves top-dog, for they have only just addressed an arrogant note to the League of Nations in which they refuse to accept the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors on the question of Vilna, and declare themselves free to wage war on Poland. This is not the language of anyone shrinking in fear, and in order to promote a proper understanding among your readers of the admittedly delicate situation in this part of Europe, I am sure you will not object to insert this letter, which deals only with corrections on matters of fact.—Yours, &c.,

J. H. HARLEY.

2, Upper Montague Street,  
London, May 1st, 1923.

#### COLONEL LESLIE WILSON.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—I do not agree with you that Colonel Leslie Wilson should cease to be Chief Whip, but suggest that he should be relieved of some of the duties which prevent him from performing adequately the special functions of a Whip. At present he is overburdened with work. Colonel Wilson has personality and other temperamental qualifications for the work of a Parliamentary Whip; and his retirement would be a loss both to the Government and to the House of Commons. I trust that you will allow one of his supporters in the South Portsmouth election to bear this testimony on his behalf.—Yours, &c.,

C. FOYNTZ SANDERSON.

London, April 16th, 1923.

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## FINANCE

By URBANUS.

THE City has been awaiting the new German Note—anxiously but without confidence that it will bring a solution within sight. As I write, its terms have just been published, and though it has not yet been possible properly to test City opinion, I am afraid that the Note will not be regarded too favourably. In the first place, the prospect of being able to raise in four years by foreign loans international loans amounting to anything like £1,000 millions is looked upon as chimerical. Moreover, even in London hopes had been set on a cash offer of at least £2,000 millions, and though it is more than probable that the £1,500 millions actually offered is the utmost that Germany has any real prospect of paying, the mental adjustment required to swallow the drop of £500 millions or more will take time. And time is just what Germany cannot afford. Of that there is rather alarming evidence in the latest return of the Reichsbank, which shows that as the result of the new panic flight from the mark, of which I wrote a week ago, the institution has had to part with a substantial fraction of its gold reserve, which it has kept intact for nearly two years. The total gold holding since September, 1921, has been just over 1 milliard of gold marks or £50,000,000, of which about £9,000,000 has in recent weeks been deposited with foreign central banks including the Bank of England. In the week ending April 23rd this holding fell by 85 million marks or £4½ millions, of which £1 million was drawn from the portion held by the foreign banks. In that one week, therefore, it would appear that nearly one-tenth of the gold holding, so jealously guarded during the strain and stress of the last two years had to be sacrificed to hold the exchange. So far it has just held, but it is now breaking, and unless the political situation miraculously clears, a complete collapse is inevitable.

The past week has witnessed a rather disconcerting epidemic of banking failures in different parts of the world. These failures, in Norway, in India, and a small one in this country, are in the nature of a belated second harvest of the world trade slump. Positions had been bolstered up in the hope that the institutions might win through in the end; but the result has shown that the trade recovery was too slow in coming to save them from disaster. In Norway, a country severely hit by the shipping crisis, the two principal joint stock banks have had to close their doors, or rather, since the nerves of modern finance cannot stand the declared bankruptcy of an important bank, to apply for "public administration" under a recently passed law. The joint liability of the two concerns, Andresens and Bergens Kreditbank and the Centralbanken for Norge exceeds £40 millions—an amount which would be serious enough here, but must have created widespread alarm in a country of less than 3 millions of inhabitants like Norway. However, the situation is now said to be in hand, thanks to the measures taken by the Government and the Bank of Norway.

The suspension of the Alliance Bank of Simla is a very unfortunate occurrence from the point of view of British financial prestige in India. The Bank had been established nearly fifty years, and its administration and capital were in British hands. Over two years ago it suffered a very heavy loss amounting to 50 lakhs of rupees. This loss was due to a particularly unfortunate cause—not to the failure of its Indian customers to fulfil their engagements, but to the inability of the agents who had a controlling interest in the Bank in London to place at the Bank's disposal the funds which were on deposit with them at call.

Even more unfortunately the directors very unwisely decided to withhold all information of this loss for eighteen months, and though the default on the part of the firm in question occurred at the end of 1920, it was not until the report dated August 12th, 1922, was issued that the shareholders were put in possession of the facts. A strenuous attempt to save the bank was made by Sir David Yule, who undertook the chairmanship of the bank without remuneration, with the assistance of the Imperial Bank of India, and it is evident from the fact that in spite of his efforts the bank has had to close its doors that both shareholders and customers will suffer severely.

The last few days have seen the publication of the reports and accounts of some of the biggest and best of the British rubber companies, and the present moment, therefore, seems appropriate for a general survey of the position. The most striking point in most of these reports is the great reduction in costs which has been secured, and which in several cases left the companies concerned with a larger profit than in the previous period, despite the much lower selling price and—in most cases—a reduced output. Together with this has gone, of course, a reduction in stocks of rubber, with the result that the best concerns have now substantial holdings of gilt-edged stocks and ample cash for present requirements. In these circumstances, and with the estates in good order, they are in a strong position to take advantage of such increase in demand as may come with a general revival in trade. The reports do not in most cases give the all-in cost, but from calculations made from the accounts it appears to have been somewhere between 7d. and 8½d. per lb. If these costs are maintained, and the present price of rubber of 1s. 3½d. should prove to be about the average for the year, it seems possible that the really good concerns will double their profits, in which case the shares are at present prices worth taking up. I think it may be worth while to point out that the output approximated closely to that now allowed under the restriction scheme. The proportion exportable at minimum duty has recently been raised from 60 to 65 per cent., so that, if prices hold, a little more will be made by increased production. There seems no hope, however, while the scheme is in force that a full revival in demand can be expected, as the companies are powerless to stimulate it by lower prices.

In rather striking contrast to the financial methods adopted by many big concerns during the last few years is the history of Clayton and Shuttleworth, as set out in their report and in the Chairman's speech at Monday's meeting. I have written, perhaps too often, of the misguided optimism which led the directors of some of the biggest concerns which sprang up during the war to increase their commitments, and to extend more and more credit to their customers until they were caught by the slump and drastic reorganisations became necessary. The story of Clayton and Shuttleworth is rather different. Before the war they sold mainly agricultural machinery and tractors overseas, and they sold on long term credit. The coming of war deprived them of their market and involved them in losses which, if I interpret the Chairman correctly, amounted to about £1 million. Fortunately, the Company had adopted an ultra-conservative policy with regard to valuation of assets, and was able to make good this loss; to pay dividends to an aggregate amount of £351,500, and now has a surplus of £146,000. That is a noteworthy achievement, but the Company is now down to bedrock and will have to rely chiefly on an increase in the demand for railway wagons and water-tube boilers, its new specialities, for a return to its former prosperity.

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# The Outlook

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## URBIS ET ORBIS

FOREIGN affairs have moved far and fast this week—in the wrong direction. The state of Europe is more tragic and hopeless than it was. Our own impotence and the deliberate flouting of all our commercial interests by the military masters of the Continent have even attracted the attention of the Stock Exchange, which had been trying to stage a "boom" while fundamental conditions were growing steadily more desperate. Germany's blundering Note has given M. Poincaré an opportunity of which he was not slow to avail himself. He now openly and avowedly constitutes himself as the war victor who dictates terms to the vanquished. England no longer counts. We shall send our reply to Berlin this week-end; nobody will pay any attention to it, for what we say does not matter. Lord Curzon and Mr. Baldwin complain of what France has done, and are told by the French that they have lost their tempers. They are able to vaunt, however, that England has one friend left—in Signor Mussolini! France is, indeed, pushing us far harder than anyone outside the inner circles of the Government can fully realise. Here is one fact that has come to my knowledge, and that shows how the wind is blowing. M. Poincaré asked us to associate ourselves with his protest to Washington against the Chester concession. We refused, remarking that our only interest in the matter lies in whether the Turks have assigned rights to Americans in territory assigned us by mandate. The French Premier later tried to engage us in a discussion as to possible joint warlike operations against Turkey. His own diplomats tried to dissuade him from this step. When the subject was at last raised at the Foreign Office, an Englishman was found there with sufficient courage to murmur, "Chanak!" The rage of Europe's new War Lord at this knew no bounds. It has translated itself into the charge preferred by M. Poincaré, though not, I am glad to say, communicated as yet to H.M. Government, that Great Britain has made a secret, anti-French agreement with Turkey. In the absence of definite confirmation, that little revelation of M. Poincaré's feeling towards us would not have been set down here.

MY news concerning the prospects for Liberal reunion is bad. Encouraged by what they consider their growing strength in the House, the Wee Frees appear definitely determined to excommunicate Mr. Lloyd George, and all of his more prominent supporters in the late Government, with the curious exception of Sir Alfred Mond. Members of the Independent Liberal rank and file who have shown themselves in favour of reunion, to my knowledge, are being backed into corners (I use the phrase in a literal, not a figurative, sense), and, while in this position of disadvantage, chivvied and denounced by members of Mr. Asquith's *entourage*. That *entourage*, I pause to remark, is not exclusively composed of members of the male sex. Better the wilderness again than any truck with the National Liberals. That is the *mot d'ordre* from the innermost Wee Free tabernacle. In this connection, the resolution adopted by the Women's National Liberal Association council meeting on Wednesday is not without significance: "That any method of co-operation with the National Liberals in Parliament or elsewhere that implies acquiescence in the policy of the late Coalition Government is contrary to the convictions of this Council and disastrous to the welfare of the party." Had I the mentality of the *Morning Post*, I should be convinced that the Red Tsars in Moscow were paying the Independent Liberals vast sums in gold roubles to ensure the triumph of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

LORD ROBERT CECIL has returned from America enjoying threefold the prestige and influence that were his before he left our shores. The decision of a prominent British statesman to conduct a campaign in the United States on behalf of the League of Nations seemed audacious to the point of recklessness. The League was the leading issue upon which the Democrats were thrown out of office three years ago, and its mention is still sufficient to send rock-ribbed Republicans into frenzies of rage. Nevertheless, Lord Robert's superlative tact, wisdom and understanding and sympathy, combined with a charm that captivated hostile audiences, has done not only the cause of the League, but that of his

own country, inestimable good. No other Englishman could have accomplished such a feat, and it seems impossible that the present weak Government will not now turn to Lord Robert with a handsome offer. I am told that his appointment as British representative on the League Council has practically been decided. This is not enough, and I should not be surprised to see Lord Robert Foreign Minister, after the shake-up that must follow the retirement, unlikely to be long postponed, of Mr. Bonar Law. Lord Curzon is playing for high stakes. He is unlikely, when the Premier goes, to remain where he is. He will, I think, either become Prime Minister himself, or leave office altogether.

WHEN I suggested in a note in these columns some months ago that the best way to make the Americans realise how silly is their dry legislation directed against world shipping would be to titillate their sense of humour by passing legislation in the opposite sense, I little thought the House of Commons would ultimately see the point, and act on it. Colonel Courthope's Bill, which passed its first reading on Wednesday, provides, under penalties, that all liners within British waters must supply alcohol to thirsty passengers on demand. I understand this reprisal will probably not be put into effect, but I wish the House would stick to its guns, and pass the third reading. An American is quick to see a joke directed against himself. And with Colonel Courthope's inspiration on the statute books, a deadlock would ensue that could only be broken by both countries giving up the attempt to dictate what passengers on the high seas may or may not drink. I am surprised that some of the professional pro-French M.P.s did not complain against Colonel Courthope's measure, on the ground that we have acted without agreement with our Allies. Here was an opportunity to display Franco-Italian-British solidarity before the world. Now, as has become the custom, I am afraid France and Italy will have to act separately against the United States.

DISCONCERTING legal decisions are to be expected from time to time, but it must be many years since two such inconvenient judgments as those of the United States Supreme Court about liquor on foreign ships and of our own Appeal Court in the O'Brien case have been delivered within a few weeks of each other. There is a comic side to the dilemma of the skippers of Atlantic liners, who, in consequence of the Supreme Court's verdict, are now compelled to break the law at one or other of their ports of call. But the Home Secretary's position is beyond a joke. Unless he can produce the body of Mr. Art O'Brien he lays himself open to extremely severe penalties, originally designed to check the despotic tendencies of the House of Stuart, but now rebounding upon the heads of a popularly elected Government. There seems to be little prospect of the Lords reversing the judgment of the Appeal Court. The Home Secretary is, therefore, at the mercy of the Government of the Irish Free State. Can he induce them to give Mr. O'Brien up? It is being widely assumed that he can—I do not

know on what grounds. But how will that improve matters? Do we want all these deportees back? Obviously not. I therefore venture very humbly to suggest that it is the duty of the Home Secretary to sit tight and face the music. I am sorry for him, but there are times when the interests of the individual must be sacrificed to those of the nation. No doubt the courts will deal as leniently with him as they can. Parliament may even consent to pay his fine.

LORD BIRKENHEAD, though deservedly under a cloud for his exhibitions of ill-humour, has performed a great public service in repeatedly calling attention to the perilous weakness of our Air Force in contrast to that of France. Lord Salisbury on Wednesday capitulated to the inevitable when he announced the Cabinet decision that a considerable increase in our air establishment has been found necessary. I hope the question will be kept to the fore until we know that the Government mean their promise seriously, and are not proposing a mere sop to satisfy public alarm. Lord Haldane was perfectly right in ridiculing the expenditure of more than nine millions on a naval base at Singapore to be completed in ten years, while we are told that we have not enough money to protect our capital and our great industrial centres from a weapon that sets naval strength at defiance, and that is wielded by the one great military Power in Europe. I was glad to note, in the Lords debate, an absence of the hypocritical and canting pretence that if we build more planes, it is against some hypothetical menace from the non-existent air fleets of Germany and Russia. The country should realise that we have been forced into a building race with France in the air. And the Government, while taking all precautions for our safety, should lose no opportunity, when sane and reasonable statesmen come into power in Paris, to reach a limitation of air armaments agreement with France on the basis of the Washington Conference precedent. Lord Salisbury sounded this note when he earnestly urged the necessity of avoiding a new and terrible competition in lethal weapons. But the next move is up to France. We only ask an equality in the air, and that is the least we can accept.

ALL our complaints against the Soviet Government are more than justified. Whether we were wise in sending what amounted to an ultimatum that will probably result in the severance of whatever diplomatic channels have slowly been opened between London and Moscow is another matter. It is the official view, I am informed, that little or no harm will be done to British trade by the expected break. Of the £6,000,000 in exports which we sent to Russia last year, less than a quarter came within the purview of the Soviet Trade Delegation, whose departure now appears imminent. Russian gold financed most of these purchases, through Scandinavian intermediaries, and the gold is running out. Only barter remains if trade is to continue, and no practicable arrangements for barter have yet been made. But if the immediate results of the contemplated break will do us no harm, I think our

statesmen, had they taken a longer view, would have hesitated before adopting radical measures. Some day, whether we like the Soviet Government or not, we have got to resume relations with Russia. Russia is an indispensable part of the body politic of Europe. Diplomats in Downing Street and the Kremlin have for years been writing insulting notes to each other, without doing either country any particular harm. Either we should continue to do what we can to restrain the Bolsheviks by diplomatic efforts, or declare war on them—and perhaps not even Mr. Churchill still longs for the latter course. But it is easy to criticise, and it would be ungenerous not to recognise the extreme difficulties which any self-respecting diplomacy must encounter in dealing with the contending and mysterious cliques of ruffians now competing for ascendancy in the ancient capital of the Tsars.

A 'BUS ride from Kensington to the City is becoming an exciting experience, and takes about as long as from the Crystal Palace. The Strand became practically impassable a week ago. But the 'buses were not to be beaten. As Mr. Lloyd George would say, they were determined to explore every avenue. So they took to slipping round along the Embankment. The authorities who look after the breaking-up of our roads proved determined to stop them. The Embankment was rapidly put into a state of defence, and by Thursday morning there were at least two places on it where the road was so cut about that the 'buses had to crawl through in single file. The next move lies with the omnibus company. They have not yet tried the other side of the river. I am told that some heavy betting is going on as to whether attack or defence will win; but though my sympathies are naturally with the 'buses, I cannot feel that their morale is so strong as their opponents'. Men of less iron will than our road-breakers possess would long ago have yielded to the pressure of public opinion and put on extra workmen at night, as is done in all other great world capitals when main arteries of traffic have to be repaired.

THE enmity of the Labour Party to special constables is puzzling. Mr. Bridgeman is not a Mussolini, and in the most secret recesses of the Die-Hard clubs there is heard no whisper of a Fascist movement. Moreover, this sudden affection of Labour for the regular police strikes me as a little sudden; it reminds me of how a great many people who had comfortably ignored Gainsborough's "Blue Boy" all their lives discovered unexpectedly that they loved it to distraction. In this matter, the communist and revolutionary tail seems to be shaking the Labour dog, and its gyrations are not particularly attractive. To say that the special constables will be employed against strikes is, on the face of it, absurd. A man has a perfect right to strike, and nobody interferes with him unless he interferes with other people, or other people's property—which in this country does not often happen. No conceivable number of special constables could or would force or persuade a striker to go back to work against his will.

NEMO.

## The Week in Parliament

INTRODUCING Bills under the Ten Minute Rule is fast becoming a recognised form of Parliamentary entertainment, and Toby Junior is moved to prophesy that if it continues to develop in the future on the lines it has followed of late, the Prime Minister will find himself waited upon by an angry deputation from the West-End Theatre Managers' Association protesting against the competition. Thus, a day or two ago, *Egalité* Ponsonby, scion of noble houses and former Page of Honour to the Widow of Windsor, introduced, amid delirious laughter, a Bill to abolish hereditary titles, explaining that the possessors of high-sounding titles regard them more as an embarrassment than evidence of their quality, and would much prefer to drop them. He did not state whether he had consulted the Most Noble the Marquis Curzon of Kedleston upon this point. Having proposed extinction to fully a thousand Baronets, whom he declared the Bill would bring into its net, and from whom he anticipated "more weeping and gnashing of teeth than even in the Peerage," he went on to proclaim in sombre accents: "Hereditary titles are doomed: and this Bill affords a very simple way of beginning to get rid of them." An even simpler and far more effective way would be to proceed upon the lines made popular by the joint operations of Robespierre and Danton, but the Hon. Member hesitated to advocate this, contenting himself, amid shouts of merriment, with asserting that the laughter of those who dismissed his Bill as a joke, and not the Bill itself, would be regarded as ridiculous by posterity.

Whereupon the Speaker put the question, but in the general clamour—doubtless due to the gnashing of the teeth of the thousand Baronets—the opponents of the Bill forgot to oppose it, and the "Ayes" were declared to have it. Lord Curzon, Sir Henry Craik, and others vehemently maintained that the question was never put properly, and that the Speaker only called upon the "Ayes" but not on the "Noes." Mr. Speaker, however, repudiated this, and delivered himself of the quiet rebuke: "If Hon. Members wish to divide they should really be rather more alert." Bill accordingly ordered to be brought in and read a first time.

Encouraged by the success of Mr. Ponsonby's sally, Colonel Courthope, on the following day, presented an entirely new and original farce-comedy entitled "a Bill to provide for the supply of liquor on all vessels carrying passengers in British waters." He stated that the object of this Bill was to retaliate upon America for her attitude with regard to the supply of liquor on ships, and provide that whereas in American waters all ships must be dry, in British waters all ships must be wet or "reasonably moist." Interest in the question, he declared, was not confined to those who wanted to drink on board ship, but extended to all who placed a value on the phrase "Freedom of the Seas."

Commander Kenworthy paid the gallant promoter of the Bill the compliment of taking him, if not *au grand sérieux*, at least serio-comically. He pointed out that on the other side of the Atlantic the Bill might be regarded as a childish, ill-advised attempt at reprisals. If he had cared to use the illustration, he might have added that the relations between the two countries, having once been ruptured by a Boston Tea Party, it would be a pity to imperil them now by a New York Rum Party. Sir James Remnant's interjection, "Why should we be afraid of the United States?" brought the crushing retort that we have quite enough enemies without trying to quarrel with our latest friends. Colonel Courthope's little jest having now showed signs of turning into earnest, the question was put, and, on a division, leave was given to bring in the Bill. Compared with Mr. Ponsonby's effort of the previous day it was a heavy-handed affair, and the real aims of the Bill were crystallised by one Member who, on hearing the promoter magniloquently referring to "the freedom of the seas," called out: "I suppose you mean the freedom of the half-seas-over."

The fortunes of the Government are beginning to look a little uncertain. They successfully weathered the German Note with a reply that has been universally commended, only to meet with the threat of disaster in the Appeal Court's decision on the case of Mr. Art O'Brien. This case being still *sub judice* owing to the further appeal to the House of Lords, it would be improper to say anything on the merits; but this pertinent question was put to Toby Junior by one of his Parliamentary friends: since the success of the appeal rests upon the finding that the Home Secretary has lost control of the deportee in question, what will be the position of the Home Secretary if the House of Lords confirms the Appeal Court decision making absolute the rule for a habeas corpus? In other words, how can he "have the body" when the whole case rests on the fact that he has it no longer? And if he cannot produce it, what will the Court say to Mr. Bridgeman?

TOBY JUNIOR, M.P.

## Indian Bogey and African Peril

ATTENTION was called in these columns last week to the statement by the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri, P.C., that India "will not tolerate" the granting of the request made by the settlers of our own race, in the British Crown Colony of Kenya, that the pledge given them on behalf of the Colonial Office by Lord Milner be honoured. Mr. Sastri is heading the native delegation from India that demands the dishonouring of that pledge. His remarks are fortified, in the *Times* of Tuesday, by an astonishing statement put forward by a white man, Mr. C. F. Andrews, whose letter commences, "The Kenya Indian deputation has requested me to reply on their behalf to the Bishop of Uganda. . . ." This would seem proof that the sentiments expressed in this letter, unless repudiated, are those of the deputation, and Mr. Andrews's conclusion is this: "There is no ambition whatever in Indian minds to make either Kenya, or any part of Africa, an 'Indian Colony.' *At the same time, it should be most clearly understood that any attempt to humiliate Indians by going back on the Imperial Conference resolution of July, 1921, can only have ultimately the one effect of breaking the Imperial connection between India and Great Britain.*" (Italics ours.) Before dealing with the threat in the last sentence, let us say bluntly that Mr. Andrews's sop to the white race, his magnanimous declaration that these Indians do not desire to make any part of Africa an Indian colony, is clearly false. These aims may have been postponed out of expediency; they have not been abandoned. The subtle Orientals are now seeking to achieve their full programme bit by bit; we quoted last week Mr. Jevanjee, most important member of that same delegation of which Mr. Andrews acts as mouthpiece: "I would go even so far as to advocate the annexation of this African territory to the Indian Empire. . . . Let it (Kenya) be opened to us, and in a very few years it will become a second India." Thus Mr. Jevanjee, when he did not think it necessary to be diplomatic.

What is this resolution of the Imperial Conference, which must be maintained if the Indians are not to start a second Mutiny—which, expressed in plain English, we take to be what the final phrase of Mr. Andrews's letter means? Here is the text:

"The Conference, while reaffirming the Resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1918, that each community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities, recognises that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire. The Conference accordingly is of the opinion that in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised.

"The representatives of South Africa regret their inability

to accept this resolution in view of the exceptional circumstances of the greater part of the Union.

"The representatives of India, while expressing their appreciation of the acceptance of the resolution recorded above, feel bound to place on record their profound concern at the position of Indians in South Africa, and their hope that, by negotiation between the Governments of India and of South Africa, some way can be found, as soon as may be, to reach a more satisfactory position."

We find here no cause for present Indian threats. Canada and Australia, with Great Britain, none of these countries faced by Indian immigration, and all protected by adequate immigration laws, agree to a pious formula that their Indian colleagues assure them will please Indian sentiment. The one representative to whose country the Indian problem has practical application, General Smuts, most liberal-minded of all statesmen at the Conference, flatly refused his assent on behalf of South Africa. The result was that South Africa, which was alive to the necessity of proper control of Indian immigration (for she had been party to a resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1918, which recognises the right of communities to determine their own population) could not identify herself with the 1921 resolution, which favoured rights of citizenship to domiciled Indians. There is no occasion to "go back on the Imperial Conference resolution," in Mr. Andrews's phrase, because it does not arise. For the white men of Kenya, outnumbered two to one by Indians, the danger is far more pressing than for South Africa; but it is of vital importance for Englishmen, and Indians, to realise that this Indian problem affects white Africa as a whole. General Smuts, in refusing his adherence to the resolution, spoke *in fact* for the white men of the whole Continent. Technically, Kenya is a Crown Colony with which South Africa has nothing to do. In fact, the Union of South Africa would regard a betrayal of the Milner pledge to the Kenya settlers as affecting its vital interests. If proof of this supremely important statement is needed, take the reply from General Smuts to a letter from South Africans in Kenya appealing for support on the Indian question. He declared that he is watching events with sympathy, but forbears to take any action until appealed to by the whole white community; and he advises South Africans in Kenya to keep in touch with the Union. This means, if it means anything, that the Kenya settlers, if the Indian bogey leads the Home Government to break faith with them, have only to appeal to South Africa. Such a course, with what must inevitably follow, might disrupt the Empire.

When such grave contingencies are involved, we think it in the public interest to point out frankly, that the Indians are seeking to attain their aims by the implied threat of disturbances in the peninsula if they do not get what they want. A section of official opinion, both here and in India, is abnormally sensitive to such hints, and inclined to be influenced in its conduct by them. For many months we were told by official spokesmen that to jail Gandhi, who was keeping the whole country in

a turmoil, must inevitably produce massacre and civil war. At last, the Government set its teeth and incarcerated the Mahatma. Not a stone was thrown in consequence, from the Khyber to the Indian Ocean. These Indian threats, in our opinion, are sheer bluff. They are important only because they mislead a section of official opinion, and may if heeded lose us Africa, while only firmness is needed to hold India. Are we to be asked to believe that three hundred million people are going to pillage, revolt, cut all white throats, because twenty-two thousand Indians of low caste, or no caste at all, do not get all they want in Africa? It would be incredible, if it were not true, that this fantastic nightmare could be so worked up by a subtle, well-financed, and long-sustained Indian propaganda as to impose on any British statesman.

### Labour's Circe

ON certain festive occasions, such as a birthday party, the young people in the schoolroom often amuse themselves by dressing up in each other's clothes, and acting a missing word. Some fancy of the kind seems recently to have seized our grave and elderly politicians in the absence of more exciting topics. Mr. Churchill, arrayed in Liberal coat and Tory trousers, makes a long speech in which the missing word is designedly not mentioned. Any child could guess it—merely Centre Party. Mr. Asquith, in a Liberal suit carefully cut after the best 1914 model, has his own acrostic to pronounce, but the event has shown that he simply cannot spell Liberal Reunion intelligibly—like Mr. Dick and his famous memorial, the consonants and vowels get strangely jumbled, and Mr. Lloyd George comes out where party unity went in. Elsewhere we observe with astonishment Lord Curzon taking part in the game of charades, and concealing a pair of undeniably Tory legs in a pair of democratic trousers. But in his haste to show that Conservatism spells democracy, our majestic Foreign Secretary seems to have put the garment on the wrong way round. The fit is not too bad, but it gives an impression of walking backwards, and we are afraid that this particular pair of breeches may split at the wrong moment.

It is an amusing game, but we need not delude ourselves with the thought that these antics have any relation to actuality. The more things change, as Galileo might have said but did not, the more they remain the same thing; the children act their part in the nursery, but downstairs in the parlour the industrious little Labour boy cons his book and gets his lesson word-perfect. He has no time for these juvenile games; he means to get to the top of his class, take over the schoolroom, and reform the whole curriculum. Unluckily for him, intense application to Marxian text-books has frayed his nerves and made his temper a little short; when the other boys beat him by native wit or an unblushing crib, he is apt to make a scene, wave arms and legs about, and run home to Mother England with a dreadful story of being bullied by the bigger lads.

On the whole, we doubt if the Labour Party is doing itself any good by these tactics. Nor does its programme strike us as particularly effective. King Charles II. is said to have remarked that his brother's mistresses were so ugly that they must have been assigned him as a penance by the priests. Something of the same sort seems to have happened to the Labour policy. Nationalisation had its attractions ten years ago, but the blonde charms of that demure damsel wore very thin during the war. The Capital Levy in her first season out was a rather attractive brunette—some staid politicians who ought to have known better indulged in a sly flirtation with the seductive lady in 1917—but she is now universally condemned as no better than she should be. Czecho-Slovakia took her to wife, and found her children hopeless; the United States investigated her ancestry on the best lines of economic eugenics, and decided to exclude her as an undesirable immigrant. Other countries have come, seen, and conquered their longing for this financial Circe; but the Labour Party alone remains faithful to its battered belle. By some curious freak of psychology, modern Labour rivals Victorian Oxford as the home of lost causes.

We should have it in us to admire this touching fidelity to a mistress whom all the world has cast off, but for one thing. The suspicion is growing that the Labour Samson loves its Delilah because it hopes that this time she can be persuaded to cut other people's hair instead of the blind giant's own. The one argument for Capital Levy is that it will reduce taxation. But that is precisely what the Labour Party does not want to do. It wants to increase expenditure by means of subsidies; under its rule Whitehall would be the new land of promise, and the plunder would be used as a new form of Danegeld, to buy off the hungry applicants for jobs. We fancy that a new bureaucracy would leave little of the capital levy for the reduction of taxation.

For this reason alone, we doubt if Labour is making the progress it might have done had its programme not consisted so largely in other people's cast-off ideas. Fidelity is a great thing, but it is well to choose your mistress wisely before you proclaim yourself ready to die in her cause. There is always a danger that the country may take the will for the deed, and bury Labour in the same grave as the Capital Levy it has taken to its bosom.

### England's Humiliation

By WILLIAM BOLITHO.

PARIS, MAY 8TH.

THE peep-show of the Ruhr has begun to revolve again. Instead of the unchanging picture of a sullen and bewildered army, perched on a giant coke-heap and surrounded by glaring Westphalians, the unseen operators have wound into view a succession of new scenes. First came a glittering German offer in German tinsel; then a Franco-Belgian tiff cunningly presented in indistinct colours to amuse the guessers; next they showed, for a moment, a tragedy of England, attempting intervention and being snubbed; it was closely followed with that favourite goblin scene, which has made Europe shiver this year



past, of M. Poincaré in a patriotic frenzy with another Note. There the Panorama has stuck. The Grand Tableau, which the play-bills are still promising, of a benevolent America, with a monstrous loan in a bag, is again postponed. But to occupy our impatience for this happy ending the showmen promise us an amusing view of Signor Mussolini, the Cinema Napoleon, in a new rôle of Friend to Peace, England's ally, and *deus ex machina*.

The story underneath these moving incidents is simple. Germany has been foolish and has paid for it; Lord Curzon has made a mistake and is paying; M. Poincaré has blundered and will pay. The Germans' offer put the world against them. Their claim is not to sentiment but to reason, and they were unreasonable. The spectacle of the stupidity of their diplomacy has long lost any quality of surprise, but it is developing a sort of pathos. At the present stage a serious and clever offer would have disarmed their enemies. As it was, they gave an arm to their foes and embarrassed their friends. Herr Cuno is a worthy successor of a long line of German post-war diplomats who have thought that to be moderate meant it was enough not to demand the return of Alsace and the restitution of their colonies. He has even outdone their record of taking dullness for resolution, nerves for courage, and by setting up the querulous complaints of a child as the right tone for patriotism. Lord Curzon had, rightly, informed him that we would not see a fair, moderate offer by him tossed into the Seine. Without dictating its terms, our Foreign Minister could not explain that such an offer would mean: forty billion gold marks, and such guarantees for their payment as a business man would require from a defaulting debtor. It is extraordinary that anyone should mistake the meaning of that speech, but Herr Cuno, though unaccustomed to success, in this succeeded.

As a direct consequence, Lord Curzon was obliged to venture on a very unsuitable ground, at the mercy of M. Poincaré. The French are not in the habit of showing much mercy to an opponent at a disadvantage, and M. Poincaré as openly as possible, in the eyes of the world, told Lord Curzon to mind his own business. Here again is an act, simple even to grossness. Britain, which had some share in the war and also in the Treaty which followed it, is now plainly excluded from any share, not only in the composition of terms to be imposed on Germany in the future, but even in the formal refusing of German offers. Pacification and Reparations are now solely the affair of France and Belgium. The honour and the prestige of this situation, it is true, weighs somewhat heavily on our smaller Ally.

In spite of what has passed since Mr. Lloyd George went out of power and the daily spectacle of an England which does not longer count, Belgium cannot contemplate with the confidence of M. Poincaré a deliberate undisguised snub administered to a mighty Power. So, emboldened by their fears, the Belgian Government refused M. Poincaré's first requirement that the German Note should be answered only by a taunt and a denial. They insisted that a long and more moderate answer should be returned, in which the opinion of England, lately so ignominiously wounded, and of the world, should be requested. Their fears and their firmness impressed M. Poincaré; after three days' pressure he yielded to their wish. The note was reasonable, even if the French Premier's mania for patriotic declamation was indulged. It contained, in its reticences, and in certain of its phrases, hopes for a future settlement which M. Poincaré could only pass under protest.

For the second time, he who puts off the most solemn protests of England with a careless excuse, has had to bend before the desires of Belgium. M. Poincaré has gained no reputation in his handling of the situation. He was forced by a petty State to

share the first disposal of his victory. And, as the making of a powerful enemy may counterbalance the finest victory, he has lost much by his unwise treatment of England. He has sought to turn us out of the council-room as if he were Lord Curzon and we Russians. England will find a formidable reply, though the first notion of Lord Curzon, the *entente* with the Italy of Mussolini, is not worthy of her. And we shall show him that if our co-operation is not desirable our opposition may be unpleasant.

## The Blackshirts

By J. M. HONE.

THE Italian visit of the British King and Queen has revived British interest in that fortunate country where every prospect pleases, and man's vileness, thanks to Mussolini, is kept in check and out of sight. I take this description from the *Morning Post*, which has informed its readers that Italy, being "not only an earthly paradise" at this time of the year, but also the home, or rather the domain, of the man who has "probably" saved us all from "those ferocious passions and predatory instincts" which were loosed on the world after the war, or the peace, is, therefore, worthy of our regard.

This, and some other English remarks, *à propos* of the Blackshirts and the Royal visit, may raise a smile. One thing that I have read, however, is certainly pointed; it is a simple statement of fact in King George's programme—the first object that the King will be brought to see in Rome is his Excellency, Mussolini, and the galleries and ruins will come later. This is as it should be. Much of the satisfaction in Mussolini that is felt by the ardent nationalist youth of Italy is due to his being the representative of something very modern, original, and enterprising. After the revolution no one can think of Italy as a country with a past only. But Mussolini's methods have been less drastic than those proposed by Marinetti and the Futurists, who, in order to rid Italy of the patronage of the foreigner, desired literally to destroy the museums and the galleries.

Mussolini is not, and never was, a conservative in the English sense of the term. His is quite another world from that of the *Morning Post* and Lord Carson, where people are so easily divided into loyalists and the others, and history is a simple record of the heroic efforts of a minority of nicely bred people with their servants to save civilisation, Christianity, etc., etc. Fascism, though it acts melodramatically, is not the outcome of a melodramatic philosophy. Self-made, like Mr. Lloyd George, Signor Mussolini is, at the same time, a man of European culture who knows his Proudhon, his Sorel pretty thoroughly, not to mention such writers as Stirner, Marx, and Nietzsche, none of whom, not even Marx, has he wholly repudiated. He would probably be now best classified as a Hegelian of the Right; a suitable creed for an intellectual who likes action, is able and ambitious, and also has a genuine belief in his country's future. Fascism—one of the biographers of the Dictator tells me—represents, in its basis of ideas, the negation not only of materialism, but also the denial of democratic individualism and rationalism; it affirms (after Vico, Croce, and other Italian as well as German thinkers) spirit in history, the value of the historical and spiritual personality (of man, the nation, and humanity), opposing these to the abstract conceptions of the utilitarian and the moralist alike. I don't make much out of that, except that it is all very un-English, and contains no suggestion for a useful slogan for Die-Hards at the next elections. In fact, the idea of Fascism, if applied in England, would relegate most politicians here to obscurity, not only those who have "shaken hands with murder," all English

political parties without exception being tainted with the "Liberalism" condemned by Mussolini.

It has been said truly that Fascism has closer points of contact with Communism, than with ameliorative Socialism, that it constitutes a "critical revision" of the French Revolution, an anti-bourgeois and anti-democratic reaction, borrowing from Socialism the Syndicalist principle, and sending the nation forward to the reorganisation of the bourgeois State.

Of course, in practice, Mussolini makes his philosophy as he goes along, and is not at all a slave to consistency. In this connection, it is the obviously ironical thing to say that he has not yet repaired the failure of Versailles to revive the Roman Empire. In fact, his foreign policy has not been very dissimilar to that of Giolitti, or even of Nitti. He confirmed the Treaty of Rapallo as meekly and honourably as Mr. Bonar Law confirmed the Treaty with Michael Collins. Again, he denies that he intends to destroy the Italian Parliament, although he continues to denounce Parliamentarianism, the "Liberal State," and the right to existence even of constitutional opposition. In the celebrated article in *Gerarchia*, written at the beginning of the year, he described Liberty as a Goddess who may once have been beautiful, but is no longer so; Liberals, like Ferrero, retort that modern Italy has never known liberty in the Western sense, or genuine parliamentary government, and that what Mussolini destroyed with his revolution was the paternal regime of great lobbyists and party-manipulators like Giolitti, who was himself a dictator in disguise for many years before the war. The debate continues endlessly in the Italian Press, and it leaves an impression with the foreign observer that the theorists of Fascism seek to exaggerate, rather than to compose, the "ideal" differences between themselves and the champions of Liberalism. For, in fact, serious thinkers on all sides are agreed as to the desirability of a reform of the old bureaucratic parliamentary regime, admitting that the degeneration of the party system justified a revolution, if not Mussolini's, someone else's! Nor because Mussolini calls his aims "aristocratic," need they be condemned; what Fascism wants to do is really to experiment in democracy, and it seems foolish to lose allies by quarrelling over words and misunderstanding definitions. The aristocratic system proposed by the Fascists will not be based on titles, birth, or wealth, but on technical and scientific capacity; in this connection the more extreme idealists of the Party seek inspiration in d'Annunzio's constitutional scheme for Fiume, where no one was to be permitted to claim citizenship unless he was a producer of common wealth or a creator of common power!

Pending the revision of the Constitution, Mussolini remains what Giolitti was, a paternal ruler of Italy—his claim as against the older politician being based mainly on an advantage in years and in vigour, on the superior sincerity of his following, above all on an advantage in moral courage. Fascism has had its "off-days"; but on the whole it has been true to itself—never more, perhaps, than a few weeks ago when Mussolini, disregarding electoral expediency, gave the members of the pseudo-Catholic, or Popular Party in his Cabinet their *congé*—this Party, truly described by the Fascists as the worst production of the *arrivists* politics of modern Italy, will now be counted among the enemies of the Blackshirts.

Other things too have been done showing clearly that Mussolini is not content to rest on his laurels as restorer of tranquillity and the destroyer of anti-patriotism. Among these perhaps the most important have been the banishment of Freemasonry from Government circles, and the recognition, by a new educational policy in the schools, of Catholicism as an essential part of the national tradition.

## Communism "Made in Germany"

By a BRITISH OFFICER.

BERLIN, MAY 7TH.

WHEN sorely tried old Mother Europe becomes more than usually exasperated with that singularly troublesome child France, she causes wise men in various places to write about a bogymen who will surely swallow her and the rest of the family if she does not mend her ways. A peculiarly nasty bogymen, monstrously large, stretching from the Rhine to Vladivostok, is the "United Russo-German Soviet Republic." Although France appears to remain singularly unimpressed, this horrid vision causes shivers to run down bourgeois spines in other countries and particularly in Germany. For this country is more terrified by the red bogymen, of whom it is supposed to form an important part in the future, than any of its neighbours. In this fear Conservatives, Democrats, and Socialists meet on common ground. All of them are genuinely afraid of the growth of Communism, and talk about it as though it were a real danger, but when they are asked to produce tangible proofs for the existence of this peril, very little information comes to hand. And even this is contradictory and varies from day to day, for the Ruhr events are continually modifying the Communist Party just as much as other political groups.

The Communist Party covers a greater variety of shades of opinion in Germany than in any other country. The genuine, die-hard Bolsheviks are, of course, prominent—less in virtue of their number than because of their activity. They are under the orders of the Moscow Soviet, which supplies them with funds and thereby exerts considerable influence. The Party Press is controlled by this extreme section, which recognises only the claims of international communism and is bitterly opposed to any nationalist movement. Their policy is negative, directed mainly towards the disintegration of national life. As their political currency consists chiefly of paper promises they are not anxious for the day to arrive when these will have to be redeemed. This section is accused of working in collusion with the French in the Ruhr. To judge by the recent utterances in the *Rote Fahne*, and particularly the *Ruhr Echo*, this suspicion seems well-founded. This group represents only a minority in the Party; the majority is far more complex.

When Germans speak of Communists they do not, as a rule, mean the official Moscow variety of the species, but an ever-increasing number of malcontents who belong to a rather vague radical movement of a fanatically activist type which is not necessarily identified with Communist theories. The chief motive power of the movement is a widespread distrust in the sincerity of the successive post-war German Governments. One group thinks that the "policy of fulfilment" failed, because the chief aim of the Cabinets was to spare the capitalists; another attributes the same result to the inadequate support given to the point of view of the working class in negotiations with foreign Powers; yet another group is thoroughly nationalist, but holds extremely radical views on the economic reconstruction of Germany. Not one of these groups has any clear ideas on foreign policy.

The Bolshevik wing of the Communist Party has been confronted with a difficult problem by the Ruhr invasion, since it has caused an unprecedented wave of nationalism to sweep over every section of the populace. This recrudescence of national feeling is naturally looked upon as a calamity by the out-and-out Bolsheviks, as it is apt to release forces violently hostile to Communists of the Bolshevik persuasion.

The French menace is, however, too big a factor to be ignored, and the satellites of Moscow feel that they must be prepared to adopt an active policy should events make it necessary. Should a national rising become imminent, they will do everything in their power to turn it to their own advantage by uniting the workers under the Red Flag of the Soviet Republic and by directing it not only against the armies of capitalist France, but also against the *bourgeois régime* in Germany. This scheme cannot be ignored. Unemployment is increasing in Germany, high prices and shortage of fuel and raw materials provide powerful incentives to passion and discontent. At the same time well-informed observers in Germany are almost unanimous that these arguments will not prevail with the great majority of workers who support the Government in their policy of passive resistance. A more definite danger is that under certain conditions the extremists of the Left, practically all belonging to the Communist Party, may join with the extremists of the Right, such as the followers of Hitler.

This is by no means as fantastic as it sounds. The semi-military organisations of the Left and Right, originally created for widely different purposes have suddenly discovered a common platform—the one that has united the whole German nation since the Ruhr invasion: hatred of France. The Ruhr itself gives a convincing proof of this, for there the workers have become the backbone of the passive resistance.

## Minority Rule

By H. WARREN FAIRFIELD.

AGAINST the present Government a Conservative periodical is accustomed weekly to discharge the taunt that only a minority of voters voted for Bonar Law. Fortunately sins of omission are never judged so hardly as sins of commission, and in the heart of every opponent a Government that does nothing is held preferable to a Government that does the wrong thing. But suppose that the policy of our rulers was something more vigorous than what vulgarians call sitting tight and apologists tranquillity? Suppose that at some not very distant election the Labour Party secured, with two-fifths of the votes, a majority of sixty in the House of Commons? The taunts breathing softly over Garvin would swell to a whirlwind, and not only the Astor Press would sigh that Democracy had been deluded. It is a plain, indisputable truth that for so long as the attempt is made to work a three- or four-party system on two-party methods of representation the fruits of victory will go to the best-organised minority. It is a second plain, indisputable fact that the policy of the Labour Party is opposed to the most powerful interests in this country, and is approved, or likely to be approved, in its entirety by few.

And let us put aside the question whether the Bills brought forward by a Labour Government would be in themselves ruinous. Let us assume that its policy would not, if effective, be more injurious to the Commonwealth than the policy of the Primrose League. Let us look on Socialism as tolerantly and indifferently as we look on the agrarian reforms of the Gracchi. A Government desirous of revolution, no matter how small or how beneficial that revolution might be, would have against the House of Lords, the Press, the officers in the military force, and the bulk of the Civil Service a difficult task. If the deliberately expressed and publicly registered opinions of the majority of the electorate were added in the balance against it, it is probable that not only would the Government be broken, but also the House of Commons and Parliamentary institutions. In a country like this where there is no healthy tradition of disorder and where the populace demands a signed monument of its rare

emergencies from lethargy, the prospect is unpleasant. No one plays more solemnly or more decorously than the Englishman a game the rules of which the other side observes. No one is more extravagant when the rules fail. This was hinted in 1832; in 1913; during the war. And in the circumstances suggested the rules must fail, and half England think the other half cheating. That a majority of the electorate—or of the Commons—are being illegitimately impeded must then be obvious, with results not difficult to foresee.

The merits of Proportional Representation have been long and unenthusiastically debated. Its opponents, even while admitting that assemblies elected by the method of the Single Transferable Vote, that generally advocated in this country, closely reflect the divisions of opinion in the country, have many objections to make. These objections vary in value. It is said that the voters are not intelligent enough to understand it, and reference is made to the number of ballot papers spoilt in the University elections, but, after all, the intelligent working man may be less easily baffled. It is said that too many cranks would find seats. Yet even under the present system the Tichborne claimant could return a couple of members, and Prohibition can return no fewer. It is said that the increase in the size of the seven-member constituency would impose upon candidates an impossible task and enforce electors to vote for labels, not men. It is said, still truly I believe, that no practical system of holding by-elections has been invented. And it is said that the group system would replace the party system. That, surely, is the most serious objection. The group system has more than once nearly destroyed Parliamentaryism in France, and seems quite to have destroyed it in Italy, and with ephemeral and impotent Governments, dependent for their brief show of power upon a mixture of rhetoric and corruption, that power must rest nowhere or in a bureaucracy—which might be worse. If Proportional Representation fosters a group system, the evils which it would remedy are no greater than the evils which it would produce.

Well, when we consider the present condition of political parties, we can scarcely doubt that with a little encouragement they would all dissolve. The Liberal Party is formally divided, and the chief incentives to reunion would be removed by Proportional Representation. The Conservative Party is only held together by the spectacle of Liberal defeats. The recent history of the Labour Party and the grave differences, both intellectual and temperamental, revealed therein do not suggest that its unity is secure. Under Proportional Representation each party would put forward for each constituency four or five candidates. No voter could give a directly effective vote for more than one of these candidates. In even the best disciplined parties a candidate would be tempted with other candidates of the same colour for the directly effective vote. The differences between right wing and left wing, high and low, would be exaggerated and exasperated; organisations would be formed within the party organisation to press the interests of this shade, against that, of buff or blue; and very soon fission would follow.

Unfortunately, though Proportional Representation, being specially adapted to the group system, tends to produce that system, it does not follow that the existing methods of representation will restore a two-party system. It took half a century to reconcile Whigs and Radicals in the Liberal Party, and that reconciliation expressed in Gladstone's Ministry of 1868—the first powerful Ministry since the fall of Peel—endured for less than twenty years; indeed, can hardly be said to have survived the Conservative triumph of 1874. And politics between the Congress of Vienna and the Paris Conference were much simpler than now. One question, on which two sides were-

taken, dominated all others. It seems that for a generation at least there will be three parties, and the game of In and Out must be played with revised rules.

From the disadvantages of Proportional Representation varieties of the Second Ballot are free. The size of the constituencies is not increased, and parties are not enforced to put forward more than one candidate; are, in fact, as now, discouraged from so doing. The count would be little more prolonged than now. By-elections would be possible as now. On the other hand, a Commons so elected, while it would not reproduce with mathematical precision the diversity of public opinion would contain no one chosen against the will of the majority in his constituency. The voter has marked his paper not with a cross but with "1-2"; has stated that if he cannot put that liberal-minded barrister, Mr. Brown, in, and Mr. Brown is at the bottom of the poll, at least at the cost of introducing old Colonel Robinson he has kept out Bob Jones—or *vice versa*. If a Labour Majority enters the House, the electorate will have signified their acceptance of the fact if not its urgent desirability. What a Government lost in numbers for divisions in the House, it would gain in authority before the country. We should know where we were. Unless we do, unless methods of representation adapted like the Second Ballot to neither a two-party system nor a group system but to the actual three-party system is adopted, it is difficult to see how our institutions can be preserved.

## MIDDLE SECTION

### Encores

BY FRANCIS TOYE.

THE question of encores has come into special prominence in the last few weeks owing to certain incidents, some but not all of which have received considerable publicity. It may be of interest to state the facts and attempt to define what, I hope, most musicians would agree was a reasonable position in regard to the question as a whole.

It seems to be generally accepted that what may be called the encore-habit has been growing considerably of late. Most of us agree in fact that the habit has become a nuisance. In certain concerts—notably those organised by a well-known agency at the Albert Hall—not one but two encores appear to be the rule. Possibly the reason may be that the agency in question holds something very like a monopoly in "stars," but, whatever the reason, the fact remains. A climax of absurdity was reached at the Morfona concert a few weeks ago when the attendant violinist gave two in the first part of the programme and no less than three in the second, while the *prima donna* herself, in addition to the usual quota, gave three in one instance, and returned hurriedly at the end of a long programme in order to sing *Home, Sweet Home* to an audience who, despite previous delight, seemed almost in an equal hurry to get there.

Excess of this kind appears to have produced a reaction. At the Beecham concert in April a rude voice openly reproved Clara Butt, who was making unnecessary extra contributions to the length of a concert already too long. "We want to hear the orchestra," it shouted—and the sympathy of a large part of the audience clearly supported the protest. But there is a further and an even more interesting symptom to chronicle. At the last Queen's Hall symphony concert but one, Pouishnoff, after a magnificent performance of a Saint-Saens Pianoforte Concerto, played an arrangement by himself of one of the movements of the Ballet Music from Schubert's *Rosamund*. It was a very poor arrangement, puerile

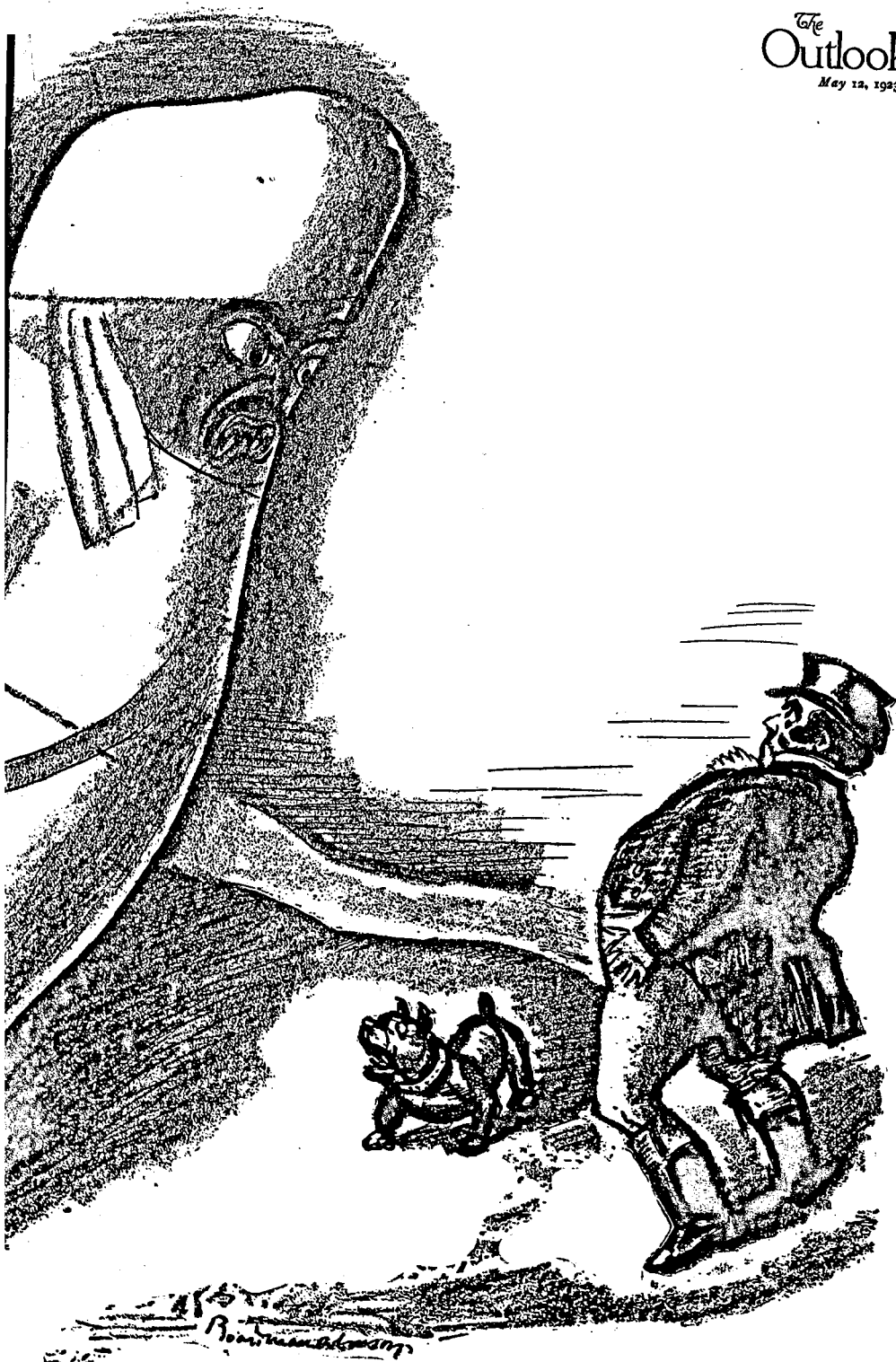
almost to silliness, and coming, as it did, in a programme that contained Schubert's great C-major symphony constituted something very like an impertinence. He was actually hissed by a few people and applauded by hardly any, so that it may be said that one London audience at any rate has shown a real critical faculty which is almost unprecedented in matters of this kind. One last instance of an opposite nature will suffice to present the facts. Dorothy Silk, I am told, absolutely refused, despite popular enthusiasm and the approval of the conductor, to grant an encore at the Royal Choral Society's concert last Saturday, and by her action seems to have created something of a sensation. Dorothy Silk has little in common with Clara Butt. I hardly think that her refusal is likely to have been prompted by a memory of her colleague's unpleasant experience a few weeks previously. It is significant primarily as an indication that some singers have plucked up courage to have the courage of their convictions.

Now it is possible to adopt a priggish and unreasonable attitude as regards encores. The purist who would ban them altogether is hardly less absurd than the glutton who demands them in excess. Take, for instance, recent performances of Italian Operas at Covent Garden. I have heard indignant "hushings" of applause in *Bohème*, even in *Aida* and *Rigoletto*. This betrays, especially in the case of the Verdi Operas, little less than sheer ignorance. They were built, so to say, for applause. If anyone had told Verdi that objection would be taken to an encore of *La Donna è Mobile*, he would have had a fit. He wrote the tune with encores and applause in mind, and all the celebrated tenors of the world stock variations of the last cadence in order to supply what seems to them, and indeed to every person familiar with Italian Opera, an inevitable demand. Only the ignoramus or the school-marm would apply Wagnerian principles to every Opera indiscriminately. Because Wagner's Operas have continuous music which is spoiled by interruptions of any kind, it does not follow that Mozart's or Verdi's, which are provided with a plentiful supply of "full closes," suffer from similar treatment. On the contrary.

Nor do I think that in concerts like the Morfona recital already referred to, encores are generically out of place. As in the case of the Gilbert and Sullivan performances they merely become intolerable owing to excess. In any case, whether justifiable or not, they often cannot be refused in entertainments of this kind. Enthusiasm for great singers is an old-established tradition. I myself was as delighted as any young lady from Tooting when Charles Hackett gave us a fairly liberal allowance of encores at the Albert Hall the other Sunday. But Mr. Hackett happens to be the best tenor who has sung in London since 1914, and one of the best who has ever sung anywhere. Exceptional gifts deserve exceptional recognition, which brings us to what is surely the conclusion of the whole matter.

Viewed as a manifestation of genuine, uncontrolled enthusiasm the encore, though sometimes a nuisance, is generally excusable. Some of us, however, have a feeling that gradually the practice has grown up of giving encores without any very insistent demand. Singers and players seem to have come to regard them as a kind of prescriptive right, feeling aggrieved when they are not asked for. Thus the double-encore, which should be reserved only for exceptional cases, has become comparatively common, almost having come to occupy the position once filled by a single encore. Moreover, the traditional and (to me) maddening politeness of English audiences must be borne in mind. They often applaud, almost mechanically, as if to say "Thank you" to the performer, quite irrespective of the fact as to whether they really enjoyed the performance or not. Such good manners,





BOGEY.

however admirable in themselves, have one serious drawback; they fail to encourage a raising of the standard of performance. I am inclined to think that to this facile enthusiasm of English audiences must be ascribed in some measure our acknowledged failure to produce artists of international reputation. Why should a singer or a player bother to take that excessively great trouble which is necessary to turn the good into the superlatively good when he or she receives precisely the same recognition for both? Logically, of course, the encore postulates at the other end of the scale the right to hiss. In moments of exasperation one is often tempted to wish that this right were more often exercised by a London audience; it would do some of our less competent celebrities a world of good. Nevertheless any sensitive person who has witnessed scenes of disapproval in an Italian theatre would not lightly vote for an introduction of the hissing habit into England. To begin with it is not quite fair on the artist, who is necessarily in a state of considerable tension; and, in the second place, it undoubtedly tends to facilitate those sinister machinations of cabals and cliques which caused even a Caruso to vow that he would never again sing in Naples. The remedy is less drastic. Let polite silence greet incompetent efforts, conventional applause being reserved for competent and encores for exceptionally competent performances. In short, our audiences should tune their approval down a tone and not start on the assumption, as they do at present, that some kind of applause is inevitable, whatever the nature of the performer's talents. As for encores, they should be considered an exceptional honour, not, as now, a mere excuse for hearing a player or a singer twice instead of once at the price of a single ticket of admission to a concert. Frankly that is what it has come to.

## Academy Grumbles

BY A LAYMAN.

I KNOW so little about the Royal Academy that I thought when I went there that there was sure to be a painting by Mr. Augustus John. I thought there was some rule about it. Another preconceived idea, acquired from the daily Press, was that this was an unusually dull Academy, and that idea, unfortunately, turned out to be correct.

The first impression produced upon an outsider who is not an art critic is a regret that the old "subject picture" should have disappeared from the Academy. It was always rather fun studying a picture by the Hon. John Collier of four angry people at a bridge table and wondering which of them had cheated; or of a heart-broken married couple by the fireside, one of whom has made a terrible confession, but you don't know which. There is very little of that kind of thing at this year's Academy. There is no fun to be got out of Mr. Ricketts's problem pictures, such as "Chimeras," because you do not even know what the problem is. It is only a "subject picture" in the sense that the late G. F. Watts's pictures were "subject pictures" there is really nothing to argue about. An exception to this is the most talked-of picture in the Academy, Sir William Orpen's "To the Unknown British Soldier in France." At the first glance the satire seems to be obvious enough, but I see that Sir William Orpen has been explaining to the reporters that the plump little figures above the soldiers' heads are not cherubs at all—which leaves me all at sea again. An interesting point about this painting is that the architectural features, the archway and the panels in the wall, all slope inwards towards the top at a quite surprising angle, and it seems much less reasonable than it would in an actual building. One remembers

the curve in the steps leading up to the Parthenon and the swell in the middle of the Doric columns, things not noticeable, and not meant to be noticeable, in architecture, but sometimes startlingly so in paint.

I cannot help thinking that a few old-fashioned subject pictures would have waked things up a bit. What lively arguments used to take place before them! They gave the visitors something to talk about. They have gone, and there is nothing much in their place. Instead we have a picture of an artist painting at an easel in his studio, and the problem is that he is in fancy dress. Why? Nobody knows. Or a picture of a "Wounded Amazon" by Mr. Charles Shannon, and the problem is to find the wound. This composition appears to be almost identical with one painted by the same artist some thirty years ago, which won, I think, a gold medal at Munich. Or a picture of the tops of two or three Greek columns, part of a ruined temple, jutting out of the soil, and the problem is to guess what has become of the rest of them, since the ground two feet beneath the surface is seen to consist of solid rock. Or we may wonder what Mr. Frank Dicksee was thinking about when he painted that unconvincing, bilious-looking, green "Moon Maiden." All this may be very old-fashioned criticism, but it does seem to explain why the visitors crowded before Sir William Orpen's satire. There was something to argue about there.

Since the subject picture has been abandoned, it seems to be better to go the whole hog and give us pure tapestry designs, in the manner of Boucher, as Mr. Philip Connard does in his "Pastoral"; or a study in brown like Mr. Gerald F. Kelly's "Jane XXIII.," which does, at any rate, play the old, straightforward Academy game extremely well. Brown velvet could hardly be better done—or is it velours? But "Josephine," by Mr. Ralph Peacock, deserves to be the picture of the year. It was said of Parrhasias that the birds came to peck the grapes in his paintings; anyone might be excused who tapped the oak panelling in this extraordinary piece of work. It stands out from everything else, and since the modern artist is compelled to paint for public galleries without considering where the picture may eventually find a home, it must be accounted a great success. Furthermore, it is a good deal easier to sneer at this kind of painting than to imitate it.

I turn to the portraits. I am aware that I have said nothing of Mr. Sims's bold designs, nor of Mr. Clausen's art in a mist—a mist that gets thicker every year. But the fact is that there are one or two portraits which easily excel in interest anything else in the exhibition. You stand before Mr. Sargent's "Sir Edward H. Busk, M.A., LL.B." You do not feel very friendly towards Mr. Sargent. You have perhaps suffered from the Wertheimers. But you say to yourself, "At any rate, *he can paint*"—just as you might reject two writers, one of whom is full of bright ideas and the other of erudition, and turn with relief to a third, remarking that, at any rate, *he can write*. Mr. Sargent knows his business, inside and out. There is extraordinary power in this portrait; and so much character that you get the impression that all the Admirals and Privy Councillors on the walls of the Academy must be mere nonentities compared with Sir Edward Busk—which is surely not true. It is in sharp contrast with Sir John Lavery's portrait of Sir James Craig, in which there is no character at all, only slabs of raw meat. Yet a man does not become Prime Minister of Ulster for nothing. The other great portrait in the Academy is Sir William Orpen's "Roland Knoedler, Esq."

I had to hurry through the sculpture room. There were some terrifying Robots there, and I noticed one admirable study of a soldier, from the Great Western Railway War Memorial, by Mr. Jagger.

## THE DRAMA

### The Film on the Stage

By EDWARD SHANKS.

THE producers of *Merton of the Movies* at the Shaftesbury Theatre have written to the Press to make it clear that this is a play, not a film. Emphatically it is not a film: it is the revenge of the play on the film. And yet a third mode of art enters into the question, for it is adapted from the novel of the same name by Harry Leon Wilson.

We have realised so far only fitfully and absently the full meaning of the immense life that is growing up in the service of the picture-theatres. In America it must be a social phenomenon of the first rank. California has been invaded by it as by an alien race. Not long ago I met a young lady, a painter, who had been to California with the intention of making some use of the scenery of that marvellous country. But wherever she fixed her easel a man in shirt-sleeves with the peak of his cap pointing down the back of his neck would come up to her and say, "Sorry, Miss, but y' can't paint pictures here to-day. We're going to shoot Pauline Fredericks right here in fifteen minutes."

The moving picture is an art. Of that I am persuaded by the recent production of *The Golem*, though how it may, or will, be developed as an art neither I nor anyone else yet knows. The one thing certain is that no art has ever yet been so industrialised. This is a gigantic commercial undertaking, and at the same time a mushroom. It has sprung into existence, and secure existence, within a few years. Its progress has been like the progress of the late war. A soldier who was a recruit at the first battle of Ypres in the autumn of 1914 was a veteran if he survived to take part in the second battle of Ypres in the spring of the next year. And the raw beginner who acted at Los Angeles as a super a couple of years ago is to-day the doyen of the profession. Such is the breakneck speed at which success is achieved.

Such a thing could not happen without literary comment; but literature, having perhaps lost its breath at the rapidity of its rival's start, has been rather slow to follow. Mr. Rupert Hughes wrote a book called *Souls for Sale* which contained one remarkable scene. Three actresses, two of them already arrived and one in the act of arriving, agree after lunch to hold a weeping competition in the presence of several producers. The heroine, of course, wins; but the scene has evident, unexpected and disconcerting truth in it. Mr. Harry Leon Wilson's *Merton of the Movies* is not written in the same serious vein as that of Mr. Hughes: it is an amiable and gentle satire.

The story, as it takes shape in the play, runs as follows. Merton Gill is the assistant in Gashwiler's General Store, Simsbury, Illinois. But his mind is fixed on higher things. Every night before going to bed he puts in a little Wild West stuff with the tailor's dummies that decorate the entrance to the store, and then prays, "Please, God, make me a good movie actor." And the inevitable happens and he goes to Hollywood to hang about the door of the studio in which his divinity, Beulah Baxter, is acting. By good luck, he is taken on as an "extra." "What is your name?" says the casting director. "Clifford Armytage," he replies. "Well . . . why not?" says the casting director as she takes it down. So Merton finds himself on the same stage as his other object of adoration, Harold Parmalee; and next we are allowed to view the turmoil involved in the actual taking of a film.

This is perhaps the most effective scene in the play;

and its effectiveness is largely due to the superb acting of Mr. Henry Wenman as J. Sloane Henshaw, the Director. Mr. Henshaw revising *Robinson Crusoe*, Mr. Henshaw's tired temperament being revived by the strains of a violin, Mr. Henshaw on his knees and sweating, adjuring the girl who is under the eye of the camera and supposed to be sobbing, "You've got it! Hold it now, hold it! All your children are dead, and your husband's deserted you! *You can't afford to buy that new car you want!*"—Mr. Henshaw in these moments is delicious; and I confess to having shaken with laughter in my seat. This is, one divines, the real production of a film seen as something comic. The real production of a film cannot be, of course, quite like this: if it were, its repetition would be unendurable except for the entirely humourless. But the comic view of a thing is an aspect of the truth, from which one can deduce a shadow of the whole truth. And here it is easy to see that the effect of comedy springs from the contrast between the aspirations of the films and their grotesque embodiment, as exhibited in their production. And this confirms one in the temerarious opinion that the films really have aspirations.

Merton is unfortunately not a success and is dismissed after a few minutes. But instead of accepting his defeat he hangs about the "lot," sleeping in property shacks and eating nothing at all. At last he detects the marvellous Beulah Baxter in a deception. It is not she who takes the extraordinary risks she seems to do, not she who hangs to the edges of precipices by one hand or who dives off the decks of ships in typhoons. No: it is a double, in spite of the fact that Beulah had declared that she regarded the employment of doubles for dangerous feats as breaking faith with her public. Merton is cruelly disillusioned. But the "double" is that redoubtable person "the Montague Girl," and she is attracted towards Merton and is resolved to befriend him in spite of himself. Now there is nothing to be done with him in the way of "straight business." He is only good as a character in comedies; and he despises comedies. So he is persuaded to act seriously in a knockabout comedy, thereby creating a magnificent burlesque. So far, so good; but there will be trouble when he discovers what has been done. And there is; and his spirit is almost broken. But his romantic mind adapts itself to the situation; and in a little while he is seeing himself as a great player of burlesque who is not quite a buffoon but who "has got pathos" as well. And he is preparing to marry the Montague Girl and announcing to reporters that she is "not only his inspiration but also his severest critic."

Such a piece, a mixture of pathos and uproarious humour, depends very much on its cast; and in this respect *Merton of the Movies* is extremely lucky. Mr. Tom Douglas, like the character he represents, "has got pathos." The simplicity of his prayer in the first act is beautiful. His eagerness to make good in the third and his drifting awkward progress across the stage, are wistfully comic. And in the last act, when he suffers and accommodates himself to disillusionment, he acts with great delicacy and flexibility. The part is very difficult indeed. Merton must always be a figure of fun, must always retain our sympathies, and yet must not allow our sympathies to be too deeply wounded. Mr. Douglas very faithfully meets all these requirements. Miss Collinge, as the Montague Girl, has no such subtle opportunities; but she makes a bright and attractive heroine. I have already praised Mr. Wenman, who (to say it once again) is excellent. The cast is large and individual performers cannot further be distinguished in it; but the general level is unusually high.



## NEW BOOKS

### Novels

- THE HOPEFUL JOURNEY. By Beatrice Kean Seymour. Chapman and Hall. 7s. 6d.  
 REVOLVING LIGHTS. By Dorothy Richardson. Duckworth. 7s. 6d.  
 THE MARSDEN CASE. By F. M. Ford (Ford Madox Hueffer). Duckworth. 7s. 6d.  
 FOUND MONEY. By G. A. Birmingham. Methuen. 7s. 6d.

ONE of the most difficult things in the world is to discuss, or even to consider, the relations of man and woman without rancour. A person who retains control of his temper is yet unlikely to avoid at some time or other pronouncing a cheap and quite unhelpful generalisation. Men are cruel. Men are stupid. Women are cruel. Women are stupid. Men, or women, have not our delicate shades of feeling. Men, or women, have not our nice sense of honour. That many intelligent people should react from these absurdities into refusing to classify human beings according to their sex is not surprising. And by treating the distinction of sex as unimportant you can go quite happily and quite a long way. So many things supposed to be caused by the especial sexual function of man or woman may be explained by breeding or environment; for example, the thing called modesty. But you cannot, I think, go all the way. In marriage, though not perhaps in promiscuous connections, and in most kinds of created art, a more than physical difference between man and woman appears. Woman there seems to vary from man more widely than reference to her potential motherhood would explain. Mrs. Seymour has set herself, in a long, clever, interesting novel, to describe human beings in love, human beings behaving as men and women, without committing herself to cheap generalisations or to special advocacy. In a study of three marriages set in three successive generations she has taken the subject right out of the hands of feminist and anti-feminist, the author of *This Freedom* and the contributors to magazines and magazine pages. She has written with great intelligence and with the tenderness that more often than passion accompanies intelligence. No book of this kind is more temperate or more just.

At the starting-point of the journey is Judith who in 1853 married Jeremy Bentley with expectations based on *Jane Eyre* and *Sonnets from the Portuguese*. Disappointed as a wife she had to content herself with being a mother, only in turn to disappoint Jeremy by producing, despite his insistent cry for sons, a series of mostly plain daughters. He was unfaithful, and she suffered rather than indulged his infidelities. At last, after putting up with life, she put up with death. Poor little Mrs. Dombey! For Eve, her daughter, the aggressive, not the defensive, was the customary attitude. Eve wanted a career, but her father refused to meet the expense. She married, but child-bearing diverted her. She struggled on, capable and dominant in committee and upon platform, cherishing great ideas of what the world would become when men ceased to govern it. Her husband, unlike her father, was faithful. But she discovered that even he before he had married her had had a mistress; had lived on that masculine level so far below the high chivalrous chastity of women. She never forgave him. He died not only unforgiven, but, as it seems, persisting in his sin by leaving his bed of sickness to incur double pneumonia on the road to his woman. And Eve became more bitter, more curt, more competent, in committee or upon platform. Her daughter, Mona, whom she rather disliked, went a stage further. What Eve had struggled for—freedom, access to the pro-

fessions, equality of morals—Mona tranquilly despised. Mona did not want to become a doctor, and would not have given twopence for the suffrage. In the nursery she had called for dolls and paid no attention to soldiers and to engines. In maturity she was bothered by love. Various men, some rather fascinating, were encouraged by her. She became the mistress of one of them. She was so sorry that she cared so little and could not be more to him, a wife. She married at last a friend. He knew all. He was unfaithful to her. The power to condemn, the weakness to forgive—Mona had neither of these.

Mrs. Seymour's *The Hopeful Journey* improves as it approaches our own times. Judith's marriage was slightly hinted. Eve's is disappointingly curtailed. The relations of Mona with her husband, Shane, are so well done that one is tempted to regret that less than all the novel was given to them. This is, however, a story not of persons but of ideas, and to understand those ideas one must see the whole journey from Victorian submission through Edwardian rebellion to Georgian arrangement. The author, moreover, is not able to make her points vividly or dramatically. She explains her characters, but does not realise them. What she has written is not a great book, but a good, a very good book, in which a mind of the first quality and a capacity for most clear expression have placed in the proper settings many absorbing problems.

This certainly *The Hopeful Journey* does, to put you quite out of temper with *Revolving Lights*. Poor Miriam's open fear of clarity or intellect, her incessant, meaningless generalisations about the sexes, her flapping, feeble sentences—ugh! As a woman, Miriam is unattractive, and as a human being she is contemptible. Miss Richardson has made her a vehicle for impressions both lovely and poignant, and the latest instalments of her adventures are no less rich than the preceding. But the condescension of the subjective ego to the objective ego of Miss Richardson to Miriam does grow a little tiresome. What a pity it is that the author has never been able to reconcile herself with the fact that the truth is always less than the whole truth, and that waste always accompanies creation. Miriam is still in the age of hansoms and still at that dentist's. She still sees life as a man intoxicated sees a chemist's window. And I am not at all sure that Miss Richardson could not in a brisk rattling yarn about pirates say all she has now to say and, which now she does but occasionally, interest the reader.

If I yielded to the desire of making this page look like a coherent article, I could proffer several arguments for regarding *The Marsden Case* as a sweeping attack upon women. More than once George Heimann was driven off his head by his sister and Miss Jeaffreson and the little men they directed. Or again you might call the book a study of the effects of publicity, war-inflamed publicity, upon a man who disliked more than anything else to see his name in print. Alternatively, you might say this contains an ingenious plot and an exceptionally solid background of both mid-Victorian and war history. It is best, and safest, to call it very good reading. There is an almost scholarly mellowness in the telling, and much of high interest to be told. There is, too, in all the situations a quality so fantastic as to deserve the epithet of poetical. In few books have wisdom and imagination so delightfully collaborated.

Mr. Birmingham, translated to humdrum Buda Pest, can write again of Ireland with tolerance. His latest farce, wherein rival Republican armies thunder over the site of buried treasure, seems to belong to his best period. His sense of humour, temporarily and excusably shadowed, is brighter than ever, and his satire is reduced to serve his exuberant spirits.

H. C. HARWOOD.

## "O. B."

MEMORIES OF LATER YEARS. By Oscar Browning.  
T. Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d.

IT is now thirteen years since Mr. Oscar Browning gave us his memories of the first sixty years of his life, and the sequel which he publishes in his eighty-fifth year is still charmingly true to the dedication that accompanied the former: we,

Whate'er we seem in others' eyes  
Are young at least in memories.

No diarist of his years has rivalled the airy lightness of his style, or more faithfully preserved the freshness and innocent wonder of youth. For this reason, that he writes admirably of men and things with which he had personal relation, it is uncritical to complain that the major interests were exhausted in the earlier book. Mr. Browning has the faculty of making us listen whenever he talks about himself, and any reader whose ear he has gained would gladly continue through a far longer volume than this, and even listen appreciatively to tales twice told which run into such agreeable rhythms. His prose has a charming conversational ease. It is elegant without colloquialism, and retains much of the personal flavour of his talk. He has the rare art of making enough, but never too much, of trifles, and passing from point to point with a lightness that exactly fits the matter. He, who has done so many things and met so many people, has done all and observed all with an air of happy detachment, in which his personal enjoyment of distinguished surroundings becomes only an added grace. Most diarists who, like him, stud their pages with distinguished names, only bore us with their solemnity, but Mr. Browning can talk of kings and dukes with the infectious pleasure that a young parent will talk of his children.

A typical story is this of St. Moritz:

There were only four of us, one of whom was a Bishop, and we drank a great deal of champagne. When the lunch was over a waiter appeared, who said that the Duchess of Teck, hearing that we were in the hotel, earnestly desired our company in her apartment. We looked at each other and thought of the champagne, and said eventually that we were sorry but we had to return to the Maloja. The waiter looked at us and said with exquisite politeness: "Excuse me, gentlemen, but if it is the champagne, Her Royal Highness has also had champagne for lunch." We naturally obeyed orders and spent a very pleasant afternoon.

Most diarists would have omitted or made too much of this trifle; but (hand on your heart reader), could it be better told? Mr. Browning is a great admirer of Mr. Lloyd George: were they not both pro-Boers? He defends the Welshman, it appears, on all occasions, and makes one good point. "He must for many years have been accustomed to think in Welsh and speak in English. Welsh is an emotional and poetical language, and it is quite possible that a harmless Welsh phrase may often, when translated, have given offence to Englishmen." On the other hand, Mr. Browning is severe upon the Protestant Dutch, whom he left to visit North Germany in order to see if Lübeck bore any resemblance to a "vivid description" of the place which he had written for a publisher purporting to have collected the impressions of eye-witnesses. He found the town "very different" from what he had imagined it to be!

On the Boer War, the historian bases a prophecy:

The Boer War began the decline of the British Empire. Its high-water mark of prosperity is fixed by Mr. Keynes at 1896, or the Diamond Jubilee in 1897. It was the direct cause of the Great War from which we are now suffering.

The critic rightly dismisses Mr. Kipling's "Duke's son, cook's son," as "those unworthy lines." There is a pleasant description of his visit to India as the guest of Lord Curzon at Government House, and the

same engaging pleasure in society and travel accompanies Mr. Browning's descriptions of Russia and Cyprus, Naples and Rome. The whole book has the quality of conversational letters written by an eighteenth-century gentleman to an appreciative correspondent. The light touch is never lost, and the apparent thinness of the matter, which contains many shrewd or characteristic observations—for instance, on Esperanto, interviews, and German virtues—is a quality and not a defect. A delicate flavour of egoism, which refuses to take the ego even seriously, lends an agreeable flavour to the whole. Now that Frederic Harrison has died, Mr. Browning is probably the oldest of surviving Victorians. But, unlike Harrison, he has escaped Victorian earnestness, and is really an eighteenth-century figure whose good-humoured detachment the clotted currents of his time have left unspoiled. In such the later humanistic ideal, combining the scholar and the man of the world, vindicates itself.

## Shackleton

THE LIFE OF SIR ERNEST SHACKLETON. By H. R. Mill. Heinemann. 21s.

ONE of Shackleton's old comrades of the *Endurance*, Mr. J. M. Wordie, in an obituary notice originally contributed to the *Geographical Journal*, remarked that, "in an age which is producing modern Elizabethans"—we hope that is true—"Shackleton will surely be reckoned as most true to type." The suggestion occurs more than once in Dr. Mill's book. Shackleton came of Quaker stock, and was brought up on strictly religious lines. As a boy he was an enthusiastic teetotaler, and when he first went to sea as a lad of sixteen, he appears, from his own account, to have converted the whole crew of a White Star liner to reading their Bibles every night—"excepting a Roman Catholic." All his life he never lost that touch of Puritanism, which was one of the characteristics of the great Elizabethan sailors. His clean-shaven face looked modern enough; but there is in this book a remarkable photograph of Shackleton and three of his companions on board the *Nimrod* in March, 1909, after returning from his "farthest south" expedition, in which Shackleton is seen with a beard, and looks extraordinarily like one's idea of Drake.

Like the Elizabethan adventurers, too, he was not simply a sailor; he was first and foremost an adventurer. Whenever he was on shore he was "fortune hunting" in the City, in politics or in journalism, with the same fierce energy that he threw into his Antarctic journeys; while as a lecturer he achieved such success that his biographer is moved to assert that even the greatest of his explorations "were less remarkable than his progress through Europe" after the return of the *Nimrod*.

One cannot help doubting whether he was, in the first instance, attracted by the Polar Seas for their own sake. The point is that he succeeded there, whereas in most of his shore adventures he failed. He was always thinking of "schemes of all kinds for getting rich quick," always a great "gambler." If he had succeeded in his only attempt to get into the House of Commons it is at least possible that the Antarctic would have seen him no more. His idealism, his fondness for poetry (Browning was his favourite), which made him such an attractive companion on board ship or in the long Antarctic nights, would have persisted in any surroundings—in a stockbroker's office, or even in the House of Commons.

Perhaps it was this deep-seated confidence in himself and in his future, this feeling that the longest

journey South was not an end in itself, but only another step on the road to fame, that gave him that quiet, massive strength as a leader of men. So, at any rate, we seem to disentangle his character from Dr. Mill's pages. Dr. Mill assists us only incidentally. His object is rather to record Shackleton's achievements, to raise a monument to his memory, than to show him to us as he really was. For instance there is nothing in this book so vivid as Mr. Cherry-Garrard's recent character sketch of Scott. Scott, said Mr. Cherry-Garrard, "cried more easily than any man I have ever met." One cannot imagine Dr. Mill saying that of Shackleton. But nor can one imagine anyone saying it of Shackleton: one cannot imagine that it could be true. In the greatest crisis of his life, when he and two companions were making that terrible journey across South Georgia in 1916, after crossing hundreds of miles of Polar Seas in an open boat, Shackleton has recorded that he thought more than once that there was a fourth traveller with them, that they were accompanied by a Presence not of this world. In a crisis his thoughts always turned to religion. He never cried. Yet there was an inspiration about Scott, a whole-hearted, romantic devotion to adventure for its own sake which was lacking in the other man. Scott was the great adventurer, the Nelson of the Antarctic. No man has ever died more gloriously than he.

Shackleton, it is sometimes forgotten, made the biggest advance South of any Antarctic explorer. Though often hampered by lack of means, he was always ready not only to learn from his own experience but to listen to the opinions of others and adapt himself to new conditions. At first opposed, like Scott, to the use of dogs, rather than ponies or man-power, he came in the end to see our mistake—which let in Amundsen—and used dogs on his later expeditions. He had a seaplane waiting for the *Quest* in South Africa. All this is well brought out by Dr. Mill, who is an old friend of the family, and has received valuable assistance from Lady Shackleton and others in compiling this biography. The facts of Shackleton's early life have hitherto been little known; but they are important, as we have endeavoured to indicate, because of their influence upon his character.

The book is well illustrated with photographs and maps, and in printing and general appearance is worthy of its theme.

## Where Coué Fails

MY METHOD. By Emile Coué. Heinemann. 5s.

WHEN you cannot sleep, says M. Coué with evident common sense, it is a mistake to concentrate your mind on going to sleep; you should just say to yourself over and over again, "I am going to sleep, I am going to sleep. . . ." Midnight struck; the reviewer yawned, and went to bed. Determined to try the experiment, I repeated the incantation slowly and steadily. And then a strange thing happened. Some impish demon within woke me right up. There was a distinct feeling that one ought to watch this suggestion business, this singing of oneself to sleep; if only as a spectator, it promised good fun, possibly some psychological interest as well. And then, you know, sleep became quite impossible. I was as wide awake as the uxurious nightingale outside in the garden. The impish demon that wanted to stand by and watch the thing at work had effectually banished drowsiness. One felt, somehow, that the Coué system had broken down.

Perhaps it was not meant for reviewers; they are little-cattle anyhow, and deserve all they get. (Even

so, M. Coué, who has a kind heart, might have intimated that his method was not to be taken by the critics.) But I suspect that is not the real truth. The fact probably is that the Coué system is effectual if you believe in it, only you have to believe in the incantation first. If you don't, it is hopeless.

If that is so, however, it is not the incantation that sends you to sleep; you might just as well stick to whisky-and-soda as a nightcap. (Possibly it is not so much the whisky as the belief in its effect that sends you to sleep after all; and, indeed, one gathers—not from M. Coué—that it needs a pretty strong belief in these days to credit the current commercial whisky with any effect whatever. But that is another, and even larger field of speculation.) But if it is not the incantation but the belief in the incantation that matters, then we are back at the old, old trouble of humanity, and M. Coué has not really helped us. What we want, as the revivalists tell us, is belief. They do not tell us how to get it. And neither does M. Coué; he just takes it for granted. Those who agree with him apparently fall asleep somewhere about the fifteenth repetition; those who don't, wake up, and wonder if he is right after all about the supremacy of imagination over will.

The plain fact is that the Coué method is like doctors' prescriptions, patent medicines, Mr. Lloyd George's perorations, and most of Swinburne's poetry. If you take them whole without asking if they mean anything, they probably mean something; but once you stop to think, you are lost. M. Coué does not once mention the need for belief in his method, but that is the one thing needful. He is writing for an audience that is prepared to believe, and therefore does believe, and therefore finds his prescription effectual. This book is for the multitude, but I should like to see another written by M. Coué for specialists, on belief and how to induce it. From his experience he should have something valuable to say on that obscure province of psychology.

## Un Aristocrate Malgré Lui

ON THE MARGIN: NOTES AND ESSAYS. By Aldous Huxley. Chatto and Windus. 6s.

SO, we fancy, Mr. Enoch Soames would have termed Mr. Huxley. (We will not conjecture what Mr. Huxley would forbear to call Soames.) For "Autolycus" of the *Athenæum* was not well named. Mr. Huxley is not a picker-up of unconsidered trifles; he is far too eclectic for that. He does not touch the slender quill of the typical *causeur*; his lightness is play upon the surface of the depths, though we may suspect they are depths rather of thought and knowledge than of feeling.

Yet perhaps that is a little unjust. Mr. Huxley's emotions are so elusive, so fastidiously dissembled, that one must go about by devious ways to find them. The surest path, perhaps, is that of his literary admirations: the affinities of the most objective critic will shine through his reasoned estimates. And, however much we may disagree with him about Ben Jonson's position or the advantage of literary theories, he is a critic of a high order; his essay on Jonson, indeed, is the best save one we have read. But he speaks of Donne or Christopher Wren with an accord somehow freer than he can give to Shelley or Wordsworth, finely though he appraises these. He is a little diffident about the depths, only a shade less so perhaps than the Mr. Strachey whom he cannot imagine coping with Dostoevsky, too disquieted to write a life of Beethoven.

Mr. Huxley, to put it from another point of view, does not philosophise his emotions. This is his strength and his limitation as a critic. He has a strong sense of beauty, a stronger sense of humour;

but the author of *Mortal Coils* does not always know what to do with them. Has he, inconsistently, no "literary theory" of his own? He rebels, almost to rudeness for once, against his age; but is there no positive, fruitful quality in his "difference"? Merely to be provoked and to provoke is not enough.

The issue is important; for Mr. Huxley is a very brilliant young writer, and his future depends on what he thinks about things now. He is not one to find a way of creation before he finds a way of life. At present his mind has a mainly critical habit, and that is not enough—for there are critics beside whom Mr. Huxley will never stand. The *taedium vitae* which nine-tenths of experience seems to induce in him, that only the touch of classical art can expel for a time, is a peril to one who will never be content simply to make it a philosophy and stand or fall by it. By the deeper values the literature of the future will demand, there is a rejection of life more profound than *ennui*.

But the irony of these essays, their insight and sheer fun (as in the note on Edward Lear) are keen enjoyment: Mr. Huxley wears his terror of the crowd with piquancy. How aptly he quotes an Elizabethan on his own arch-bugbear!

Tee-hee, tee-hee! Oh, sweet delight,  
He tickles this age who can  
Call Tullia's ape a marmosite  
And Leda's goose a swan. . . .

## Leonardo as Sculptor

LEONARDO DA VINCI, SCULPTOR. By Theodore Andrea Cook. Arthur L. Humphreys. 10s. 6d.

SIR THEODORE COOK holds that the Albizzi Madonna (formerly known as the Signa Madonna), now in All Soul's College, Oxford, is the only piece of sculpture surviving that can be attributed to Leonardo da Vinci with any degree of certainty. Signor Adolfo Venturi, the greatest Italian authority on Leonardo, supports this view and goes so far as to state definitely, "this group seems to me to be indisputably the work, and, as far as we know to-day, the only work in sculpture we possess, of Leonardo." The figure was originally purchased in Italy by Mr. G. B. Dibblee in 1897, and as early as 1913 Sir Theodore first publicly asserted that in his opinion it was the work of Leonardo da Vinci. In 1919 he published a short pamphlet entitled *The Signa Madonna*, for private circulation only, in which he gave some of the reasons for his belief. In many ways the present volume is merely an elaboration of the 1919 pamphlet, which has now become a fascinating monograph, beautifully printed and illustrated. THE OUTLOOK, in an article last autumn (October 14th), was privileged to give a preliminary account of Sir Theodore's discoveries, and it is only necessary now to recapitulate some of the argument.

When the Albizzi Madonna was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1912 it was described in the catalogue as "perhaps the best example of a number of reliefs executed in the workshop of Verrocchio and derived from a common source." Sir Theodore says:

The curious thing about this "derivation" has hitherto been that none of the subsequent reliefs placed the Child on the left side of His Mother, as Verrocchio (the "common source") had placed him. All copies later than 1478 (with very few exceptions) show the Child on His mother's right. The discovery of Leonardo's Madonna has at last explained this anomaly. Nearly every one who saw her copied her instead of the Verrocchio group.

In his chapter on the Key Series, with its large plate of illustrations for comparison, Sir Theodore deals with the details of the problem. He makes out a very good case for the Albizzi Madonna as the

prototype of subsequent copies. "It contains," he says, "more of the points in which the others resemble each other than any other in the whole series." As further evidence of Leonardo's handiwork Sir Theodore lays stress on the technical details of the workmanship and style which are so characteristic of the master. He quotes Signor Venturi on the Albizzi (Signa) Madonna in this connection:

In the other similar reliefs—inspired by the [Signa] Madonna and therefore of a later date—the hands retain the sinewy, subtly precise modelling of the Florentine Quattrocentisti; and the folds of their drapery show the polyhedral form peculiar to rigid and stiffly woven material, or regular lines traced one above the other, all perfectly aligned and drawn in sinuous curves as though they were finely wrought in flexible steel. Now, observe the contrast to all this in the [Signa] Madonna: her soft hands are delicately rounded, with an almost tremulous appearance, as if they were indefinite in outline; the folds of her cloak fall with that infinite *modicezza* which is peculiar to Leonardo's draperies, the curled ringlets of her hair are gently entangled in the twisted veil, the ends of which float airily above the shoulder of the Virgin, with the same lightness that in his paintings Leonardo so much loved when he let loose the tresses of his model for the breeze to play with. Finally, most typical of Leonardo is the restrained smile which curves the Virgin's sensitive lips and seems to impart a well-nigh imperceptible tremor to her eyelids and to all her features.

That Leonardo was interested in sculpture is known. From his manuscripts Sir Theodore has gathered many passages dealing with his views on sculpture, and they offer strong support. An interesting point is made of the omission of the halo from the Virgin's head, while it is given to the Child. "Save Leonardo only," asks Sir Theodore, "is there any other artist of that period, and in that work, who would have denied to the Mother what he gave to the Son?" It is well known that Leonardo's views were not in conformity with the rigid orthodox views of the official Church, and in his *Allegories or Enigmas* there is a sentence bearing almost directly on this problem:

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## CORRESPONDENCE

[Whilst we open our columns impartially to correspondence we take no responsibility for the opinions expressed.]

### THE NONSENSE OF RACE EQUALITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—It is all very simple for arm-chair philosophers to sit in the safe security of London and Manchester and to preach about equality and freedom for the brown and black races. Conventionalised generalisations about "liberty" and "democracy" are easy, but they do not meet the actual issue where the white and the coloured races come in contact. The white man, if he does not want to go under, must maintain his mastery; he cannot afford to let down the bars. This has been the universal experience of mankind.

The Spaniards and Portuguese that went to South America and interbred with the natives did not raise the standards of the latter. They merely gave them the vices of the white man, while their own stock deteriorated. It is in these Spanish-American countries where one finds the best example of the inherent viciousness of the intermingling of races. There is a lot of humbug about the exploitation of natives by the English. The lower races have always been exploited, and history shows that it has been less by the English than any other race. The

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status of the native in South America or in the French Colonies is worse than in any English dependency or dominion. From an ideal point of view all this may be too bad, but it is useless to blink at the facts. For that reason, I feel, THE OUTLOOK should be congratulated on the strong stand it has taken in the Kenya Colony issue.—Yours, &c.,  
JAMES HERTON.

London, May 7th, 1923.

**BRITAIN'S NIAGARA.**  
TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—I am gratified to see how much interest the Press is taking in our process for eliminating carbon-monoxide from household gas, but I am anxious that all the credit for this discovery should not be given to me. It is the joint invention of Dr. Jaques, of Liverpool, and of Mr. J. H. West, of London, in collaboration with me.

To my mind the gas industry is second in importance to the part which gas will eventually play in the industrial development of our country. We are not yet making full use of the greatest source of energy in the world—coal. We ought to gasify everything that cannot be coked, or is not worth coking on account of the ash content of the coal. We ought to gasify slack, rubbish, and third and fourth-rate coals, recovering oils and by-products. The gas could be converted into power—from power to electricity; from electricity to other products which require high temperatures for their production. It could be stripped of its hydro-carbons for the production of motor-spirit. It could be treated under our process for hydrogen, and for all the synthetic ammonia and other methods requiring the production of cheap hydrogen. Such processes as are needed for the hydrogenation of fats and oils, for margarine, soap, candle, and other industries could be adapted.

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Britain's Niagara lies in the salvage of the waste going on in our coalfields. Let us recover that waste, and we shall have at our doors energies that will enable us to beat the world in cheap power production.

I venture to say that neither commerce nor science will deny the enormous possibilities of a cheap source of hydrogen as the starting point for most synthetic processes.—Yours, &c.,  
C. B. TULLY.

Grey House, Carlton-on-Trent.  
May 8th, 1923.

**ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.**  
TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—M. Anatole France tells of a man caught in the act of throwing stones into a neighbour's garden. When asked why he did it, he replied that he hated his neighbour. When asked why he hated him he replied, he hated him because he was his neighbour.

In other words, like many thinking people at the moment, I remain much exercised by the most vital problem now before the world, the problem of Anglo-American relationship: and my interest was stimulated the other day by the extraordinary good-humour evidenced by both the English and American sides of the audience at a play which frankly pillories both.

Now this clearly indicates to my mind that the barrier of suspicion, the atmosphere of the house-dog recently introduced to the new cat, is fast breaking down. But as the world will never settle its affairs till the very last stone of that barrier is shattered into the very last particle of dust, the matter remains urgent.

May I contribute two suggestions towards the cause of the problem's existence?

In the first place, our hatred of our neighbour is not the envious hatred of aliens so much as the exasperation of brothers who have everything in common excepting one or two infuriating details.

In the second place, it seems to me that the legend of insular reserve and American loquacity is founded on geography. We have been in a four-inch by two-inch country some two thousand years, and our ear-drums would have been broken centuries ago if we had made a habit of all talking on all occasions. The American has been in his country 150 years. It is, moreover, a country that would swallow many scores of Englands without affecting its digestive organs at all. In fact, the American talks to keep his spirit up in the fight he is still waging for civilisation in a semi-civilised country. He has no time to be quietly complacent like the European.

If this strikes any American as sound psychology I shall be proud. "Toute comprendre . . ." It is bad enough to believe that the French eat frogs, and the Turks each have a thousand and one wives. It is criminal folly to nurse wild delusions between people who talk the same language—unless, of course, we wish to put the seal on that unpleasant cynicism of Talleyrand's, that language was given man to enable him to be misunderstood.—Yours, &c.,

London, May 8th, 1923.

R. W.

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CLINT'S WAY ... C. C. & E. M. MOTT  
COLLEAGUES:  
A Novel Without a Man... GERALDINE WAIFE  
SPEED THE PLOUGH ... MARY BUTTS  
NOBODY KNOWS ... DOUGLAS GOLDRING

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## FINANCE

By URBANUS.

THE mood of the City has become sobered and restrained during the week. Naturally the all-round activity in the Stock Markets, which has been so pronounced during the last few weeks could not go on for ever. Markets have sufficient resemblance to living organisms to require their periods of rest and refreshment after undue exertion. Perhaps it is no more than this normal reaction which has set in this week. There is still a substantial investment demand, as is illustrated by the fact that the first post-war 4 per cent. Colonial loan—£4,000,000 New Zealand Government 4 per cent. inscribed stock offered at 92 and yielding only £4 12s. per cent. including redemption—has been fully subscribed in two days. But even the investment markets are now being restrained by the reflection that if the history of trade cycles over the last 100 years is any guide to present conditions, fixed interest securities will not continue to rise when the upward course of trade has progressed a little further. The weakness of the American exchange, too—the £ sterling on Wednesday fell to only \$4.61, the lowest rate of the year—is regarded as a restraining factor, since it suggests that the time may not be far distant when the Bank of England Court may decide that the pressure to withdraw funds from London to New York must be relieved by raising the Bank Rate and so reducing the present large margin of interest rates in favour of New York.

Nor, again, has the Stock Exchange been quite able to ignore the fact that the last few days have witnessed an unusual concentration of storm-clouds on the international horizon. The German Note, its precipitate and uncompromising rejection by the Quai d'Orsay, Lord Curzon's plain words to the French Government, the threatened abrogation of the Russian Trade agreement, the Turkish seizure of foreign banks—these are shocks which penetrate even the thickened hide of the London Stock Exchange, though, curiously, they have hardly affected the foreign exchanges. So far, however, gilt-edged stocks have done no more than mark time, and it is the more speculative class of security which has tended definitely to recede. In the case of certain shares—rubber, tin, and copper, for instance—the recession is easily explained by a sharp reaction in the prices of the commodities concerned. That, probably, is no more than a normal oscillation which may quickly be reversed, since the available stocks of the commodities in question are still shrinking; and in my view the prospects for good-class industrial shares in the coming months are better than those for fixed interest securities.

The progress of Austria towards recovery continues to be remarkably good, so good, in fact, that one is almost afraid that there may be some sharp setback in store. Thus the Budget deficit has now fallen well below the maximum fixed under the League of Nations scheme, great progress has been made with the reduction of the number of Civil Servants, and, despite that, the unemployment roll, though still heavy, is definitely diminishing, while indisputable evidence of the return of confidence is to be found in the sixfold increase in banking deposits since the Austrian crown became stable in September of last year. Within the next month the definitive reconstruction loan is expected to be floated, or, at least, the first instalment of it, for it does not appear to be yet quite certain whether the whole £27 millions sanctioned by the League of Nations will be raised at once. The loan will be guaranteed by the leading Powers, as was the preliminary Treasury bill issue which was successfully

floated in London at the end of February. It will also be secured on the Austrian Customs and tobacco monopoly, and it is therefore a matter of interest to note that the average monthly yield of these sources of revenue in the first quarter of the year amounted to as much as 22½ per cent. of the loan which they are intended to secure. But while Austrian progress is very gratifying, there is another one of the Succession States, too long ignored, namely, Hungary, which is still floundering hopelessly in the mire. The victim since the war of two revolutions, four months of Bolshevism, and six of Roumanian occupation, she can hardly begin to struggle towards dry land until the shackles of the Reparation liens are removed, for the whole of her Government property and revenues are mortgaged to secure Reparation which she can never pay. These liens should be released at once, and it will then be possible to form a just estimate of what further assistance can legitimately be given her.

A class of investments which, although very attractive to those who once purchase them, is very little spoken of is the stocks and shares of the larger gas and water companies. The reason for this is probably to be found in the fact that the charters or Acts of Parliament under which these concerns are granted their semi-monopolies insist in a large number of cases that the securities shall in the first instance be sold to the highest bidder, or words to that effect. They cannot, in consequence, be put up for subscription in the ordinary way, and in consequence a profession, namely, that of Gas and Water Stock Auctioneer, has been created to fill the gap, at least so far as the Midlands and the South of England are concerned. Of this art—if I may so name it—Messrs. A. and W. Richards of Walbrook are the sole exponents, and they constitute, I believe, an unique example of a firm of auctioneers which deals only in stocks and shares of one class and does nothing else. It is interesting to note that issues running into sums of about £250,000 are not uncommon.

One industry in this country which has clearly benefited by the war and the consequent suspension of German competition is dyeing, and though this does not necessarily mean that British dyes are as good as they might be it is certainly satisfactory for the shareholders in the companies concerned. Of these the chief—the British Cotton and Wool Dyers' Association, more usually referred to as "Slubbers"—has just published its annual report which shows excellent progress. The profit for the period is no less than £229,223 on an ordinary share capital of £580,000 odd, so that the Directors are quite safe in recommending a dividend of 15 per cent. This compares with 10 per cent. for the five previous years, and marks a return to the company's high water-mark first touched in 1916-17. A share bonus distribution of one new for every three shares now held is also recommended, which will mean the capitalisation of a large part of the reserves being in fact a balance of £31,500. This, of course, in no way reduces the funds at the disposal of the company. The share capital of the company was reduced by 75 per cent. in 1913 by the writing down of each £1 share to 5s., and as these shares were quoted in the market at 13s. 6d. it was clearly time that some step was taken to bring their nominal value into closer relation with the ruling price. In February the Bradford Dyers' Association issued its report for the two years 1921 and 1922, and paid a dividend in respect of the latter year causing a boom in the shares, to which I referred at that time. I now hear that British Dyestuffs Corporation, which has paid no dividend even on its preference shares since October, 1920, is doing very well.

**THE GREAT HAT.**

How many people, when they subscribe sums to charity, stop to ask themselves the question—"Where does that money really go"?

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St. Paul declared Charity the greatest of the virtues, but the Charity of which he spoke was not the financial contribution to which its meaning has been degraded. On the contrary he made a deliberate antithesis between donations and Charity. "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor . . . and have not Charity, it profiteth me nothing."

The general system of Charitable administration nowadays can well be compared to an old hulk lurching along, its crew frantically striving to patch up the leaks and keeping the pumps going desperately.

Well might we say to ourselves :—

Who indeed am I that I should offer my fellow-man Charity? If the mill that grinds our common corn catches and cripples him in its wheel, it is Justice I owe him, not Charity. The common social mechanism should provide against these accidents. Tomorrow the wheel may catch me. "The race is not to the swift," says the Preacher, "nor the battle to the strong. But," adds Ecclesiastes, "time and chance happeneth to them all." In this ancient statement of the human tragedy lies also the modern solution. For there is a calculation of "time" and a "doctrine of chance," by which insurance experts overcome the chaos of contingency. Why should not every trade and craft and profession consume its own smoke, be compelled by the State to insure its members against sickness or unemployment? A radical investigation of our Charities would show that many even of those that do not overlap could be lopped off. At present I imagine more people live by Charity than on it. But these functionaries and their societies should be reduced to a minimum, the endless and expensive appeals replaced by One Great Hat, everything dropped into which should be distributed to the individual Charities according to their needs and utility by a Central Committee. And the more these surviving Charities were killed off in the struggle for assistance, and the sooner the Great Hat itself was relegated to the dustbin, the better for us all.



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*Stupid and Psyche*

## THE ROMANTIC AGE.

By H. DENNIS BRADLEY.

IT is amusing to observe that the romantic age is always assumed to be some age that has passed. To the majority it is never to-day, and has little prospect of existing to-morrow. That is because romance is shy to face the coldness of reality.

The illusion that the romantic age existed in some previous century is fostered by popular honey-fiction writers with as much knowledge of history as the communist has of economics. So, on the foundation of a bog, the sickly sentimentalists accept the past and overlook the present. It would be as logical to accept as the realists of to-day either Ethel M. Dell or her antithesis, Bernard Shaw.

When was this romantic age that is prated of so loosely? It was not the nineteenth century! That was merely dull and ugly, and smugly hypocritical. Romance could not exist in an atmosphere of horse-hair furniture, wax flowers, bustles and beards.

Take the eighteenth century: a wonderful century for dress for the infinitesimal few, but one full of war and strife and misery for the many. And very, very dirty and unhygienic. Worse still was the seventeenth century, and ghastly the Elizabethan days. Pestilence and plagues were the incidents of life: the romantic powdered wigs were in reality the harbours of vermin: baths were such occasional adventures that pungent scents were used to counteract other aromas: epidemics of every description were rampant even through the Victorian era.

It is a disgusting statement of fact that for centuries the world stank considerably. The sanitary conditions of the good old days would nauseate a modern navy.

The world to-day is better, cleaner, more scientifically wonderful and even more romantic than it has ever been. The ideals of the modern romanticist would soon be dispelled in an atmosphere of foul amelia. Hygiene is a culture and even a morality of cleanliness is the hand-maiden of constancy.

The men dressed in splendid taste in the eighteenth century, but the fine points of modern attire are still carefully studied by the few exclusive West End tailors. And the tailoring House of Pope and Bradley is a far greater and certainly more romantic business than any that has existed in the past. Lounge Suits from 29 8s. Dinner Suits from 24 14s. Dress Suits from 216s. 16s. Riding Breeches from 24 14s. 6d. Overcoats from 27 7s.

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SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1923

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## URBIS ET ORBIS

THERE were good and pious men, in the Roman Church before the Reformation, who deprecated reference to poison, incest, simony, and other current practices at the Vatican—not that they approved these things, but that they feared attempts at reform would wreck the Church. The Church alone mattered supremely, therefore abuses must be overlooked. This same attitude has been consistently adopted by a majority of the supporters of the League of Nations in this country. When, from time to time, THE OUTLOOK has called attention to the iniquities and hypocrisies practised in the name of the League in the Saar, pained and indignant letters have come in from devout members of the League of Nations Union, representing this paper as an enemy of the League. The truth is that the League has no more devout friend than THE OUTLOOK, which loves the League as Luther loved the Church. For some reason (I have often here called attention to measures in the Saar just as vicious) the ineffable M. Rault's *dèse majesté* proclamation proved too strong even for the League of Nations Union to swallow, and in the Commons debate the League's archpriest, Lord Robert, hotly denounced it. At once there were whispers of the danger to the League involved in such a course. Might not the whole Geneva organisation be wrecked, if Britain insisted on a commission of inquiry, and France refused? Of course it might. As I have so often said, the League will get nowhere until its adherents are ready to risk its life in fighting for truth, justice, reason, honesty, the ideals supposedly inspiring its founders. In this case, a few days after the Commons debate, the French capitulated. Orders from Paris ended the strike of miners, and I learn that after a few days to "save face," M. Rault will be instructed to withdraw the offending decree. So a real triumph has been won for the League. May our hitherto chicken-hearted representatives thereon now take courage, and ask themselves why they permitted this French agent M. Rault, whose acts had condemned him a hundredfold, to be re-elected as Chairman of the Governing Commission! We should have put forward Mr. Waugh as our candidate, and accepted as a compromise an honest neutral—but never a

Frenchman. The League's administration of the Saar is an acid test, by which it must stand or fall.

THERE will be, I think, no breach with Russia. Mr. McNeill's performance in the Commons on Wednesday was a strategic retreat, covered by a smoke-screen of violent words against the Soviet; which led the stupid Tory majority to applaud him loudly in the belief that "strong" action was to be taken. It was most amusing to hear the loud Tory cheers which greeted Mr. Lloyd George, when he warmly endorsed the decision of the Government immediately after Mr. McNeill had sat down with a threat on his lips. I happened to be sitting just behind M. Krassin, and the smile which the Russian was unable to repress as he looked at the Tory benches showed that he, too, had understood what lay behind Mr. McNeill's brave and irrelevant words. After five minutes of Mr. Lloyd George, the realisation gradually sank into the Tory mind that their spokesman hadn't meant what they thought he meant, and they became glumly silent. If the Foreign Office is unable to force a breach with Russia in Mr. Bonar Law's absence, it is a safe wager that there will be no rupture after the Premier comes home. The Russian reply, like Lord Curzon's Note, was in the main beside the point—but on the only issue that matters, the release of the trawlers, it was a surrender. I hope there will now be no more talk of "war" from the Labour benches, and that the Foreign Office, if it must chivvy some nation about its internal affairs, will for a change turn its attention to the United States, or France.

SOME people will believe anything. An absurd rumour has been going the rounds that Mr. Bonar Law is never coming back; I forget if he was to retire into a monastery, or merely indulge in tennis. But the story that Lord Curzon, and not Mr. Baldwin, was to succeed him has been capped by one of the *ben trovato* variety. It is said that during a recent Royal visit, one exalted personage asked another exalted personage whether the Foreign Secretary was destined to be Prime Minister. "No," was the answer, "the infallibility of our All-Highest Peer would make him Pope, if a vacancy occurred." The lack of

temporal power at the Vatican would be a sufficient barrier to Lord Curzon. And to speak more seriously, there is no doubt of Mr. Bonar Law's return; while the mere rumour of a Prime Minister in the House of Lords—the first for twenty years—has disquieted the House of Commons. Even Conservatives, I find, doubt if it would be feasible to run a Government with its head in the Upper House in these days.

I AM sorry for Mr. Bridgeman. He is an excellent Home Secretary, and a charming and courteous man into the bargain; I doubt if his worst enemy really wants him to exchange places with Mr. O'Brien in prison. All his troubles come from the fact that he is a layman who acted on legal advice, and the lawyers were wrong. Labour objected to the deportations because, as Mr. Jack Jones admitted, they had personal relations with many of the arrested Irishmen; but I am not revealing any secret when I say that many high Tories also objected, on high constitutional grounds. One may not know the exact words of the Habeas Corpus Act—I should be floored myself in an examination on that matter—but one may have a pretty good idea of what it does and what it does not do. On this point the ordinary Conservative layman easily beat the lawyer. I do not know a single Ministerialist with a good word to say for the deportees, but I have met very few who were not disturbed by the lawyers' overriding of the law. An Indemnity Act is, of course, a necessity, or the Home Secretary goes to Brixton, presumably for the term of his natural life; but the Bill should be strictly confined to the indemnity, and there must be no more attempts at internment without trial—or the cry of "English liberty in danger" will be raised, and no Government could stand a week against that. And I would add that if anybody is to be beheaded on Tower Hill, it should be the law officer who gave Mr. Bridgeman the advice to deport without trial. No names have been mentioned, but a man who can make a blunder like that ought at least to get the sack.

ON Tuesday the leaders of all parties in the House of Commons assembled to do honour to the Father of the House, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who has figured in more Parliamentary "scenes" than there are months in, for instance, Mr. Kirkwood's Parliamentary life. "I can avow," said Mr. O'Connor in his reply, "that I have been several times 'named'; I have been ordered out of the House, and I have declined to leave except by force"—though as a matter of fact, a tap on the shoulder from the "dear, good-natured Serjeant-at-Arms" was the only force actually applied. I vainly try to picture a similar dinner in honour of any one of the Glasgow rowdies, should he ever become Father of the House. The obstruction of the Irish was different in kind; it owed its success to a profound knowledge of procedure, which, in itself, was a kind of left-handed compliment to the Mother of Parliaments. The Labour obstructor merely bawls ineffectually. I do not forget that Mr. Dillon once called Mr. Joseph Chamberlain a "damned liar"; but here is a little collection that

I compiled on a wet afternoon last week of some of the expressions directed by our Labour legislators against the Ministerial benches during the past five weeks. Mr. Lansbury (on May 10th): "A lot of cowards." Mr. J. Jones (May 8th): "A collection of swindlers." Mr. Buchanan (May 8th): "A damned lot of fools and hooligans." Mr. John Robertson (April 12th): "Dirty curs." Against this, in the same period, the best that the Tories could produce was "Nanny-goat," applied to Mr. Sidney Webb.

A MOST interesting situation has been created by President Harding's warning to State Governments against repealing their Prohibition enforcement laws. New York State has done this, although the Governor has not yet signed the Bill, and it has been expected that resulting unchecked importations from Canada across the New York State line would render Prohibition a farce. Replying to a letter from a correspondent who claimed that every State official who voted for such laws had committed treason, having taken oath to support the Federal Constitution, which now contains a Prohibition clause, the President declared the Prohibition amendment to be "the law of the land and of every State in the Union." If the Federal Government, the President continued, through the failure of any State to enforce Prohibition, is compelled to enter the territory of that State and set up police and judicial establishments, "the most difficult and trying situation would inevitably arise." Thus the ancient spectre of "States' rights" is revived in America. One of the bloodiest wars in history was fought in the 'sixties over the issue of the relative powers of the State and the Union. The President's letter must increase the probability that Prohibition will be the leading issue at the American General Election next year.

SO the French have seized the greatest German dye factories, and propose to divide the profits with their Belgian friends on account of reparations. This latest action may be regarded as high-handed robbery, or as a laudable attempt to recover one's own from a fraudulent debtor. Either way, it is a slap in the face for Great Britain. We have never relinquished, as indeed there is no reason why we should, our agreed percentage of whatever may be recovered from Germany. We are ready to give up all claims against Germany in the interests of a general settlement, but that is another thing altogether. Whether the French Republic is robbing the Germans may be arguable, but there can be no denial that it is robbing us. I suppose our meek Foreign Office will take this latest insult lying down, but the matter should certainly be raised, and strongly, by the Liberal and Labour people, when the House reassembles after the recess. No further German reparations offer, I regret to say, is likely in the immediate future. Every act of coercion undertaken by France plays into the hands of the German Nationalists, until now, following the Krupp sentences, and these new seizures, the Cuno Government is convinced that it could not live amidst the storms which new and more favourable proposals would arouse. The political results in the Reich of what the French

are doing could not but be foreseen in Paris, and supply another proof that France is anxious at all costs to prevent Germany from offering a settlement which world opinion would consider acceptable. The French Government, whatever delusions may still be abroad among the people, knows well enough that it cannot get milk and kill the cow at the same time. And M. Poincaré considers beef more nourishing than milk.

LAST month I flew over from Paris in a Goliath-Farman. It was either the same machine that crashed near Amiens, or one of the same type. I had obtained in advance a seat in the front of the 'plane, giving a better view than those along the side of the cabin. Before we started, I was evicted by the pilot, and an exceedingly corpulent Scandinavian, weighing perhaps ten stone more than I do, was installed in my place. The machine, the pilot explained to me, with profuse apologies, was so badly balanced that it was necessary to have a fat man in front. This was not reassuring. Knowing nothing about technicalities of aviation, it would be unfair for me to particularise other features of this trip that made me vow before I reached Croydon never to fly in a similar machine again. The French have done magnificent things in developing the new mode of travel, but they are careless of human life in the air as on their railways. The number of passengers they kill on the Paris-Strasbourg line is their own affair, but the cross-Channel service is used by many more English and Americans than Frenchmen. These disasters, moreover, shake public confidence in our own properly inspected aircraft. I think the Air Ministry should strictly enforce British standards of safety upon foreign planes. Meanwhile, my advice to air passengers is—use English machines.

THE effect of Dr. Ludwig Mond's munificent bequest is that the Trustees of the National Gallery will acquire a minimum of forty-two paintings—they can have fifty-six if they like—mostly by Italian masters who are at present rather poorly represented in our national collection, and including such important works as Raphael's *Crucifixion*. Only one of the conditions laid down in the will can possibly cause any difficulty, and that is the clause which stipulates that the pictures are to be kept all together in one or more rooms and known as the "Mond Collection." It is not a question of space, for the testator makes provision for the building of new rooms on to the gallery if necessary; but the symmetry of the collection as a whole is threatened, through the separation from each other of works of the same school which ought to be together, in order to isolate in one place the gifts of a particular donor. On this occasion the concession demanded is well worth making. But it must be remembered that under the new method of hanging adopted at the National Gallery, more attention is paid to general artistic effect than to the rigid classification of the different painters, or even of the different schools. This makes the isolation of the Mond Collection a less violent break with the general arrangement than it would be under a strictly scientific scheme.

NEMO.

## The Week in Parliament

TOBY JUNIOR is bound to record his profound regret at the scene which ended in the suspension of Mr. Newbold on Tuesday last. This is the second occasion on which a serious piece of disorder has originated on the Labour benches; and such events must inevitably give pause to those who have friendly feelings for the Labour Party, and a desire to see them make good. On the former all too recent occasion, it was the party as a whole that was at fault. This time it was the Communist Member for Motherwell alone who provoked the conflict, and had he been left to his own devices, no discredit could have been reflected upon anyone except himself. But the hot-heads were unable to resist the temptation to burst into song, with the result that within a few minutes the whole Labour benches were buzzing like an angry beehive.

The details of the incident call for some brief additional comment. The villain of the piece, next, of course, to the Member for Motherwell himself, was the luckless Sir Philip Lloyd Greame, who seems unable nowadays to make the simplest announcement without irritating the entire Opposition, and sometimes, indeed, his own supporters, almost to a frenzy. There is a certain combativeness about this young Minister which exasperates those who do not agree with him without adding materially to the confidence and faith of those who do. The occasion was the debate on Russian affairs. The House had listened with weary resignation to a somewhat academic pronouncement lasting for a whole hour from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, followed by mixture of diatribe and elephantine humour from the gigantic Mr. Ronnie McNeill, who evidently felt that the claims of members on the time of the House vary in direct relation to their stature, lasting for an hour and a-half! Then came Mr. Lloyd George, then Mr. Asquith, by which time it was nearly eight o'clock, and private members were becoming a little impatient.

It may reasonably be supposed that Mr. Newbold, under the benevolent gaze of M. Krassin, who occupied a prominent seat in the Distinguished Strangers Gallery, intended delivering himself of an epoch-making allocution. He certainly "rose" consistently throughout the debate; but he was not fortunate enough to catch the Chairman's eye, and having established by his relations with the Soviet something in the nature of a prescriptive right to be considered an authority, however biased, upon Russian affairs, it may safely be conjectured that he felt a certain chagrin at being balked of his desire to expound the principles of the Communist faith in the presence of one of its arch-priests. Such was the powder magazine to which the incautious President of the Board of Trade applied a match, first by misrepresenting the terms of the Russian Trade Agreement, and almost immediately after by a sturdy denunciation of Russian propaganda. The patience of the Member for Motherwell, who in addition to suffering the pangs of silence had been subjected throughout the debate to a succession of sneers and gibes from the other side of the House, had now reached breaking point. He called out: "The man is telling falsehoods." The jeers of the Tories and cries of "Go back to Moscow," completed his destruction. He turned angrily on Captain Fitzroy, in the Chair, and qualifying him witheringly as a "bourgeois," demanded to know if it was fair that he should be scored off throughout the debate and never given a chance of replying. This was not a proceeding that the Chairman could pass over, though in the opinion of many members he should have called on the hon. member to withdraw his words and apologise before proceeding to more drastic measures. Captain Fitzroy, however, without preliminary ordered the offender to leave the House. He refused. The Serjeant-at-Arms was summoned. He still refused, on the ground apparently that, as he stated, he was a Member of the Communist International, and so, it is to be presumed, above the rules of a mere bourgeois Parliament. In these circumstances, the Speaker was sent for and "named" Mr. Newbold, after having endeavoured to smooth over the incident by asking the House whether it would be prepared to take the exceptional course of allowing the hon. member an opportunity of withdrawing his words, a suggestion howled down by the Conservative back-benchers. The Member for Motherwell was thereupon suspended from the service of the House and left the Chamber with a dignified acknowledgment to the courtesy of the Speaker. As an object lesson to M. Krassin, the incident may not have been devoid of value; but from every other point of view it was most unfortunate and deplorable.

The only gleam of humour in the week was the debate in the House of Lords on Lord Newton's motion to restrict advertisements in the air. Lord Birkenhead's speech in particular was one of the most masterly pieces of irony ever spoken in the Palace of Westminster.

TOBY JUNIOR, M.P.

## Gandhi, or General Smuts?

WE confess to considerable anxiety regarding the course of the negotiations between the Colonial Office, delegates from the white settlers in East Africa, and Indian representatives from Kenya and from India itself. We have repeatedly pointed out the tremendous issues involved in this dispute in a remote corner of the Empire. The white men who have come here to plead their cause, gentlemen-adventurers, pioneers whose temperaments lead them to subdue savage men and countries, understand little about dialectics, hair-splitting in debate, the subtleties by which politicians fool plain citizens. Were they skilled in such things, Kenya's delegates would never have gone out into the wilderness. They remain in London, cheered by encouraging hints, so far as we know still optimistic that Lord Milner's pledge to them will be redeemed, that they will receive fair play from the Government. But nothing has happened, and it ought not to take half an hour for the Duke of Devonshire to announce definitely that the Indian settlers in Africa are entitled to the same rights as the black natives, no more and no less. Meanwhile, what of the Indian delegates? No gentlemen-adventurers these, but men skilled in Oriental intrigue, masters of the art of playing on the weaknesses of others, habituated by centuries of tradition to gain by craft and guile what others achieve through personal prowess or hard work. These Indians are to be met everywhere in London where men of influence and power congregate. They are constantly in the precincts of Westminster, surrounded by Liberal and Labour Members, who are hypnotised by catchwords about racial equality, and listen with opened mouths to their clever guests, who have mastered that form of argument most likely to win over men to whom life means phrases, not deeds. Foremost among these wirepullers is a member of his Majesty's Privy Council, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri. We have been expecting to hear from Mr. Sastri, since a fortnight ago we printed a letter from a distinguished American publicist, Mr. John Kirby, who stated that an Indian gentleman named Sastri, while a member of a British official delegation to the United States, inflicted anti-British propaganda upon his astonished hosts in Washington.

One Indian, we rejoice to note, has taken off the mask, we doubt not to the disgust of his colleagues. At a reception given to the Indian visitors, presided over by Mr. J. A. Spender, Mr. Sastri declared that white settlers are showing a spirit of unmitigated and unabashed racial domination and arrogance. Every member of the Indian delegation, he added, is determined to bate no jot or tittle of the claim to equal citizenship. Then Mr. M. H. Desai, leader of the Kenya Indian delegation, let the cat out of the bag. If threats of violence are carried out by the white settlers, he declared, the violence will not be confined to one side. We are

glad that this menace was uttered (its contingent form does not make it less a threat), for Mr. Desai's remark makes it possible to state, without seeming to have introduced the topic of violence, a few plain truths about the war record of the 22,000 Indians in Kenya. Everyone knows that there are no braver fighting men in the world than some Indians, no greater cowards than some others. There is no slur cast upon the Indian race, therefore, in pointing out that the Indians in Kenya are among the "some others." Most of the white settlers were on active service during the war. The Indians made hay while the sun shone, as long as they could, and largely cornered the trade of the colony. Then Conscription was introduced. The official records of the Indian contingent in East Africa contain the following figures:

Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Died of wounds	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Executed for treachery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Condemned to death for treachery, but sentence commuted	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3

It may seem at first thought irrelevant to drag out these astonishing statistics. But any Englishman who has travelled, and whose mind is clear of cant and hypocrisy, knows that in Africa as in Asia, the status of the white race depends upon active or latent force. Our ten thousand white men hold Kenya, surrounded by millions of black warriors, because they have won the respect of the latter, by fairness and justice in the second place, but always in the first place by fighting. The Indians in Kenya, as those tell-tale figures reveal, are not exactly men of the sword. It would be pitiable and ridiculous for Mr. Desai to threaten violence, with the material at his disposal, except for the serious fact that what the Indians really threaten is mutiny, not in Africa, but in India. That threat, as we have said before, is bluff. We are not so certain that it is without its effect upon certain of his Majesty's Ministers.

Let it be said, then, frankly, that to grant the claims of the Indians, in defiance of Lord Milner's pledge to the white settlers, means a second South African war. Our information is certain and definite, that the Union of South Africa will not permit any non-white race to be given rights of citizenship anywhere in British territory in Africa which threaten the dominance of the white race. And who can blame General Smuts and his fellow-Ministers? In the Union, as in Kenya, the white men form an insignificant minority. It would be as absurd to suppose that South Africa would permit Indian domination in Kenya as it would be to place the American negroes of North Carolina in control of that State and expect the whites of the neighbouring South Carolina to acquiesce. If, therefore, Ministers are hypnotised by threats of trouble in India, let them ask themselves, before they throw our ten thousand gentlemen-adventurers in Kenya to the wolves, whether they would prefer,

in the last resort, to take on in a scrimmage Gandhi or General Smuts? The question answers itself. If any effort is made to oppose the claims of the Kenya Ten Thousand here, on the ground that this small group of men can be sacrificed without scruple, the Government will be compelled by South Africa to a humiliating withdrawal, and the effect of this in India will be worse than firmness now can create. Meanwhile, this delay is dangerous and unnecessary. The Colonial Office and not the India Office is the competent authority. It must not take too long in making up its mind to announce, once and for all, that white supremacy in Kenya is to be maintained, integrally and without compromise.

### The Ear of Captain Jenkins

IF political problems could be treated like propositions of Euclid, and isolated and demonstrated dispassionately by a series of axioms and logical proofs, then the question of British trawlers in Russian waters might have interested a few international lawyers, but the general public would have regarded it as a storm in a teacup. Unluckily, things cannot be so isolated, and the troubles of a British skipper have become curiously and apparently inextricably entangled with the execution of a Russian bishop, the assassination of a Russian envoy in Switzerland, and the propaganda of revolutionary missionaries in the Near and Middle East.

Now, with all deference to statesmen, whatever their political opinions may be, this method of settling disputes is nonsensical. There are three or four separate problems here, and even a casuist could hardly trace any argumentative connection between the bishop and the skipper. The British Note does not allege that the trawler had anything to do with the Russian Church. The Russian reply accuses the bishop of being a counter-revolutionary. But it does not suggest that the skipper had any communication with its ecclesiastical victim. It would make for clearness of mind, and—what is of not less importance—coolness of temper, to treat these problems separately after the Euclidean fashion.

The actual question of territorial waters is an old and complex problem, but not usually a very difficult one. What one may call the natural geographical authority of a State necessarily ends at low-water mark on its aqueous frontier. But maritime States all over the world have found it necessary, for juridical and other purposes, to extend their jurisdiction, and the extent has for many years been regarded as three miles—a range which was roughly determined by the limits of artillery at the time the rules were agreed upon. In some few cases these limits have been found inconvenient, and have been restricted, extended, or modified by proclamation and agreement between the States concerned. The famous eighteenth-century dispute over the Newfoundland fisheries is a familiar instance; a less-known but more modern case is that of Ceylon to-day. Another example was the unsuccessful attempt of the Germans before the war to proclaim the Baltic

a *mare clausum*. Speaking generally, it may be said that every maritime nation is beginning to find the three-mile limit unsatisfactory; the increased power of modern artillery alone makes it an anachronism, and it is probable that a twelve, or even a twenty, mile limit may yet become the recognised boundary for territorial waters, with certain exceptions dictated by narrow but universally used waterways.

So much being agreed in principle, it remains obvious that a modification of the rules can only be enforced after agreement at a Conference of international lawyers summoned *ad hoc*, and advised by the maritime authorities of the several States concerned. We doubt if there would be any real difficulty in arriving at a concordat, since the interests of maritime States do not, in this particular matter, come into serious conflict. The Russian Government is, we believe, justified in its desire to extend the limit of territorial waters; where it is hopelessly wrong is in its attempt to do so before it has secured the consent of other States which use those waters.

We can imagine a similar problem arising between Britain and the United States. Does anybody suggest that similar difficulties, and a similar procedure, would arise? We cannot think that the American Government would arrest a British skipper, that the British Government in its protest would think it necessary to make a grievance of prohibition, and that Washington in its rejoinder would address a homily to Lord Curzon on the Habeas Corpus Act and Mr. Bridgeman, with an additional reference to the affairs of the disestablished Welsh Church. Yet this is precisely what has happened between Britain and Russia.

The difficulty of dealing with the Soviet Government is, quite briefly, that the Moscow Junta are impossible people who make promises they do not perform, and seem to have no intention of performing. Few Englishmen, whatever their political creed, would dissent from the doctrine of non-intervention in the internal affairs of foreign States, but the Russian attempt to extirpate religion by force has moved thousands of Englishmen, sound Protestants as well as good Catholics, to doubt the universal validity of that doctrine. Even the Labour Party, which, by some process of confused thought that we fail to fathom, regards itself as the natural guardian of the Soviet system, is a little uncomfortable over the persecution of the Orthodox Church. Again, few Englishmen deny liberty of speech, and most of us recognise propaganda as a legitimate weapon; indeed, the majority of those unhappy mortals who spend the bulk of their working lives in Fleet Street or Westminster are propagandists. But Russian propaganda, founded on theft for the purpose of universalising theft, and aping liberty for the purpose of securing autocracy, is so essentially immoral that it has made everybody but Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Newbold uncomfortable. We do not ourselves believe it to be a serious danger, at least in this country; but we can sympathise with those who regard it as a poisonous solvent of civilisation that should be destroyed at all cost. Our only doubt is as to whether the methods adopted to destroy it are in effect destructive.



For these reasons, we are inclined to regard the British trawler as occupying much the same position as his celebrated predecessor, Captain Jenkins, two centuries ago, whose lost ear precipitated a war between England and Spain. The fact is that two forms of government are now in conflict; and they are opposed to each other at every point of the compass of politics, religion, and thought. There is certainly no desire for war in Britain; and various indications in the Russian Note suggest that there is no more real wish for a rupture in Moscow. The present difficulties, therefore, may be smoothed over, but the real opposition of ideas will remain. The exchange of Notes is only a symptom of the real and fundamental divergence which will persist until one or other party modifies its doctrines or disappears; and of the two, there can be little doubt which is destined to survive. Bolshevism has not the stuff of permanence in it, because it is at bottom a destructive, not a constructive force, and the only politics which last are those which are constructive.

### Championships

THE Amateur Golf Championship has been won by an Englishman, and the nation breathes freely again. At one time it was feared that an American might win it—indeed, it seemed highly probable up to the semi-final round—and that we who have already lost the world title in boxing, cricket, lawn tennis, and innumerable other kinds of sport would be humiliated before the foreign invader in one of our last strongholds. If this happened, it was generally agreed, Englishmen might as well give up playing golf altogether. But Mr. Wethered has saved us, and the pessimists, for once, are triumphantly refuted. As the *Times* well says, in its powerful leading article on the subject: "Mr. Roger Wethered's victory, coupled in the same week with Covey's defeat of Kinsella in the challenge match for the Tennis Championship of the World, should effectually close the mouths of the pessimists who are too prone to moralise over what they call the decadence of British sport."

Why do we always talk like this about certain sports—about rowing, for instance, and cricket and lawn tennis, and Rugby football when it gives us the chance? No one has yet argued that, because Carpentier can beat Beckett, the French are better boxers than the English. Yet the argument is precisely the same. As Englishmen we are glad that Mr. Ouimet was defeated, but we are quite unable to see the alleged significance of the event. On that particular course, on that particular day, the best of the English players was considerably stronger than the best of the visitors—that is all we can see in it. To talk as though such a contest threw any light upon the respective golfing abilities of the two nations is absurd—even more absurd than to mourn the decadence of English cricket because eleven players chosen by a committee to represent this country against eleven selected Australians turned out to be the inferior side. To get any evidence of national ability out of these meetings it would be necessary to bring some

thousands of American golfers over here, and even then the result would be misleading because of the widely different conditions under which the game is played in the United States. International championships are by all means to be encouraged, because they make for good sport and good fellowship. They have no other international significance. In ancient times there existed a picturesque method of settling battles, by sending forward two champions who fought together between the hosts, the understanding being that as soon as one of them fell the army to which he had been attached would immediately throw down its arms or run away. By this method a pleasant spectacle was provided and much bloodshed was saved. But as a means of deciding which of the two armies was the stronger, it was generally felt to be so silly that, in point of fact, it seems hardly ever to have been tried.

It is a question, moreover, whether we are not beginning to take all sport too seriously, not only from the international but from the purely athletic point of view. It is said that Durando, the Marathon winner, trained on Chianti and *éclairs*; yet training for every kind of game, not excluding golf, continues to increase in severity every year. The result is that they are steadily becoming more like work and less like play.

### The Horizon Blue Chamber

By WILLIAM BOLITHO.

PARIS, MAY 15TH.

SINCE 1916 Europe's woes have grown till they tangle and twine over every branch of common life, like creepers in a jungle. The common man, who wants only to till his allotment, get a fair week's pay, drink his beer and forget the war, finds those reasonable ideals choked out by a monstrous growth of international ills. Reparations, depreciated currencies, international debts, armaments, are keeping him out of work, badly fed, overtaxed. The main trunks are easy to name and to discuss. The other root from which they sprang and from which they still draw sap is a harder puzzle. But if you explore the labyrinth from Moscow to the Ruhr, and drop any hope of finding a moral in what you seek, you will come at the end to a nucleus, camouflaged in inoffensive colouring seemingly too small in proportion to the wilderness of effect, at the bottom of the tangle—the French Horizon Blue Chamber of Deputies. It lies much deeper than the petrol war, than the German dishonesty; much deeper than the treachery of the Turks. Those powerful factors have soured the juices, intensified the original poison, which without them might have been trifling; they have twisted and knotted the problems, and often hidden altogether the original cause; but the historical beginning of these miseries is in the Patriot Chamber.

It is an irony of pathology that the most festering cancer may have its roots in a harmless nucleus. In the history of diplomacy and the science of relations between States there are many parallels. Many a well-meaning Prime Minister or Ambassador has caused horrible catastrophes without departing an inch from his collection of principles. The case of the French Chamber is in point. Probably this is the most honest Parliament France has ever had. The small group of Radicals, scattered over the benches to the left of the Speaker's tribunal, last survivors of pre-war days, are, in their records, monsters of graft-

ing compared with the *Bloc National*. The Patriot majority practise nothing that the copy-books do not permit, their corruption is limited, and only a petty number of them use their position for crude financial advantage. They are patriots and men of property. And all our woes have come from a powerful mixture of their love of their country and their love of their possessions. Half of them, quite literally, are retired officers, and half are profiteers. Both sections have prospered by the war. To the officers—colonels, generals, aviators, old and young—war meant a pleasing excitement for which they had been preparing all their lives in barracks, quick advancement, public consideration, fame, and a seat in this Parliament. Such men as Lefebvre, an obscure chemist, whom the war left director of explosives; General de Castelnau, a disgruntled, obscure cavalry officer, now a force and a name; Fonck, the aviator, now a certificated demigod—all have the same conviction of the eminence of their services to mankind and of the infallibility of their ideas. They are patriots; everything they do is done by patriotism, as taught unquestioned in the schools. That is, they are vain of being Frenchmen and hate actively or passively all other nations. They are certain that France is civilisation, that France saved civilisation and that they saved France. What better title for statesmen could be wished? They hate Germany, they hate England, they hate Italy. They are good nationalists. They sit side by side with the Profiteers, whom they outnumber. These are also, for the most part, honest men, who most comprehensibly and sensibly made material fortunes while their *confrères* were gaining fame and posts of honour. Quite legitimately, they desire to keep these fortunes intact, to add to them, to crush any attempt, whether it come from the fanatics of Socialism or from their own Minister of Finance, to force them to give up any part of this honestly won wealth. The two sections are agreed in the main: the munitioneers are the party of law and order, the protectionists, the Ruhrists; the soldiers are the party of nation and rank and glory, clericals and Ruhrists.

It is an explosive mixture. But other countries have Parliaments composed of honest men, who are vain, self-convinced, rich, and haters of other nations. Rumania has such a Parliament, England had (till the last elections), Italy had and has, no doubt America has. But the French Chamber has force. The largest peace army the world has yet seen is at their orders. And no sea, no mountains, nothing but a night journey lay between that weapon and its fitted complement, a beaten nation. It becomes almost a chemical problem. Given Patriotism (= hatred plus vanity) added to unsacrificing riches which will not pay, mixed well, and stirred with natural justice, put to that an unbeatable army, remove all checks, internal and external, what will be the result? What could be the result but this misery and degradation, where three-quarters of the people of Europe are ruined utterly, in their pockets and in their bodies; what but a breeding of new wars and a continuation of the old, a social structure that is cracking from end to end?

It is no use for the sentimentalist to lift up his bleat. Politics is, more largely than such people reckon, a simple problem of cause and effect. Such a Parliament with such an army produces such an effect. There are no morals in it, for the only possible moral could be that patriotism is dangerous and stupid, or that the parliamentary system is wrong, or that the love of a man to hold on to his gains and defend them against anyone he can resist is reprehensible. The first thing to be realised is that the root of our troubles is in this bluff, normal-minded Chamber; that Poincaré, Millerand, Franklin Bouillon, Daudet are only temporary factors of the situation, simple excrescences from a stubborn, immovable root below them. They will come and go, till this Chamber passes away.

## What to Do with the Irish Rebels

By J. M. HONE.

THE latest attempt to procure peace by compromise between Mr. de Valera and the Free State Government has been a failure like the others. President Cosgrave does not appear to have been hopeful; but he was persuaded to try again by two Protestant Senators, who reported the Republican leader's views to the Cabinet—in a very fair way, as Mr. de Valera remarked naïvely in a letter of thanks to the Senators in question. Mr. de Valera regretted the President's rigidity, the logical (?) consequence of which may be—though we hope not—the burning of more houses belonging to these nice Protestant Senators and their colleagues, who seem to be as eager for peace as the neutral members of the I.R.A.

Detachment also compels one to observe that Mr. de Valera is also "rigid." He is willing to abide by the result of a plebiscite, provided that it is previously resolved that the plebiscite cannot impair the sovereignty of Ireland, that is, impair the Republican position. A year ago he asked for less: only that the Treaty should be suspended while the Irish said whether they wanted it or no. But now they may not have the Treaty, even if "England" should press a republic upon them! It sounds disheartening; nevertheless, the breakdown in the exchange has not been accompanied by a renewal of serious violence—whether the quiet is due to attrition of the Republican forces or not, the moment seems propitious for the examination of other possible ways to peace.

Because Mr. de Valera shows himself unreasonable in negotiation, it does not follow that we must seek a final settlement in Ireland on the absolute basis of the Treaty of December, 1921. There is one part of that Treaty which events have probably made it imperative to alter, from the point of view of the comfort of Great Britain herself, that part, namely, which concerns the boundaries of "Ulster." An Irish concession in respect of the proposed boundary Commission might, for instance, well be met by a British concession with regard to the oath taken by members of the Irish Parliament. The Irish here are in a strong position; for it is clearly stated in the Treaty that the "Ulster" boundaries are to be revised. Sir James Craig refuses in advance to recognise the Commission, and so puts the Unionist Government in England in a nasty dilemma; either it must dishonour Great Britain's signature or it must quarrel with its close friends, the Northern loyalists. In exchange for other concessions, the Free State might well, I think, give up hope of presently reconquering the Six Counties, or any part of them. Public opinion in the South is at the moment rather indifferent to the Ulster question.

Mr. William O'Brien, when he says in his recent book, *The Irish Revolution and How It Came About*, that the root cause of Irish disaffection is the division of North from South, "Partition," and not the "pedantic" objection to those clauses of the Treaty which define Ireland's status in the Empire, is speaking for his own generation of Nationalists rather than for the younger men. Theoretically, there is no partition, for the simple reason that the Treaty of London was a treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, not between Great Britain and the "Two Irelands" of the ill-fated Home Rule Act of 1920. It was a recognition by the British Government of essential Irish unity; Sir James Craig and the Ulstermen did not appear as principals in the negotiations at all. They were clients of the British Government, and their right to remain within the United Kingdom System was secured by the British in agreement with the Irish representatives. The boundaries of their domain were, however, left

undefined, and Collins and Griffith, if we may believe Mr. O'Brien, thought that the Boundary Commission would make these so small as to render impossible the separate existence of an Orange enclave.

According to the letter of the law, then, Ireland can still call for this Boundary Commission, and her statisticians will be able at its meetings to produce useful figures and facts—at the last election Tyrone voted against "Ulster," and is now without representation in Belfast, in Dublin, or at Westminster. On the other hand, Sir James Craig is managing the affairs of the Six Counties pretty well; he has produced peace and order therein; and it seems a pity that his work should be disturbed by statistical debates. Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, the Home Secretary for the Free State, said last week that the Boundary Commission must function; but what good will come of it? If the South were to gain a few more acres, it would only be at the cost of raising more of those bitter passions of which both North and South has had terrible experience in the last twelve months. Sir James Craig's attitude to the Boundary Commission is provoking enough, and there is a temptation to put him to the test; but in the past when Ireland has succumbed to such temptations it is she who has suffered. We have had no luck with "Ulster." It would be much better to drop the question of Ulster's boundary for the present, thus saving the British Government much inconvenience—in return the British Government might reconsider certain other points in the Treaty which, so long as they are maintained, render the re-establishment of real peace in Southern Ireland all but impossible.

"There cannot," as Mr. O'Brien says, "be any tolerable peace until it is made possible for Republicans to re-enter the public life of the country, and this will only be practicable if the oath of allegiance which at present shuts them out from the Parliament of the Six Counties is abolished." It is only fair to recognise that, among other things, scruples of conscience have played a part in the Irish troubles of the last year; and were some attempt now made to meet these, it would be possible to distinguish between what is tolerable and what is intolerable in the motives of those who are fighting the Free State.

The Free State Ministers stand in this matter upon much stronger moral ground than they did a year ago; for of their sincere endeavours to carry out their contract with Britain there can be no longer a doubt. Their severities against their former comrades, the sacrifice of their leaders, Collins and Griffith, will well justify them in claiming assistance from England towards a revision of the "difficult" portion of the Treaty—assistance not for their own Party, which has now shown that it can take care of itself, but for Ireland as a whole. An additional argument for revision is the fact that the Southern Unionists who remain in Ireland have through their representatives in the Senate indicated their readiness to agree to some plan that may placate the consciences of the anti-Treatyites; Great Britain needs to regard the views of these men, who always have been her good friends. The Irish Government by continuing on present lines can no doubt restore order; but Ireland will be no kind of country to live in so long as it contains a powerful sect of Nonconformist objectors to the State, such as it must contain so long as the Treaty stands in its present form. Very soon, if no revision is made, that Treaty will become the symbol of a certain set of politicians, hereditary patrons of all the well-paid jobs. The initiation of new negotiations with Britain would not necessitate any change in the direction of the internal policy of the Irish Government or in its military arrangements, but would rather emphasise the legitimacy of the Free State as at present constituted, the right of the Executive to punish crime, and to control the arms and ammunition of the country.

## The Abolition of Cocaine

BY DR. C. W. SALEEBY.

THE argument of previous articles\* must now be extended and confirmed in the hope that our Government may take action at Geneva forthwith; and the patient reader must bear with my impatience at the dilatory deliberations of officialism. The argument in question is, first, that the only way with the drug traffic is international control at the source; and, second, that cocaine, a peculiarly deadly drug, is peculiarly amenable to this principle. In this article I propose nothing with regard to any drug but cocaine, a very special case, regarding which no real room for doubt exists.

This cocaine is a wonderful drug. Its isolation from the leaves of the coca plant and its introduction into surgery were great boons of German organic chemistry to mankind. Most readers of this argument for the abolition of cocaine have doubtless benefited, like myself, by its use in, for instance, ophthalmology, the surgery of the nose and throat, and dental surgery in many of its forms. If, after several decades of such service, we now propose that there shall be no more cocaine, except in so far as a few coca plants are grown for the sake of botany and organic chemistry, we do so in full recognition of the facts that we must find perfect substitutes, or at least as good, for the purposes of local anaesthesia, free from that aphrodisiac and otherwise toxic action upon the central nervous system which has made cocaine a curse of civilisation.

In my last article here I drew attention to the new, or year-old, drug named "butyn" for short—or, if the reader prefers an explanatory name, para-amino-benzoyl gamma di-n-butylamino-propanol sulphate. This is a coal-tar product, a benzoyl derivative, like novocain, which is also a valuable local anaesthetic. The reports upon its use are excellent.† Already, as long ago as 1917, Sir William Bayliss had expressed the view that novocain and other substitutes made the use of cocaine in surgery unnecessary in dentistry. The man of science, going to the root of the matter, will be found to have been right in his contention, both in its theory and in its practical application; whilst the men of affairs, administrators, and officials who signed the report from which he dissented, for restrictive and punitive measures, will be found to have been wrong and unpractical. The moral of that is for general and special application, as may now be shown. Restrictive measures, punitive measures, devised from the police point of view, even though executed as well as possible, have everywhere failed.

Since my last article here, there has appeared in the *Times* (March 24th) a letter signed by Sir William Bayliss and myself, in which we drew attention to the failure of past and present methods, especially as observed by myself in North America, and drew attention to Sir William's contention of 1917; and particularly to the supplementation of novocain, the substitute specially referred to then, by butyn, of which the "introduction completes the argument advanced in 1917." We concluded as follows:

International action should, therefore, be taken to end the present manufacture of cocaine in Germany and Switzerland

\* *Stamping Out the Drug Traffic*, THE OUTLOOK, June 10th, 1922. *The Only Way with Cocaine*, THE OUTLOOK, March 3rd, 1923.

† See, for instance, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, February 4th, 1922; *Annals of Otolaryngology, Rhinology, and Laryngology*, March, 1922; *British Journal of Ophthalmology*, July, 1922; *British Medical Journal*, January 13th, 1923.

‡ Cd. 8480, price 1d.

or elsewhere, and the cultivation of the coca plant in Peru, Java, Bolivia, and other countries. The best instrument for such action, given an instructed and active public opinion in the various countries concerned, is the Opium Committee of the League of Nations. Though neither the United States nor Germany is as yet a member of the League, both of these countries are represented on the Opium Committee. We urge that our Government should give full and cogent instructions in this sense to Sir Malcolm Delevingne, the British representative on that Committee, prior to its next meeting in May. This, we are convinced, is the only way with cocaine.

Something has indeed been done. In what, I suppose, must be called due course, it was announced, rather more than a month after the publication of our letter—whilst May and the opportunity so rapidly approached—that “the Home Office and the Ministry of Health have had under consideration the possibility of the use in medical and surgical practice of substances which might serve the same therapeutic purpose as cocaine, but be free from its deleterious properties.” (*Times*, April 27th.) Pray remember at this point that one of the greatest physiologists in the world had expressed his views on the question of this “possibility,” in an official document *six years ago*. However, the Minister of Health has appointed a Committee, from which the name of Sir William Bayliss is, as I personally think, most conspicuously and deplorably absent, but which includes the names of many highly qualified students, and the report of which, when it appears, some day, will doubtless be of high scientific and clinical value.

But the great matter in hand is more than clinical. Certainly it is good that the attention which has been directed to butyn in this and many other places has resulted in an inquiry that should popularise its use among dental, ophthalmological, rhinological and other surgeons in this country. A local anaesthetic with the merits of butyn, free from risk of any kind to the patient, is a great boon, and in view of the reports of its action above referred to, I do not doubt that the new Committee will say so, and thus do good service to many ill persons. But the small differences between, say, novocain and butyn, in respect of, for instance, such an unpleasant business as the removal of the pulp of a tooth, in order that the dentist may “crown” it, are of no importance at all compared with the task of the civilised world in ridding itself of the curse of the abuse of cocaine, and the Report of the new Committee cannot possibly be in time for the present opportunity.

In the circumstances we are fully warranted in our further letter (*The Times*, May 8), in which we argue that the Government should act, without waiting for this Committee's report. No one questions that the number of coca plants now under cultivation is monstrously in excess of any surgical need for cocaine. Figures are very hard to obtain and very untrustworthy when obtained, but it is certain that only a very small fraction of the coca leaves actually grown and the cocaine actually isolated is ever used, and could ever be required, for legitimate purposes. Our argument against the present cultivation of the coca plant is, therefore, wholly independent of the verdict of the new Committee or any future inquiry of the kind. This point is here made with all possible force, lest the Government should refrain from action in the right direction on the ground that it would be premature to act before the Report of its very posthumously appointed Committee.

The case for action is all the stronger since Mr. Hughes, the American Secretary of State, speaking at the Anti-Narcotic Conference in Washington on May 4th, announced that the United States delegation on the Opium Committee at Geneva this month would “urge the curtailment of the production of coca leaves.” That is a step, at least, in the right direction which Sir William Bayliss and I have indicated and constitutes a new reason why our Government should act as we urge, without fallacious reliance upon new

legislation of a merely local and punitive character, and without using the new Committee, appointed, in our characteristic fashion, to discover what is already known, as an excuse for losing a great opportunity to vindicate and reap world-wide as well as national advantage from the principle of international action in international affairs for the service of all the sons of men.

## MIDDLE SECTION

### The Two Herring Brokers Who Sniffed

By BASSETT DIGBY.

PAVL THEODOROVITCH TCHEREPENNIKOV and I were the only folks in a 2nd class coupé of the Omsk post-train. We were on that long and dreary stretch between Vologda and Viatka. It was a gloomy April afternoon, and the snow still lay in deep dissolving drifts under the pines.

Hour after hour the train crawled on across the wooded undulations of the low hills without sighting even a village. Had there been now and again an unsuspected cliff or a rocky gorge or a rushing stream or a towering giant of a tree, the landscape would have been impressive. But there were no cliffs or rocky gorges or rushing streams or tall trees, but merely a gloomy, featureless forest of trees that were neither very young nor very old. Nothing but the occasional glimpse, from the crest of a ridge, of a gilt or green dome of a far-away village church broke the monotony of the pines and the snow.

But at a wayside station, about 4 o'clock, we saw a man sitting on a dead bear. A typical Vologda peasant, he wore a flaming red shirt and a quilted coat and a Quaker bonnet of fur. With his thick hair cut pudding-bowlwise, his long beard, and his legs and feet swathed in rag puttees he was an interesting relic of mediæval Europe. The gun he was cleaning was an anachronism. One felt he should be wiping the blood off a sharpened stake or restringing a bow.

Night fell shortly afterwards and Pavl Theodorovitch Tcherepennikov and I rolled up in our camel-hair blankets, with a handful of cigarettes within reach, grumbled at the dimness of the candle, and began to talk.

But we each wanted to talk of different things. I wanted to talk about bears, and Pavl Theodorovitch Tcherepennikov wanted to talk about herrings. For a time I asked Pavl Theodorovitch pointblank questions about bears, their manners, habitats, ravages, and behaviour under various trying circumstances. This gave me a certain advantage, as Pavl Theodorovitch could hardly avoid answering. And though he obviously knew nothing about bears it was suddenly borne in upon him that knowledge about bears was a fine manly sort of knowledge to have, and to air. So he answered fully and freely several of my questions about bears, and vividly described, at some length, what, I am sure, was an entirely fictitious encounter with a wounded bear in the woods of Finland.

Then I paused to light a cigarette, and he reverted to herrings.

He had been a sort of herring expert at one time in a firm of fish dealers at Moscow. Apparently there is a ritual to be observed in buying herrings. You don't merely send a letter to Petrograd, telling them to send you so many tubs or boxes of herrings. (Or, at any rate, you don't do so twice.) When you want to buy

[Owing to the indisposition of Mr. Boardman Robinson, we are unable to print his cartoon this week.]

herrings you send to Petrograd an expert who is old and wise in the craft. He proceeds, in a droskhy, to the herring-wharf. There he plunges into ankle-deep and smelly brine, and the mysteries of his calling.

A circumstance that particularly delighted Pavl Theodorovitch was the custom of the herring porters of snatching up dripping herrings from the brine-tubs, when no one happened to be looking, secreting them in their trousers and shirts, and subsequently hauling them out and selling them to the receivers of this kind of swag, who congregated on the kerb as the porters left the wharf at their dinner-hour. "*Cheste slovo! Cheste slovo!* On my clean word! On my word of honour!" he vowed, after he had told me about it for the second time. My involuntary wincing pleased him and encouraged him to divulge further horrors of the herring trade.

Vainly I flogged my wits to think of some impelling dramatic question about bears, that might lead to a change of subject. But they refused to respond. They stood fascinated by his revolting recountals—like children watching a man in a fit.

Then fortunately he launched into a seemlier story. He began very swiftly and incoherently, so I understood hardly any of the prelude. Suddenly, between gasped, staccato sentences, he began violently to sniff. . . .

There is something hypnotic about sniffing. The second time he sniffed I sniffed too, though less ostentatiously. I failed to notice any abnormality in the atmosphere. Then again he sniffed. Twice. Stertorously. I responded with a long thoughtful sniff. Again I drew blank.

"What is the matter?" I asked.

Pavl Theodorovitch gave a long thoughtful sniff.

"*Nieto.*" But he looked puzzled.

"Then why sniffest thou?" I inquired.

"Ah! It was *thus* that I sniffed when the Man in the Blue Suit began to sniff. I was showing thee."

So it was merely a graphic illustration to a story he was telling.

"Thou didst not hear me aright," he said. "*Nietchevo.* I will begin again."

And he began again, more slowly and distinctly. . . .

It appears that one evening Pavl Theodorovitch Tcherepennikov found himself returning to Moscow from a few days' visit to the Petrograd herring-wharf. In his compartment were two other men. Before the train was an hour out of the Nicholas Station a subtle uneasiness made itself apparent in the coupé. At first it was a very subtle and subdued uneasiness. First the Man in the Blue Suit began to glance up from his paper. Then the Man in the Black Suit began to glance up from his paper. Then the Man in the Blue Suit moved his head and peered round the coupé, as one who expected to discern the whereabouts of a singing bird. Then the Man in the Black Suit moved his head and peered round as one expected to discern the whereabouts of a fitting butterfly. After returning to their papers for a few moments the Man in the Blue Suit and the Man in the Black Suit looked up simultaneously; and, catching each other's eye, gave a start and dived into their papers again.

Now this began greatly to disturb Pavl Theodorovitch. For Pavl Theodorovitch had been standing around in the brine-soaked herring-wharf for some days and knew quite well that his boots, in consequence, richly gave off the characteristic effluvia of that mart of commerce.

But when the inevitable sniffing began, Pavl Theodorovitch sniffed louder than either of them—brief, noisy, virile sniffs; the brusque, curt sniffs of a plain, blunt man who sniffs not æsthetically, for sniffing's sake, but for drab utilitarian ends.

Then there came to him one of those big, simple ideas that make the modern merchant prince. He left the coupé and went in search of the guard. The Man

in the Blue Suit and the Man in the Black Suit courteously drew in their legs to let him pass.

He came back down the corridor very soon with the guard. The guard flung open the door of the coupé and subjected the interior to a comprehensive stare. The baggage-racks were empty. Pavl Theodorovitch and the Man in the Blue Suit had their valises standing in the corridor outside.

The guard knelt and flashed his lamp under the seats. He rose. As he was dusting his knees his gaze fell on a large paper parcel on the seat behind the Man in the Black Suit.

He was a man of few words.

"What's that?" he asked.

The Man in the Black Suit did not seem to realise that the question was addressed to him.

"What's that?" repeated the guard, pointing at the parcel.

This time the Man in the Black Suit saw that the inquiry concerned his property.

"None of your business!" he replied, bridling.

"Open that parcel!" said the guard, firmly.

Then began Pavl Theodorovitch Tcherepennikov to feel extremely apprehensive. It would never do to have that parcel opened and its innocuousness divulged.

"*Noo vot! Noo vot!* There is no need to have the gentleman untie all that string, guard!"

"Look at the knots," said the Man in the Blue Suit, forgetting the smell and rallying to his proper side in the eternal Russian conflict between the uniformed and the un-uniformed.

The guard thrust a hand into his trousers pocket, fumbled a moment and brought out a knife. Pavl Theodorovitch turned his back on him, almost snorting with rage: "It is nothing! *Nietchevo! Nietchevo!*" he remarked, emphatically. "No, it is nothing!" echoed the Man in the Blue Suit.

The guard looked puzzled. Then his lips parted. He was about to speak. Pavl Theodorovitch awaited that utterance with a wince. But, providentially, the Man in the Black Suit spoke first:

"I will NOT open my parcel," he said. "It does not smell. It is none of your business. I will take my parcel into another coupé, but I warn you to cease persecuting me. Unless you leave me in peace it shall be the worse for you!" Whereupon he seized his parcel, jostled past the guard, and disappeared down the corridor. . . .

The gaze of the guard returned from the corridor to the compartment. There was that in his puzzled eye that led Pavl Theodorovitch speedily to produce a purse and hand him a rouble.

"Thank you," said the guard, saluting; and he went away.

"That's better!" said Pavl Theodorovitch, closing the door. Then the pair of them chatted with vivacity for an hour before they went to bed. Curiously enough neither of them seemed to notice any longer the unpleasantness of the air, though it was certainly worse now than it had been when the guard had been fetched. . . .

It was very bad at 6 o'clock in the morning, when the train arrived in Moscow. Pavl Theodorovitch felt overcome by remorse. As he fastened his collar he thought of explaining and apologising to the Man in the Blue Suit.

But the Man in the Blue Suit did not complain. He dressed in silence. Then, just as he was about to leave the compartment, he coughed and said, nervously and hurriedly, to Pavl Theodorovitch:

"My friend, I wish to apologise to you for this distressing smell. You see, I am a herring-broker and I have just spent two days on a herring-wharf at the Novi Port at Petrograd. We herring-brokers have to walk about for hours in malodorous mashed herring brine and it affects our shoes very badly. One ought

to throw away one's boots after spending a couple of days on that herring wharf—but God knows that I am a poor man."

"And what did you say?" I asked Pavl Theodorovitch Tcherepennikov.

"Oh, I said: 'Nichevo! Nichevo! It is nothing, my dear sir. It might happen to anyone'."

## The Friend of Raffles

By HUGH CAISTER.

THE eminent Victorians are dead. At last Tennyson has crossed the bar. Lord Rosebery, the Duke of Rutland, Mr. Rendel, and Lord Armistead have borne to the Abbey for its majestic dismissal, Gladstone's majestic corpse. Irascible Froude has taken his dreams of impossible power and impossible austerity to where, as we have reason to believe, all honest hopes are fulfilled, where Cromwell will understand and Clío forgive. On the windy grave of Rhodes let who will shed a tear. Dying or dead are the eminent Victorians. And what remain of their age's hero-worship calls up to haunt the places of the great, since no material personage is found worthy to inherit them, a number of fictitious characters.

Sherlock Holmes. Captain Kettle. A. J. Raffles. We shall not look upon their like again. Why, even Weary Willie and Tired Tim won a place in men's hearts which Mutt and Jeff must for ever in vain sigh after. As well make a Gordon out of Foch or Haig as make from the creatures of the contemporary magazine a being with the puissance of even Martin Hewitt. It was an age of rich and masterful individuality. The very men whom convention called their inventors showed by their failure to repeat their successes that in the narration of their heroes' adventures they were but the unwitting instruments of a power beyond their control. Hornung's Stingaree, Doyle's hairy scientist whose name I forget, Hyne's engineer—what ineffective shadows were these beside a Raffles, a Kettle, a Holmes!

Yet not all the credit is due to the spirit of the age. Let us grant that Sir Arthur Conan Doyle or Mr. Cutcliffe Hyne could not unaided have made men about whom people would write popular songs. (Yes, songs. "My name is Captain Pott, 'Tin Pott, 'Tin Pott . . ." Do you, dispirited and querulous youngsters, make songs about Mark Sabre?) But Holmes and Kettle chose wisely their authors, and found in the brusque intellect of the one, the adventurous enthusiasm of the other, the auxiliary powers they needed. And Raffles, perhaps, chose most wisely of them all. He needed a cricketer, a sentimentalist and a craftsman; and Hornung was all these. He had, indeed, talents which in a generation less brilliant than his own would have commanded immediate respect, and which in any generation might, had he bothered, have been made the vehicle of great ideas. But he did not bother. Raffles came to him once, and he wrote a minor classic. For the rest, he wrote magazine stories, very good of their kind; but, the end reached, the momentary effect achieved, easily forgotten. Cricket interested him, and often he was moved to a pleasant pathos, and he wrote always, not only carefully, but with a swing. That is all. Qualities more valuable than impressive. Only, I suppose, those pages will be remembered across which falls the mighty shade gone these two decades away to crack the gates of the Elysian fields and to score those swift and graceful centuries.

Well, the biographer of Sherlock Holmes may regret that his brother-in-law, the biographer of Raffles, should not be better known as the author of

*Peccavi* or *Fathers of Men*. I doubt whether the novels deserved notoriety. As for the short stories—does notoriety matter? Does it matter whether John of Antwerp or Peter of Lichfield added that particular flourish to that particular cathedral? Who cares whether Plato or another loved Agathon? Shall we mourn that of John Webster nothing is known but his work? The flowering time of the English short story is still too close to our own day to be compared with the Greek anthology or the Elizabethan drama. But some time—and perhaps already in American universities—a judicious treatise may discuss the merits of Kipling and Wells, Hubert Crackenthorpe and Morley Roberts, as here and now we balance Hazlitt against Hunt. It will then be asked what characterised Hornung. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in his just and informative preface to Hornung's *Old Offenders* (Murray, 7s. 6d.) suggests the sudden use of the right adjective and the right phrase. That so many, and Sir Arthur himself was one of them, understood. I am rather inclined to emphasise Hornung's sentiment.

Sentiment is a thing which Englishmen are well advised to leave to the Lowland Scots. Few English writers can treat a small and transitory emotion without persuading themselves that it is a major passion or dissolving into a flood of unmeaning tears. But Hornung was one of the few—now there are none—who had exactly the lightness of touch and the simplicity required. And by simplicity I mean simplicity, not stupidity nor extreme susceptibility. He was moved, and it was natural in him to seek and describe the causes. Many writers, some greater than he, would perforce take refuge from trivial joy or sadness in irony or in cynicism. Hornung dared to consider seriously even a small thing. He liked—shall we say?—to play with it. He valued tenderness. Thus, almost alone among post-Victorians, he could bring to the death-bed of a stranger both sympathy and tact.

The last of the tales in this posthumous volume, *Old Offenders*, may best illustrate the character of Hornung's craft, except that in its fellows is more inventiveness. It is called a *Bowler's Innings*, and a bowler's innings, as that great Yorkshire bowler Richard Unthank himself remarked, is "a short life but a merry one." A couple of pages easily and effectively set the stage and introduce the characters and plot. You have the cold and solitary inn to which Unthank has retired; you have Mrs. Unthank, "a sour-looking slattern with a grimy baby in her arms"; you have the narrator, fortuitously there detained, whose enthusiasm is shocked by Mrs. Unthank's indifference to her husband's fame; you have Unthank lying sick upstairs. "Only the moustache was ruddy and unchanged; and it glistened with a baleful dew." Only Unthank, whose disease is that which dazzles the sufferer with false hopes, is ignorant that death is near, and with the narrator he discusses his old victories. And the narrator at his request gives him catches, but his thin hands cannot hold the ball, the silver-mounted ball wherewith he took nine Nottingham wickets for fifty runs. "'Who could make catches in a light like this?' 'No, sir, it's not the light. I see what it is. It's—it's what they call the beginning of the end.' And he burst into tears. Yet was he sanguine even then, for the end was very near. It came that night."

At St. Jean de Luz, where lies the body of Gissing, now lies the body of Hornung. When he died he was but fifty-four. The work he did was not of the highest, but was done as well as it could be done. In the war he needs must serve behind the lines, but in literature his place was in the front rank of the shock troops. He is dead and the shock troops are disbanded. An epoch in the short story is ended. It was a great epoch, and Hornung had his share in making it so.

## THE DRAMA And So Ad Infinitum

By EDWARD SHANKS.

THE title of this article has been rejected as a title for the play under notice, but it may serve as a description of the manner in which the works of the Capek Brothers are being given to us. But, though it might be said that London is having an almost excessive dose of the Capeks, yet the production of *The Insect Play* at the Regent Theatre is a matter for pleasure since it enables one to confirm the opinion one had formed of *R. U. R.* I am aware that any such opinion must still remain provisional. The play as we see it in London is "freely adapted for the English stage" by Mr. Nigel Playfair and Mr. Clifford Bax, who is, I understand, responsible for the verse, from the authorised translation made by Mr. Paul Selver. Now on the programme Mr. Selver's name has been "freely adapted" into "Silver"; and this suggests to me that the joys of "free adaptation" of works by other authors may be going to Mr. Playfair's head. He began by tinkering, though not excessively, with the text of the *Beggar's Opera*. He went on to a complete refacimento of *Polly*, in which very little of the original Gay was left standing. This, justifiable at any time in theory to anyone who had read the play, is now certainly justified by the event. With the work of the Capek Brothers the matter is different. I make no accusation against Mr. Playfair, for I do not know what it is that he has done to *The Insect Play* and *R. U. R.* I have not seen a literal translation of either play, and I have had no reliable information as to the changes that have been made—except that in the Butterfly Scene of the former piece certain passages were omitted with one eye on the Censor, which could not, of course, be helped. But a doubt remains. These are two foreign dramatists of great achievement and almost world-wide fame. They and we have a right to ask that they should be judged by us as they really are. Have we been given an opportunity to do this? We do not know; and it is a pity that we should not know. It is at any rate a pity that the published versions of the two plays should be the same as are used in the theatre.

However, I daresay we can take it that, at the worst, the major part of what the Capeks wrote survives in the English theatre. At any rate, both pieces exhibit almost equally two strongly marked characteristics. The Capeks thoroughly understand the stage; and, as purveyors of dramatic entertainment, they stand in the first rank. But as philosophers they seem to me to be for the most part specious, superficial, and muddle-headed. This would matter less if they were not obviously anxious to pose as philosophical critics of post-war humanity. It would matter a good deal more if their strong dramatic instinct did not triumph over these misdirected desires.

*The Insect Play* is amusing and watchable. I found myself criticising it and resenting it with some bitterness as it went along, but I felt no wish to get up and go away. It is, indeed, a remarkable thing that this series of unconnected scenes should be able so firmly to hold the attention; and it reveals the real powers of the authors. We begin with Butterflies. They flit about, making love foolishly and hypocritically and inconstantly. Iris attempts to seduce Felix, the poet; but he contents himself with repeating verses to her until she is bored and invites Victor to chase her. In the course of the chase, Victor is snapped up by a bird, which amuses Iris very much. We pass on to Beetles. Mr. and Mrs. Beetle appear rolling a huge ball of dirt, to which they refer as their all, their capital. While they are rejoicing over it, new anxieties strike them. They must begin again at once on the toil of scraping together a second pile; and suppose, while they are

doing this, someone makes off with the first? They go to look for a hole in which they may hide it; and while they are gone another Beetle does make off with it. Then we see Mr. and Mrs. Cricket, not long married and she "expecting." They are childishly uxorious and sentimental; and they are murdered by the villainous Ichneumon Fly to serve as tit-bits for his disgusting Larva. The Tramp who is the witness of all this comes to a conclusion:

Insec's won't work together. Man  
Will. 'E can form a general plan.  
There's something great in 'im what fights  
And perishes for the people's rights;

and is forthwith plunged into the middle of an ant-heap. Ants march round and round carrying tools to the counting of a Blind Timekeeper who chants "One-two-three-four" until one of the heads of the community discovers that a speeding-up can be effected by counting "Blank-two-three-four" instead. The Chief Engineer and his Assistant explain to the Tramp that the ideals of their state are the saving of time, the increase of output, and the establishment of the Ant Realm in the hegemony of the Universe. War breaks out with the Yellow Ants. At first victory is expected; and the Chief Engineer appoints the God of the Ants to an honorary colonelcy. Then the Yellow Ants break into the Ant Heap and massacre all the inhabitants; and the Tramp is so enraged by the triumph of the Commander-in-Chief that he kills him. Through all these scenes a Chrysalis at one side of the stage announces at intervals that a great event is in progress, that it is about to be born. At last it breaks its shell, comes out, joins in the dance of the other moths, and, like them, dies. Finally the Tramp, too, dies. A Woodcutter comes by and pities him. A woman carrying her sister's baby to be christened stops and talks to the Woodcutter. Schoolchildren come by and the Woodcutter and the woman prevent them from seeing the dead body. One of them gives the woman a flower, which she puts on the dead man's breast.

This last scene, which brings the play satisfactorily to an end, is inane in the intellectual scheme: it almost suggests that the Capeks wrote their piece to demonstrate that human beings are more humane than insects. This, however, is not so: they intend a satire on humanity and, in the shape of insects, have produced a gallery of pictures of human vices. As the summary will show, it is a very one-sided indictment. Now there is no harm in one-sidedness provided that it be informed with sufficient passion. Swift accused mankind in the shape of the Yahoos, and set up against mankind's behaviour the virtues, in the shape of the noble horses, which mankind has at least been able to conceive. But the Capeks hardly rise to the level of an accusation: they indulge themselves in fretful carpings, and they have nothing at all to show as a contrast. Where they excel is in dramatic presentation. Their second act, called "Creepers and Crawlers," is a masterly handling of unconnected episodes; and the ant scene is as admirable a piece of spectacular stagecraft as one could wish to be devised with means so simple. Dramatists who write plays of this sort give themselves a good deal into the hands of their producers; but Mr. Playfair has not failed them.

There is not much room here for acting of an ordinary kind. Mr. Edmund Willard struggled bravely with the difficult part of the Tramp; Miss Maire O'Neill was excellent as Mrs. Beetle, and Miss Angela Baddeley made a charming Mrs. Cricket.

*R. U. R.* revisited is as exciting as ever, and as empty as a piece of thought. I still found it possible to jump about in my seat like a pea in a bladder during the third act. I beg further to report that Miss Frances Carson has much improved, but that the Schwabe-Hasait back-scene in the last act still wobbles.

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 THAT FELLOW MACARTHUR. By Selwyn Jepson. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.  
 ABOVE SUSPICION. By Robert Orr Chipperfield. Hurst and Blackett. 7s. 6d.

TO his prose writing Mr. de la Mare brings, beside the elfin and remote loveliness of his poetry, a tangible interest in human oddities. Any child can discover—who of us as children did not?—in some by-way of the forest fairy rings. But to find right in the middle of the ring a sensible old aunt darning a grey stocking, that is unusual; and that in these stories Mr. de la Mare allows. Not that he makes any pretence to humanity. He is at his most intelligible a changeling seated by the nursery fire; and so far from making fairy rings a proper footstool for an aunt he makes the old lady babble uncanny nonsense. But he can, often though not always, make his magic no less powerful when divorced from incantations of rhyme and rhythm, than when in the full urge of his fantasy he snatches you breathless to a dark moon—and leaves you there unhappily querulous. It might be objected that the De la Mare who has written three novels and no end of short stories deserves to be treated otherwise than as a poet who does not confine himself to poetry. Certainly his stories are better than Shelley's novel, Coleridge's metaphysic, or Swinburne's criticism. Nevertheless, they are not properly fiction; they have nothing to do with the dust and noise of conscious experience; they ravish and intoxicate, but they do not persuade. When for some reason the spell misses its effect and no whimsical humour has been provided to soften the impact of Elfland upon earth, his fantasies are no less barren than they are alien. *The Creatures*, for example, is entirely and unpleasantly negative. Its author has been content to picture a different world and a different race from ours, and just because they are different esteems them. Rare failures like this suggest that Mr. de la Mare's gold is indeed fairy gold, and that he is not alchemist but illusionist. But few are the gaps in the enchantment, and almost always gleams and glitters, the urgent whispering and mysterious music, prevail, or else we are lost in gentle, loving laughter. Mr. de la Mare's stories are like nothing that has happened before, and in the future none will successfully imitate them, so individual and so masterly is he. He has made of prose a new instrument, and gives by its means a new pleasure.

With *The Minster* we return to conventional fiction. Mr. Legge has written a clever and interesting novel. He had it in him to do much better work than this, but something, perhaps his gift for unimportant satire, interposed, so that the tragedy and beauty of his theme dribble away into petty intrigues. Nothing so forcibly recalls the familiar contrast between man's meanness and the majesty of his works as a masterpiece of church building. Demesbury Cathedral was such a masterpiece, and signified for some of those who dwelt around it a spiritual escape, for others an aesthetic. Men raised their eyes to it, and Mr. Legge does not allow us, in the earlier chapters at least, to forget that all the small town gossip was carried on in the shadow of its Norman tower round which the jackdaws "sidled and shifted." The gossip was the usual

gossip, and most of it was true. Sir Hugh accepted the organist's wife as a mistress, and the organist wondered what he could make out of it. The Bishop's daughter tried to make an extension lecturer run away with her, but the lecturer's wife had too much money. The Dean was seen about with Lady Cynthia. Not that there was any harm in that. Lady Cynthia was honest, and the Dean embodied the best mediaeval traditions. But Mr. Legge had not the skill nor the patience fully to work out the suggested conflict. A happy marriage and three violent deaths effect some sort of a conclusion, and one is left with muddled memories of smarty-smart talk and rich melancholy beauty. The talk, being the noisier, is likely to make the more impression. It is a pity.

Most of Miss Bowen's stories expose some egotist or self-deceiver. A conversation generally suffices. An emotional lady in black stops the vicar after evening service, or an intense, over-emphatic person who says her friends call her the helper, takes command of an acquaintance's lunch. The author's delicate irony is never obtruded. The conversations are real conversations, except that which would have been tedious to overhear has become pleasant to read. This example of masculine obtuseness or that of feminine hypocrisy is then dismissed, and the reader, smiling, turns the page for the next. Once we come close to tragedy, when the elderly wife finds that she dare not face her lover's return. "I've got so ugly. I can't pretend—I haven't the heart to risk it." And sometimes Miss Bowen attempts with less-marked success to picture a real encounter of personalities, but even then one of the protagonists is dead. The mirror she holds up is very small, and may reflect only one face at a time, but it is brilliant and true.

Nothing could be further removed from Miss Bowen's art than Miss Grimshaw's, if indeed so rough and wasteful a kind of narration can be called art at all. Miss Bowen has brought to what may prove its last refinement the satire of Jane Austen. Miss Grimshaw is of the school of Defoe. The pity is that she will not recognise it. Instead of restricting herself, as did that great master, to the succinct narration of surprising events, she palters with characterisation, but all her excitement, her appeals for sympathy, her rash generalisations about human nature, are inadequate to suggest any person more lively than a tailor's dummy for tropical outfits. Her powers of invention, however, are magnificent, and would long ago, had she not obscured them with trimmings of second-rate emotionalism, have earned for her a place in the front rank of storytellers. A woman lands while her steamer has stayed to take in water upon a deserted island. Her foot strikes a tombstone bearing her name and that year's date. Or a couple of travellers in Papua find hanging in a cage a woman with skin of dazzling white. Such is the material of her last nine Pacific tales of which one, *The Isles of Peace*, because of an accidental reticence is really moving, all are exciting.

If Mr. Selwyn Jepson has nothing else, he has high spirits. And really he has little else. All the characters in *That Fellow MacArthur*, from an elderly business man to his seven-year-old son, talk and act like rather backward children of thirteen. Their sole desire, that for a good scrap which the author, by the way appears to share, belongs to the same age. The plot is conventional, and the style crude. Still Mr. Jepson seems to like writing, and that is always an asset. . . . *Above Suspicion* turns upon a complicated murder, of which the author finally presents a meagre and unsatisfactory explanation. It is really not enough to keep the reader guessing if you assume by every improbability that he will not guess right. Mr. Chipperfield, like Miss Ostrander, sinks to depths of unscrupulousness which Mr. Fergus Hume, inventor of the formula they use, would never have permitted himself.

H. C. HARWOOD.



## Mosquitoes, Bureaucrats, and Brigands

MEMORIES. By Sir Ronald Ross, K.C.B., F.R.S. Murray. 24s.

"DAMN the fellow, he's so various," said Gainsborough of Reynolds. One imagines that the enemies of Sir Ronald Ross have sometimes said the same thing. The world knows him as one of the small band of men who share with Jenner, Lister, and Pasteur the honour of having saved more lives than the greatest of military adventurers have sacrificed. But he is also a poet, a philosopher, a mathematician, and, in his spare moments, a writer of fiction. We have not read his novels, but if they are more interesting than his autobiography, they should sell like hot cakes.

The story of the discovery of the cause and cure of malaria is pretty well known in outline. What is not so well known is the extraordinary difficulties that were put in the way of the one man who investigated it. The Indian Government was unsympathetic. The Indian Medical Service was frankly hostile; it constantly interrupted the work, and once at least succeeding in beaching Sir Ronald for months. How, in the face of these discouragements, he ever succeeded at all is an amazing tribute to the personality and pluck of the man; at least the Indian Government took care that he had no reward.

It is obvious that his medical seniors had no use for discovery—whether from lack of imagination or the sheer laziness of the second-rate mind is not quite clear; probably a mixture of both. The crowning irony of the thing is that the political chiefs were equally blind. Lord Crewe refused him a "good service pension." Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who obviously lacks his father's dynamic force, made no use of the services which were offered. "Joe" had his limitations, but he was too great a man not to recognise genius, and use it in the service of the State. It is possible that, long after his Tariff Reform campaign is forgotten, his encouragement of tropical medicine will be remembered as his greatest work. Austen has no such faculty of vision; he is merely the stereotyped politician.

Not less astonishing was the attitude of what Sir Ronald Ross calls the "Italian pirates." An obscure doctor in India had discovered a disease which had baffled science for centuries. Italian professors, who had never done anything to purify the Campagna, at once proceeded to copy his results, and to pretend that they were their own. It is a disgusting story, and Sir Ronald has done well to expose them; they will live for all time in this new medical *Dunciad*. The Americans, on the other hand, frankly acknowledged his work, and made use of it, as they were entitled to; it was the tracking of the mosquito that made possible the building of the Panama Canal.

And the moral of the story? It is simply this—that the hangers-on of science care more for making a name, even by theft, than for research; that the best of bureaucracies is very stupid; and that the average statesman is blind. After all, politicians are very like mosquitoes—they breed and bite, and infect us with their poison; unfortunately, no amount of quinine cures the victims.

But Sir Ronald Ross also has his limitations. He still seems to us to cherish the vision that some day the State will encourage scientific discovery, and that the man who wishes to devote his life to the service of mankind will be treated, not indeed as a potential benefactor, but less like a harmless lunatic who should be thankful if he is merely snubbed and not sacked. We doubt the vision; frankly, we do not believe a word of it. Politicians do not believe in science, because it

is not an issue at the elections; the average voter knows nothing about it, and is rather prejudiced against it as an upsetting kind of thing that disturbs comfortable old prejudices and superstitions. A hundred years after the discoverer is dead a centenary celebration is held, and some accomplished orator coins mellifluous phrases at a banquet—"beneficent benefactor of the race," "unrequited genius," and so on. It is quite possible that the accomplished orator has that very day turned down some promising avenue of research as "unlikely to lead to any definitive results." He has taken the best of all means to secure that it shall lead to no definite results.

Another thing remains to be said. If research is to be endowed, it is the little men, not the big, who get the jobs; the bureaucrat does not want a master, but a slave. Above all, he wants regularity—the ten-to-four type of brain. Obviously Sir Ronald Ross worked for hours, weeks, and months at a stretch; he even got excited over his work, sent telegrams where official minutes would have done, preferred a microscope to a tennis-racquet, and stained bugs instead of writing documents. In other words, he committed all the venial, and most of the mortal, sins in the bureaucratic calendar; and that is probably the real explanation of the hostility. Bureaucracy believes in the average and the standardised, and does its best to break the exceptional and extraordinary—it does not conform to type, and is therefore to be damned.

It is a very old story; probably Rome was just as impatient of the inventor, and preferred the administrator and the "good old ways"; bureaucracy is always a machine which looks on the discoverer as a piece of grit that gets in the wheels. It is true that men may die who would have lived if the discoverer had had his way; but that does not matter—the machine works on.

There are certain indications in this book that Sir Ronald Ross is a Tory in politics. It is no matter; every Liberal ought to read his memoirs, for it is the best vindication of the individual against the State that we have seen. And for the same reason no Labour politician should attempt to open it. If he did, his eyes might be opened to the true nature of the god he worships, and the poor fellow would lose his way hopelessly.

## How English Verse is Written

PRINCIPLES OF ENGLISH PROSODY: Part I.—The Elements. By Lascelles Abercrombie. Secker. 5s.

MR. ABERCROMBIE approaches his ticklish subject in a truly scientific manner; and this can hardly be said of most of the investigators of the metrical foundation of English poetry. They, as a rule, take up their theme with a forbidding air of scientific austerity which is quite enough to drive the light, untrammelled spirit of poesy far away out of sight; and they pursue their researches with an obstinate and wrong-headed dogmatism which frightens away no less effectually the hardly less sensitive spirit of science. Mr. Abercrombie does not attempt to dogmatise or to dictate: his only desire is to systematise the existing facts. And, even so, he avoids the dreary eccentricities of interpretation with which experts in prosody periodically decorate the correspondence columns of the *Times Literary Supplement*. Occasionally he is bound to disagree with the experts. Some of them, enamoured of the musical system of notation, have observed that the bar of music begins with an accent, and have leapt to "the head-long conclusion that the foot must also begin with an accent." "This," says Mr. Abercrombie, with

restraint, " obviously leaves a large number of verses with a syllable unaccounted for outside the metre." The musical notationists go to further excesses, one of which, Mr. Abercrombie observes, with less restraint, " is too shocking to common sense and simple experience to need refutation."

His own positive principles he enounces clearly and briefly. Metre consists of a varying pattern of accents playing over, and always referable to, a fixed ideal pattern which is never realised in practice. What can be better than this definition which eliminates at once all question of " licence " and of " permissible departures from the norm " ? What can be better than Mr. Abercrombie's declaration that this is the sole positive law of English prosody ? He is no fanatic. He nowhere suggests that these inquiries can be of benefit to the writer of verse, he suggests only with doubtful faintness that they may be of benefit to the reader. He approaches the subject to gather and collate facts in a purely scientific spirit. If the size of the star Antares interests us, why not the precise mechanism by means of which Milton, in *Paradise Lost*, affects our minds ?

What is to be doubted is whether Mr. Abercrombie realises the particular sort of Donnybrook into which he has so urbanely introduced himself. This is indeed not a private quarrel but one in which anyone may join ; but those already plying their shillelachs in the arena have a sense of vested interests which generally leads them to lavish their stoutest thwacks on the newcomer. Enthusiasts in controversial metrics rarely, as a matter of fact, accuse their opponents of open and scandalous evil-living ; but there is something in their scorn, something in their surprise at theories so ridiculous as those just propounded by persons one would have thought indistinguishable from themselves in personal habits and (probably) in appearance, that has much the same effect. It would be a pity if Mr. Abercrombie, who wrote *Emblems of Love*, and is besides a stimulating Professor of English Literature, were to be maimed beyond recognition or future performance on this arid and farcical battlefield.

## The Making of an American

UP STREAM. An Autobiography. By Ludwig Lewisohn. Collins. 10s. 6d.

THE American whom the United States made out of Mr. Lewisohn is very different from the American of Anglo-Saxon origin. The English tradition and the bond of language and literature still give a dominant tinge to American civilisation, but it is slowly and inevitably becoming modified by other racial strains—the Scandinavian, Teuton, Celt, Latin, Slav, and Jew. Anglo-Saxonism in America has become perverted into a hopeless conformity, cruel materialism, and above all into a Puritanism whose only command is the negative " thou shalt not," seen in Prohibition and other restrictive legislation. It is just possible that these other Americans may bring a new element to American life, which will transform the present spiritual aridity.

Mr. Lewisohn was of German-Jewish origin. He went to America at an early age—oddly enough to one of the Southern States, rather than to an urban centre, which is the usual fate of the Jewish immigrant. His family was not prosperous ; their social and economic problems of adjusting to the New World are described with considerable vividness in the early chapters. The father was rather an unpractical idealist who thought more of spiritual integrity than of getting on. Mr. Lewisohn attended school and college in the South. He seems to have been a dreamy boy, visionary, wanting to become a writer and a teacher of English.

It was not until the early twenties that he became aware of the hard commercial world outside the college walls. It came when he was doing postgraduate work at Columbia University in New York. He had idealised American democracy. When it came to getting a position as teacher he ran headlong into the anti-Semitic prejudices of the American academic world. Theoretically they do not exist, but actually they do. It came as a great shock to him, and the rebuff has given a certain flavour of bitterness to his autobiography. It made him over-conscious of his alienness, and we cannot help feeling that perhaps he makes a little too much of his own sensitiveness.

I do not wish to speak bitterly or flippantly. . . . I can never speak as an enemy of the Anglo-Saxon race. But unless that race abandons its duality of conscience, unless it learns to honour and practise a stricter spiritual veracity, it will either destroy civilisation through disasters yet unheard of or sink into a memory and into the shadow of a name.

After a period of literary hackwork in New York Mr. Lewisohn finally secured a University appointment. For several years he taught in two of the larger State Universities of the American Middle West. The part dealing with his university career is the most interesting section of his book. We get to know the huge American State universities from the inside. The casual visitor from England is apt to romanticise them. He is impressed with the grounds, the magnificent buildings and equipment, the thousands upon thousands of boys and girls that march across the campus to their classes. He sees none of the spiritual poverty of the curriculum ; nothing of the abject didacticism of the vast majority of the teachers, " dreary specialists, with angular, strawy minds " ; nothing of the horrid standardisation, or the blind terror of non-conformity among the students.

I watch their faces. There is not a vicious face on the campus. I try to recall one among the hundreds of students I have taught. I cannot. Dull faces, vacant faces. Not one that expresses any corruption of heart or mind. I look about me again and watch for one face that betrays a troubled soul, a yearning of the mind, the touch of any flame. There is none.

Here is a portrait of one of his students—a girl with a face full of intelligence and vivid sweetness who had " majored " in French :

She knew the language well and had read widely. But Montaigne and Anatole France never spoke to her. Her real interest was in Y.W.C.A. work and she was anxious to become a missionary. Her one desire was to save the followers of Buddha through the doctrines of the Fifth Street Baptist Church.

Another after a lecture on the ethical problem in *Faust* :

An immense, buxom, blank-faced young woman came languishing to my desk : " Oh, Professor, you give me such a beautiful feeling ! " Such moments were discouraging. They took the wind out of one's sails. I used to cherish the ambition to teach at an institution for men only.

It is not a pleasant picture he presents, but his criticism is often penetrating and gets beneath the surface. The Middle West is a strange country, full of smug self-complacency ; it is self-sufficient, parochial, sentimental. It took it almost three years to discover that there was a world-war. Then when the United States entered the war it went in for a patriotic debauch. It is the land where in place of the Buffalo, the Babbitt now roams. He is not a subtle creature, and when he stampedes *en masse* his slogan is " conform or get out." The passions aroused then are almost inconceivable now. There is no record that Mr. Lewisohn was indiscreet in any overt way, but he was teaching German at the time. This was almost *prima facie* evidence of disloyalty. There were States in the Middle West that made the teaching of German illegal. Among other things Mr. Lewisohn had once written that

Nietzsche was indisputably one of the great masters of prose. This and other comments of his were reported to the district attorney in a garbled version, and a summons came to appear before him.

Mr. Lewisohn's account of the interview follows:

I pointed out to him that the evidence was garbled, not of a character that would be admitted in an American court of law. . . . Instead of replying he suddenly sprang up and roared: "What have you ever done to show your patriotism? What have you ever done for this country?" "I have taught and written . . ." He roared me down. "You liked to do that! What've you ever done for your country, I ask you!" The thing went on for an hour.

The upshot was that Mr. Lewisohn asked for a year's leave from the University which was, due to him, and the authorities granted him the favour, doubtless glad to get rid of him so easily, for had he not among other things also been guilty of translating Gerhardt Hauptmann's plays? That was the end of his university career.

Mr. Lewisohn may present a somewhat one-sided view of American life; but it cannot be denied that many of his strictures are accurate. He is, perhaps, too frightfully serious; too much of an idealist. He expects too much of human nature, but he is perfectly sincere. Criticism like his cannot hurt; even its pessimism is tonic and needful, especially in a country too much given to a facile and superficial optimism.

## Badgers

THE BADGER AFIELD AND UNDERGROUND. By H. Mortimer Batten, F.Z.S. Illustrated with Photographs. Witherby. 8s. 6d.

IF there is one kind of book which is never unreadable, it is that which describes the character and habits of some bird or beast. Any book of this sort, provided only that it is honest, straightforward, and unpretentious, may be read by any person that has the slightest interest in natural history. The amateur of poetry can often enjoy only the very best poetry; the novel-reader demands, at the least, a certain technical accomplishment from his author; the lover of essays is unhappy unless his essayist has a style that approaches perfection. But the lover of Nature asks of those that write for him nothing but faithful records of the things they have seen. If a writer on wild-life has an agreeable literary manner—so much the better; but if he has not—well, it is no great matter. The same reflection is, of course, true of technical treatises of all sorts; but, of books which intelligent people read for enjoyment, it only holds good of books of natural history.

That this is so is rather lucky for Mr. Batten, for his book on the badger is not particularly well written, and is somewhat scrappy and inconsequent in construction. But these faults are almost as nothing, for Mr. Batten obviously knows his subject thoroughly, and therefore interests us in it without any difficulty. He has studied British badgers in Scotland, in Yorkshire, and in Hampshire—three of the great strongholds of this pleasant beast—and has also seen something of the American species both in Canada and the United States. And a very good character he is able to give to the badger as an intelligent, cleanly, and harmless animal, one that should be encouraged to live in our woodlands, and on our moors, rather than destroyed out of ignorance and prejudice, as has too often been done in the past.

In particular Mr. Batten rebuts the charges that have been made against the badger in its relation to fox-hunting. In this connection the main points of attack have been that the presence of many badgers in a covert makes proper earth-stopping difficult, and that the badgers themselves drive away vixens and cubs, and will also kill cubs. To these things Mr.

Batten replies (and most fox-hunters are coming round to his point of view) that one of the surest ways of attracting foxes to a covert is to introduce badgers there, for the badger "setts" make excellent earths for the foxes, and that foxes and badgers frequently dwell in perfect amity in one warren. Sometimes, he admits, a badger will kill a cub, but only in a moment of vexation, and he maintains that such incidents are mere casual bickerings between friendly neighbours. As to the earth-stopping difficulty, he makes light of it, and points out that in the New Forest (which has the largest badger population of any district in England) it is not found to give any great amount of trouble.

It is pleasant, therefore, that Mr. Batten is able to assure us that badgers are undoubtedly increasing in numbers in Britain. The beast is, of course, seldom seen, for he is extraordinarily cunning, and, besides, hardly ever moves out of his warren save at night. But there are badgers in every county, at present, and often they live in very unexpected neighbourhoods. There are some in places that one might almost class among the outer suburbs of London; one of those now living at the Zoo, for example, was caught (and that not many years since) at Surbiton. And the present reviewer knows of a certain Surrey town where badgers have always had, and still have, a warren in one particular well-wooded garden. Not long since one of the pair was stupidly killed, but orders were immediately given that the remaining beast was not to be touched, and before long he had found another mate—a proof that there are other badgers in the district. Yet not half a dozen people in that quite populous neighbourhood know that there is a single badger within a radius of twenty miles.

The truth is, as Mr. Batten points out, that the badger is one of those beasts that is able to profit by experience, and therefore, though he is comparatively slow-moving, he has learnt what to avoid, and how to live safely under modern conditions. Moreover, the badger-warrens, many of which must be centuries old, are marvels of underground tunnelling, and rank only second to beaver-dams among feats of animal-engineering.

## Uncanonical Jane

LADY SUSAN AND THE WATSONS. By Jane Austen. Secker. 5s.

THIS book is the seventh and last volume of the Adelphi Edition of the works of Jane Austen. Neither of the stories which it contains has been published before the present year except for their appearance in the second edition of J. E. Austen Leigh's memoir of his aunt, which appeared in 1871. *The Watsons* is a fragment—indeed no more than a beginning—written after the completion of *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility*; the date of *Lady Susan* is unknown, though it is apparently an early work. This is evident not from the style but from the characterisation and psychology.

Using the word "style" in the narrow sense of syntactical expression, we may say that Jane Austen seems to have been one of those rare and lucky creatures who are born with style, and we find her here in this early effort wielding a style which, like that of her best work, is flexible, terse and precise. But in the characterisation we see crudenesses which a more experienced Jane avoided. The novel, except for a concluding chapter, is written in the form of letters, yet those letters, we cannot help feeling, are written not by Lady Susan, Mrs. Johnson, and the rest, but by a very wide-awake person called Jane Austen. The only possible method for a novel-in-letters is that of implication—that, namely, of

strongly characterising the letters of each individual in such a way that the reader is made to infer from them a character not explicitly presented. This method, of course, may be reinforced by making the letter-writers discuss one another. But what Jane does in the case of *Lady Susan* is to make that lady analyse herself, and the more successful *Lady Susan* is in this occupation (and, having the immortal Jane at her elbow, she is quite remarkably successful), the more does she lose in verisimilitude. Never was there a villain so completely self-conscious and so irredeemably a villain. "My conduct," she writes, "has been equally guarded from the first, and I never behaved less like a coquette in the whole course of my life, though, perhaps, my desire of dominion was never more decided." Such a statement is obviously in reality what Jane Austen has to say in criticism of the behaviour of *Lady Susan*, and not what *Lady Susan* could ever have said of herself, and it is probable that Jane came to recognise that she had not solved the problem of the epistolary novel, seeing that she refrained from publishing both *Lady Susan* and also the earlier version of *Sense and Sensibility*.

But *Lady Susan*, in spite of—and often because of—its obvious faults, is extremely entertaining. It is entertaining, in the first place, because Jane Austen was incapable of writing a badly constructed story or of creating characters which, however impossible, were not somehow alive. We may observe that *Lady Susan* is as incredible as the villain in the crudest melodrama, and as false in psychology: yet there, in spite of all we may quite correctly say, is *Lady Susan* alive and kicking before our eyes. And, however faulty the book may be, it is full of delightful things. Nothing could be more comically true than Mrs. Johnson's cry of distress when she found herself involved in a dilemma in which lies were unavailing: "What could I do? Facts are such horrid things!"

That gently cynical humour, too, which we especially associate with Jane Austen, is already present here. We find it in the opening sentence of her final chapter, which follows the conclusion of the letters: "This correspondence, by a meeting between some of the parties, and a separation between the others, could not, to the great detriment of the Post Office revenue, be continued any longer." It breaks out again within a few lines of the end of the book:

Frederica was therefore fixed in the family of her uncle and aunt till such time as Reginald De Courcy could be talked, flattered, and finessed into an affection for her which, allowing leisure for the conquest of his attachment to her mother, for his abjuring all future attachments, and detesting the sex, might reasonably be looked for in the course of a twelvemonth.

*The Watsons* is a much maturer work. Even in its unpolished and fragmentary state this would have been abundantly obvious without the evidence of the watermark in the paper of the manuscript which establishes its date as subsequent to the writing of that masterpiece *Pride and Prejudice*. As we read it we find the old miracle repeating itself: we are enthralled—genuinely and unreservedly enthralled—in the tremendous issues raised by an afternoon call or a provincial dance. The clash of empires could not concern us more deeply. The incredible and the inconsistent are still, as throughout Jane Austen, amply present, but these are swallowed up in the victory of a perfect artistic realisation. The canvas is small but the workmanship is perfect. Each action, each problem, has its full emotional content. It is small and sharp as the prick of a needle, but we can no more help reacting to it than to a needle-prick. There are certain constructional weaknesses in *The Watsons* which its writer's habit of scrupulous revision would undoubtedly have removed, but these

are small beside the animation, the masterly character-drawing, the assured and vivid presentation of the milieu, the competence to deal completely and faultlessly with the artistic problem which the writer set herself. To read *The Watsons* up to the point where it so lamentably breaks off is to suffer the desolating experience of having a superb feast (for which someone else is paying) snatched from before us just after the fish.

## The Real Lord Northcliffe

MY JOURNEY ROUND THE WORLD. By the late Lord Northcliffe. Edited by Cecil and St. John Harmsworth. Lane. 12s. 6d.

THERE is nothing like a diary, especially if it was not intended for publication. In this age of official biographies, we realise that, perhaps, more clearly than ever before. Here at last is the real Lord Northcliffe, the man himself speaking to us, with all his defects and his charming qualities, his greatness and his weakness, appearing on every page. He skims over the countries he sees on his "world whirl"—as he himself describes it—much as his favourite paper, the *Daily Mail*, skims over all sorts of subjects, from international law to Divorce Court reform, and he seems, like his paper, to suffer from the delusion that he has covered the ground adequately. One week in Palestine is sufficient to fix his opinions on the difficult question of Jewish immigration; he decides the fate of Korea after a casual glance at it out of the window of a railway-carriage; "I don't like India . . . there are very few railway bookstalls in India," he observes decisively; because he was taken everywhere in motor-cars—"much too fast to see anything," as he himself

## ALGERIA TO-DAY.

By

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remarks—he cannot resist the temptation to estimate the ability of every nation he meets according to the skill of its chauffeurs; before he has even seen Ceylon he decides in advance that three days will be “more than enough” for it. He is, in fact, a born tripper; but it is quite a mistake to suppose that a good tripper is necessarily a bad traveller. When all is said and done, the distinction is a fine one.

And Lord Northcliffe is a born traveller. He is delighted with every place he sees. Nearly always it exceeds anticipation; in fact, “I am beginning to believe that no one can describe anything”—so inadequate are all the travellers’ descriptions that he has read. That is the proper spirit of the globetrotter, and no one who has read this diary can help regretting that the great newspaper-owner was unable to carry out his intention of doing it all over again. He speaks with amused contempt of the kind of Englishman, at least one of whom one meets on every liner, who sees nothing, hates everything, and sulks in his cabin, wondering why on earth he ever left home. Every time Lord Northcliffe went abroad it widened his mind, and through his newspapers it widened the minds of the British lower middle classes. He still retained the reporter’s gift of “pumping” people. Although his journey was often very much like a royal progress, it is surprising to note how he managed to extract opinions on local questions from porters, stewards, shopkeepers—anyone.

And he had such a boyish zest for the whole adventure, that his diary would make amusing reading even if it were written by a nobody. “They sent me a perfectly topping Rolls-Royce” at one port of call; he loves motor-cars. After visiting New Zealand he “cannot understand why any agriculturist stays at home.” “Everyone is late in Australia,” he says. Some of the passengers on a liner asked him to complain to the captain of the noise made by other passengers. He refuses. “I knew all about ship

rows and feuds, and I shall complain of nothing.” Then there is the admirable story of a Chinese cabin-boy who was rebuked by an English lady for coming into her cabin without knocking, regardless of the fact that she might be engaged in her toilet. “I always look through the keyhole before I come in, missie,” he assured her, gravely. Lord Northcliffe’s political opinions, stated more frankly in this diary than would be possible in any newspaper, have the authentic Tory ring. “Free natives are ungrateful natives,” he roundly asserts, “and I should give them very little freedom.” It might be the proprietor of the *Morning Post* talking! But perhaps the shrewdest comment of all is on the Palestine controversy—“both sides are liars.” The great charm of this book is that in it one of the leading propagandists of this age tells us the unvarnished truth, as he sees it, and incidentally throws a new light upon his own limited but powerful personality.

## Russia Before Dawn

RUSSIA BEFORE DAWN. By F. A. Mackenzie. Fisher Unwin. 21s.

EVERYBODY has been, is, and, for years, will be writing about the Russian Revolution and the Soviet experiment. The interpretation varies from the deadly bitterness of writers like Merejkowsky and Odette Keun to the rosy optimism of men like Mr. Albert Rhys Williams, to whom the Bolshevik leaders are angels of light. The personal bias in these accounts is always in the foreground, and it is not easy to sift truth from falsehood. This will take time, for the immediate passions must cool. At the end of a hundred years people will look at the Russian upheaval much as they look at the French Revolution now.

Mr. Mackenzie’s book is, perhaps, less partisan than most books on Russia. He is a Canadian newspaper man who went to Russia to learn at first hand what had really happened. His record covers the period from September, 1921, to January, 1923. This included the famine years, the conflict with the Social Revolutionaries, and the introduction of the New Economic Policy. His travels led him from one end of Russia to the other, and he claims to have been the first independent investigator allowed into Siberia. His powers of observation are considerable and his experiences have been many and varied. He has a good deal of the impersonalness of the journalist who is primarily interested in reporting what he sees without passing judgment on it, but too often one feels he is “playing up” the story in a purely newspaper way. He is verbose, and his style is overloaded with conventional turns of phrase. There is little evidence of an historical background in him, and one must not expect much but a surface interpretation.

What the reader does get from his pages, however, is a vivid impression of the chaos and disorganisation. Omsk in 1918 had a population estimated at 600,000; early “in 1922 it is doubtful if it numbered 150,000.” Ekaterinburg in the old days was “a city of rich officials and merchants, with fine hotels and shops. . . . I found [it] in a very bad way. Business was practically dead.” So the record runs almost everywhere that Mr. Mackenzie went.

Life is truly cheap in Russia. The chapters dealing with the famine and civil war are appalling. At Buzuluk, the City of the Dead, they no longer counted the corpses. They came in cartloads. “The only living things that seemed to notice them were the dogs. These had learned to love human flesh.” His account of the Siberian prisons shows conditions quite on a par with anything that happened during the Czarist

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days. In the prison of Ufa there had been a thousand prisoners between August 1st and November 15th. Of these 169 died in prison from hunger and 245 from other causes. In two sections of the Ufa Province which were fed by the American Relief Administration, 1,702 persons fell ill from hunger and 170 died; in the Third Section, which was left to Russian administration, there were 37,893 cases of illness from hunger and 1,033 deaths. The record of the foreign relief is a splendid example of humanitarian work. "Even Germany in her poverty [gave] splendid medical aid," and fed over 10,000 children. "The one nation conspicuous by its absence was France."

In Siberia Mr. Mackenzie found little difference between the cruelties of the Whites and Reds. When Kolchak held Omsk,

punitive expeditions would go out into the country villages. They would surround a village suspected of sympathy with Bolshevism and wipe it out, hanging the men to the telegraph-posts and shooting the women down. One favourite method was to hang a woman to the crane for drawing water from a well, and for a soldier to jump on the shoulders while she was hanging, in order to break her neck.

In Siberia, too, Mr. Mackenzie ran into a fantastic paradox. There was a general rally of workmen in support of the Red International of Trade Unions. After much oratory the men all resolved to give part of their wages to help the Red International propaganda in the West.

The Red International is the body that is instigating and encouraging the worst troubles in British, and probably in American, Labour. It was odd to think that the workers of this Siberian outpost were helping to finance the creators of trouble among us, while we were helping to finance relief for the famine-stricken at their door.

Such is Russia to-day, as it always has been, a land of amazing contrasts, which cannot be judged by Western standards. As one reads the pages dealing with recent developments, one feels that doctrinaire Communism has failed. Russia is slowly returning to the former system, though in a somewhat modified form. "Bolshevism has not brought business efficiency." For foreigners seeking investment in Russia "the system of business by concessions is not good." "Some of the authorities who control trade relations are not practical . . . they expect to sell furs in Chita for the same price that they fetch in the City of London." What of the future? What of the dawn? Ultimately it must come, but darkness still hangs heavily over the land. Mr. Mackenzie's conclusion is:

If I could give one message to the rulers of Russia to-day, it would be, "Enlarge the boundaries of freedom."

### Shorter Notice

THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK. Edited by Sir John Scott Keltie and M. Epstein. Macmillan. 20s.

The 1923 issue of *The Statesman's Year-Book* is the sixtieth annual publication of this indispensable reference-book. In no other work that we know is so much accurate and well-organised information crowded as in this book. All the countries of the world about which trustworthy information is obtainable are represented. As a result of the new conditions in Ireland, there are two new chapters dealing respectively with Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State, but certain Irish statistics which relate to the old conditions have been retained for the present under the United Kingdom. The editors promise that as soon as statistics for the new Irish entities become available they will also be incorporated. The political chaos in Turkey and Russia leaves these articles in the air, but even here there are many valuable data. The introductory tables dealing with such matters as the Navies and Armies of the principal countries, the Allied Debts, the Treaty of Lausanne, the League of Nations, &c., are, as always, important. During the many years that the book has been published, the editors have become more and more skilful in their marshalling of the millions of facts they have to deal with. The book has grown better and better in every way, so that now there is hardly any improvement that could be suggested. *The Statesman's Year-Book* entirely fulfils the purpose for which it was designed.

### COMPANY MEETING.

## THE STANDARD LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY

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### ANNUAL REPORT.

For the Year Ending 15th November, 1922.

#### Principal Results

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Claims Paid	£927,833
Annual Revenue	£1,710,878
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The Chairman, Mr. A. R. C. Pitman, W.S., in moving the adoption of the Report, stated:

"Last year I had occasion to refer to the effect of the depression in trade on our New Business figures; that depression, unfortunately, continued throughout the whole of the last financial year, and it is therefore a satisfaction to the Directors that the net amount of new Life Assurance secured last year was £2,075,207, which is practically the same amount as that obtained the previous year."

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"I may remind you that the 19th Investigation (the first Triennial Investigation) into the affairs of the Company will take place as at the 15th of November next. A preliminary investigation has been made as at the close of last year. It shows that the Company is to-day in a stronger position than it has ever been before, and provided there is no adverse change in the world-situation, the bonus prospects are exceedingly favourable."

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## CORRESPONDENCE

[Whilst we open our columns impartially to correspondence we take no responsibility for the opinions expressed.]

## SAFER GAS.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—Many members of the public must be asking themselves whether the discovery just made by Mr. C. B. Tully, the Newark gas engineer, ought not in some wise to modify the conclusion arrived at in July, 1921, by a Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to inquire into the necessity, or desirability, of limiting the proportion of carbon monoxide supplied in gas used for domestic purposes.

Mr. Tully has succeeded in reducing the quantity of this unwelcome element in household gas from something like 12 per cent. to the vanishing point of less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; a result, it is claimed, which will automatically prevent death from gas inhaled either accidentally or by intending suicides. Here, it may be suggested, is a new fact which seems to justify fresh consideration of the whole question. Although it is true that two years ago the Committee recommended no limitation, they did so, it would appear, very largely because limitation seemed at that time to hamper unreasonably the economic development of gas production. But the new process, we are told, not only yields household gas of a pungently distinctive odour; it is declared to be actually cheaper as well as safer than any gas hitherto made.—Yours, &c.,

J. M. HOGGER.

House of Commons, May 9th, 1923.

## THE VIENNA INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—May I draw the attention of your readers to the Second International Summer School to be held during the period September 11th to 28th this year?

The purpose of the School is to give visitors a first-hand insight into the political and economic situation of Central and Eastern Europe, and its cultural and intellectual achievements by means of lectures by the foremost authorities of their countries. Lectures will be given by a number of very distinguished Professors from various countries, and students from all over Europe will have an opportunity of meeting one another. Last year's enterprise, though on a limited scale, met with complete success both socially and financially, a small profit being devoted to the supply of books for the Vienna University. The success in attracting British students last year was entirely due to the friendly publicity given to the scheme by so many papers in this country. I very much hope that now that the scheme is being extended and developed we shall be able to count upon an even greater measure of such assistance.

Student debates, sports, excursions, and social events will bring about, as they did last year, a quick understanding among the students, thereby fostering in a practical way international goodwill and understanding.

Special facilities as regards travelling and lodgings will be afforded, and further information can be had from Dr. Georg Tugendhat, c/o The London School of Economics, Houghton Street, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2.—Yours, &c.,

W. H. BEVERIDGE,  
Chairman of the British Advisory  
Committee.

## ENCORES.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—As one who has been listening to Italian operas, performed by ordinary travelling companies, for some years past, I should like to endorse Mr. Toye's very sensible remarks on the subject in your issue of Saturday last. Italian opera is meant to be encored; it falls flat without it; and when that English politeness, which Mr. Toye deprecates, takes the form of attempts to prevent the Covent Garden audience from encoring separate numbers in *Bohème* or *Aida* the result is quite surprisingly depressing. It perhaps explains why these operas are never so convincingly performed by our Covent Garden "stars" as they are in small provincial towns in Italy.

But in dealing with the encore nuisance at concerts, Mr. Toye seems to put the blame on the wrong shoulders. The nuisance may be observed in an even more advanced stage at the music-halls. The dreariest of turns are repeated time after time on the strength of a few handclaps. But the remedy, surely, is not for the audience to refrain from expressing a moderate satisfaction when such an expression is due, but for the performers to wait for something like enthusiastic applause before they come on again. In the music-halls the matter is in the hands of the management; at concerts, apparently, it rests with the artists themselves. A little self-restraint on their part would enable them to distinguish between "English politeness" and a genuine demand for more.—Yours, &c.,

F. H. S. HAMMOND.

London, May 14th.

## FINANCE

By URBANUS.

THE Stock Exchange has begun to recover from the fit of the blues to which it gave way last week, and that despite the fact that its troubles were added to by the sudden appearance of a Government of India  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Loan of £20,000,000 issued at 90. The promoters of the issue had evidently missed the psychological moment for issuing it, but for a trustee stock its yield of over 5 per cent. is, under present conditions, not unattractive, and if the market opens at a small discount, as seems probable, it should be worth picking up. However, when it had got over this further shock the market began to suspect that it had rather overdone the reaction last week, and on Tuesday a definite recovery in almost every department took place. I fancy, however, that last week's break marks the beginning of a new phase, and that markets are entering upon a quieter and less confident period. The international situation is bound to be critical for the next few weeks while the German attitude towards Lord Curzon's not very satisfactory reply is crystallising out. The City was disappointed that Lord Curzon did not make more of the German suggestion of submitting the reparation question to a Hughes Committee of international financiers, seeing that that appears to be the one thread in the tangled skein which might be followed up with some hope of unravelling the whole in time. But perhaps Lord Curzon thought that the French would be more likely to fasten upon that particular thread if he affected not to see it. From a source, on which I should place some reliance, I am informed that there are in fact some signs that French opinion is already inclining in that direction. I hope it is true.

But to return from this digression to our domestic finances, there was a further development last week which is significant and may prove important. The supply of floating money which was plentiful or at least sufficient since the middle of April has suddenly contracted to such an extent as to drive the market to the Bank of England for accommodation. The proximate cause of that contraction is clear enough. Last week's Bank Return showed that the holding of Government securities had declined by £3 millions to a level which is the lowest since the end of 1921. That means, since there were no Ways and Means advances outstanding which the Government might have repaid, that directly or indirectly the Bank has been selling securities to the market. Consequently the market has had to finance a larger volume of securities, either Treasury bills or long-dated Government securities, on a smaller ration of credit, which it had to supplement by borrowing from the Bank part of the money which it had paid over to it for the said securities. But the point is—why did the Bank sell those securities? Perhaps because it feared that there was too large a speculative account open, because it desired to warn the market against carrying the gilt-edged boom too far. If that is so the sharp Stock Exchange reaction of last week shows that it was successful. But in any case the incident proves that the Bank of England is in a position whenever it so desires to control the money market. And, as I have more than once suggested, that control may before the year is out take the form of a rise in the Bank Rate.

Business in foreign exchange is reported by market operators to have been unusually small during the last week or more. Two features, however, are worthy of note. The dollar exchange, after sagging continuously for nearly three months, has stiffened sharply, the £ sterling having risen by 2 or 3 cents from its lowest value of \$4.60 $\frac{1}{2}$  touched last week. That recovery,

which may be due to the completion of the Treasury's preparations for the first American debt interest payment, due on June 15th, is welcome, because the continual dwindling of sterling has naturally been somewhat disquieting. The other event is the further collapse of the German mark, which has now dropped to over 200,000 to the £. Evidently the Reichsbank has given up its ill-starred attempt to "peg" the mark at 100,000, and is now at the most only easing its fall by occasional intervention. The exchange has not yet equalled its low record of 225,000 to the £ of January 31st, but in the intervening three months Germany's financial weakness has made grave progress. At the end of January the note circulation was 1,654 milliards of marks; now it is nearly 7,000 milliards. At the end of January the Reichsbank held just over £50 millions of gold. Now it holds only £46 millions, and of that nearly a quarter appears to be in pawn with foreign central banks. Another test—at the end of January the note circulation converted into sterling was covered fully six times over by the gold holding. Now it is covered only one and a-half times. A further plunge of the exchange appears to be imminent.

The reports of two engineering companies recently published, namely, those of Vickers Limited and Siemens Bros., both bear witness to the difficulties of last year. Both complain of the small volume of business, of the engineers' strike, and of keen competition, and each has had to make a draft on the amount carried forward; while, however, Vickers Limited have been able to maintain their ordinary dividend of 5 per cent., nothing is available for this purpose in the case of Siemens Bros. The profit of the former company is, in fact, only some £25,000 lower at £683,000 odd, a result which must be considered satisfactory in view of all the circumstances. The cash position of the company, while not so strong as a year ago, is still distinctly good, cash and debtors being just sufficient to cover creditors, while there is an investment holding of over £4 millions almost entirely in gilt-edged. In the case of Siemens Bros. a large reduction in the value of orders outstanding at the beginning of last year has caused the profit, which amounted to £253,500 in 1920 and to £210,000 in the following year, to drop to as little as £14,041. Since the reserves of the Company had already been reduced to a low level the directors were forced to pass the ordinary dividend, and the balance carried forward is reduced by £200,000 odd to £127,310, which is subject to a liability for the final payment on account of Excess Profits Duty for 1918-20. Every effort is to be made to economise, but it has nevertheless been decided to expend some £200,000 on plant for the production of lead cables.

The drop in the price of rubber, which began some weeks back and has continued up to the present, is causing some nervousness among rubber shareholders who, accustomed to wild fluctuations in the price of shares, naturally fear a renewed slump. The position is difficult to gauge, especially as figures of consumption are not easily obtained, but so far as I can judge there are some "bull" points in the present situation. The cause of the drop in price to 1s. 1½d. is almost certainly the large increase in shipments from the East and largely from Singapore, which is a free port. These exports are largely drawn from stocks there which were accumulated on the eve of compulsory restriction, and which at the present rate of depletion will have been completely exhausted by the end of the year. The exports have not only increased, but are very considerably higher than was anticipated, but the movement cannot last for very long. In these circumstances it seems that the price may be expected to return to higher levels within the next few weeks.

## COMPANY MEETING

### EAGLE, STAR AND BRITISH DOMINIONS INSURANCE CO., LTD.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Eagle, Star and British Dominions Insurance Co., Ltd., was held on Thursday last, at the Moorgate Offices of the Company, 32, Moorgate, E.C. Sir Edward M. Mountain, Bt., J.P., the Chairman and Managing Director, presiding.

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the report and accounts, said that the year 1922 had again been difficult for Insurance companies. It could not very well be otherwise when trade throughout the whole world had been going through such a bad time, and he would go further and say that it would not be to the advantage of Insurance companies if they had been having a very prosperous time while their clientele had been having such a bad time. Taking into consideration the world-wide difficulties that existed, he thought they had every reason to congratulate themselves on the very satisfactory accounts presented. (Hear, hear.) As to the Marine Department, they had brought forward £394,921, and the net premiums had amounted to £664,004, against which they had settled for the year 1922 and all previous years, £407,154. They had transferred to Profit and Loss Account £65,000, and the Marine Fund stood at £511,570, or more than sufficient to cover all liabilities. The conservative policy in regard to hull insurance had been continued, and in regard to cargo business the first year's settlement was the lowest they had ever had, as the outcome of very careful underwriting. Great thanks were due to the management of the Marine Department that, in spite of the very depressed years they had recently gone through, a profit had been made in that section of the business each year. (Hear, hear.) The Marine Insurance market was in a very unsatisfactory condition; owing to the world-wide depression there was less business to go round, while many large and wealthy companies had, during the last few years, entered the market. That the losses which some companies had made had not been heavier was due, in his opinion, more to luck than judgment, and it was the considered policy of the board, whilst times were as they were, to continue on the same or even more conservative lines. The increase in the Fire and General Insurance Departments this year, in premium income, amounted to £152,444 as against a reduction in the previous year of £5,000. After providing a full reserve of 40 per cent. of the total premium income, they had been able to transfer to profit and loss account the sum of £114,631 as against £95,093 last year. The Accident Department, which included Employers' Liability, Personal Accident, Burglary, Livestock, Public Liability, and Plate Glass Business, had again had a most satisfactory year, every one of those departments showing a good profit. His prophecy, too, that motor vehicle insurance had "turned the corner," had come true, and in the year under review a very satisfactory profit had been made in that department. The Company's Life Department also was in a very prosperous condition. The sums assured under new life policies amounted to £1,864,483. The total Life Fund continued to grow, the mortality experience was very favourable, and the interest yield was such as to show a substantial margin of profit. The net yield, after allowing for income tax, on the combined Life and Annuity account amounted last year to £4 12s. 8d. per cent., and expenses were very moderate. He would like to draw their attention to a new and attractive life policy which they had recently introduced on the lines of the Company's "All-in" Householders' Policy, which had proved immensely popular, and had been copied by practically every other insurance office. They had devised an "All-in" Life insurance policy which combined in one policy the principal forms of Life Assurance protection required by the head of a household—in addition to the usual rebate of income tax on the premiums, it provided (1) educational benefits for children; (2) family protection during the period when it was most required; (3) an income on retirement; and (4) remission of premiums in the event of total disability through accident, or illness continuing for a period of not less than two calendar months. That comprehensive policy, which should appeal forcibly to the family man, had been well received by the Company's agents, and should be of considerable assistance to them in extending new business connections. There had been a large appreciation of the Life Fund investments during the year, and no credit for that had been taken into account. From the profit and loss account they would see that to maintain the dividends of £250,000 had cost, out of the trading profits, some £60,000, or considerably less than in 1921. In a normal year that would be only about 25 per cent. of the profits—a very reasonable proportion in view of their powerful reserves. The year 1922 had been a considerable improvement on the year 1921—an indication that trade and world conditions were improving, and they would be pleased to hear that 1923 had opened well. He would be disappointed if it did not prove to be an improvement on 1922.

Mr. J. Douglas Watson, F.I.A., F.A.S., the deputy chairman, seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.



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# The Outlook

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## URBIS ET ORBIS

TO speak frankly, the most important fact about Mr. Baldwin's elevation is that the Die-Hards put him where he is. It is true that the predominant consideration with the King may have been, probably was, the feeling that the Prime Minister and leader of the Opposition should not argue, should not dispute with each other, as an Irish wit put it, "from different premises." But, despite this, had Lord Curzon refused to sanction Mr. Lloyd George's Irish settlement, and resigned, I think he would be Prime Minister to-day. The Die-Hards forget nothing, forgive nothing. This does not mean, I hasten to add, that Labour and the extreme Radicals are right in stating that Mr. Baldwin will be under the thumbs of the Die-Hards. Many a man has kicked down the ladder by which he climbed to high position. The Die-Hards have forsaken the territorial aristocracy for the man of business and finance, to the delight of the City; and it seems inevitable that trusted reaction should not see eye to eye with a Premier who knows from personal experience the economic realities of the modern world. As to that, we must wait and see, for it depends upon the personal character, and on the independence of Mr. Baldwin himself, and assuming firm character and independence; upon the tolerance of his Tory supporters. His record, so far as it goes, is good. But it does not go far enough to make any forecast of his attitude towards the crying issues of the day, or of the temper and ability with which he will deal with them, more than a wild guess.

WITH the deepest sympathy for Mr. Bonar Law, candour compels the statement that his exit will probably end what was becoming an intolerable position in our party politics. The Government was going from bad to worse, fiddling while Europe burned, and yet the deep personal friendship felt by both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George for the Prime Minister, coupled with their knowledge of his precarious health, compelled them on personal grounds to refrain from attack. The only opposition was Labour, and that opposition was confined to "scenes" and ignorant abuse. We may now expect a real Liberal opposition headed by men

who know what they are talking about, and who constitute, after all, most of the political brains of present-day England. Mr. Lloyd George has rightly said that in Liberal reunion lies the safety of the country, and he has done well in calling upon his supporters to attack the new Government even at the risk of seeing some of them cross the floor to the Tory benches. Not only is this clarification good for Liberalism, but it helps the Tories. The Unionist leaders "in the wilderness" went there out of loyalty to Mr. Lloyd George and the Coalition, and the ex-Premier is doing Mr. Chamberlain and his other old friends in the opposite camp a real service by his declaration of war. They can now say that Mr. Lloyd George by his own act has absolved them from allegiance. Mr. Lloyd George having performed a public service by solidifying the Unionist Party, it becomes all the more necessary for the two Liberal factions definitely to coalesce. Mr. Lloyd George has gone as far as he can. Mr. Asquith and his supporters must meet him half-way. Until last week, as was remarked in these columns, the Asquith entourage, male and female, was persevering in its petty, vindictive, and unpatriotic vendetta. Any Independent Liberal who sought Liberal reunion was set upon by followers of Mr. Asquith and informed that defeat and ruin were infinitely preferable to acceptance of the demon Lloyd George as a good Liberal again.

THIS parochial, mean-spirited attitude must be dropped, and it is up to the rank and file of Liberals of all groups to insist that it is dropped. If Independent Liberal Members of Parliament lack courage to emancipate themselves, party meetings throughout the country must compel them to do so. For, once united, Liberals have every reason to welcome a general election. And I do not think this Government, unless Mr. Baldwin reveals himself a genius, can possibly last for long. When the election comes, assuming matters Governmental continue in their present condition, the Tories will be lucky to get 150 seats. No doubt Labour at an election within twelve months would secure more seats than the Liberals, but a plurality is not a majority, and a Labour majority in the House is impossible. Any Government Mr. Ramsay MacDonald might form in such circum-

stances could not last a month. We should then have a second general election almost immediately following the first, and this time the country, I feel confident, still disgusted with Tory failure but realising the anarchic, chaotic results of a Labour victory, would restore the Liberal Party to power. With this fair prospect before it, it is inconceivable that Liberalism will permit the continuance of these feuds, which, if persisted in, will not merely destroy the chance of a Liberal success, but must gravely menace the immediate future of our country.

IT is tempting but hazardous to speculate upon the results abroad of our change here at home. Lord Curzon has shown real public spirit in remaining in office at least until the Near Eastern crisis is settled, for this has become as serious as was that last autumn at Chanak. Greeks and Turks seem on the verge of war, and the Lausanne Conference, with Britain and France, in humiliating impotence, unable to do anything, is drifting fast towards the rocks. Turning from the East to the Continent, I confess to great hopes in Mr. Baldwin when it comes to problems of reparations and inter-Allied debts, the millstones about the neck of British and world industry. I have no facts upon which to base optimism, except the knowledge that Mr. Baldwin is a business man, that he knows what these debts mean, and that having the interest of his country at heart, coupled with a knowledge of the true position denied to most politicians, he can scarcely forbear to attempt vigorous action to bring the French to their senses and give Britain's trade a chance to pull the country out of the slough of despond. In so doing, Mr. Baldwin will have one tremendous advantage over his two predecessors in office. He was responsible for none of the inanities, dishonest subterfuges, concessions to the forces of disorder and disruption made in Paris in 1919 and in subsequent inter-Allied Conferences. Mr. Lloyd George, and to a lesser extent Mr. Bonar Law, were prevented by their past from striking out on a new and common-sense line. Mr. Baldwin cannot be accused of that bugbear of statesmen, inconsistency. He can, if he will, persuade the Germans to make a reasonable offer, and then put the whole weight of Britain behind a demand that these indemnities and debts be cleared up, armies reduced, and invasions withdrawn, to the end that Europe, in Castlereagh's words, may get back to peaceful habits. It is a mighty task I suggest, but one at which it is better to fail than not to attempt it at all.

A SILENT constitutional revolution has taken place this week, which will be duly chronicled by some future Hallam of Parliament. The King's action in passing over Lord Curzon may have been well-advised, and perfectly right in the circumstances, but it does mean that in future no Peer can hope to be Prime Minister. The great Lord Salisbury, who resigned twenty years ago, was the last of a line which included Russells, Derbys, and half the great names in English history. There is something ironic in the conclusion that no Peer shall get to the top; it is like saying that nobody who is the

son of a bishop shall ever be Archbishop of Canterbury. Indeed, the thing is too absurd to last. I have known peers, and I have known commoners, and I have not observed that Dukes and Earls are noticeably deficient in political sense, and to bar them from the Premiership is enough to start a movement to abolish the House of Lords from within. The position is in fact impossible. Of two things one, as Mr. Garvin says (although Mr. Garvin generally makes of two things three): either a peer should have the right of addressing the House of Commons as a member of the Government—and *vice versa* in the case of a Cabinet Minister in the Commons, of course; or a young peer with political ambitions should be allowed to resign his seat, or the prospect of a seat, in the Lords, and declare himself a Commoner. Had Lord Curzon been allowed to do that thirty years ago, as he wished, this week's history would have been different, and I think he has a genuine grievance against fate and the Parliament that decided otherwise.

NO satisfaction has yet been obtained by the delegation of white settlers from Kenya who have been kept cooling their heels for a month while waiting for the Government to promise to carry out Lord Milner's pledge to the colonists. Indian intrigue continues. It would be unfair to complain of the delay *this week*, for technically all Cabinet Ministers were out of office. The whole matter should, of course, have been settled before Mr. Bonar Law resigned. To agree on the broad basis of settlement, the supremacy of the white race in all British Africa, ought not to take half an hour. General Smuts, meanwhile, is not unaware of the possibly sinister significance in this hold-up. He has written to the leader of the South African white settlers in Kenya: "In reference to the petition of 200 South Africans of the Uaisin Gishu Plateau in regard to the Indian question in Kenya, I wish to inform you that I have followed the development of the question with the keenest interest and shall do everything in my power when the proper time for action comes to enhance a satisfactory solution." Does the Imperial Government, terrified by the Indian bogey, propose to humiliate itself by denying to the Kenya white man rights which if necessary the Union of South Africa is prepared to enforce?

THOSE Grand Trunk shareholders who were robbed of their property by the Canadian Government, with about as much consideration as the Chinese bandits recently showed their captives, will no doubt be interested in the receipts of the Grand Trunk Company to the end of April. The shares, common and preference, were adjudged by the Canadian arbiters, Mr. Justice Taft dissenting, to be of no value. British investors who made the Grand Trunk Railway possible thus lost every penny they had put up. For the first four months of 1923 the Grand Trunk receipts showed an increase of £1,615,684. Since then the Canadian Government, wisely I think, has discontinued issuing Grand Trunk figures. These are included now in the receipts of the Canadian National Railways. In the City Notes of Thursday's *Times*, it was stated: "Down to

May 14th the total receipts of the National Railways showed an increase of \$10,333,707. Assuming that the receipts of the Grand Trunk are included in the Canadian National figures, it follows that virtually the whole of the increase in the railway receipts was contributed by the Grand Trunk system. It must be some satisfaction to the stockholders of the Grand Trunk to learn that their former property should have produced such excellent results." In view of this statement, it is interesting to recall that the *Times* last year, in its unregenerate days, declined to print an advertisement from THE OUTLOOK calling attention to this paper's *exposé* of the Grand Trunk Steal.

M. R. BRIDGEMAN and his *faux pas* over the Habeas Corpus Act has been rather forgotten during the excitement of the week, but the whole question will come up with the Indemnity Bill in the next few days. It is well known that Labour intends to make trouble; which does not matter very much, for, if precedent goes for anything, it will contrive to make a fool of itself at the same time. The real difficulty is the Conservative back-bencher—a man who has as profound a reverence for the British Constitution as the American has, I understand, for his. These men are profoundly disturbed, and with reason, at any attempt to enlarge the powers of the executive and to limit the liberty of the subject; they respect the law, but they loathe the lawyers who would tamper with it. I must own that my sympathies are entirely with them, but I fancy there is only one sound way out of the *impasse*. Give the executive any powers of arrest you like, in the interests of order, safety, anti-Bolshevism, or whatever one likes to call it; but lay it down firmly, and without any exception whatever, that there can be no arrest without trial. In other words, reaffirm the Habeas Corpus Act; it needs reaffirmation after the late suspension in the war. I cannot understand the fears of mysterious people in authority; my own belief is that juries are entirely on the side of law and order, and would be ready to convict on reasonable evidence. But there must be evidence, and there must be public trial; otherwise liberty is in danger.

THIS little dialogue between a visiting business man in Moscow and his cabby, as the ancient *drosky* drove past the Kremlin, has all the qualities of the most sombre school of Russian imaginative literature. Yet the man who related it, an oil promoter, is a stolid Midlander who never read a Russian novel in his life, though he knows enough Russian for business purposes, and the interchange may be taken as almost literally exact:

Visitor: Why is the Kremlin closed?  
 Ivan: Because the Tsar is there.  
 Visitor: But the Tsar is dead.  
 Ivan: The Tsar called Nicolai is dead, but the Tsar never dies. His name is Lenin now.  
 Visitor: But they say Lenin is dying.  
 Ivan: Yes, but there are many waiting to take his place.  
 Visitor: And what will happen then?  
 Ivan: First will come the match.  
 Visitor: What do you mean by that?  
 Ivan: Holy Moscow will burn . . . ! Fire and water!  
 Visitor: Why water?  
 Ivan: We have a river, the Moskwa. That river will be full of corpses.

NEMO.

## The Week in Parliament

IT is an accustomed figure of speech to say of the incidents of any particular time that they create a state of affairs unparalleled in history; but in all seriousness it must be many years since a Government has received three such successive blows as those recently sustained by the Government of the day, and, so far from being in the least staggered, has seemed positively to have profited by the experience. In the first place the decision of the Courts in the case of the Irish deportees, with its corollary of an Indemnity Bill to protect Ministers, might reasonably have been expected to deal a crushing blow to the Government's prestige. So far from this being the case, the general view appears to be a kind of benevolent satisfaction with them for having taken the risk.

In the second place, a factor in itself enough to shake most Governments to the very foundations, there has been considerable criticism, both within the Houses of Parliament and outside, on the question of relations with Russia. The Tuesday before the adjournment was taken up with a full dress debate on the subject, in the course of which the impression was created that the Government was prepared to negotiate on reasonable terms. On the Adjournment the discussion at an early stage veered round to Russian affairs, and remained there till the end of the day, when the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs electrified everyone by declaring roundly that he could by no means bind the Government not to break off relations during the recess, which must depend on the complete acceptance by Russia of all the terms of the Curzon Note. And yet the skies did not fall, neither was there any special objection taken in the Press generally to the attitude maintained by the Treasury Bench.

Finally comes an event which, had it happened six months ago, would have brought back Mr. Lloyd George and his full team of Coalitionists with drums beating and colours flying—the breakdown of Mr. Bonar Law. And behold, so far from being a source of embarrassment to the Government it is in a sense a source of strength, for it opens the way to bringing back the Conservative ex-Ministers and making use of the services of Lord Robert Cecil.

The new Prime Minister is almost as likeable a man as his late chief. The country has not yet become accustomed to Mr. Baldwin; but Toby Junior ventures to prophesy that it will increasingly take him to its heart as it grows to know him better. He is perhaps the most distinctively and essentially English personality in public life to-day. It is the first quality in him that impresses one; and the second is his rather boisterous, and again essentially English, sense of humour or, rather, sense of fun. Mr. Bonar Law was a humorist of the driest Scotch variety; so dry that often his best observations were taken perfectly seriously and passed over. Mr. Baldwin's excellence lies in his fund of good-natured chaff, as, for instance, demonstrated when he pulled Mr. Hilton Young's leg (there is no other expression to describe the proceeding) by a mock adulation of the latter's book on public finance before using it with deadly effect to confute the arguments now advanced by the author in the debate on the Financial Resolutions on the Budget. Or in his frankly schoolboy retort to Mr. Jack Jones, when the latter badgered him with an obstructionist question about the mineral water manufacturers not passing on to the public the benefit they were receiving under the Budget: "I fully appreciate the hon. Member's interest in this commodity." Instances could be multiplied to almost any extent, e.g., "I never can look at a man nowadays without asking myself what is his taxable capacity." Or again, "I would double the duty on mineral waters, because I don't believe in cheap hiccoughs." There is in this homely badinage something of the quality that goes to make George Robey the most popular comedian on our stage: it goes straight to the ribs of the average Englishman and makes him roar with laughter. Furthermore, Mr. Baldwin is a first-class fighter without being aggressive; and that is a quality dear to the Englishman's heart. Deal with him gently and he will not molest you. He won't encourage you to ask unnecessary questions, but, on the other hand, he won't attack. But if you try to press him, his nose wrinkles up like a terrier scenting a rat, and then it is as well for those who are trying to bait him to be remarkably sure of their facts and inferences. Otherwise a short shrift.

With these qualities there go inevitably certain drawbacks. It is not to be expected that so pronounced an Englishman would have any great patience with, or affection for, foreigners. Nor does Toby Junior look for any pronounced enthusiasm for the League of Nations, though he is convinced that the new Prime Minister will be scrupulously fair to that institution and, in so far as it is able to show itself an impartial and useful body, will increasingly come first to tolerate and finally to respect it. But taking him all in all, Toby Junior is convinced that no wiser choice could have been made, and remembering, as he lately recorded in this column, the impression he first formed of the right honourable gentleman six years ago, he is confident that Stanley Baldwin will not be the least in the roll of Prime Ministers, and with excellent reason. TOBY JUNIOR, M.P.

## The New Government

THE deplorably sudden breakdown of Mr. Bonar Law's health excited respectful and universal sympathy, even among those who were technically his opponents. It had been recognised that his term of office was not likely to outlast the year, but only in a limited circle was anticipated so sudden and tragic an end to his career; apparently he himself hoped, almost until his return to England, to resume his duties for at least another few months. We are bound to say that in the circumstances he rendered what will unhappily be the last of his many services to his country by his instant decision to throw up a post he could no longer profitably hold; these are not the days for sick or absentee Prime Ministers, and Mr. Bonar Law, with the simple honesty that characterised his whole political life, recognised the fact and had done with it at once.

His term of office was one of the shortest on the long roll of Prime Ministers, but however long it had been, he would not have ranked among the great Premiers. He had not the personality of a Russell or a Palmerston, or the intellect of a Gladstone or a Balfour. He had none of the cold classic precision of Asquith, or the fierce emotional fervour of Lloyd George. What he had was an utter honesty of character and temperament; like the mythical Washington of the story-books, he could not tell a lie. Now politics is a dangerous and at times a dirty trade, but we do not think so badly of the Commonwealth as to hold that the honest man is unique, and Mr. Bonar Law proved that honesty in politics can be made to pay.

In some ways, undoubtedly, the Baldwin Government may be stronger than its predecessor. That is not to say much. The shadow of premature death was on the Bonar Law Administration from the hour of its birth. The moralists may be right when they counsel us to live each day as though it were our last, but that is hardly sound counsel for a Government; it leads to opportunism, uncertain handling of affairs, and in the long run it must make for impotence of policy. The slogan of "tranquillity" is not precisely the watchword of vigorous health; the strong man wants to do things, to assert himself, to leave his mark on the country. Unless the Baldwin Government proves more vigorous and more alert than its parent, it cannot hope to last its full term and put up a good fight against its Labour and Liberal opponents.

One weakness of the Bonar Law Government was that it had too much top-hammer in the House of Lords, and too little weight of metal in the Commons. Mr. Baldwin may probably think it unwise to reconstruct too much, for his colleagues, if not brilliant, are at least capable, and if no fitful genius forms a halo round their heads, they are a trustworthy team with little inclination for intrigue—neither racehorse nor cabhorse, but a good

honest team that can pull fairly well together, perhaps trot feebly when well whipped, and guaranteed not to kick. The same could not be said of the Lloyd George Government, and we doubt whether it would be true of any conceivable Labour Cabinet. The present Cabinet, then, has its points; we have stated them generously, though we think them sadly negative.

As to the Unionist junta whom Mr. Law left out last November, the claim of "all or none" which they then, and have since, put up, is on the face of it absurd. Were they men of the stamp of Napoleon, Julius Caesar, or Abraham Lincoln, there might be something in it; but nobody can suggest that they are second Chathams, men who can save their country when nobody else can. The best that can be said for them is that they are better than most of their successors. Mr. Austen Chamberlain is a respectable mediocrity, charming in private, but politically poor enough soil assiduously cultivated. Sir L. Worthington-Evans has an admirable mind for detail and hard work—in fact, the complete family solicitor—but we cannot honestly pretend that his presence made much difference to the Lloyd George Government, or that his absence has been a serious handicap to the Bonar Law Cabinet. The best that can be said is that his political experience makes him rather better than most second-class men of his stamp; the worst that he is a declining asset, since he does not want to fight another election, and his natural fate is the House of Lords.

Of Lord Birkenhead it is hardly necessary to speak. By universal consent he is the most brilliant of the old Unionist quartette, but by universal consent he is also beyond the Tory pale. Whether that is his fault, or that of the Tories, is no concern of ours. The last six months have shown that he cannot carry corn; if he could have kept silence since last November he would now have been credited with almost superhuman wisdom, but each speech has damned him more and more, and men who have not a tithe of his ability now openly regard him as a clever fool. There is, we believe, an order of monks vowed to perpetual silence. We commend that admirable example to Lord Birkenhead. Let him make a pilgrimage to Tibet, remain in Central Asia for three years, and he may return to lead what is left of his shattered party.

The fourth of the non-official Conservative quartette is the one who really counts. Sir Robert Horne is not a tithe as clever as Lord Birkenhead, but he has more sagacity. But for the chances of politics, he might have been in Mr. Baldwin's shoes and Mr. Baldwin in his—a year ago the odds were rather in his favour as a future Conservative Prime Minister. On the grounds of solid merit, his 1922 Budget showed him a sound financier, and now that the Government needs a new Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is unfortunate

that Sir Robert Horne feels unable to accept office. There is nobody of sufficient standing in the existing Cabinet to be promoted to that post, and Mr. Baldwin certainly cannot combine the two positions in his own person. The new Government is consequently in a dilemma here. Whoever is made Chancellor will not command the confidence of the country.

Some of Mr. Bonar Law's selections last November have not done very much for their money, but it cannot be said that any of them have proved rank failures—at any rate, not such complete and unmitigated failures that Mr. Baldwin will have to sack them in the interests of self-preservation. Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen is gone and already forgotten; and by one of the curious fatalities of politics, the really grave blunder of the last Government was made by one of its best men. The Attorney-General is a tower of strength, but he is not likely to forget the Habeas Corpus Act a second time.

The reaction of the new Administration on domestic politics will soon be visible. Conservatives will be more confident, simply because they have a leader who is physically in better trim than their late chief. Labour is left very much where it was—that is to say, putting its fingers to its nose and making unmannerly noises. It is the Liberals who will benefit most by the change; for the retirement of Mr. Bonar Law is the final break-up of the Coalition. The Law-George partnership, although broken off two years ago, had left its marks on the present Parliament; men do not so easily forget their old associations and comradeship. But Mr. Baldwin owes nothing to Mr. Lloyd George, and most certainly Mr. George owes nothing to Mr. Baldwin; there is no reason in the world why party warfare should not be resumed. That consideration in itself should help forward Liberal reunion—if only the Siamese twins on the Liberal side would stop their wrangling, an amusement which has even caused a breeze between those whom we had judged inseparable, Messrs. Hogge and Pringle. The first results of Liberal reunion would probably be that a few National Liberals would discover that they were Conservatives at heart, and join the Baldwin banner. That would not really matter; for the world discovered it long ago, and their change of allegiance would help to define the position. Liberal prospects are brightening; they cannot hope for office in the immediate future, but if they will drop their absurd personal vendetta, they may at least expect to become the alternative Government when the time comes, soon or late, for Mr. Baldwin to revisit Worcestershire as a private citizen, read his books, and grow pigs. Liberalism is now the true "Centre Party," and in due course will have to deliver the country from reactionary and stupid Hard Faces, as well as from the chattering Banderlog of the Clyde.

## The Danger - Point

THE sound of fighting has died down in Europe; actually there is no war on, nearer than China; but the captains and the kings have not departed—on the contrary, they stand armed upon many frontiers, apparently only waiting for a good opportunity to fly at each other's throats. The danger-point may shift from day to day, but is always somewhere. To-day it happens to be in Thrace.

We shall be making a dangerous mistake if we dismiss as mere "bluff" the rumours of warlike preparations on the Greco-Turkish front. Nothing may come of them, of course—we hope it won't—but the fact remains that, though Turkey and Greece are both of them past-masters in the game of "bluff," they have in recent years generally meant business when they rattled their sabres. Merely because we Westerners are sick and tired of war, we must not suppose that the same pacific sentiments pervade Europe's East-end. There has been no peace in the Levant since 1912, but the appetite of its inhabitants for war and massacre is far from being appeased. The present danger comes not from any new grievance that has arisen on either side, for everybody in the Near East has grievances all the time, but from the simple fact that the side which was worsted in the last encounter believes that it now has a chance of catching its enemy at a disadvantage. That is an amply sufficient excuse for war in the Near East.

It is difficult at this distance to say whether or not the Greeks are justified in their hopes. If so, Mustapha Kemal has tried to "bluff" Europe once too often. While the Lausanne Conference, reduced to a humiliating mockery by the attitude of his delegates, crawls miserably on to its appointed end, he has been withdrawing troops—at least two divisions—from Thrace in order to demonstrate against France and England on the Syrian and Mosul fronts, in the hope that we might be frightened into yielding to his preposterous territorial demands. It is, moreover, asserted with some confidence that the organisation and moral of his army have been allowed to decay since its victories in Asia Minor—which would be quite in keeping with Turkish military history. Here, then, was the Greeks' opportunity. They have massed their replenished battalions upon the Maritza front, and apparently propose to march to Constantinople, there to dictate terms of peace both to Turkey and to the Allies. It is easier said than done. Over-confidence is an old fault of the Greeks. But what may very well happen if they are allowed to proceed with this mad enterprise, is that they may get as far as the Chatalja lines and drop a few bombs on the Turkish capital. And the effect of that, from the European point of view, will be simply this: that the Dardanelles will be closed once more, all hope of a trade revival will disappear, and the lives and property of the large foreign community in Constantinople will once more be in serious jeopardy.

If the Greek threat on the Maritza should have the effect of bringing the Turkish delegates at Lausanne to a more amenable frame of mind, it might turn out to be a blessing in disguise. But in common decency, quite apart from the interests



of our traders, we cannot afford to encourage a new war in the Near East. The claims of the rival parties are not of a character that could for a moment justify the upsetting of European peace. The Turks, who managed to lose the Great War without paying a penny for it, demand a heavy indemnity for their little victory over Greece. The Greeks demand frontiers that they very well know they cannot hold. Fortunately it is in our power to restrain the latter, by the simple process of blockading the Piraeus and Salonica with an Allied Fleet. And if, as appears to be the case, they are really bent upon this wild adventure, that power must be firmly and promptly exercised—not to save the Turkish Nationalists from the consequences of their own folly, but solely in the interests of peace.

## Mr. Stanley Baldwin

By E. T. RAYMOND.

Pitt is to Addington  
As London is to Paddington.

THE epigram of Canning inevitably came to mind with the announcement that the King, passing over the claims of Lord Curzon, had entrusted Mr. Stanley Baldwin with the formation of a Ministry. I make no pretension to such arcana of political mathematics as would enable the establishment of an equation between the new Prime Minister and the more distinguished either of his predecessors or his contemporaries. But the choice does seem, when we recall the very considerable men who have missed the great prize of political ambition during the last hundred years, distinctly of the Paddington kind.

And it is, perhaps, a sobering reflection that—allowing that Lord Curzon's possession of a Peerage and non-possession of a way with him were fatal to his otherwise high claims—it was the only choice possible. The Conservative Party has unbounded wealth. It commands the allegiance of the bulk of the leisured class. Even in these days it holds a great number of safe seats which could be used, as the old pocket boroughs were, for the training of promising young men. Yet, in the crisis produced by Mr. Bonar Law's enforced retirement, it had but two possible candidates for supreme office—the one an exceedingly able Peer, the other a business man unheard of by the public seven years ago. The Peer is not wanted because he is a Peer, also (it is suggested) because he is rather a proud Peer. But peerages and pride are apt to go together, and the Conservative Party has a special liability to the curse of compulsory ennoblement descending on its choicest spirits. Since this fact cannot be changed, it would seem only prudence to take intelligent steps to promote the production of a race of Conservative politicians in no danger of entombment in the House of Lords.

It is, of course, a disadvantage that Mr. Baldwin has not had time to acquire what generally time alone can give—the imperturbable poise, the instinct which never hesitates, the sense almost of smell for what is dangerous or impracticable. Some men never acquire this super-discretion; Mr. Lloyd George, so largely gifted in reading other people, could never be sure that he would not give himself away. In Mr. Asquith it was apparently inborn; his first speech as a Minister was as impeccable as any he ever made. Mr. Baldwin has yet to school himself. After making an admirable impression in the United States, he created a quite unnecessary hubbub by a few careless words to journalists at Southampton. The fault was not with his

understanding or his temper; the mistake was made simply because he had not been taught by experience how gigantic may be the world-echo of a statesman's lightest talk. To be cautious and yet not to be cowed, to estimate exactly the force of language, to convey grave meaning in words which cannot be proved to mean anything, to be frankly discreet, overflowing reticent, ingenuously jesuitical—all this very necessary lore can be acquired in time by very second-rate people. It is the rarest of all natural gifts.

Mr. Baldwin's tendency, which was also Mr. Bonar Law's in his earlier years, to employ language sometimes to express thoughts better suppressed, will no doubt disappear with a little experience in a position in which every word is read, remembered, and quoted with hostile intent. For the rest the new Prime Minister is well qualified both for administration and management of the House of Commons. Bred to habits of business, he is not a business man of the common type. His family has dealt for several generations in iron and steel, and there is something of the quality of those metals in his character. He rings true, like iron, and he is at once straight and flexible, like a blade of well-tempered steel. It is not easy to think of an unmanly village blacksmith, and even the great iron-master, whose muscles need not be like iron bands, seems to be distinct from the millionaires of more effeminate trades. But with the outrightness and vivacity—Chamberlain, the screw-maker, had it also—of the man who produces something which must stand its test or be damned, no matter what the advertisements say, Mr. Baldwin combines a generous and cultivated understanding. He is a man with human and genial and scholarly tastes, all of them bespeaking a mentality very English. He likes pottering about a farm and scratching the backs of his pigs. He likes looking over the classics. He loves Jane Austen. It is, therefore, unnecessary to add that he has no fads or enthusiasms beyond those which any English squire might be proud to confess—Imperialism and the like. He reposes no faith in new moralities, new theologues, new industrial eras, new political panaceas, new men, or new women. On the other hand, he has every belief in the efficacy of the old virtues to put right a world out of joint. Why talk nonsense about "joint control of industry?" Would it not be better for the workman to cease to hanker for the work he is not fitted to do, and apply himself a little more strenuously to the work he only can do? In the meanwhile, the captain of industry should remember that he, too, has a duty, and that the men who earn the dividends have souls.

In short, Mr. Baldwin is a Tory rather than a mere Conservative, with much of the old genial English spirit in him. And it is this geniality which has helped largely in his six years' gallop to an eminence which he has certainly not sought. The House of Commons has been a pleasant place for him because he is invariably a pleasant person with it. Though he can say things with a salt tang in them, he is always good-humoured. At the same time he has distinct force of character, and is, in material things, perfectly straightforward. This does not exclude an innocent sort of artifice. Mr. Baldwin can be a humbug, without being a cheat. It was with a perfectly light heart that he set himself during the Coalition days to defend a policy in which he did not believe. But he contrived somehow to let everybody know the dark secret that he did not believe in it.

For that, long before the Carlton Club meeting, was the considered conviction of Mr. Baldwin. He did not like Mr. Lloyd George; he owed nothing to him; he did not trust him; hated his methods, his eloquence, his cleverness, his metaphors, detested the Welsh hills, and turned with loathing from the rising sun and the fleeing shadows. Of this distaste he never made a secret; he was perfectly willing at any time

to leave the Cabinet, and if he plotted did not hide the dagger or the bomb. He it was, more than anybody, who made the existence of the Coalition impossible; and the fact, together with the perfect straightforwardness of his tactics, explain why he is the idol of the Die-Hards and at the same time is more indulgently viewed by his late Conservative colleagues. The former applaud him as the real organiser of victory; the latter recognise that as an enemy he was open and above-board. If there is any chance of Conservative reunion, it is more likely to be improved than spoiled by Mr. Baldwin's succession.

The new Prime Minister cannot be said to be yet a big figure; but he strikes the imagination as a man capable of growth. His stature has increased greatly during the last six months of greater responsibility, and even during the few weeks of Mr. Bonar Law's absence his leadership of the House of Commons added to his reputation with that specialist audience. Though modest, he is sure of himself, and, though conciliatory, he has a certain masterfulness. It may be fanciful, but I feel in him a greater affinity to Joseph Chamberlain than to any politician of these later times. He has none of Chamberlain's touch of genius. His blandness is never modified by Chamberlain's bitter and aggressive temper. He has none of Chamberlain's soaring ambition. But he does suggest Chamberlain not a little in many ways. He has something of Chamberlain's knack of managing men and gaining their enthusiasm. He has the same clear but confined vision, the same quickness in seizing a situation, something of the same lucidity and sharpness. He resembles Chamberlain also in the strength of his friendships and his aversions. On brotherly terms with Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Lloyd George could never win him, though he talked with the tongue of serpents. Probably the case was much that of Chamberlain with Gladstone—too much peroration.

The likeness is perhaps simply due to the fact that Chamberlain, like Mr. Baldwin, was a very English type, of the sturdier kind, and of late years English types have been rather rare in English politics.

## The Scandal of the Saar

BY WILLIAM BOLITHO.

PARIS, MAY 23RD.

THE tale of a stepmother and the sad orphans in her charge is as old as melodrama; yet it never fails to move the gallery to fist-clenching and tears. We have lately had a re-edition of the theme in the scandal of the League of Nations and the Saar miners. If any guardian in private life had acted towards a child in his care as the League has treated the miners he would answer to a police magistrate. The facts are undisputed. Under the same Treaty that founded the League, with its huge staff, its enviable secretary, its series of well-paid and pleasant posts for statesmen past their prime, and its noble and general mission of keeping the world at peace, a particular trust of safeguarding the liberties and rights of the Saar Valley people was given to it. The Saar was war-booty; its inhabitants, as indivisible parts of the coal industry, were made hostages of the French. Hardly any population in Europe—not the Hungarians in Slovakia nor the betrayed mountaineers of Montenegro—had such solid reason to fear injustice in the future as this surrendered people. No date was fixed for their servitude to end. The order of their lives, their institutions, their liberties, their allegiance, were to remain at the mercy of an army of occupation until the hazy day when the last dot and comma of the Treaty shall have been fulfilled. They went with the coal. Beyond this cloudy hope of release was the certainty of a plebiscite period—a synonym, disputed

populations have learnt, for a double torture of terrorism and corruption by the rivals for their votes. Even the frozen imaginations of the Big Three grasped what the coming years would mean to the miners of the Saar. Therefore they commended these people to the special charge of the League, to be governed and protected by a Commission chosen by the Council of the League and under its supervision. We have seen how these gentlemen of the Council and Commission performed this duty. The Saar Valley was at no time a pleasant place to loiter in. Mining villages were tied to each other by gritty roads for fear of being lost in the fog of the coke furnaces.

The former enchantments of wood and river have sunk in this gloomy air without a trace. Both sides of the lives of the inhabitants—their work and pleasures—are invisible. They live half their lives in underground chimneys whose soot they wear in their clothes and on their faces. Shops, grog-shops, cinemas, and cemeteries are equally crusted with the same dirt. Their houses are tiny cubes in faded red, scattered over the landscape like the building blocks of a child on the rubbish heap. Before the war they lived like other Continental miners—which decent people do not care to read about. The war brought them famine, peace added persecution. These were the people and the district that the League of Nations Commission was trusted to protect. They have done it, first, by taking away the right to strike from them, a right which is as universal and unquestioned as the right to die. Then for a short time the Commission took away the right, which even bandits allow their victims, of complaining. Henceforth, if the Commission had been allowed a free hand by the world's conscience (for the Council of the League made no interference) any grumbler, anyone presuming to criticise "the Treaty of Versailles, the Allied Governments, or the League of Nations" made himself liable to five years' imprisonment. Public opinion of the rest of the world had to protect the Saar inhabitants from the protection of the League.

There has been an attempt to throw the weight of these disgraceful things upon the French by the remaining officials of the Commission through their friends in the Press. Against this it is only necessary to say that the sole reason for the appointment of the non-French members of the Commission was that they should check French injustice. It was taken for granted that the French would treat the Saar population badly, as an avenging army anxious entirely to subjugate the population of a region which they openly coveted. The comfortable pay, the power, and the desirability of the seats on the Commission, like those on the Council of the League of Nations, were secondary, accidental things given in return for a definite trust to mitigate the rule of the French. Monsieur Rault, the head of the French delegation, as I remember him, is a good servant of his government, conscious that pay depends on rigorous performance of the orders he is given from Paris. He has done his work with the jovial, cunning scepticism we expected from him. He was appointed to sit heavy on the necks of this people, like a smiling Joss image, and twist as far as he could the rest of the members of the governing Commission to his wishes. Incidentally, he is far too sane ever personally to have originated the ludicrous decree in question. Whether it came from some infatuated official in the *Quai d'Orsay*, or, as is almost as probable, from some person in the League itself (this is not the first time that abnormal sensitiveness to criticism has been observed in the Geneva bureau), he did his work. The rest, with the exception of the passive Canadian member, failed in their task and their trust. They have ground the faces of the weak and deferred to the strong. Their blame has been softened because

it is hard to be severe when one is smiling, and the pretension of these "guardians" of the Saar to inflict a greater penalty on their critics than the Hohenzollerns dared to impose for *lèse majesté* has made the world laugh. Neither this covering of ridicule, nor the more respectable shield set up by some of their friends—that to attack the members of the League Council or the higher secretariat is to depreciate the League idea itself—will turn off indignation. The League idea is the only safeguard we know against future war which the Paris settlement has left us, but it is separate from its present mechanism and officials which have been disgraced in the Saar. We have to keep it so, or admit our hopes a delusion.

## Germany under the Douche

BY A BRITISH OFFICER.

BERLIN, MAY 21ST.

**T**HE unexpected always happens in this country. German public opinion is once more united on passive resistance. Lord Curzon's cold-water treatment has had a stimulating effect on a somewhat fagged national spirit—for the time being at least.

When the reception in England of the German Note became known and it was realised here that the majority of the English newspapers regarded that ill-fated document as a mixture of stupidity, clumsiness, and insincerity, consternation was general. At the same time it was felt that English criticism applied more to the form of the Note than to its contents. The Labour Party had announced that the Note offered a basis for negotiation, and certain powerful newspapers, as the *Manchester Guardian*, were of the same opinion. The Note had obviously been a mistake and required revision. There was little surprise that the offer of the 30 milliard gold marks apparently proved unacceptable, or that definite guarantees were required instead of the somewhat vague promises of the Note. On the other hand, it was felt that the offer to submit the whole question of reparations to an International Commission showed genuine goodwill on Germany's part. This was regarded as the crux of the Note, and it was expected that it would be favourably commented upon in the British reply. The Franco-Belgian Note caused little surprise, and in no way damped the hopes of a more favourable British answer.

It was in this mood of subdued hopefulness that the arrival of the British Note was awaited. It came like a thunderbolt. The Germans read it backwards and forwards; they searched for a passage that might point towards a possible solution of the conflict in the Ruhr district. They found nothing. As the financial proposals were unsatisfactory, Lord Curzon's views on the proposed International Commission were sought. He did not even mention it; apparently he had overlooked the offer. What did this mean? What deep-laid schemes were behind the mysterious silence about the most important part of the German Note? Did he ignore it under the pressure of French threats, or did he prefer not to mention the point so as not to prejudice it?

For two days these questions were the chief topic of conversation. There was general confusion. Public opinion in Berlin alternated between anger and depression. In the Ruhr, where the situation was growing steadily worse and the verdict in the Krupp case was causing the bitterest resentment, great hopes had been based on English intervention; in the rest of Germany England was likewise looked upon as the one remaining hope. And from England nothing came except this enigmatic Note.

Excitement was intense on May 15th, before the last debate on foreign affairs in the Reichstag. To everyone's surprise, the Parties were united when the

Reichstag met on the 16th. The Socialists had been expected to make a strong attack on the Government. On the contrary, the spokesman, Herr Müller, made a moderate speech in which he pointed out that passive resistance had been spontaneously inaugurated by the workers and the Trade Unions, and that this policy would receive further support from the Socialist Party, which contemplated capitulation to the French no more than to the Nationalists. His attacks were directed exclusively against the French policy. He added that in the next German offer, agriculture, industry, banks, and commerce would have to take a part in providing the necessary guarantees for an international loan. He also suggested that the British Parliament, which had recently debated on the conditions in the Saar district, should investigate the activities of the Rhineland Commission. He thought that in this question English prestige was far more involved than in the Saar. Neither did the various spokesmen of the Bourgeois Parties attack the Cabinet. The threatened crisis was weathered. The chief Parties of the Reichstag were united on the main lines of German foreign policy. It was recognised that great sacrifices were required to settle the reparations question, but that no settlement would be acceptable which did not provide for the evacuation of the Ruhr district.

The debate in the Reichstag made a strong impression on the country, and revived faith in the Parliamentary System. The hope that Lord Curzon had the will and the power to intervene and to bring about the settlement of the Ruhr conflict has received a rude shock. The belief is now prevalent that his reply was sent under instructions from Paris and that he has capitulated to France's determination to fight to the bitter end. Germany would only expose herself to unnecessary humiliations by taking the English Notes, dictated by Paris, too seriously.

All Parties are again agreed that Germany cannot hope for any outside help, and that capitulation and absolute collapse can be avoided only by a determined continuation of passive resistance. How long this revived fighting-spirit will last in face of the ever-increasing economic difficulties is impossible to say. It is only possible to know that Germany's dilemma is great. There seems no way out for her, and the great unknown factor, the Communist menace, must not be overlooked. The unexpected size of the crowds that followed the ostentatious cortège of the murdered Vorowski through the streets of Berlin has created an uncomfortable feeling that the disruptive forces are greater and more active than was generally realised.

## The Indian Invasion of Africa

BY DR. W. J. SIMPSON.

**T**HE population of Kenya Colony approximately consists of three million Africans, 23,000 Indians, 10,000 Europeans, 2,500 Goanese, and 10,000 Arabs. The preponderance of Indians over Europeans has given rise to alarm on the part of the Europeans, and to certain novel and ambitious claims on the part of some Indians. To the Britisher, only accustomed to see the educated and high-caste Indian in England, the alarm of the Europeans may appear unreasonable, while the full import of the claim of a small group of Indians as equal partners in the Crown Colonies is not recognised as a new departure. It is necessary to explain that though the Indians in Kenya Colony are twice as many as the Europeans there is a great difference in the class from which they are respectively drawn. The ten thousand Europeans, whether merchants, tradesmen, planters, or civil

servants, are well-educated and their standard of living is such as to secure healthy conditions in and around their dwellings and the respect of the Africans, whereas it is doubtful whether there are a hundred Indians in Kenya Colony of a similar social standing. The vast majority of Indians are petty traders, artisans, and their assistants, belonging to the poorest and uneducated classes. These emigrate from different parts of India, mostly from the Bombay and Madras Presidencies to Kenya Colony with the very laudable intention of making money and sending it to their families or relatives in India. No one will blame them for doing this. It is a most praiseworthy object provided they did no harm to the country, and provided agitators of the Gandhi type were excluded. But these provisos unfortunately do not exist. The standard of living of most of the immigrants, their overcrowding, their customs and habits are entirely different from the European, and produce conditions which are a serious menace to the public health of the whole community. Wherever they settle they create insanitary areas and slums. They spread disease not only among themselves, which if of an infectious nature they hide, but also among the native population. Why the African population, which is the great asset of the country, should be subjected to these dangers and suffer from them when under the protection of the British it is difficult to understand.

The Europeans have better been able to segregate themselves in their separate residential areas, but one of the claims put forward is that there shall be no segregation in any shape or form. The Hon. V. S. S. Sastri, who is of a high Brahmin caste and one of the most distinguished members of the deputation now in England on behalf of the Indians in Kenya Colony, is strong on this claim. In this connection it is interesting to mention that the average members of his caste living within an Agraharum, *i.e.*, the residential area of the Brahmins, would under no circumstances permit an untouchable to erect a residential building in this area. There are some thirty million untouchables in India. But it is not only these; each caste has its own quarter and not even a European would be allowed to reside in the Brahmin area. Are the Europeans in Kenya Colony to be forced to allow a policy which they do not want and which its advocate cannot persuade his fellow caste-men to accept and practise in India? The caste-men guard themselves by segregation so that the distances are defined within which low-caste men may approach the higher castes. It has been suggested that it was partly on sanitary and social grounds that the caste system was introduced into India in ancient times. The Europeans of Kenya Colony cannot shut their eyes to the injury done to the Africans, to the dangers in prospect for themselves with a great and unrestricted influx of Indians and Asiatics and the mischievous effect of propaganda of extremists among the Africans, Indians, and Arabs. They were aware of the difficulties, sanitary, economical, and social, which confronted the Transvaal Government before the Boer War, and of the Crown Colony Government established after the war, on this question of immigration of Indians into South Africa, and of the stringent measures which both of these Governments found it necessary to take in order to lessen the troubles arising from strangers from India and Asia forcing themselves on a community reluctant to receive them. They do not forget the history of Natal, where, owing to a short-sighted policy on the part of employers of labour, nearly a hundred and fifty thousand Indians have settled, and where but for the stringent immigration laws passed in 1911 and 1913, the white settlers would have been submerged by the Indians; nor do they forget that in 1913 a large crowd of Indians, led by Gandhi, accompanied by their wives and children, numbering in all about 2,200, marched from the coal

districts of Natal into the Transvaal with the deliberate object of contravening the Immigration Acts. It only led to much misery among the people misled by Messrs. Gandhi, Polak, and Kallenbach, who were arrested and imprisoned by the South African Government. This mad demonstration, like the passive resistance and strike movement, had not the desired effect. The Immigration Act of 1913, by which immigration of Asiatics and Indians was barred not only from overseas, but also from one province to another, was unchanged. The vested rights of those who had made their home in South Africa and who were born in the country were, rightly and justly, not interfered with. A very ingenious method of evading the law, which prevented individual Asiatics from owning property and acquiring land and fixed properties, was devised by the formation of private companies and the purchase from Europeans of premises which were then registered in the name of the company. By this means, the Indian trader to all intents and purposes became the owner of the land. In 1919 an Act was passed prohibiting the ownership of land to companies in which Asiatics have a controlling interest.

It is owing to similar experiences to those of South Africa which have been met with on a comparatively small scale in Kenya Colony, that it has been decided to prevent, if possible, further trouble, to demand an immigration law which will prevent the flooding of Kenya Colony with undesirable immigrants, and which shall be strictly carried out, and that the Uplands shall not be invaded. It is recognised that unrestricted immigration, if allowed to continue, will not be in the interests of the Colony. The easiest way to retard the advancement of a young colony and injure its external trade is for it to acquire the reputation of being unhealthy and of harbouring such epidemic diseases as plague, smallpox, and cerebrospinal disease. It is important that Kenya Colony should have an immigration law which by its administration will prevent the further accentuation of conditions that have already arisen. It is not enough to pass all who are free of disease and their belongings free of infection. This would not stop that great influx of people whose habits and mode of life produce wherever they go conditions that nurture and favour the spread and continuance of epidemic and endemic disease. It is essential that power should be given to guard against this; to limit the annual number of Asiatics, Indians, and alien immigrants that can enter into the Colony, in order that they can be properly housed; to require that they shall have a certain amount of money; that they shall know the English language, or be of a certain rank; that they shall declare whether they intend to reside in the country, and the business they intend to engage in, or if a visitor, the approximate time they intend to stay in the Colony.

It might be asked with reason are the demands of a small group of Indians based on concern for their compatriots' welfare in the Crown Colonies under British Governance, or are they (as we might judge from their speeches) due to an unfriendly attitude to the British Raj in India? In February last, when moving in the Council of State that Indians should be appointed to the higher offices in each of the Departments in the Government of India, the Hon. V. S. S. Sastri permitted himself to say that: "The services belong to India, and it was not a question of fixing the proportion of Indians but of allowing non-Indians (British) to enter on sufferance," and he was glad the British officials were beginning to feel for the first time the taste of racial humiliation, and he wanted that which they have felt in only one matter to be a hundred times repeated. Is it in this spirit and state of exaltation that the demands on the Kenya Government is made? Nothing so undiplomatic has so far been openly stated.



*Woodward's*

THE NEW



MASTER

## MIDDLE SECTION

### Mr. Gladdings, Mr. Thistlethorn, and Colonel Bark

By "OVERLANDER."

THE Editor of *The Lighthouse* makes no apology for printing in full from *Holloway's Weekly Gazette* (by kind permission of the Editor), Mr. Theodore Thistlethorn's story, "A Human Document," together with a letter in a later issue of the same journal from Colonel F. Bark. We are not sure that a point of literary ethics arises, but if it does we willingly open our pages for the purpose of its ventilation.

Mr. Thistlethorn's story:

"A HUMAN DOCUMENT,"  
by  
THEODORE THISTLETHORN.

The letter which follows, or should I say, fragment of a letter, for unhappily it was never finished, was handed to me, as poor Gladdings' literary executor, by the officials of the P.L.M. Railway. It was found lying with his other effects in the carriage after the unfortunate accident at Montargis by which Gladdings lost his life. He left Monte Carlo on January 10th by the 5.30 express to Paris. I said "Good-bye" to him at the station. He appeared in the best of spirits, though still a little pale after his convalescence. The original letter is almost indecipherable. It was written under evident stress of emotion and whilst the train was travelling at a great speed. It is printed exactly as written, I supplying only the punctuation, of which there was none. It reads as follows:

MY DEAR THEODORE,—This is being written under difficulties of an absolutely mountainous character. We have just left Challons-de-something. We are ten, twelve, sixteen, or twenty in this carriage—I've lost count. The men are all smoking, and the women and children are eating oranges. One woman is not eating oranges: she is talking. I can't see her now. I haven't seen her since we left Lyons at 6.15. It is as well for her. I hate her with a cold hate. She got in at Nice last night about 6. She has been talking ever since. She hasn't stopped for 12 hours. She's been at it all night. God knows what it is all about, and whom she is talking to. There's a monosyllable occasionally from a Frenchman, but she goes right on. Had she been travelling in England she would have been murdered long ago. It is really absolutely devilish. She has a high-pitched voice. She gives each syllable exactly the same sound value. The result is a noise like a Maxim gun. It's been going on for 12 hours. God help me! If I reach Paris with my reason intact, I'll be grateful. No one in this compartment has slept all night; everybody is pie-eyed. I had no idea the human voice was capable of such an effort. Twelve hours, without a stop, not even to take breath. It's awful. A collision would be a godsend. I'd far, far rather be sitting in the sun at St. Agnes, drinking the rosy wine, or galloping over the Downs, or deer-stalking in Scotland.

There's no escape: even the corridors are packed with people, and the lavatories are apparently occupied on 7, 14 and 21 years' leases. Everybody is French and nobody speaks English. I'd give a thousand francs to be able to say, "For God's sake shut yer silly mouth!" in French.

She is still at it. If her voice would only crack or

break, like the little choir boys! If she'd only alter the pitch, up or down—it wouldn't matter which, so long as she altered it.

If only the others would join in! I would prefer fifty men all talking different languages at once to the diabolical monotony of the clack! clack! clack! of that machine-gun throat. When the train stops it's ten times worse, for then it doesn't have to compete with the rattle of the train along the rails. When the train stops—it has just stopped. The voice sounds like the stone-breaker pursuing his melodious craft—crack! crack! crack! crack! The thing is a torture; I feel like the little bronze Chinese figure with its eyelids cut off.

The train has started again. I'm beginning to feel that I am actually in hell, or the outskirts. This must be worse than solitary confinement, that drives hardened rogues mad. It is worse. They can relieve the monotony of silence by tapping, even ever so lightly, upon the wall. But you can't do anything to—by the Great Horn Spoon! I've thought of something! I'm going to start singing at the top of my voice. I'll let you know what happens later.

It's no good. I've been singing, shouting, bawling, at the top of my voice for nearly an hour. I gave 'em "John Peel," "Widdicombe Fair," "The Vly be on the Turmot," the song about the donkeys that I wrote at Menton, "The Overlander," 24 verses and 24 choruses, and what I could remember of "Tarantella." I had to stop; my voice gave out completely on the final "Boom" of "Tarantella."

My yelling did drown the horrid voice, but when I paused for breath I could hear the miserable tap, tap, tap of the damnable syncopation. There are only three of us left in the compartment now. The rest—I counted them as they slunk off, eleven in all, men, women and children—began to edge into the passage, now packed like a sardine tin, when I let go the fifth "View Holloa" in "John Peel." They have all gone, all except the old man with the glassy eyes huddled up in the far corner opposite to the woman who hasn't stopped talking for 13 hours. They—the rest of them—are only just outside the glass sliding door. They are gazing at me. I suppose they are wondering what I am writing. If they only knew! They would pity me. Perhaps they think I am mad. Perhaps I am. No! not that, not that. So long as I can keep on writing about it, I feel I shall be all right, even if I have to keep it up until we get to Paris, which is still three hours away. Luckily, I do not have to think very quickly, as the train is swerving and swaying to such an extent that I can only write very, very slowly. Each letter has to be formed separately. I'm afraid you will find it difficult to read.

I wonder what the woman is talking about. The whole business is incredible. I am going to make a calculation of how many words have been flung from that leathern throat since we left Nice last night. It will keep me going for a little while longer. Now a crack typist will take down 200 words a minute. This woman is uttering at least 400 words a minute, and she hasn't stopped for more than 13 hours. Now there are 60 minutes in an hour, so she has been talking for 810 minutes. So that at 400 words a minute she has spoken 324,000 words.

But in order to gain something like a proper appreciation of what I've been through, and am still going through, you must appreciate the fact that the average French word has three syllables.

Thus this woman has enunciated no less than 972,000 distinct syllables, and you know how distinct the French syllable is, without stopping for sleep, food or drink, since she came aboard the train last night at Nice. And every single syllable has been

spoken in exactly the same key, tone and pitch. And she's still at it, reeling them off at the rate of 400 a minute, or above  $\frac{7}{8}$  a second. If I knew what she is talking about it might be bearable. If I knew, say, fifty words of French, I might pick out a word here and there, but I know so few. I must—by Jove! I think I've caught one. Yes! there it is again—sardines—sardines! She's talking about sardines. And—Yes! I've picked out two more. Un franc—sardines one franc. I'm beginning to recognise quite a lot of words now. Pommes-de-terre nat-ur-el, deux francs. If you will tap a table eight times rapidly, it will give you some idea of how it sounds.

I'm going to write down as many words as I can distinguish—it will eke out the time. She's just said, "One, two, three, four, five" in French, and I've just caught "Vin rouge, dix francs"—red wine, ten francs." "Jam-bon — Foie-Gras-de-la-Maison—Citron - om - el - ette - Pa - y - sanne - Cote - de - Pre-sale - le - vol - au - vent - Fin - an - ci - ere. . . ." I'm beginning to remember now. Why, she's been using the words, or words like them, all along! Good God! She's talking about food! She's been talking about food all the time! All these words—all about food! There must be over half a million by now—a half a million of words in fourteen hours! More than in Mrs. Beeton, more than six full-sized novels by H. G. Wells, more than the leaders in the *Times* every day for the last three years! All about food! I wonder how many words there are in the Bible. Just imagine, by the time we reach Paris she will have uttered as many words as there are in the Bible! All about food!

I'm getting a bit dizzy, I think. Just then I imagined that I was a hollow elm tree and that this dreadful woman was a woodpecker, a green woodpecker. I believe she is boring a hole in my skull. It's horrible. The people are still pressing against the glass windows of the passage-way, right up close. They seem to sway a little with the movement of the train, altogether to and fro, to and fro. Some of them are looking at her and some of them at me. She's talking at a frightful rate now, much quicker than before. I wish she'd alter the pitch.

I'm finding it most difficult to write, but I'm glad to write slowly, very slowly, as I've got to last out a long time yet. I'd give a year's royalties to get out of this; it is becoming unbearable. It is too much; millions of words; they all sound alike now, and they all seem to be hitting me, each one separately—tap, tap, tap, tap.

I'll write something about myself. It may bring me back to realities. My name is Josephus Gladdings. I am a famous playwright. I've been ill and went to the South of France to get well. I left yesterday afternoon and this woman got in at Nice and she's been talking, talking, talking ever since. I wonder, could I get out that door whilst the train is moving, on to the footboard. I've a jolly good mind to try and—no, I won't, no! I'm going to have a look at her, a good look at her. She's on my side of the carriage at the other end of the seat. She looks about forty or so, and seems to be decently dressed. Her hair is nice and tidy, though she's not slept a wink. She's got thin lips like a rat trap. I can only see her in profile. She's sitting up straight, talking to the poor old man in the corner. I can see one of her eyes; it bulges out like a great marble. It is a yellowish colour; it looks like a cornelian. How hard it looks! If you hit it with a hammer it would give off sparks. It's beastly. She doesn't seem to move her eyelashes, but stares without blinking at the poor old man.

I've made a horrible discovery—I wish now I had never looked at her. She hasn't got any eyelashes to blink! Something has happened to the poor old man in the corner. He's sagged on his seat. He's asleep, I think. She's still rattling away. The people outside

are pressing their faces close up against the glass window. I wonder—she's stopped, stopped talking! The silence is terrible; its suddenness is worse than the talking. I know she is looking at me, I know it. I can hear her dress move; she's getting up; she's moving to the seat opposite to me. She's there; I can see her brown skirt. Her boots are funny. She's looking at me, I know she is. She's going to talk to me. I won't look up. I'll keep on writing. No, I won't, I'll look straight at her. Thank God, the window is down. She's started to talk to me. I'll—

Colonel Bark's letter:

Hickman's Close,  
Bathbury, Cam.  
February 18th, 1923.

To the Editor,  
*Holloway's Saturday Gazette.*

DEAR SIR,

I wish to protest against the ridiculous farrago of unadulterated rubbish published in your current issue under the title of "A Human Document," by Theodore Thistlethorn. The story is presented in such a form as to lead your readers to believe that the facts set forth did actually happen. We are asked to believe that a certain Josephus Gladdings, a dramatist, returning to England by the 5.30 express from Monte Carlo on January 10th last, was so wrought upon by an interminable monologue that in desperation he threw himself from the train at or near Montargis.

Now, Sir, I am in a position to prove that no such event or any event resembling it took place. I happened to be a passenger upon that train, and saw Mr. Thistlethorn himself several times between Monte Carlo and Paris. I saw him listening with a grotesque smirk upon his face to an elderly French lady, who was perhaps somewhat loquacious even for a French-woman. When the story was published, I took the trouble to write to the P.L.M. Railway authorities in Paris, and I have received a reply stating that no accident of any kind happened to any of the passengers on the 5.30 from Monte Carlo. Further, no dramatist exists bearing the preposterous name of Josephus Gladdings, and that name does not even exist in Kelly's Directory, which I have searched through and through.

An incident which occurred on the arrival of the express at the Gare de Lyons throws a vivid light upon this sorry attempt at public deception. Mr. Thistlethorn had procured a large box of chocolates from one of the refreshment rooms, and I saw him hand the box of sweets to the elderly French lady with whom he had been talking in the train. I could not help overhearing what was said. They both spoke in French. The elderly lady, in accepting the gift, said, "I cannot understand, Monsieur, why you should give me so handsome a present," and Mr. Thistlethorn replied, "Madame, you have provided me with material for a story that I shall assuredly sell to a London editor for a hundred pounds."

A hundred pounds, indeed! Where in the world exists an editor who would give a hundred pence for such a tissue of exaggerated lies? ! !

Before I conclude, I should like to be fair to Mr. Thistlethorn in one particular. He happens to be right in saying that if a person were to talk without a moment's interruption for thirteen and a-half hours at the rate of four hundred words per minute, he would utter 324,000 words, and if the language in which he spoke averaged three syllables to a word, such a person would actually pronounce 972,000 distinct syllables. Both these figures are correct. I have worked them out.

I remain, Sir, yours,  
F. BARK (Col. retired).



## THE DRAMA

### A Farce and an Argument

By EDWARD SHANKS.

I AM bound to say that the precise meaning of the term "a Piccadilly Puritan" escapes me: nor do I follow the meaning of the authors of this play when they suggest that there is a whole class of persons thus to be described. Alice is simply what I should describe in my coarse way as a plumb fool. She allows a young man to speak to her in Burlington Arcade and then, perceiving that he is in love with her and being disposed to fall in love with him herself, resolves to put him to a severe test before she marries him. So she allows him to install her in a flat with a chaperon who is to teach her what Miss Daisy Ashford would call "Sersiety" ways, she having posed as a vulgar little girl who has been living with a drunken aunt. This not being enough, she contrives to get landed alone with him in a country inn late at night and produces a wedding-ring, adding pathetically that it was her mother's. She also induces him to kiss her, after which he wins the highest possible number of marks by going out into the snow, presumably with the intention of spending the night under a hedge. There are complications of this too simple plot. Mrs. Paynter, the chaperon provided by the imbecile Charles for the half-witted Alice, is a very bad woman indeed, and has an acquaintance, named Lord Batte, who is as bad as herself. She induces this amiable peer to pay to her the rent of the flat which she is already receiving from the feeble-minded Charles, and promises him the person of the idiotic Alice in return. In pursuance of this scheme she gives Batte the key; and it naturally follows that the bone-headed Charles finds him in the presence of the mentally deficient Alice at a time when he ought most emphatically to have been elsewhere. However all comes right in the end; and we leave this cretinous couple preparing to unite in the bonds of holy matrimony. One shivers at the thought of their probable offspring. I think the Eugenics Society ought to make a protest.

The previous testing of your future partner in matrimony is neither a new idea nor a bad one. But what Alice ascertained by her test of Charles, except that he had a hypertrophied sense of chivalry and an atrophied brain, I do not know. She can have learnt nothing useful. If she had spent that night with him at the inn, she would at least have found out whether he was talkative at breakfast and it would still not have been too late to draw back.

The upshot of it is that one feels decidedly sorry for Miss Dorothy Minto whose first venture in management this is. But then one generally does feel at least a little sorry for Miss Minto; and this is one of the secrets of her power. Like that celebrated movie-actor, Merton Gill, she "has got pathos." In this play she needs and uses it all. What the piece would have been like without her, I hesitate to think; but so long as she is on the stage one can forget it in watching her movements and her changes of expression, her little demurenesses and minxishness which are always so delightful. But she ought to have a play which would be some help to her instead of one which she has to drag, a deadweight, behind her. There were moments at the Ambassadors Theatre when she made me think of a man carrying a horse.

Mr. William Archer has collected in a rather bulky volume under the title *The Old Drama and the New* (Heinemann, 10s. 6d.) two courses of lectures delivered by him at King's College, London. They are indubitably the sort of lecture which ought to be delivered before "audiences mainly composed of teachers," for they do not give any encouragement to

preconceived and conventional notions. One of Mr. Archer's main contentions is that the dramatists of the Elizabethan age are greatly over-rated. This is a refreshing opinion and one rightly administered to teachers. I agree with Mr. Archer that his views are not generally held, that he is not knocking at an open door; but it is, I must confess, a little difficult to follow his views. He argues, if I understand him rightly, that, Shakespeare aside, our present dramatic period is vastly superior to the Elizabethan, which cannot show any masterpiece equal to Sir Arthur Pinero's *Letty*. And he has this curious passage, dealing with a passage in *Hindle Wakes*:

What Fanny does on hearing the terrible news is to bury her face in her arms and burst into a long passion of tears—the natural, the inevitable thing. But this is dependent on a natural scene, with the environment of real life. On the bare Elizabethan stage, people had to unpack their heart with words. They could not indulge in the long pauses, the silent action, so common and so effective on a stage on which an accurate imitation of life is possible. Do you remember a single passage, even in Shakespeare, in which a long paroxysm of silent weeping enters into the business of the scene—not only may be introduced by a modern actress, but is evidently intended by the poet? I cannot think of one. For instance, after the parting of Romeo and Juliet, what would be more natural, one may almost say inevitable, than that Juliet should throw herself down on her bed in tears? But it does not occur to Shakespeare. Probably there was no bed visible, the action passing behind the balustrade of the Upper Stage. There was nothing for Juliet to weep upon; and the gesture is an essential part of the effect. Shakespeare had to fall back upon words, and make her say:

Oh, Fortune, Fortune, all men call thee fickle.  
If thou art fickle, what dost thou with him  
That is renown'd for faith?

—and so on. It is very pretty; but it is a makeshift forced upon the poet by the limits of his scenic convention.

This opinion, I freely confess, makes me want to break into "a long paroxysm of silent weeping": there are indeed moments when one does not know how to unpack one's heart with words. What defeats me is Mr. Archer's absolute assumption that the "accurate imitation of life" is the highest thing to be expected from the stage. It seems to me this old realistic formula has long been exploded. The whole tendency of the present-day drama is opposed to it. If anything, modern writers seek to break away from the stark, drab dogma of the Ibsen period into extravagant stylisation and expressionistic representation. What Mr. Archer calls the "new" drama is really that of the past generation. One recognises Mr. Archer's services to the drama when it was in a state of stagnation, but it would be foolish to consider him as a safe guide in the new drama, even though he makes some concessions:

Does it follow that I would wish to see blank-verse entirely excluded from the modern drama? Not at all. Blank-verse—or even rhyme—is the predestined medium for purely fantastic plays, plays of Fairyland or of Cloud-Cuckoo-Land. I am no hide-bound realist, no aesthetic Gradgrind who would deprecate or depreciate such plays. I believe there is ample room for them if only our poets, instead of improvising on the Elizabethan models, would study the conditions of the modern theatre, and acquire some technical skill. And not only for fantastic, but for a certain order of historical plays, I regard blank-verse as an appropriate medium.

This is very generous of Mr. Archer; but it ignores the fact that the realism of the 'nineties has been carefully examined during the past few years and has been found excellent but not all adequate. Does Mr. Archer really suppose that the expression of emotion in words is only a *pis aller* for the dramatist? If so, what the devil does he make of Racine, whose characters do not habitually break into long paroxysms of silent weeping? (As for the question whether Juliet would inevitably have done anything of the sort, I cannot undertake it here.) And does he really think that Jonson's:

Lollia Paulina,

When she came in like starlight, hid with jewels.

is less dramatic than Sir Arthur Pinero's: "I am a single man; you ain't, bear in mind"?

## NEW BOOKS

### Novels

- RESTORATION. By Ethel Sidgwick. Sidgwick and Jackson. 7s. 6d.  
 FANTASTICA. By Robert Nichols. Chatto and Windus. 7s. 6d.  
 PAUL REDWAY. By G. A. Paley. Grant Richards. 7s. 6d.  
 THE MURDER ON THE LINKS. By Agatha Christie. Bodley Head. 7s. 6d.  
 MR. FORTUNE'S PRACTICE. By H. C. Bailey. Methuen. 6s.  
 OLD EBBIE. By F. A. M. Webster. Chapman and Hall. 7s. 6d.  
 THE GIRL BY THE ROADSIDE. By Varick Vanardy. Jarrolds. 7s. 6d.

AND there really may be people like that? But I cannot get it out of my head that they are not people but pieces of furniture; cool, separate, highly polished. Miss Sidgwick, who has no illusions, even in the matter of her own work, says cards. But they are too solid and too various for cards, and her own attitude is that of the connoisseur. This, she says, is a strong useful article, but it belongs to a bad period; practically valueless. That is a quaint piece, cottage work, highly characteristic. Well, you know now how the folk of the eighteenth century, uproarious, hard-drinking, foul-mouthed as they were, liked to dress up in delicate fabrics and make the little encounters of polite society as ceremonious as an opera. That is what Miss Sidgwick tries to do with modernity. The eighteenth century deceives no one but the writers of bad costume plays. Miss Sidgwick deceives no one. She knows that she is wrong, and apologises, partly by calling *Restoration* a fairy tale and partly by her hints at the existence of great reservoirs of passionate emotion just outside the area which her furniture's smooth surfaces reflect. Indeed, a number of exciting things lie outside that area. But it is improbable that a revolution led by Cadburys, or Achurches as Miss Sidgwick calls them, is one of them, or that the proprietors of expensive and fashionable preparatory schools will do more than teach little boys Cricket and Not-To-Speak-With-Your-Mouth-Full. The blatant inadequacy of her work is not her fault. Her style is witty, delicate, and allusive, and her sentiments comprise all that is desirable. Not talents are lacking her, but a drawing-room, and the drawing-room spirit is dead. To pretend that it is not, to pretend that an especial class of intelligent and unoccupied women have a place to which men, after scraping and combing, may bring grave topics to be turned to delicate gossip, is beyond the powers of even Miss Sidgwick. The world has lost its watertight compartments. Miss Sidgwick shows that this is rather regrettable, and her *Restoration* may temporarily take the place of one.

If nothing else made Mr. Nichols's tales important it would be his sense of modernity. It is true that in two out of the three the meagreness and conventionality of the theme are unpleasantly emphasised by the profusion of the irrelevant imagery. But the third, *Golgotha and Co.*, is also the latest, and here he has laid hold, though more urgently than tenaciously, of many highly exciting ideas. That industrial civilisation is at present dully organised for mean ends; that the Kingdom of Heaven is to be founded not upon apathetic piety but brotherly love; that the soul of man must and will revolt against the formulas of science and religion which it excels as the text of Shakespeare excels the commentary of an etymologist; these theses his legend discusses and propounds. His enthusiasm and eloquence, the richness of his thought and the

vastness of his imagery exhort patience for a reading which his treatment ensures will be unaccompanied by pleasure. At least a hundred objections could be brought against the treatment; the characters are symbols, the nightmare vision of the future is disturbed by internal contradictions, the satire is blunt, the conversations diffuse. . . . But one objection is more serious than the sum of the ninety-nine remaining. *Golgotha and Co.* is incoherent. On no line of thought or plane of imagination does Mr. Nichols dwell sufficiently for his tale to become what he styles it, a legend, to persist in the memory of the reader, and even the crisis, the second crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, is blurred, if not made ridiculous, by being placed in the background of events amid the preparations for a monster film. *Golgotha and Co.* has missed its effect. It is to be hoped that its author will more austere meditate or more carefully fashion a successor, in which his ideas may be forcibly presented. It is also to be hoped too that he will abandon the prefaces, epilogues, and what-not inviting you with annoying frequency and clamour to consider his private life, war record, studies, discomforts, age, and position in contemporary literature.

If cats wrote books they would write like Mr. Paley. He has their detachment, so nearly complete that even his malice is general and undistributed; and his characters are lovely, lazy, and in their painful interludes of sexual excitement abominable. One may admire his candour, and enjoy the unusual attitude of a writer who takes no fact and all the emotions for granted, while one esteems his *Paul Redway* as rather curious than interesting. Nothing is so infectious as indifference, and at no stage of the degeneration in mind and morals of Paul and Ethel can you feel their careers to matter or their characters to be relevant to the human race. A similar theme was treated by Mr. Scott Fitzgerald in *The Beautiful and the Damned*. There, as here, a young couple started together in the enjoyment of a comfortable income and many friends, and mainly for want of any other amusement frittered away their lives until overwhelmed by sin, ignominy, and madness. Mr. Fitzgerald, for all his intellectual frivolity, drew the curves of their descent and sketched cause together with effect; he also succeeded in endowing his boy and girl with charm enough to make their ends pathetic. Paul and Ethel, however, change only when mad or drunk; what want unsatisfied set them wondering is not hinted; and from the description of them have been omitted all those details for which we like or dislike our fellows.

In *The Murder on the Links* Miss Christie has repeated the success of *The Mysterious Affair at Styles*. The plot is as complicated as any of Gaboriau's, though the treatment is quite in the manner of a modern novelist. Miss Christie shows the master's affection for old family history, for behind the murder here presented is another no less extraordinary in which a generation ago some of the present characters were concerned. With this tale may be set *Mr. Fortune's Practice*, in which Mr. Bailey shows his invention to be as ingenious and his humour as delightful as ever. All the cases ranging from a country-house joke which becomes rather serious to the adventures of a homicidal maniac are unusual. This, too, is detective fiction of the first order. *Old Ebbie* tends overmuch to repeat the methods of his predecessors, and his investigations are more sensational than surprising. In two or three of the tales, moreover, Captain Webster has underestimated the medical knowledge of his readers, which, touching leonine faces and the scent of almonds, is likely to be extensive. *The Girl by the Roadside* contains more sentiment and adventure than mystery. The sentiment is over-sweet. The adventure is variegated and amusing.

H. C. HARWOOD.

## "Sympathetic Criticism"

PRE-RAPHAELITE AND OTHER POETS. Lectures by Lafcadio Hearn. Heinemann. 8s. 6d.

IT will be a great misfortune if these essays, skilfully selected and edited by Mr. John Erskine, Professor of English in Columbia University, are not read and discussed as a new work. Their quality is so excellent, their juxtaposition so apt, that, thanks to its editor, the book gives us a new idea of Hearn the critic, an idea that has hitherto perhaps been obscured by the less judicious presentation of his gifts in the form of a miscellaneous collection. Every book of critical essays gains by relation to a common theme, and the nine offered to us here present us with a study of some of the great Victorians, within and without the Pre-Raphaelite group, written by a man of their own age indeed, but yet with a combination of sympathy and critical detachment that makes him, in the three chief essays, as good a guide as could be found.

Hearn was a wayward soul, of mixed blood, of divided sympathies, of experimental life, nurtured in Roman Catholicism, passing to scepticism, ending as a Buddhist. He was born in the Ionian Islands; he spent his boyhood in England, his youth in the States. He then went to Japan, married a Japanese wife, and became a Japanese by naturalisation. All this took him outside the influence of Victorian England, but, with his critical endowment and natural sympathy for the best literature of his time, enabled him to be one of its best interpreters. Our younger critics do not display this learning or these advantages in regard either to the Victorians or to their own contemporaries. Our elder critics likewise fail; if they escape the anti-Victorian reaction, they miss also a due detachment. Hearn's critical faculty was allowed by circumstances a juster play, and his criticisms of Rossetti, Browning, and Swinburne must impress even the Georgians.

The first essay, on Rossetti, contains some of Hearn's gifts at their best. Rossetti is a poet the surface of whose work has a cloud of beauty so luminous but so dense that it tempts us to pierce no deeper. His lilt is naturally slow; his rhythms, by preference, broken; his language deliberately avoiding immediate clarity. We also know that he was expert at *bout-rimés*, and when the involved words, heavy with poetic incense, communicate their languor to the reader, as they soon do if he is read at any length, the temptation is great to suppose that sound has displaced sense, and that the obscurity is artificial. Now Hearn, whose intellect was lucid, never flags. He will read Rossetti's longest poem, verse by verse, and line by line, and again and again convincingly remind us that we must not mistake our own mental fatigue for haziness in the matter. Hearn's prose paraphrase of, for instance, *The Honeysuckle* is masterly, a real contribution to criticism, and the humbleness of its method must not disguise from us either the difficulty of the task or the value of its accomplishment. Can anyone deny that Rossetti's peculiar demand on criticism, though not the only one, of course, is a lucid disintegration of the intellectual substance of his mystic poetry, and a lucid statement of his dramatic power in his narrative poems? A detailed analysis of *The House of Life* would reveal Rossetti's mind as nothing else could do. Hearn had no space for that. But conceive the task for yourself, and the patience and subtlety required will become evident and alarming. Almost all critics have been too lazy to attempt work like this, and have, like Rossetti's readers, contented themselves with recording but the surface qualities of his art, an art that loved to disguise and festoon its intellectual subtlety. This subtlety was not always there. Fog sometimes replaces incense in the sonnets. But we

should not lazily enjoy or languidly condemn until we, too, have undergone that discipline of brain-work in reading them which was both the faith and practice of their author. There is space for only one example of Hearn's critical insight, but it is decisive. On these two familiar lines in *The Blessed Damsel*:

While every leaf that His plumes touch  
Saith His Name audibly,

Hearn says:

In what language? Probably in Latin, and the sound of the Latin name would be like the sound of the motion of leaves stirred by a wind: *Sanctus Spiritus*.

When criticism contains a suggestion of that quality, it becomes itself an art, and has thrown a rainbow-bridge across the gulf between imagination and analysis that the Muse herself can cross delightedly. Surely, however, Hearn errs in referring all the refrains in *Sister Helen* to her brother.

The essay on Browning is no less good. For its analysis and commentary on *The Ring and the Book* alone it is admirable. The prose description and summary is worthy of the poetry; can there be higher praise? Hearn had an eye for essentials. He saw that Browning's deepest thought was not that shadow of Christian sympathies which overlay it, that shadow which bound him to his time, but that his intellectual contribution resided in the philosophy to be distilled from some of his most objective studies in dramatic psychology, for example, from *The Statue and the Bust*. A profound study of Browning could discern from among his vast array of portrait studies those ideas which were merely dramatic, and those which illumine far more than the characters that give them utterance. Hearn on *Sordello*, with unlimited space, would have been as helpful to criticism as Hearn upon *The House of Life*. He immediately makes the right comparison: with Shakespeare. But while he says that Browning's "range of character study" displays a "Shakespearean power," he curiously omits to add that Browning had hardly less command of language. If, as has been said, Shakespeare possessed the largest vocabulary of any English writer, and Milton next, with only one-third of Shakespeare's number of words, then, probably, Browning has surpassed Milton, and comes second with at least half. At all events the fecundity of Browning's language is no less amazing than his range of character. This is the only essential point that Hearn has omitted. Of the fine essay on Swinburne, and the rest, we have no space to speak. They are, besides, unquestionably inferior.

Suffice it to say that criticism of this thoroughness deserves to be appreciated in its own terms and with its own detail. Its virtues are such that the faults become insignificant beside them. Each subject, for the time being, engages the whole of Hearn's mind, and the lesson he teaches is that fine criticism means neither range of knowledge, nor width of sympathy, but profound meditation on any text that has touched the heart. That is the true meaning of "sympathetic criticism."

## Caruso Expurgated

ENRICO CARUSO. By Pierre V. R. Key. Hurst and Blackett. 21s.

AUTHORISED biographies are like expurgated editions, irritating, makeshift, and inadequate. Mr. Key's book is no more a life of Caruso than *THE OUTLOOK* is a sectarian tract. It does little more than trace the great tenor's career on the operatic stage. Of his personal life, his views, and so forth, only enough is told to show us what a magnificent subject Caruso would make for an

unauthorised biography. In some ways he was like the proverbial beggar on horseback, and all Mr. Key's conscientious film of praise cannot obscure this aspect of his life. Where his singing was concerned it is a fact that Caruso was a hard-working, sensitive artist, one who deserved all the laurels that he gained. "What do you think of your successes?" he was once asked by a French journalist:

What are my successes? I have none (replied Caruso). I happen to be a very well-known tenor, a kind of trade-mark to be exploited by an impresario. I cannot consider my own desires. I dare not even think of catching a cold. I have to take care of that delicate watch-mechanism which is my throat, and of the rest of my body, in order that not a grain of sand may get into the intricate wheels and interfere with their workings.

The journalists have made interviewing into one of the fine arts. Mr. Key might have toned this down with advantage. It is utterly unconvincing. Here, then, with all the great capitals of the civilised world for a panoramic background, was the subject for a great book, and Caruso's biographer has missed a phenomenal opportunity.

Mr. Key is very sparing of quotable anecdotes, though his subject must have been a mine of such things. Most of the best Caruso stories refer to his extreme professional vanity, his love of adulation. It is fair to say that Caruso wished, before all things, to deserve the adulation with which he was everywhere received. Mr. Key does not tell the story of the famous occasion when Caruso, from behind the scenes, sang the Serenade in *I Pagliacci* in place of the second tenor, who had been suddenly taken ill. The audience did not seem to recognise what had happened, though, in the previous act, it had recalled Caruso to the stage, as Canio, half a dozen times after his great aria. The serenade passed without any ovations, and Caruso left the theatre broken-hearted when the opera was over. It would have been more characteristic of him to have left before that, as he had often done in protest against some offence, real or imaginary. The incident serves to point out the extraordinary facility of his voice. In the early stages of his singing career he had been unable to sing high A-flat without cracking; in his middle life his voice was a pure lyric tenor, and, at his maturity, he could sing with equal ease lyric or dramatic parts. After the florid aria it must have been difficult to recognise the same voice in the flowing, delicate serenade of Harlequin. Mr. Key's best anecdote tells us how Caruso, escaping from San Francisco after the great earthquake of 1906, ran out of his hotel . . . .

He had a towel about his neck and carried a framed portrait of Theodore Roosevelt, which had been given him by the then president of the United States. . . . We exchanged some words, and he announced his intention of returning to pack his trunks. I sought to dissuade him without success. He left me to return to the hotel where, among other adventures, he engaged in a fight with a Chinaman. . . . That night Caruso could not be induced to occupy a room in the house; he slept under a tree in the yard (which was out of the danger zone).

Mr. Key touches too lightly and briefly upon Caruso's early, student days, and we do not hear enough of what is known about the methods by which he learned to produce his voice. These seem to have been an elaboration of his own. He learned the main principles of voice production from Vergine, and afterwards used or rejected them according to their effect, never hesitating to ignore the orthodox ideas where he suspected them. He was either unwilling or unable to explain his method, and the only pupil he ever had was a complete failure. Caruso's independence was not entirely the result of his continuous success. His first appearance in Naples (his native town) found him resolute against employing any of the usual devices by which a singer was approved by the all-powerful *sicofanti* of the Opera there. Accordingly they did

everything in their power to "squeel" him, as Mr. Key puts it.

Those were the last ten appearances the tenor ever made in the city of his birth. . . . His Des Grieux in *Manon* won over the last of his dissenters. It was sweet revenge, but for Caruso there was to be one still sweeter. "Daspuro," he said, "I will never again come to Naples to sing; it will be only to eat a plate of spaghetti."

And he never did sing there again, though, with his notable gluttony, he ate in Naples foods not to be found on the same menu with spaghetti. Mr. Key might also have referred to the popular music-hall song that was to be heard in America a few weeks after the tenor's death, a song with the refrain:

They needed a song-bird in heaven,  
So God took Caruso away.

Let the Neapolitans set that down in their archives.

## The Lango

THE LANGO. By J. H. Driberg. Fisher Unwin. 63s.

THE Lango are a handsome race numbering, roughly, a quarter of a million, and dwell in the Uganda Protectorate. Mr. Driberg spent some seven years in their midst as a member of the Uganda Civil Service. He pays a fine tribute to them in his prefatory note which is borne out in the more detailed study forming the body of the book:

Brave, loyal, courteous, and hospitable, they have readily accorded me a confidence greater than my deserving, and they will always remain more than a pleasant memory now that the exigencies of service have separated us.

Mr. Driberg is modest about his own work. He calls it merely "the contribution of an amateur," but

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Reprinted from the *EVENING STANDARD*, April 30th, 1923.

## "THERE IS A HOUSE WITH STAIRS"

"A T Charing Cross hard by the way where we thou know'st do sell our hay there is a house with stairs." Thus Sir John Suckling's famous "Ballad upon a Wedding." No longer do we sell our hay in the Haymarket, but there is a shop with a few steps in front of it at the top of the thoroughfare, and if this wasn't Suckling's "house with stairs" fancy is likely to get no nearer to it.

We are reminded of the "house with stairs" because we have lately been visiting a little house in Marylebone which, not to put too fine a point upon it, is nearly all stairs. It has a considerable history behind it, this little house. Built by George III. as a country lodge for his children, or, as some will have it, a shooting-box for himself, it takes us back to the time when Marylebone was a rural neighbourhood, with "green fields and babbling brooks" to its name, and noted for its publick Gardens—and a great resort of fashion and highwaymen.

### WHERE DICK TURPIN KISSED THE BEAUTY.

In 1764 a Mr. Low, the then proprietor of the Gardens, offered a reward of ten guineas for the apprehension of any highwayman found on the road to his demesne, and it was in the Mary le Bon Gardens that Dick Turpin kissed Mrs. Fountayne, a celebrated beauty of her day, "before the company and all the quality."

Here Handel was wont to take an easy constitutional while the band discoursed his music "under the direction of Dr. Arne," and here a Miss Trusler made and dispensed the fruit tarts with which she "hoped to give equal satisfaction as with the rich cakes and almond cheese cakes." In an announcement of hers, dated May 6th, 1759, Miss Trusler says: "The fruit will always be fresh gathered, having great quantities in the garden; and none but loaf sugar used and the finest Epping butter. Tarts of a twelvepenny size will be made every day from one to three o'clock."

### AN ADMIRABLE INSTITUTION.

King George III.'s little house with stairs was not erected until five or six years later; but while Marylebone Gardens have been swept away by "the encroaching streets," the house still remains, and you will find it nearly opposite the Hotel Great Central and almost cheek by jowl with the Samaritan Hospital for Women as you go along the Marylebone Road from Chapel Street.

A double-fronted dun-coloured structure of two storeys, with a portico before the door and rounded windows which give it the appearance of a house out of a child's "box of bricks," it is entirely dwarfed by the big Samaritan Hospital aforementioned, and compared with the palatial Great Central (a hospital for officers during the war) it looks like a matchbox. Yet across the front of it is painted in bold characters "Western Ophthalmic Hospital," with the date of the hospital's foundation, namely, 1856.

For sixty-six years this little house with stairs has been an open house, open, that is to say, "daily" for the treatment of poor persons afflicted with diseases of the eye. Tiny, cooped up, and cramped as it is, 12,000 people threatened with blindness come to its door annually, all of them receiving treatment and many of them undergoing delicate and difficult operations for which they have to be received into the wards. Thirty thousand attendances are made in the out-patients' department every year, and as there are only 16 beds in the wards, there is always a long waiting list of urgent

cases. Although the institution is absolutely without a penny of endowment, or a penny of support from the Government, it has been carried on as a "free" hospital from the outset, and is to-day out of debt.

On the whole, you will say, an admirable institution and fortunate in its freedom from indebtedness. And you will be right. The Committee of Management could maintain their work quite efficiently under present conditions if it were not for one drawback.

### WHEN THE CEILINGS CRACKED.

And that drawback may be said to have been brought about by what the poet calls "the unimaginable touch of time." It may be all very well for the highest modern skill in ophthalmic surgery to operate in a "theatre" six or seven feet square, with a slanting floor of nobby old timber. It may be all very well for eight male in-patients to be crowded together in a "ward" no bigger than the average suburban bedroom, and for eight female patients to be just as lavishly accommodated.

And it may be all very well for the life of the Matron and nurses to consist of one long climbing up and down stairs—narrow, crooked, twisty and poky little stairs at that.

Of these inconveniences and the lack of up-to-date bathroom, sanitary, kitchen, and general domestic accommodation it is not in the nature of people engaged in works of philanthropy to complain. But when, through "the unimaginable touch of time" above cited, the ceilings of your little old house of mercy begin to fall on your devoted heads, the roof threatens to follow suit, and the fabric as a whole proclaims itself to be past renovation, the moment might seem to have arrived for either "shutting down" or rebuilding one's premises.

### "FAIRIES" TO THE RESCUE.

These "irremediable dilapidations" are exactly what have been lately taking place in the fabric of the Western Ophthalmic Hospital. A few weeks back the ceiling of the operating theatre (hundredweights of ancient plaster) descended from its rafters with a rattle. One may leave it to the fancy to imagine what would have happened if an operation had been in progress. Some of the resident staff have also had narrow escapes through similar crumbling.

And as it is neither safe nor pleasant for patients or staff to be housed in a structure which has attained to such a condition of ramshackleness, the Committee have made bold to appeal to the public for £30,000 for rebuilding purposes.

The Organising Secretary, Mr. H. W. Burleigh, believes in fairies. He says there are fairies in the world who "could by the wave of a pen at once make rebuilding possible." If this should meet the eye of one of them, the rest might be easy. And, in any case, thirty thousand fairies waving pens to the tune of only a pound apiece would accomplish all that is required.

In view of the long record of sustained service rendered by this hospital, it is unthinkable that those responsible for its management should have to go long a-begging for such a comparatively insignificant sum.

"To a blind man," says the proverb, "even a churl will lend his eyes." For a work concerned with the prevention of blindness nobody can be considered too poor to contribute his mite.

Please send donation to "The Outlook" Rebuilding Fund, Western Ophthalmic Hospital, Marylebone Road, N.W. 1.

C.

we feel Sir Robert T. Coryndon has given it a juster estimate when, in the Foreword, he writes:

It is probable that the Colonial Civil Service as a whole does not quite realise how much it owes to the work of individual officers upon subjects more or less outside their ordinary duties. I class this book as one of these useful efforts. . . .

Mr. Driberg lived and worked among the Lango . . . it was not strictly part of his duty to spend long hours in collecting, collating, and recording the substance of tradition, history, and custom with which this volume is crowded. . . . It is clear that the writing of this book was a labour of love. . . .

I can commend the book to hundreds of young district officers in countries other than Uganda; for, apart from its own direct interest, it opens attractive avenues on inquiry and study, and it may be regarded as a beacon to young administrative officers whose honour and duty, and often, I am glad to know, whose pleasure it is to win the confidence and strong respect of a whole small nation of primitive people.

It is a thorough and exhaustive account which Mr. Driberg has written. It must have entailed endless labour and patience to gather the material and then to organise it as clearly and logically as he has done. There is no overlapping. It is curious how fascinating an intimate study of the life and habits of a primitive people always is even to the layman who is not a professional anthropologist or ethnologist. Is it because there is a strain of the primitive left in all of us, and that subconsciously we, who boast so much of our high estate, have a sort of racial memory of our lowly origin?

Mr. Driberg's style is simple and direct, quite without the ponderous scientific jargon which overloads more technical works and makes them so tedious to read. He has a sense of humour, but none of the facetiousness which so often vitiates the narrative of casual recorders of primitive life. Mr. Driberg has common-sense and is realistic. One feels he has a genuine respect for his Langos, and he seeks to understand them and their customs. He seems one of the newer kind of Colonial Administrator—a man who has a sense of responsibility towards the inferior races, and who recognises that, perhaps, the worst one could do for them would be to attempt to force so-called civilised conditions upon them without due regard of their environment and traditions.

We wish there were space to discuss more fully the interesting light Mr. Driberg throws on the history, tribal customs, mode of life, social organisation, and the religion and magic of the Langos. Their morality is high; marriage is the result of individual choice on the part of both parties; children are well looked after. There is no prostitution. While slavery exists, it is in a mild form, and the slaves themselves have an opportunity of becoming incorporated with the tribe on certain conditions. Mr. Driberg has collected a number of fables which he has printed in both Lango and English. There are also a grammar of the language and vocabularies, which should be of great value to students of African tongues. The photographs and line-cuts add greatly to the attractiveness of the book.

There is something particularly appropriate in the publication of this volume at the present time, when such violent efforts are being made to expose the African natives to the influx of an inferior alien civilisation. We refer, of course, to the low-caste Indians who are threatening to overrun all of Eastern and Southern Africa unless strong measures are taken. Anyone who reads Mr. Driberg's account of the Langos with their many splendid qualities and then compares them with the low-caste Indian can readily see why the white men of Africa are on the native's side. While there is little disease among the Langos now, one can easily imagine the dangers of death and pestilence once the insanitary Indian trader finds his way among them and establishes his hundred foci of infection.

## THE BIBLE AND THE BLIND

The National Institute for the Blind issues Bible portions, in Braille type for the use of the blind generally, and is the only publisher of Bibles in Moon, a type specially suited for the aged blind.

The editions of both these, however, are very bulky, and there is a great need for a new and portable edition of the Bible in Braille. This is now being prepared by the National Institute, but to cover the cost of preparing the plates a sum of **£1,100 is required.** Of this £150 has already been received, and an appeal is now made for the remainder.

Will every reader of this journal, therefore, send a subscription to this special fund, so that the publication of the small edition may not be postponed?

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## CORRESPONDENCE

[Whilst we open our columns impartially to correspondence we take no responsibility for the opinions expressed.]

## MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND PRE-WAR RUSSIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

Sir,—Although I have seen many allusions to Mr. Lloyd George's recent speech on Russia I have not seen any protest against his remarkable declaration, as given in the *Times*, that "Russia before the Revolution was more or less in the condition of France in the days of Louis XIV." As the reign of Louis XIV. was a long one, and as France passed through great vicissitudes during that period, Mr. Lloyd George would have made his meaning clearer if he had pointed out the portion of the reign to which he was referring.

But, generally speaking, it may be said that there was so little resemblance between Russia before the Revolution and the France of Louis XIV. that the comparison is worthless. It is generally admitted by many who know her well that Russia is at bottom Asiatic, that the true Europe is Europe without the Russian plain. Now, the differences between Europe and Asia are profound and fundamental. Europe is a young man; Asia is a mixture of an old man and a child; Europe has acted for centuries, often, no doubt, unconsciously, as if there were such a thing as progress; Asia rejected the idea of progress. Europe is practical, Asia is contemplative; Europe has produced a great material civilisation, Asia has produced all the important religions of the world. Is it likely then, upon the face of it, that Russia and France have passed through similar phases of development? No doubt, since Petrograd was founded, Russia has been open to Western ideas, but she has assimilated them with difficulty, when she has assimilated them at all; her intelligentsia which has sympathised with Western civilisation has never been understood by the peasants, who are eighty per cent. of the population of Russia, and were separated from the intelligentsia by an unbridged chasm. In the France of Louis XIV. where was there any schism comparable to this?

Again, in the reign of Louis XIV., France reposed upon a basis that was partly feudal, partly Roman. Russia has never been either Roman or feudal. France passed through a struggle of terrific violence, when Protestantism tried to get a footing within her borders; Russia has never been Protestant at all. France won for herself undying glory by illustrating and developing the principles of the Renaissance that she had learnt in Italy; the Renaissance has had no influence worth speaking of in Russia. How then can a country that was the outcome of feudalism, the Renaissance, and the millenary discipline of Rome, be supposed to bear any resemblance to a country that has never been moulded by any of these influences? If resemblances do appear, it may be taken for granted that they are more apparent than real, superficial, deceptive, or fugitive.

—Yours, &c.,

T. PERCY ARMSTRONG.

Authors' Club, Whitehall.  
May 23rd, 1923.

## GAS SUICIDES.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

Sir,—Anyone who examines the latest available suicide returns made by the Registrar-General cannot, it seems to me, ignore the claim advanced for the new process of making gas, discovered by Mr. C. B. Tully, of Newark-on-Trent. By reducing the amount of carbon monoxide in household gas from round about 12 per cent. to less than half of 1 per cent., it is declared that Mr. Tully has automatically prevented death from gas inhaled either accidentally or by intending suicides.

Examination of the Registrar-General's returns for 1921 discloses the fact that, both for London and for England and Wales generally, suicide by asphyxia stands fifth in the list of the eight classified methods of self-destruction. In their order the figures run—Drowning, 887; hanging, 722; cutting or piercing, 691; poison, 314; asphyxia, 270; firearms, 253; crushing, 170; jumping from high places, 99. For London the order is almost exactly the same, save that, here, "jumping from high places" and "cutting or piercing" are respectively rather more prevalent than "crushing" and "hanging." Already, where possible, the community very properly seeks to discourage its members from taking their own lives. To-day, for example, difficulties are put in the way of the indiscriminate use of poison or of firearms. As the new process of making gas is said to be not only safer but cheaper than the old, there is evidently at last a strong case for the prohibition of this deadly element in our household gas supply.—Yours, &c.,

JAS. SEXTON.

House of Commons,  
May 16th, 1923.

## FINANCE

BY URBANUS.

THOUGH free from sensation of any kind, the last week in the City has at least escaped that dead-aliveness which is so often a characteristic of holiday seasons. Mr. Baldwin's acceptance of the Premiership was hailed with satisfaction, first because the City is overwhelmingly and dutifully Conservative, secondly because Mr. Baldwin is a business man, and thirdly because his handling of the Budget (not a particularly popular one) showed him to be a man who knows his own mind and is not to be easily deflected from the course he has chosen. However, it is not to be supposed that the displacement of one Conservative Prime Minister by another is a matter likely to have any pronounced effect upon the Stock markets. It has merely taken the edge off the revival of business which I reported to be in progress a week ago. Curiously enough, that revival was helped not hindered by the £20 million India Loan. The public only took half the loan, leaving the underwriters to shoulder the remaining £10 millions. That looked a favourable opportunity for the "shrewd investor" to pick up cheap stock after allotment, and the result showed that a good many of the shrewd investor had refrained from applying with that very object in view. Unfortunately for him, he overreached himself on this occasion, for the price of the stock, after opening at a nominal discount, immediately established itself at a premium of about  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. Over-subtlety on the part of big financial concerns which wanted a trustee stock yielding 5 per cent., a little co-operation among the large underwriters, and an object lesson in finance which even many an old stager declared not to be wasted upon him.

The flood of inflation in Germany seems at last to be breaking down the last remnants of the flimsy barriers with which an ineffective Government has sought to control it. The mark has left well behind it its January record of 225,000 to the £, and has registered 275,000. But worse than that—the Reichsbank has been losing more gold. Thus the return for the week ended May 15th, the last available, shows that the gold reserve fell in that week by 72 million gold marks, or £3,600,000 to just over £42,000,000, so that in the last few weeks the bank has lost about one-sixth of its jealously guarded reserve. No doubt the metal is being used—no longer, of course, to peg the exchange, but to ease and steady its fall—so as to reduce the economic dislocation which must follow it to a minimum. Considering how obstinately the German Government and the Reichsbank have hitherto clung to their last solid—or liquid—asset, one suspects that they must now be riding for a fall. One last Note—judging by the delay, as difficult to formulate as all German diplomatic instruments—and then let the devil do his worst!

Ever since the end of the war American financiers have been envisaging the time when the United States would be called upon to restore to the rest of the world some portion of the enormous horde of gold which has been attracted to her by the irresistible magnet of her economic pre-eminence. As one of them has said, America regards herself as holding this gold "in trust for the rest of the world," and expects sooner or later to return it to those who have entrusted it to her. In view of the semi-bankruptcy of Europe and the millstone of American debts hanging round her neck, that expectation has appeared almost visionary to observers on this side. Yet one cannot but admit that the latest American foreign trade returns contain the first definite piece of evidence,

that has yet come to light, that the economic relations between Europe and America may so develop as to lead to a backflow of the stream of gold which has set its course so persistently from West to East. The feature of these returns is that they show for the month of March the first adverse trade balance, the first excess of imports over exports, recorded by the United States since August, 1914. Imports in March, valued at \$402 millions, exceeded exports, at \$341 millions, by no less than \$60 millions, showing that America's growing standard of life is now forcing her to draw upon her "invisible exports" to balance her current international trade account. Considering how substantial those invisible exports must be, the fact that the United States has now an adverse balance of visible trade, of course, by no means implies that her gold will be called into action in the early future. The level of the New York-London exchange, 5 per cent. below par, shows that. But the time may come when the invisible exports will be insufficient to bridge the widening gap between consumption and production.


The announcement of a dividend of 5 per cent. for the year on the ordinary stock of the Antofagasta and Bolivia Railway was in accordance with recent anticipations, and places it very little behind most of the other South American lines. It will perhaps be remembered that the three big Buenos Ayres companies, the Great Southern, the Western, and the Pacific, declared interim dividends of 3 per cent. actual, while the Central Argentine distributed 2½ per cent. actual. These compared with 4 per cent. for the whole of the previous year in the case of three lines and with no dividend in the case of B.A. and Pacific ordinary. Further, San Paulo made an even better showing with an interim dividend of 5 per cent. actual, or double the previous figure. The traffic returns for these lines showed in the first six months of the current period some increases in receipts which were remarkable, figures between £30,000 and £40,000 for the weekly increase over the corresponding period of the previous year being by no means uncommon for the large lines, with proportionate rises for the smaller ones. Then, however, came a period when the increases grew smaller, and it was feared in some quarters that the anticipations based on earlier figures would not be realised. A recovery has now set in, and in these circumstances it is probable that the estimates of total distributions ranging between 6 and 7 per cent. will prove to be fairly accurate; while in the case of San Paulo it is possible, in view of the recently sanctioned increase in rates, that the final distribution will be at least as good as the interim.

British Cellulose is doing so well that the present plant cannot cope with the demand for "Celanese Silk," and in order to make increased production possible a further £400,000 is necessary. To secure this it is issuing that amount of 7 per cent. first mortgage debentures which the Holdings Company has agreed to purchase. For this purpose the Holdings Company will issue £250,000 7 per cent. participating debenture stock which, as an additional inducement, will carry the right to subscribe for one new ordinary share of 1s. in the Holdings Company for every £4 of debenture stock allotted. The balance of £150,000 will be provided in cash out of the Holdings Company's funds.

The British Cellulose Company is taking the opportunity afforded by the new issue of converting its existing 8 per cent. debentures into 7 per cent. and adjusting the return by increasing the price of redemption to 110 per cent. and increasing the royalty paid from 2½ to 3. The Holdings Company seems to get the plums, and a drop of 9d. in Cellulose ordinary followed the announcement.

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## PERSONAL.

MR. BENNY FITTED wishes to thank all friends for kind expressions of sympathy, but he is now quite cured of his rheumatism by drinking "Woodbine Blend" Dry Cyder.—Write WHITEWAYS, Whimble, Devon, for particulars.

## APPEAL.

S. T. MARY, EDMONTON.—Please help this very poor parish of 8,000 people by sending cast-off clothing, boots, or "rummage" of any kind to the MISSION SISTERS, St. Mary's Vicarage, Edmonton, N.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

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# The Outlook



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SIXPENCE

Saturday, June 2, 1923

**Light in Darkness**

**Personalities and Politics**

**The Kenya Indians' Case**

**A House of the Dead** By E. T. RAYMOND

**Atheism in Moscow** By HUNTLY CARTER

**The Pepper-Box Rampant**  
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# The Outlook

Vol. LI. No. 1322

SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1923

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## URBIS ET ORBIS

WHAT truth there may be in M. Poincaré's hints that German resistance in the Ruhr is about to collapse I do not know. The French War Lord has secured an enormous majority in the Chamber for the credits to pay for an expedition that France was told, in advance, would produce streams of gold flowing westwards across the Rhine. The prediction was exact, except that the streams flow East. Should the Germans cease their opposition to French measures, of course the entire French Press, with the Rothermere organs tagging at their heels, will loudly proclaim the victory of force. The facts will be, assuming this to happen, that France has obtained at great expense a fraction of what Herr Bergmann would have offered, had he been permitted, in Paris last January. Moreover, by the Ruhr operation, whether or not Germany formally "surrenders," France will have crippled for a long time the power of Germany to pay anything worth mentioning. This, unfortunately, is clearly what a powerful section of the French Government desires. It would be unfair, however, not to note an increasing nervousness in Paris that seems to indicate a desire for a settlement. That settlement, if it comes, will be less advantageous to France than the one possible last January, as last January's agreement, owing to the French wrecking policy, would have been about half as productive of gain for the Allies as the one Herr Simons offered here in May, 1921. However, we shall all be so grateful for a French surrender to common sense, if and when it comes, that we can afford to smile indulgently at the shouts of victory that will go up from Paris, and from Carmelite House.

AN interesting light on the reasons for Belgium's new reparations offer is thrown by a conversation I have had with a diplomat who interviewed the Belgian Prime Minister, M. Theunis, in Brussels this week. M. Theunis based the action of his Government upon three considerations. First, he deplored the breach between England and France that has led to the dispatch to Germany of rival Notes, expressed the predominant interest of Belgium in Allied unity, and hinted that Belgium cannot afford

to be compelled to side with France against England, any more than with England against France. Secondly, the Premier discussed the present chaos in Germany, and declared it was a vital interest of Belgium to prevent her great neighbour from committing financial suicide. This, M. Theunis said, would be ruinous for Belgium. Thirdly, and most important, M. Theunis admitted the heavy "indirect" losses which have fallen upon Belgium as a result of the occupation of the Ruhr. Loss of trade, the crippling of many industries, with consequent unemployment and unrest, he ascribed in the main to the Franco-Belgian invasion. It would seem to follow from this, my informant declared, though M. Theunis did not pursue his reflections to their logical conclusion, that it is imperative for Belgium to liquidate the Ruhr adventure as soon as possible. I am sure all the sentiments I have ventured to summarise above will command the enthusiastic assent of the majority of the British Government, and of the City.

NEXT week, it seems, we shall see the new German offer. It will clearly be more sensible than Berlin's cool proposal to pay 30 milliards of gold marks provided other people lent them to her. That German industry has agreed to provide half a milliard per annum on account of reparations is encouraging news. A draft of Herr Bergmann's suggested scheme has already been unofficially exhibited to two or three high personages in London. The trouble is that no one can predict what, after the other Germans get through shooting holes in Bergmann's plan, the final document will look like. I am told that Herr Stinnes and other influential industrialists, while willing to accept liability for increasing annuities—one milliard gold marks for five years, one and a-half for the next five years, and two and two and a-half for the succeeding five-year periods—object with bitterness to paying three milliards yearly during a final five years. They want to wind the matter up in twenty years, when they will have paid a total of 35 milliards, instead of Bergmann's 50—the same 30 milliards proposed in the last German Note plus five milliards in interest. I lack space to discuss financial details, but consider the incredible folly of this haggling! Even the Germans, I should have thought, would be able to

realise that no assessment of definite sums to be paid twenty-five years hence can be considered definitive to-day. They cannot be such idiots as to imperil a settlement now, with their country tumbling about their ears, because of solicitude for hypothetical burdens to be borne by the next generation in the nineteen-forties. If Herr Stinnes is seriously opposing the Bergmann scheme on such grounds as this, one must doubt whether he is really more anxious for a liquidation of this unhappy business than is M. Poincaré himself.

SOME of these Independent Liberals remind one of old-time smellers-out of witches, or heresy hunters of the Middle Ages. Only 10 per cent. of the delegates to the National Liberal Federation meeting at Buxton favoured Liberal reunion, and Sir Alfred Mond's courageous attempt to unite the party met with enthusiastic and all but unanimous rejection. Sir Donald Maclean, unanimously elected President of the Federation, struck the keynote of this mediaeval gathering when he said by-gones might be treated as by-gones if there were "repentance." Repentance, in heaven's name, for what? Nowhere has Mr. Lloyd George been more severely criticised than in these columns. But do these Wee Frees of pure faith forget that at the end of 1916 we were losing the war, and that Mr. Lloyd George took the reins from the nerveless hands of the already failing Prime Minister just in time to prevent disaster, if not collapse? If the Wee Frees forget this, the country does not. Is Mr. Lloyd George to wear sackcloth and ashes because he considered winning the war more important than permitting Mr. Asquith to slumber in Downing Street? This sort of pestilential nonsense must be swept aside by the voice of the Liberal rank and file through the country, and Liberals to whom faction means more than party, party more than country, must be deposed from positions where they are able to prevent Liberal reunion at the expense of all prospects of Liberal victory at a general election that can scarcely be postponed a year.

"MAX," whether guilty or not of bad taste in caricaturing the Royal Family, has committed what is worse than a crime, a blunder. He succeeded in offending a great many people and giving the *Daily Herald* a chance to hold him up in a leading article, poor sentimental loyalist that he is, as heading the "reaction" against the adulation and "Press-agenting" of Royalty in the "millionaire" Press, a process of reaction which, the Labour organ not obscurely indicates, may ultimately mean the end of the "King business." No wonder Max hastily begged the proprietors of the Leicester Galleries to withdraw all those pictures in which fun was poked at the Queen, the Prince, and King Edward. "The end of Max Beerbohm" was the headline in the *Graphic*, other newspapers swelled the chorus of condemnation, while the *Times* and the *Morning Post* were grieved and shocked. It would be interesting to find the origins of the conception, now almost universally accepted, that it is bad taste and bad form to caricature Royalty. It is based upon sound instincts of fair play—Royalty is exempt from attack, because Royalty alone is for-

bidden to hit back. This tradition, however, dates from only the middle of last century. Before that time, merciless cartoons and satires appeared with impunity ridiculing the Georges, Victoria, and Prince Albert. I believe, subject to correction, that this stopped with Queen Victoria's widowhood, a tragic event that made popular ridicule of her Majesty for the time impossible, and that when the Prince Consort's death was no longer recent the new code of good manners had secured such a hold that the country has never shaken it off.

THERE are murmurs of irritation here because the brass hats of Ellis Island refuse to admit British first-class passengers, under some immigration law that seems borrowed from the period of Tutankhamen, when Egypt set up posts on all the frontiers and appointed officials to cudgel soundly foreigners seeking admission and to send them back into the desert. Such are the methods of America, who vaunts herself a "forward-looking" country. But before we wax too indignant, let us consider our treatment of that supreme tragic *artiste*, Eleonora Duse. Signora Duse, as is well known, is in poor health. The visit to our shores of the most distinguished exponent of her art now living was signalled by Babylonish activity on the part of the Ministry of Labour and the Passport Service. It was bad enough for the Ministry of Labour to require Signora Duse to obtain a permit for her entrance, after true-born Britishers had signed statements that Signora Duse's "work" could not be performed instead by any subject of his Majesty. It was worse for the Passport minions to compel the nation's guest, in a high sea, to stand in an uncomfortable queue for half an hour in order to undergo the inquisition of an official whose questions showed he had never heard of the lady he was examining. The most insignificant scion of the most unimportant Royal house in Europe would have been bowed and scraped into England. If this incident results in the abolition of the Ministry of Labour's permit system, and of passport examinations, it may be productive of good; but it stamps us, no less than the Americans, as Stone Age barbarians.

THERE is a piquant possibility that Mr. Henry Ford may be the next American President. The powerful Hearst Press supports him. He has more money than any other man in the world, and 40,000 Ford car agents in every nook and corner of the United States are pushing his candidacy. The *New York World* last week remarked: "There is unquestionably a great deal of Henry Ford Presidential sentiment throughout the South and Middle West. Mr. Ford is economically unsound in all the different ways that appeal to the American farmer who is in debt, and he is undoubtedly efficient in all the different ways in which the average man thinks that Government could be managed. Back of the Ford political myth is a notion that somehow he would manage, if he were President, to run the Government in the same way that he runs the Ford factory, with quantity production, big wages for everybody, large profits to be invested in further production, and steadily reduced prices to the consumer." Here is a Ford story to illustrate the hold he has

on the idealistic American. Mr. Ford proposed a branch motor-car factory in Troy, New York, a town given up to making billions of linen collars for the necks of nearly all Americans. The collar manufacturers put obstacles in Mr. Ford's way, fearing his high wages would upset the labour market. Mr. Ford took the train to Troy, appeared before the Executive Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and announced that he was prepared to manufacture collars in Troy at one-third the standard price. He explained to his dismayed enemies the details of production costs and the organisation proposed, and said his collar workers would receive Ford wages, a minimum of one guinea daily. Mr. Ford *may* have been bluffing, but the collar manufacturers took no risks, and begged him to make all the motors he liked in Troy.

THE Indemnity Bill has had a rough passage. Mr. Bridgeman among the lawyers rather reminded me of Daniel in the lions' den—confident that it would be all right in the end, but a little anxious lest the performance should be too protracted. The Liberals were more effective critics than Labour, as usual, and the honours of the debate rested with them. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at his best sounded like stage thunder; at his worst, like a drum with a hole in it. The other members of his team simply sputtered wrath, and we have heard those incoherences so often that they no longer impress one even as novelties. But the Liberal attack struck me as sound and well maintained—the liberty of the subject is emphatically the Liberal gospel, and I agree wholeheartedly with the reluctant Tory who remarked to me that “these fellows may be useful sooner than we expect.” It was his thesis that the next Government will be a Labour Government, which will try to make England a Procrustes's bed on which the individual withers, and State Socialism is stretched to more and more. When we are all trimmed to the same pattern, in his opinion, there will be such a revulsion of feeling that we shall all with one accord cry aloud for our old liberties, and demand an end to this tyranny.

NOTICE that there is to be a conference in America of the “big guns” in the advertising world, and that the British delegates have already sailed to attend it. If it is not too late, I should like to suggest one addition to the agenda. There is a Bill before the British Parliament—the Lords have already passed it—giving local authorities power to prohibit the setting up of ugly advertisements along our roads and railway lines. Now surely this is a matter for the advertising fraternity to inquire into themselves. Reform from inside is always the most efficacious method and the most satisfactory to everyone concerned. If advertisers do not enjoy the same reputation as the leaders of other industries, if there is a tendency to sneer at them and their methods, it is because in their eagerness to “put it across” the public, they have too often forgotten that the public has its finer feelings. Ugly hoardings may sometimes induce people to buy things, but they also create a permanent resentment, even among the actual buyers, against those who disfigure the countryside by setting them up.

NEMO.

## The Week in Parliament

HAMMER and tongs is now the order of the day. Any tenderness for the Government which may have been manifested by the Opposition before the recess, as a mark of regret for the failing health of Mr. Bonar Law, has now completely disappeared. Mr. Lloyd George has been seen of nights in mysterious fastnesses of the Welsh hills forging a new sword and repairing his armour, the glare of his furnace shining on a countenance renewed in determination and valour. Mr. Asquith at this moment is launching a great Liberal agricultural programme at Buxton. And as for Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in the very speech in which he welcomed the new Prime Minister to the House, he undertook on behalf of the Opposition to make things so hot for the new Government that the very infernal regions would prove as bracing as Skegness by comparison—a promise which so far has been religiously kept.

This is the testing time of new Ministers. Lord Robert Cecil has had first innings, and, to vary the metaphor, has secured a somewhat mixed bag. Playing the part of Hercules to the Prime Minister's King Eurystheus of Mycene, he was set to his first labour in the task of piloting through the House the Indemnity Bill in respect of the Irish deportations. On the Second Reading on Monday things on the whole went smoothly. He summed up the debate in a masterly fashion, scoring heavily off his interrupters, and making an excellent impression by his readiness on behalf of the Government to introduce a compensation clause into the Bill in committee stage. On the following day, however, it ought to have been apparent that the programme of the Government, namely, to carry the Bill through all its remaining stages at one sitting, was impossible. There were a number of substantial amendments down, and in addition there was the Government's own amendment for compensation. It would have been quite easy to have made a bargain with the Opposition that, in exchange for getting the two non-contentious Bills (Agricultural Credits and Workmen's Compensation) set down for Wednesday without discussion, only the Committee stage of the Irish Bill should be taken on Tuesday, and the remaining stages, when the House had taken a few hours to reflect upon the scope of the alterations, on the Wednesday afternoon. This, however, the Minister was not authorised to do, and accordingly the Opposition girded up its loins for a rough house.

The proceedings began tamely enough. Two amendments were disposed of by 6.15 p.m., the second (Mr. Lansbury's) being clean bowled first ball by the Attorney-General, who sat down beaming at his achievement. Then came an innocent-looking proposal solicitously shepherded to the wicket by Captain Berkeley, who asked that the words “in good faith” should be added to the Bill, in case it should prove that some spy or informer who had acted in bad faith received the protection only intended for those who had made a bona fide mistake. The words are to be found in all modern Indemnity Bills, and the Government could have accepted them in this case without in any way damaging their indemnity. But the Attorney-General, elated by his success with Mr. Lansbury, suavely attempted to put aside this amendment in the same way. The result was a battle of giants. First Mr. Lloyd George, then Mr. Asquith, and then Sir John Simon, to say nothing of the light cruiser squadron, Mr. Pringle, Mr. Harney, and Mr. Frank Gray—bombaraded the Treasury Bench with arguments to which the luckless Lord Privy Seal had the felicity of replying without much assistance from his own benches. In the heat of the fray he contrived by a hasty remark to outrage the feelings of Mr. Asquith, who answered with becoming dignity. The effect of this on Sir John Simon can only be compared with the reputed effect of monkey-gland upon the lethargic and aged. He sprang to his feet. He hurled the noble Lord's words back at him; and then, by way of showing what Simon can do when he is roused, proceeded to expose the Bill as such a masterpiece of ineptitude in draftsmanship that once again the Government had to promise amendment. Even at this hour it was not too late to make a bargain with the Opposition to be satisfied with the Committee stage that night, in which case the sitting would have come to an end at a reasonable hour. But a motion to report progress, made by the leader of the Opposition just after midnight, was refused by the Minister, whereupon the Liberals and Labour proceeded to carry on the fray until 6.15 a.m., at which time the Government was glad to accept the Committee stage and defer the Report and Third Reading till Friday.

If hon. members cannot exercise a certain discretion in regard to the ten-minute rule nothing can save it from being swept away. Mr. Remer's use of it on Tuesday as a screen for making a personal attack on Mr. Sexton was unjustifiable. He deservedly incurred a severe castigation from Mr. Neil McLean for his misrepresentations, but that did not restore the wasted time to the House of Commons.

TOBY JUNIOR, M.P.

## Light in Darkness

FOR the first time since the Treaty of Versailles laid upon the fabric of the economic world shackles that have prevented the recovery of trade, we discern in the convolutions of European politics some reason for hope that these fetters may soon be stricken off. Our optimism may well at any moment be shattered, the cup of prosperity that the statesmen of Europe can raise to the lips of a suffering humanity may very probably be dashed to the ground untasted. But in such darkness as this a single ray of light is rightly hailed as an omen.

Let us summarise the tragic plight, at the present time, of a world only too anxious to get back to work and to repair the ravages of war, if only its politicians would give it a chance. France, her armies strangling the economic heart of Germany, is fast reducing that great industrial people to hopeless chaos. Her statesmen, as blind as were the Germans who sent Lenin and Trotsky into Russia, fail to realise that as the repercussions from a ruined Russia rocked Germany, so a ruined, Communist Germany must unsettle France. These things are being done in the name of the London Agreement of 1921, which, to our disgrace and heavy loss, Mr. Lloyd George accepted. By this agreement Germany is bound to pay reparations of £6,600 millions. Under the weight of this burden German finance, as was inevitable, collapsed. Meanwhile, both France and Italy have steadily protested, and still protest, their inability, if they cannot obtain these irrecoverable sums from Germany, to meet their obligations to us. The present Prime Minister, notwithstanding this situation, saw fit to fund our debt to the United States of a thousand millions, and so saddle this and the next generation of Englishmen with a war indemnity which we have no assurance that we can ever recover from enemies or friends. This paper protested, at the time, almost alone in the British Press, against Mr. Baldwin's action. The British are a sentimental people, and the appeal to their emotions evoked by the spectacle of John Bull nobly meeting his obligations, while everybody else begged off, proved too strong even for the City to withstand. The Washington Agreement was ratified, and protest after Mr. Baldwin's "victory" would have been useless. So things remain in a fearful tangle. Germany made of late a ludicrous proposal to pay a sizeable indemnity of 30 milliard gold marks, provided other nations, meaning England and America, would lend her all the money. France, in reply, has intensified her wrecking policy, and it has become more and more probable that as things are going nothing further can be obtained from Germany, that Italy and France will in consequence default, and that we and our children shall have to go on paying the single indemnity resulting from the war to our creditors across the Atlantic. Meanwhile, the very

existence of these colossal debts keeps in turmoil the exchanges, prevents the necessary repairs to the machinery of international credit, and so destroys all possibility that we, who depend upon foreign markets for our very life, can ever regain our lost position as the great merchantmen of the world.

Little Belgium saved civilisation in 1914 by her heroism. She has been of late, through no fault of her own, dragged bound to the chariot wheels of inexorable French Imperialism. Now at last, spurred on by the necessity for her own independence of breaking the bonds that bind her, Belgium has brought forward a plan for settling the reparations question that represents that ray of light in the darkness to which we referred above. Neither people nor Parliament in this country will submit to any scheme by which Germany and Allies alike evade their obligations to us, while we have to pay America. Whether this is economic wisdom or not, it is political fact. Mr. Bonar Law's January plan, rejected with contumely by M. Poincaré in Paris, offered to cancel 71 per cent. of the Allied debts to this country provided enough was paid to meet the British annual contribution to America. We do not think the British Government, nor the City, who have long since written off any real hope of sizeable contributions from our late enemies, particularly mind where the money comes from to pay America, so long as we get it. In other words, Mr. McKenna and Mr. Baldwin, if their training and their knowledge of world finance count for anything, would wash out all our share in German reparations provided France and Italy paid us annually the interest and sinking fund which goes to New York; or, alternatively, they would cancel the Allied debts entirely if Germany, upon good security, covenanted to meet our debt to America. The security, in the latter case, would have to be unimpeachable.

The essence of the Belgian plan is that all attempts to secure great sums in the immediate future from Germany are to be given up. Germany is to be asked instead to pay annuities, and it is clear that Belgian statesmen have in mind that these annuities should be sufficient, but no more than sufficient, to provide for the service of the internal reparations loans raised by France, Belgium, and Italy, and for the service of the British debt to the United States. With this scheme we certainly have no quarrel. It would be accepted here with enthusiasm. There are signs that in Paris, too, sane financial opinion realises the impossibility of raising large international loans for Germany, and therefore would not be unwilling to adopt the Belgian scheme. Should this view prevail in Paris, Belgian insistence provides an opportunity for the "wild men" to save their faces. They can now allege that as they cannot afford to lose Belgium as an Ally, they are acting under Belgian pressure. Italy, we believe, would prove joyfully amenable.

There remains, of course, a formidable X in the equation. Can, or will, Germany agree? Germany, to make a settlement on these lines possible, must raise about £75 millions yearly in cash, and pay a similar amount in kind. If we are content with some 30 millions of this to pay the American debt, leaving 120 millions to our Allies, we shall be accepting a considerable reduction in the agreed reparation percentages. The German industrials, bankers, and agricultural magnates, are reported on good authority to have offered to contribute 500 million gold marks yearly to reparations. And Germany, it is understood, will propose during the next five years to pay annually one milliard gold marks, or £50 millions. This sum, if Berlin forecasts are correct, is to be raised, during succeeding periods of five years, to 1½, 2, 2½, and 3 milliards yearly, thus concluding the whole German obligation in thirty years. Between this figure, and one which would enable the Allies to pay the service of their internal loans contracted on account of reparations, and us to pay America, there is no insurmountable difference.

Another unknown quantity is the attitude of America. Should that country demand from France and Italy payment in full, as she has obtained it from us, the greater would be the burden placed upon Germany by these nations, a burden that the German people probably could not bear. We cannot believe, however, that America will not in the end be generous, if she sees that Germany and the Allies have come to terms, and that the Allies are agreed among themselves, the whole settlement hinging upon the single condition that the United States foregoes the greater part of her claims against France and Italy. Europe now presents, to American eyes, a spectacle of conflicting greeds, hatreds, and insanities that makes America naturally resent any suggestion that she show compunction to such unpleasant, not to say impossible, creditors. It is not too much to hope, and after all our whole thesis is a hope, that a profound change in American opinion may follow the tremendous fact of an inter-European agreement.

### Personalities'

THE new Government is very like the old. It has a new head, but the same tail. Now with politicians, as with other of the lower invertebrates, the powerful tail is often more important than the limited head, and we have yet to see whether the new Prime Minister will contrive to assert his superiority over his colleagues and followers. In one respect, at least, he has obeyed their commands. There was a moment when he thought of Mr. Chamberlain as a member of the Cabinet. But the earth suddenly trembled, the volcano on which Mr. Baldwin sits showed signs of sudden activity, and that idea was strangled almost before it was born. The mild and inoffen-

sive Sir L. Worthington-Evans sits on the Treasury Bench, but his leader from Birmingham is left wandering disconsolately in the wilderness.

We cannot pretend that the loss is a serious one. Everybody agrees that something ought to be done for Mr. Chamberlain. But everybody agrees that the ideal job is at the other end of the earth. One statesman wants to banish him to Simla, another suggests that Washington is an earthly paradise, but nobody seems to want him in Downing Street. He is offered any number of leading parts on tour, but the cast of the great play at Westminster is filled. It is an unhappy predicament for an honest and upright man of limited abilities.

But if Mr. Baldwin has bowed to the earthquake, he has taken a pretty revenge on the volcano in the selection of Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. McKenna. Lord Robert is the enigma of current politics. So far as he hates Mr. Lloyd George, the Tories love him; and so far as he loves the League of Nations, they detest him. There have been moments when the Liberals have considered him a possible recruit, and moments when the Conservatives have believed that the most austere product of Hatfield House was a possible deserter. Both hope and fear have been beside the mark. Lord Robert is a genuine Tory, but all the worship which his brother Hugh bestows on Canterbury the elder man gives to Geneva. But there is in fact a reasonable conviction behind the fanaticism of which Lord Balfour once accused him. He has a passion for unity and order—which alone is sufficient guarantee of his essential Toryism. "The disruption of the Welsh Church nearly broke his heart, because it was a breach in Anglican unity. But the peril of European disruption has touched him more nearly still, and it is because he sees the one hope of averting that disaster that he supports the League of Nations. The League in his view may not be quite the League of President Wilson, but it is something very different from the political dustbin of the Coalition, and we take it that he would not have entered the Government unless he had received pledges to make it operative.

Mr. McKenna is a more curious case—a piece of Radical granite cropping up in the old red sandstone of Toryism. Ten years ago every Conservative hated him like the devil, but a common enmity to Mr. Lloyd George has revealed points of union between the incompatibles. If Mr. McKenna's only distinction were his cursing of Criccieth, there would not be much to be said for him, but he has other qualities which make him inevitable. He rather enjoys unpopularity, which is a valuable asset in a Chancellor of the Exchequer; and he not only believes in economy, but insists upon it. He is the Geddes axe in person.

His position will not be an easy one. The Liberals regard him as a deserter; but his acceptance of office is hardly to be so construed. It means that he is conscious that he can serve his country at the Treasury with success, and incidentally that the Liberal feud offers him no chance of doing so in the fold that he would naturally have chosen; and it also means that he is willing to exchange a large and secure income for a relatively small and certainly insecure one. Now we cannot call a man a traitor who follows that particular path.



The real troubles of Mr. McKenna, and those of the Prime Minister, will come, however, from the intransigent Tories. Somebody once said that Whiggery was a disease that only attacked elderly Liberals; like diabetes and cancer, it is practically unknown before forty. We doubt if there is a similar age-limit to Die-Hardism, but obviously this distressing and occasionally devastating complaint plays equal havoc in the Tory ranks. The symptoms, however, are entirely different. The onset of Whiggery betrays itself as a kind of sleepy sickness, a *politicus lethargicus*, which paralyses the will to action. In the Tory victim the position is reversed. The incipient Whig thinks so much that he becomes incapable of action. The Die-Hard, on the other hand, acts so violently that he becomes incapable of thought.

This type of politician is a victim to his own narrow conception of orthodoxy. Twelve years ago he got rid of Mr. Balfour—who came back smiling. There was a time when he objected to Mr. Bonar Law—who saved himself by putting on the Carson Ulster. Even Lord Curzon was once suspect—but Lord Curzon continues. Only the smaller fish get caught in that particular net, and Mr. Chamberlain, we fear, is the solitary victim of the extremists of his own party. They have taken Lord Robert Cecil as a small boy takes a seidlitz powder—attracted by the sizzle, but a little doubtful of the effects. Mr. McKenna, we admit, is a more serious proposition; but the more furiously the Liberals rage at his defection, the more palatable he will become to the Conservatives. There is always something attractive about poaching a neighbour's windfalls; the apple may be slightly sour, but the fact that it is stolen takes the edge off the teeth.

On the whole, then, we think the Baldwin Government is rather stronger than the Bonar Law Government. But two of the main elements of the strength have no connection whatever with its merits or demerits. The Liberal vendetta deprives the intelligent part of the Opposition of effectual attack; and the Labour boorishness makes plain men feel that the only possible change would be one for the worse. While those factors remain, the Government is likely to continue.

### The Indian Case

THE climate of Kenya Colony, the Indian delegation has officially hinted to the Colonial Secretary, may be held responsible for the bitterness of the disputes between the white and the Indian settlers. We may pay this characteristically Oriental remark the tribute of a smile, and pass on to examine the case which the Indians, after weeks of conference and intrigue, have at last put forward. Neither the Indian nor the European settlers should have the control of native affairs, and the Imperial Government ought to keep in its own hands the legislative power in East Africa until the native is able to rule his own country. That is the first suggestion. The Indian delegation, however, is good enough to recognise the difficulty in withdrawing from English settlers the rights solemnly conferred upon them by recent British Governments, and so suggests what is

claimed as the principle of Cecil Rhodes, "the franchise for every civilised man," irrespective of race. "It is prayed that the same rights of franchise may be granted to Indians as are enjoyed by Europeans." No new restrictions should be imposed on Indian immigration, the delegation claims, and such immigration should be encouraged for the due and rapid development of the country. The contention that the Highlands should be thrown open to Indian settlers is definitely avowed, and a request follows for "the abrogation of the Governor's power of veto of land transfers from members of one race to those of another." Racial segregation is condemned, and the statement put forward that "the Indian community has never objected to necessary sanitary measures." The colour bar, it is urged, should no longer stand in the way of merited promotion on the railway and in technical Government posts, and "the essence of the whole case presented is that his Majesty's Government is asked to carry out the resolution of the 1921 Imperial Conference by assigning to British Indians in Kenya a status not inferior to that of any other of his Majesty's subjects, and to repeal all racial legislation which has been enacted in the past to the detriment of Indian interests."

With this Imperial Conference resolution, upon which the Indians formally rest their case, we have already dealt. It is, in effect, a pious sentiment, voted for by the representative of Great Britain, where there are no Indians, and the representatives of Australia and Canada, where effective immigration laws already prevent Indian invasion. General Smuts, on behalf of South Africa, the only white member of the Conference to whose country the resolution had practical meaning, refused his assent. Kenya comes within the "sphere of influence" of the Union of South Africa. Technicalities aside, as we have pointed out, the Union cannot and will not permit elsewhere in Africa a political status of equality to be assigned a non-white race. General Smuts, as a result of the Kenya Indian agitation, already has to deal with the claim of hundreds of thousands of non-white residents, who are not blacks, for equal rights—a demand which, if granted, must cause the Union to expire in fire and blood. General Smuts has made South Africa's attitude as clear as is possible without using direct threats to the Mother Country. We wonder how our Liberal journalistic colleagues who support the Indian case feel about General Smuts. They know that of all living statesmen he is one of the most Liberal, open-minded and fair, as he proved himself at the Peace Conference.

But setting aside the fact that this country will scarcely countenance a new South African war to deprive the ten thousand white men in Kenya of their supremacy, we may fairly claim that, considered solely on its merits, the Indian case is so weak that further delay in reaching a settlement seems inexcusable. The Indian suggestion that the rights conferred upon the white settlers be withdrawn is insolent, because it is a demand that the British Government repudiate the most sacred pledges. We printed on May 5th "Kenya's Charter of Liberty," Lord Milner's dispatch of May 21st, 1920. In that dispatch, which the ten thousand white men accepted and upon which they take their stand, though it by no means met their

full claims, Lord Milner definitely promised that the Highlands should be reserved for white settlers, and that the principle of segregation would be enforced—the necessity for which, if the introduction of Oriental diseases among the white and native population is to be averted, Professor Simpson has urgently, and with all the weight of his expert knowledge of these problems, expounded in our columns. Lord Milner decided in favour of the election of two Indian members of the Legislative Council “on a special franchise.” This was a denial of the Indian claim, now again brought forward, for a “uniform qualification and a common electoral rôle.” The latter can mean nothing else than that 22,000 Indians will out-vote and therefore dominate 10,000 white men.

That a non-white race should presume to dictate to the Imperial Government concerning the relations between that Government and a colony settled and governed by white emigrants from these islands, is a new and unheard of fact in Imperial history. Any concessions to such a claim would merely lay up trouble for the future, not only in Kenya but in India itself. Kenya, the “last white man’s country,” must remain under white control. The ten thousand have the word of the British Government for this, and that should be enough. If it is not enough, let the Government consider the attitude of the Union of South Africa. If they still remain unconvinced, let them remember that our dominion in East Africa, in the hands of a few thousand men of our race, is based upon the respect, born of past deeds in the field, felt by millions of brave black warriors for the white man. Once the blacks believed that the white overlordship was being exchanged for a brown, the unwarlike non-caste Indians of Kenya would curse with their last breath, while their throats were being cut, the agitators who led them to assert dominion which they lacked courage, moral fibre, combative prowess, and racial tradition to enable them to put into force.

## A House of the Dead

By E. T. RAYMOND.

**T**WELVE years ago the House of Lords—or rather those who used the House of Lords, and wanted to make it a sharper weapon—played for a very high stake.

If the gamble had succeeded nothing short of armed revolution could have prevented the Peers becoming the most powerful element in the British polity. For there can be no such thing as equality between an indissoluble Chamber and one which is liable to dissolution. Make the former not inferior, and it will infallibly, and in a very short time, achieve a decisive superiority. Had Mr. Asquith failed in 1911, the House of Lords would now be well on its way to practical omnipotence. With its loss of effective power the status of the House of Commons would have been automatically reduced. A seat in that House would have become of less consequence to a private member, and to a Minister it would, in many cases, have presented the aspect of a positive disadvantage.

A Peerage would have become the desire, instead of the nightmare, of statesmen in their prime. Everything would have tended to convert the Upper House into the seat of authority and the source of legislative initiative, while the representative Chamber would

have slowly but surely shrunk to a mere debating body, chiefly useful as a training-ground for young ability.

But at a roulette table, where the possibilities are so great, loss means not inconvenience but simple ruin; and the Peers who were encouraged to “damn the consequences” have been learning piecemeal ever since how disastrous the damned consequences are. The King’s passing over of Lord Curzon carries the dismal process of enlightenment a long step forward. It has been laid down, as clearly as if heralds had shouted it from the steps of St. Paul’s Cathedral, that henceforth no Peer, however able, experienced, industrious, and virtuous, can hope to control a British Cabinet. And this, of course, means that the heirs of Peers in the House of Commons—an always numerous and a frequently talented body—must in future live in constant peril of political extinction, or something very near to it. At any moment the death of a relative may summon them, in a political sense, to their own last long home. It is as cruel as *suttee*.

For the withholding of the Premiership is only a symbol of much wider things. The same considerations which made Lord Curzon impossible as Prime Minister will operate to exclude from the House of Lords the more important Cabinet Ministers. A Peer will no doubt still be considered desirable at the Foreign Office, and not objectionable, in quiet times, at the War Office, the Admiralty, or the Ministry of Agriculture. But wherever there is a probability of stress and strain the claims of the House of Commons will be preferred.

This sterilisation of the House of Lords must soon become intolerable to itself, and already there is a renewal of all the old suggestions for giving the Peers the best of both worlds. Some are proposing, as Lord Rosebery did forty years ago, that a Peer, if he likes, may declare himself politically a Commoner. Others are suggesting that Ministers shall have, as in some Continental States, the right of sitting and speaking in both Houses.

Both are excellent suggestions, which would have been adopted long ago but for one reason—the people would not stand them. The first plan means that a Peer is to have all the advantages of being Lord Thomas, Lord Richard, or Lord Henry, and also all the advantages of being plain Tom, Dick, or Harry. The second plan means that Governments will be able to avoid by-elections and keep in the position of masters of the public men whom the public may detest and distrust. Ask the first working-man you meet what he thinks of either proposition, and he will signify his opinion in the usual manner. He will call it cheek. You will be fortunate if he does not say exactly what sort of cheek it is.

The plain fact, though with the usual English shrinking from logical conclusions it is not faced, is that the House of Lords is a dying institution. It is not dying of disease, for which a cure might be found. It is rather in the position of the great lizards of old time, which vanished because of a change of conditions, climatic or otherwise, to which they were unable to adapt themselves. The advance of Labour is the political analogue of the cold wave which destroyed the Jurassic dinosaurs. So long as the country was politically divisible as Conservative and Liberal it was possible to admit a certain representative character in the House of Lords. Its moral strength, it is true, was ebbing all through the nineteenth century, and sank rapidly after the Home Rule split had so greatly added to the disparity of the two Parties in the House. But until now the argument could still be advanced that the Peers did in some sort represent the community in its more sober moods. There were not many Liberal Peers, and their Liberalism was not very pronounced. But still there were

Liberal Peers. There are no Labour Peers, and Labour opinion, in its mildest form, is to seek in the Upper Chamber.

This was adduced, in the semi-official explanation, as an all-sufficient reason for the preference of Mr. Baldwin's claims over Lord Curzon's. The public was given to understand that it was not a question of a mere balance of advantage on the side of the Commoner. Any Commoner, it would seem, is to be preferred to any Peer, because there is no Opposition in the House of Lords, and to have the chief spokesman of the Government in this House would be a monstrous absurdity. But it does not seem to have been realised what this argument implies. If it be a striking absurdity to have the chief spokesman of the Government in the House of Lords, it is an absurdity only less in degree to have any other spokesman there. The argument is a practical admission that the House of Lords does not represent the people as a whole, since an important section of the people, so important that it has sent the second largest group to the House of Commons, has no single member in the Upper Chamber. But if the House of Lords does not represent all the people, what section of the people does it represent? Not the lower middle class; very few Peers can be clerks or small shop-keepers. Not at all adequately the middle and upper middle class; the few professional men in the Upper House are there less because they are masters of their craft than because they have money as well as distinction.

There seems to be no escape from the dilemma. Either the House of Lords represents something which is just as well represented without a single Labour Peer, or it represents only a very small class of very rich men. It is either an impartial guardian of every interest, or it is a mere Soviet of the wealthy. But the argument that it is no fit place for the Prime Minister because he has no Labour Peers to meet clearly abandons the first claim. It acknowledges by implication that since Labour is not directly represented, Labour is not represented at all.

But this is not all. If by any chance Labour should be in a position to form a Government, what would that Government do for its spokesmen in the House of Lords? It could hardly entrust its interests to any good-natured Peers who offered their services, to see fair play, as barristers at Quarter Sessions undertake the defence of a poor prisoner who would otherwise be without legal assistance. But if the Labour Government failed to acquiesce in some such arrangement, two courses alone would be open to it. It must either treat the House of Lords as practically non-existent, sending its Bills to the Lord Chancellor, and signifying its disagreement with Lords' amendments, through the registered post, or it must create Peers of its own.

But the Labour Party could not, without stultifying itself, create Labour Peers or consent to their creation. It does not possess the great advantage of the Liberals in this respect—of being able to mingle very wild profession with very tame practice. The manufacture of Labour Peers, except in masses for some revolutionary purpose, would simply kill Labour with ridicule. Nor can we imagine that, even if Labour were a very Barkis for willingness in this matter, the owners of inherited and acquired titles would submit willingly to such adulteration of their order. A very natural and proper pride is, indeed, one of the main obstacles in the way of the realization of those schemes of Lords reform which were so familiar a feature of discussion thirteen years ago. The "backwoodsman" will not, in the vivid phrase of one of his representatives, "order his own tumbrel." The Labour man will not submit to sit in a House in which he is assigned an inferior status to other members. There can be, of course, as much a mixture of classes in the Upper

House as in the Lower. But a mixing of hereditary and non-hereditary elements, as such, will always be defeated, because it affronts the ordinary instincts of the ordinary self-respecting man. No squire-Peer will admit himself the inferior of a pushing political Peer or an ennobled captain of industry; why should he? No Labour man will consent to sit as a popularly elected Lord of Parliament when somebody else is sitting as a hereditary Peer by value of the votes of other hereditary Peers. Again, why should he?

Probably nothing will be done until the practical difficulty arrives: that is our way. But there will be no harm in thinking over a problem which may at any moment be formidably upon us. If nothing can be done—and, after all, what can be done?—to fit the House of Lords, which has been for a century a steadily growing anomaly, to actual and easily possible conditions, what is to take its place in our polity? Sir Robert Peel, in meeting his problem in 1846, said it was "no easy task to ensure the united action of an ancient monarchy, a proud aristocracy, and a reformed constituency." One wonders what language he would have to describe the present difficulty.

## Palestine Abstains

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

DESCRIBING his visit to Palestine, in the recently published diary of his world tour, the late Lord Northcliffe remarked that he did not suppose that "anyone except a stone image could enter the country of Christ without deep emotion." In the same way, unfortunately, it would seem that no one except a stone image can approach the question of the political future of that country without prejudice. Every inquirer starts out with a preconceived bias either for or against the Zionist idea. Every article that is written on the subject, every utterance in the House of Commons, is described with perfect accuracy by hostile critics as Zionist or anti-Zionist propaganda, as the case may be. No European can help taking a side in this quarrel. A prominent British official is said to have remarked at a semi-official banquet in Jerusalem, that the Palestine Mandate ought to have been given to the Japanese, since they alone among the Allies were neither Christian, nor Jewish, nor Mohammedan. In the meantime, as Lord Northcliffe remarked in his diary, all we know is that "both sides are liars."

Confronted by this cheerful situation, it should obviously be the first task of the impartial critic to discover the cause of all the prejudice, and, having found it, to expel it from his mind before he begins to talk. The cause is not far to seek. It is, simply, religion. Everybody in Palestine is a religious fanatic and propagandist. Let us, therefore, try to forget, for a moment, the religious aspect of the matter. Apart from religion, what is the grievance of the local Arabs, which led them to boycott the recent elections and turn their new Constitution into a farce? It is not unlike the grievance of the white colonists in Kenya. The Arabs, Christian and Moslem, who are settled inhabitants of the country, find themselves threatened by a flood of alien immigration. They object. If the Jews were Arabs like themselves, they would object just the same. They fear, like the Kenya colonists, that the newcomers will not only undersell them and get all the trade of the country into their hands, but that they will presently buy up the land, and, with their increasing numbers, will also secure first voice in the government of the country. No one seriously disputes that these fears are well grounded. It is simply a question—a question which the British Empire has got to decide one way or the other—of whether or not the existing

inhabitants of a country have a right to decide what additions shall be made to their numbers. Every European country, by its immigration laws, exercises that right as a matter of course. So do the British self-governing Dominions—Canada, Australia, South Africa. Can we deny it to the inhabitants of Palestine? We may arrange compromises. Kenya may be brought to consent, in the interests of Imperial unity, to a restricted Indian immigration, which, at the same time, is more than it really likes. Such compromises settle nothing. What we have got to decide is where the decision should rest in these matters—at Downing Street or on the spot. One thing is quite certain, and that is that the Palestinians cling to their right of decision—as they consider it—as firmly as any European nation.

I shall be told that Palestine is not a self-governing dominion, and cannot be treated as such; that it has even refused to implement the up-to-date, democratic Constitution which we have devised for it. It is true that the Arabs boycotted the recent elections, but everybody who has ever been in the Near East knows that the thing would have been a farce in any case. We go about benevolently offering representative institutions to people who do not understand the A B C of democracy—do not want to, and probably never will. We cannot assume that, on that account, they are unfit to express opinions about alien immigration. There was a by-election in Egypt shortly before the war at which the two candidates were the only people who turned up at the polling booth. Such cases are common. More than 90 per cent. of the inhabitants of Palestine are totally illiterate, and prefer to express their political views by demonstrations and riots rather than by making inexplicable marks upon ballot papers that they cannot read. Different countries, different manners. The only trouble is that the British Press will not speak the plain, brutal truth about it. It is doubtful whether there is a single Englishman in Palestine who shares the grief of the *Times* at the failure—or, at any rate, postponement—of this ill-conceived experiment in democracy.

As a matter of fact, it is idle to talk of the "failure" of the Palestine Arabs to seize this great "opportunity." They have not failed. On the contrary, they have scored a notable success. They have plainly intimated to the Mandatory Power that so long as the flood of Jewish immigrants—all potential voters—continues they will have nothing to do with any system of Government by votes, but will deliberately make it impossible, by their abstention from the ballot. In that they have succeeded, and the recent Order in Council simply means that the government of the country will be carried on by the High Commissioner as before. If we attach any importance to our friendship with the Arabs—and the treaties just concluded with Iraq, the Hedjaz and Trans-Jordania would seem to indicate that we do—we can hardly afford to ignore this strong expression of opinion by the inhabitants of an Arab country, which we hold in trust, and which is strategically more important to us than any of them. The collapse of the democratic experiment does not matter a straw. What does matter is that we should make up our minds at once as to whether or not we are going to carry on with the much more dangerous Zionist experiment.

## Atheism in Moscow

By HUNTLY CARTER.

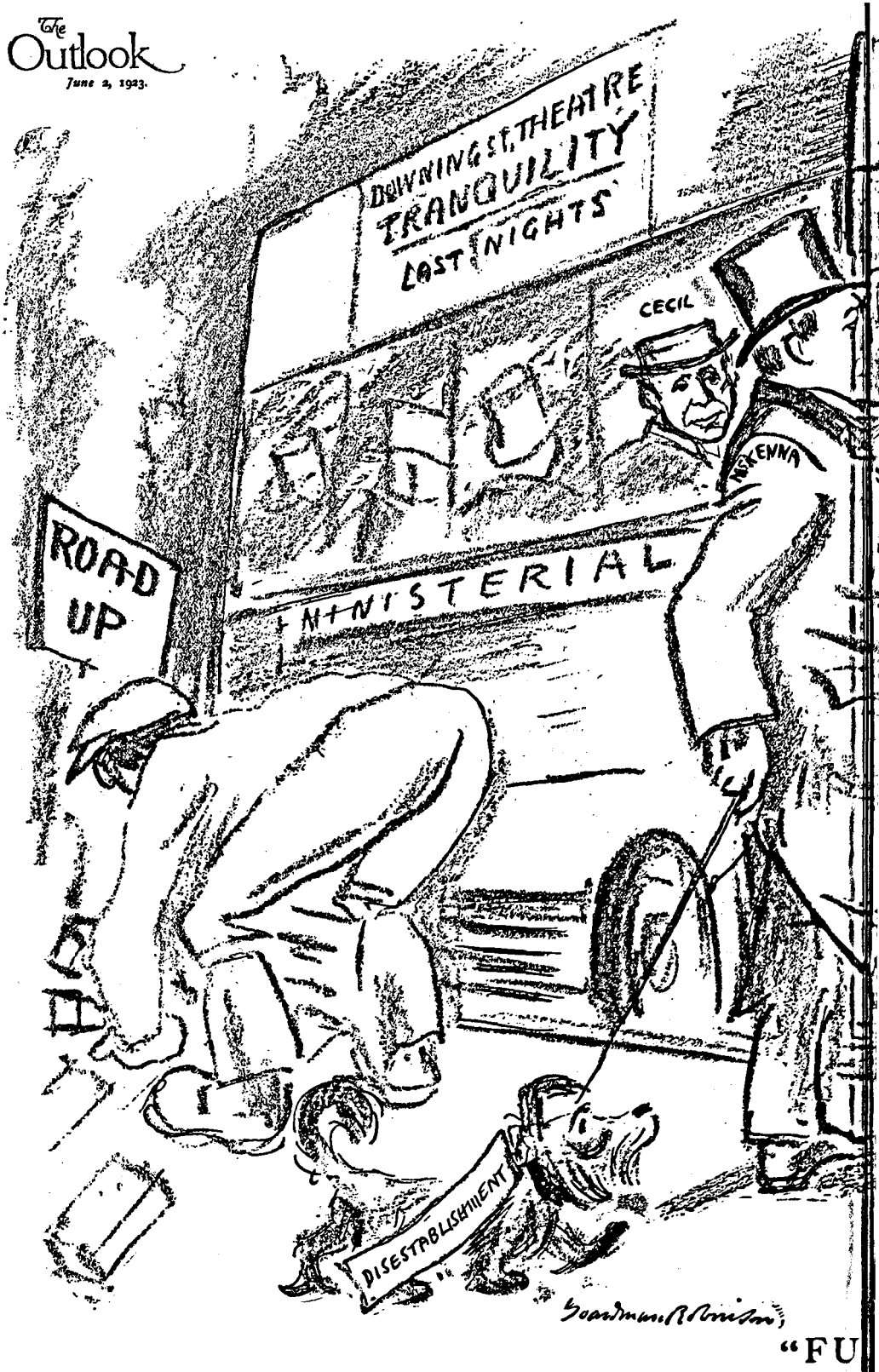
MOSCOW, MAY 17TH.

**M**OSCOW appears the most irreligious city on earth. No one can truly compare the Moscow of 1913 with the Moscow of 1923 without coming to this conclusion. I remember making my

last pre-war visit to this wonderful city in the late summer of 1913. The decrepit drosky-driver who jolted me from the Nicholas station to a small hotel in Tberskoi seemed to be afflicted with St. Vitus's Dance. The whole way he bobbed and crossed himself before ikons and chapels that strewed our path as numerous as the Atlantic Cities that Emerson speaks of. On every hand devoted pedestrians went through the same antics, bobbing, crossing themselves, even kneeling before sacred images and symbols, as though their lives depended on it. Mysticism, superstition, mediaevalism went hand in hand casting a many-coloured but deadening halo upon everything.

From the religious intoxication of the drosky-driver and the multitude to that of the chapels themselves was but a step, as one might say, of the distance from the Balcony Scene to the Divorce Court. The gorgeousness of their interiors took the breath away. Enmeshed in glittering gold as though a mighty golden spider had in a golden ecstasy spun its very soul over them, they took the mind with wonder leaving but little room for meditation, that essence of the Church's secret charm. Vessels of gold and silver, and precious stones, unsurpassed even by the glories of Solomon's sumptuous temple; the flow of the rich vestments of the priests, the air dense with subtle incense, and the sound of music and chant—all these united to produce a harmony of religious colour, sound, and movement whose potent spell no human mind could withstand. These glowing shrines were the symbols of a people still buried in religious observances of the Dark Ages, still preserving habits and customs that belonged to the eleventh century. Indeed, at the time I write of, Moscow was a strange blend of the barbaric and the modern. Its shocking cobbled streets, its one and two-storied timbered houses, its multitudes of priests and pestiferous beggars, its superstition, its dirt and dilapidation, and along with these its colossal mammonised Government and commercial buildings, and its great blocks of palatial flats fitted with every up-to-date convenience kept the mind violently jerking from the earliest to the latest period of the world's history.

And Moscow to-day? Gone is the drosky-driver with the religious palsy. The man who drives me from the Nicholas station is young, lusty, and unrighteous, with a mind set on getting his pound of flesh in roubles that mount to millions. He is the new bandit with not a grain of religious faith in the whole of his unclean body. If he vibrates like a jelly it is because of the atrocious roads. Never a glance does he bestow on the chapels or ikons, or where the latter used to be. Gone are the ikons, or most of them. Robbers and others of the Help-Myself-Society have taken toll of them pretty heavily. Nowadays museums and not street and chapel walls are bulging with them. Gone are the vessels of gold and silver and the precious stones that once adorned the chapel interior. True, the tinsel lining is there, and the golden sanctuary and the gallery of saints (some of them sinners too) and the tall candlesticks still shed waxen tears as though doing penance for the sins of the worshippers (or can it be the priests?). True, too, the priests are there, but no longer, except at Festival time, enshrouded as it were in priceless vesture. They are unshaven and unshorn, gaunt and ungainly, their garments are rusty and threadbare, and reek of hard times, and they receive the donations of the devout with the air of men who are signing their own death-warrant. Gone, too, is most of the old ritual and glorified, if not sanctified, observance. The choir sings with its coat collar turned up and wearing its work-a-day clothes and a red nose. The congregation plainly, even poorly, dressed (and including no bejewelled or befurred representatives of the bourgeois or capitalist class), stands immobile with lack-lustre eye, like a person hypnotised, throughout the service.



"FU



JP!"

Gone are the frenzied bowings and crossings that once set everyone in a congregation going like fanatical dervishes. Scarcely a member crosses himself or herself, scarcely one bends the knee in adoration. A few continue the old business of kissing the feet of saints half-hidden behind glass thickly overlaid with the grease deposited by the lips of the faithful. Gone is the religious ecstasy which once set its seal upon all who worshipped in the Moscow chapels. Perhaps the Church is the nearest way out of Moscow to-day. Just as gin was once said by a magistrate to be the nearest way out of Manchester. In no other way can I account for the irreligious apathy of the chapel-goer. For an hour or two he receives a free helping of a gorgeous gilt interior, music, chant, incense, in a word, aesthetic enjoyment, which enables him to forget the snow, slush, bitter cold, dirt, and dilapidation—the aftermath of the Revolution outside.

As in the chapels so on the streets. Gone is the mist of bells that once broke from the 400 belfries like a diaphanous canopy of God. Gone, too, is the look of religious fervour, nay, fanaticism, that once set its mark on the Moscow population as though on a people apart. Once the Moscovites looked as though they were the elect of Heaven, now they look like the Chosen of Hell. Nowadays in Moscow—that unique city of domes—where the mounded golds and blues and greens are pressed to heights by a lacework of vernal foliage—the people laugh at God. Perhaps the laugh is with God. You see them gazing intently at a shop-window full of blazing atheistic literature that would make Foote weep with joy. You see them peering into scoffing pages of the *Bezbojnik*, or the *Krasnie Perets* (Red Pepper), or the *Crocodile*, at cartoons whose violent criticisms of saints and sinners would make even the Freethinker green with envy. You watch them in pageants walking six abreast behind guys so ugly you wonder the demonstrators do not faint at the sight of them. You meet them in the Theatre of Revolutionary satire, and in its under-studies, held by scenes exhibiting priests to ridicule.

The fact of the whole matter is that a new spirit is manifesting itself in Moscow. It may be reformation, or democracy, or rationalism. Call it what you like. It began with the Revolution, and it may be a protest from people who received no apparent help from Heaven in their hour of need. The Soviet Government is accused of fostering it. But so are the younger priests fostering it. They are clamouring for a Living Church in place of the Dead one. They want to do away with the Patriarch. They want the Church cleansed of many evils which crept into it during the Czarist regime. It was they who recently unfrocked Tikhon so that he might take his trial as a private person. At this the Government merely shrugged their shoulders. Tikhon has offended against the civil laws of the country, and he must take his trial in any case.

I am writing this on Ascension Day. All the churches and chapels except thirty-nine are brimming over. The twenty chapels of the Kremlin are dead, for the Kremlin is a Government fortress to which no one is admitted save a chosen few. The Kremlin is dead. All the morning I have wandered from one end of Moscow to the other in quest of an open restaurant. In vain. Upon the portals of each was the mystic sign "Zaperta," or in plain English "Closed." Where were the lugubrious waiters? Can it be they had gone to the irresistible public Lottery? This same evening at the Proletcult Theatre I saw the workers in an orgy of play-acting caricature, a processional of priests, and a processional of comic ikons, and pails for the tears of the faithful. Upon such mediaeval drollery they ascended to heights of Aristophanic mockery, but without the clarifying spirit of Aristophanes.

Yes, without doubt, Moscow is laughing at God. But perhaps the laugh is *with* God.

## MIDDLE SECTION

### The Pepper-Box Rampant

By G. R. STIRLING TAYLOR.

AS they have always told us in Sunday Schools, and other thoughtful places, when one once takes the first wrong step nobody knows where it will all end. And so it has been in the case of Imperialism. It all began with what seemed a very innocent desire for pepper. Hundreds of years ago, when they had not discovered cold storage, meat had a quarrelsome way of asserting itself; and the answer to this mounting fleshy ambition was to drown it in still higher seasonings. So there arose a great craving for "sugar and spice and all that's nice"—and out of that desire grew the trade with the East, which was the beginning of the British Empire. For it really started its career on the day when the first great fleet returned to England from the Indies with a million pounds of pepper in its holds.

If the Heralds' College had to draw a coat of arms for the British Empire, it would be quite a mistake to drag in the cross of St. George, or Scottish thistles, or Irish harps. Such things are all right for the modest little islands they truly represent. But for the Empire, the true sign and symbol of its greatness is the pepper-box—rampant, on a background of pure gold. They state it in more technical terms in the heraldry books, but that is what they mean. In that simple symbol we can find the clue to it all. It becomes at once plain why this Empire of ours has such an irritating effect on the rest of the nations—for is it not built on a foundation of pepper? Little wonder that the world gasps and writhes in half-suffocated annoyance, for its great enemy is a pepper-box on a background of gold, and both gold and pepper have irritating qualities. Together, they quite naturally drive the sanest of worlds to desperate courses.

Of course, the idea always appealed to the ambitious, and France, and Portugal, and Spain, and the Dutch, all tried the same idea. The Dutch were almost the only people who did not lose their heads and get unbalanced—perhaps a race that bred so many charming artists could not get sufficiently vulgar to succeed in empire-building. But sooner or later the Dutch Empire and all the other imperial outbursts one by one died away; and Englishmen and Scotsmen and Irishmen had settled on quite a large part of the world before the rest of the inhabitants began to sneeze. And the most gigantic of these pepper-sneezes was the Great War of 1914-1918.

But now everybody's doing it! Not empire-building itself, of course, for the capacity of the earth is limited, and there is not enough acreage for every nation to have an Empire all to itself. But everybody is doing the next best thing, and is writing a book to show how the thing has been done before, with valuable hints as to how it may be done again. For every race outside the imperial circle of the moment has a reasonable hope, based on all sound history, that one by one the Empires will follow the example of great Rome itself, and pass away; just as unfortunate millionaires sometimes finish in bare garrets. And while waiting their turn, these expectant peoples can find much comfort on every hand. "Imperial Caesar, dead and turned to clay"—the very thought is a comforting hope to the next in order in the imperial succession.

So far (during modern times, at least) there has been a calm assurance about the British position. The gentlemen who write paragraphs in Fleet Street have taken it for granted that the British Empire has solved the problem of perpetual motion. But that in itself has its drawbacks—for to turn round without ceasing

may result in a fatal giddiness. But now, of late, the world has shown signs of much uncertainty; and the premium at Lloyd's for insuring an Empire would probably be exceedingly high. And the premium will be still higher when the underwriters learn that those very active people the Americans are turning their attention to the same subject. There is proof thereof in a new book by Dr. Howard Robinson of Carleton University.\*

Now, if the Americans go into the trade—and it is in every sense a trade and little else but a trade—of empire-building it will have as challenging an effect on the world as when Chatham and Napoleon tried their hands at the same large-scale industry. We may be told that the people of the United States are all lovers of peace, and would never think of conquering the world. But wait till they get the chance.

The English were a fairly quiet domesticated people (and had a fierce horror of a standing army in Chatham's day), yet they took their chance when it came. Of course, some historians pretend the British Empire was all a schoolboy's adventure—the result of high spirits. Thus Dr. Howard Robinson tells us—as most writers do—that the English built up their Empire because they were "lovers of the sea." It is all gammon. We no more enjoy being rocked on the waves than other decent, respectable people. Even Nelson was a pitiable slave to sea-sickness.

The real truth is that we were a hard-headed race continually invaded by Scottish ideas (as well as by their border cattle-stealers); and the result was that we wanted to get on in the world, and become rich. We took to the sea, not because we loved it, but for the very urgent reason that we found ourselves surrounded by it on all sides. So we had to get used to it, and find our sea-legs as well as we could. For it was the only route by which we could get at other people's pepper and gold and the other things which we have seen suitable for the coats of arms of successful men.

But if the Americans, or anybody else, are thinking of following in our footsteps, let them study Dr. Howard Robinson's most admirable book, and its many maps, with closest care. And though his lines themselves are very sound reading, let his readers also consider the still more important things between the lines. The more critical thinkers are beginning to wonder whether this trade of empire-building is quite as easy or as charming a way of making a living as it seems on the surface. Of course, it is very satisfying to see half the world painted in the particular colour which map-designers have allotted to one's own nation. But if every cloud has its silver lining, it is also true that there is a dark side to the most rosy of sunsets. There are all sorts of rifts within the lute.

For example, just think of all the trouble and lives we spent in maintaining ourselves in the East, all that we might be sure (in the beginning at least) of having a full supply of these peppers and spices that were the reason of our going there at all. Of course, we have got them; but now, after all our infinite labours, the best doctors tell us that highly spiced foods are most harmful to the digestion. So it would appear that the very root of our great Empire is a grave digestive blunder (and therefore the gravest of all errors) which it would have been far better for us never to have begun. It almost looks as if imperialism were rotten at the core.

Again, turn from the East to the colony of Virginia, our first settlement in the West. It began as a search for gold, as its charter clearly said. They were fortunate enough not to find this most dangerous of the metals; but when the very sane Captain John Smith told his followers that agriculture should be their most lasting hope, even then things went wrong.

\* *The Development of the British Empire*. By Howard Robinson. Constable. 12s. 6d.

For instead of growing corn, the whole settlement turned to the growing of tobacco—and once more an Empire turned to smoke. On the East side, pepper; on the West, nicotine. Surely neither is a very solid foundation for such a ponderous thing as an Empire.

But perhaps it is not fair to criticise imperialism on scientific or philosophical grounds. For, in substance, it is nothing less or greater than the desire for trade. This is a very sound idea, useful to mankind; and in its simple form of trade it is far less likely to cause havoc in the world than when it is confused with poetical rhetoric on the subject of patriotism, and other propositions which do not declare a dividend at half-yearly intervals.

But if imperialism is to be a steady-going success it must be kept out of the hands of the wild mental freaks that sometimes creep into political office, in spite of the most careful watching at the polling-booths. Take the case of Chatham, who by some strange fate has got the reputation of being the greatest English imperialist. It was his hysterical craving for Empire that led him to tear away Canada from the French. He succeeded in getting it, of course; for a mad bull can do almost anything if it lowers its head and charges recklessly home. But Dr. Robinson gives us a long list of Chatham's sane contemporaries who saw quite clearly that the moment that the English colonists were free from the dread of the French attack they would clamour for independence from a mother-country which was no longer needed as a protector.

Which was exactly what happened. The great imperialist lost a far greater Empire than he won, in this case. Such strangely unexpected results almost lead one to believe that there is something unsound about the whole imperial idea. For so many of its greatest leaders have shown signs of weak heads. Clive's first act in India was to attempt suicide in a fit of melancholia. Sir John Hawkins, our first sailor, when he went slave-hunting, called his ship *The Jesus*, and admonished his crew "to serve God daily"—which suggests, again, that imperialism produces hypocrisy as well as soft intellects.

## Women and Horses

BY HENRY F. DERRICK.

WHILE I was saddling her she tried to bite me  
A dozen times and now I'm hardly mounted  
And feeling for the stirrup she wants to fight me.  
Look there! with rapid sideway steps uncounted  
She tried to brush me off against that wall  
And now she shies and plunges, bucks and rears.  
She feels her oats, my pony, that is all,  
There's nothing, not even me, she hates or fears.  
We missed that lorry by a half an inch—  
She hopes to get her head across the stubble:  
Bless you, you'd think she felt the girth-straps  
pinch:  
That's not the trouble, though we shall have  
trouble.  
But when we're on the turf I'll let her go  
And she'll be happy then and I shall too.  
No wonder in her stable she found it slow,  
But if I'd left her there, I ask you who  
Would have complained the more? She wants  
to run  
And doesn't want it, since I want her to;  
And playing up is what she thinks is fun  
Until on turf there's something better to do.  
Come up, my darling, damn you! Steady now,  
Or else we shan't get anywhere to-day:  
We'll go with delicate steps around the plough  
And then we're on the grass, and then away!



## THE DRAMA

### X "The Merry Widow"

By EDWARD SHANKS.

ONCE made the suggestion, I think on the occasion of the revival of *Charley's Aunt*, that the producers in such cases ought to follow the example of the Phoenix Society and amplify their programmes with some account of the previous history of the play. This certainly applies as well to the revival at Daly's Theatre. It takes us back to days more completely forgotten even than the last days of Queen Victoria's reign. Those last years before the war were rather like the last stages of sickening for an illness. We look back now, and all that remains of them is distorted and unreal, like something remembered through delirium. At that time the Viennese Masters reigned in the world of musical comedy. It was certainly time for a new dynasty to ascend the throne, for the English practitioners had become as effete as any Merovingian that ever lived.

Comic opera in England had its two amazing but isolated bursts of splendour, under Gay and under Gilbert and Sullivan. One would have thought that Gilbert and Sullivan offered an example which would have been easy, as well as obviously profitable, to follow. But it was not so. The brains of the creature began to atrophy at once; and after a brief uncertainty in the *Geisha* it took an abrupt nose-dive to the horrific levels of such pieces as *The Orchid*, which were only redeemed by the charm of Miss Gertie Millar and the inexhaustible humour of the late Mr. Edmund Payne. This form of entertainment still exists, and when it has a comedian of the rank of Mr. Leslie Henson to carry it through is at least not quite intolerable. But the time came for the infusion of new blood; and just when a brief and cheerful campaign against Serbia was being meditated in Vienna, the Viennese composers were producing musical comedies destined to introduce a new note on the English stage.

The secret of the success of these pieces is to be found in three facts. They had relatively simple and recognisable plots. They brought the music into relation with the plot by means of a *leit-motif*, generally a waltz tune. And, finally, the music was itself very good indeed. I am inclined to think that the best of them all was *The Chocolate Soldier*, which had the advantage not only of several excellent tunes by Oskar Straus, but also of a really original plot, invented in the first place by Mr. Bernard Shaw, and not too seriously deformed by the Viennese librettist. However this may be, *The Merry Widow* was the first and type of them all; and, if we choose to look at it so coldly, its revival is an event of some social and historical interest.

For my own part, I prefer to look at it coldly. No doubt it is a very amusing piece, and Mr. George Graves taking his old part contrives to be exquisitely funny in it. But the audience which surrounded me seemed to have taken this on faith and not to desire to hear any proofs. I daresay the excessive search for proofs may be injurious to faith; and if those people had allowed Mr. Graves to make any of his jokes audible there might not have been so much laughter. But I could wish that I had heard a little more of what he said. True enough, Mr. Graves's expression when he is about to deliver a joke is provocative of laughter. Possibly, too, this audience as largely composed of persons who were familiar with the pre-war production, and have carried in their heads all this time Mr. Graves's best lines. But it is certain that at this performance he was drowned with laughter as soon as he opened his mouth, except when he told two stories, both of which I believe to be new. One

was an admirable account of a boarding-house landlady, whose "Another piece of Yorkshire, Mr. Morris?" is exquisite in the rightness of its vulgarity and of the name employed. Mr. Smith would not have been nearly so funny. The other is what might be called the Saga of Hetty the Hen. But one cannot summarise the Saga of Hetty the Hen, the misfortunes she suffered with Ronald the Rooster and Daniel the Drake, and the lamentable result of the machinations of a rival who mixed brass shavings with her food, after narrating which Mr. Graves was led away sobbing by two of his friends. I have not for many years seen him in such good form as in these two episodes. I imagine, however, that in the original production he did not dominate the play to quite the same extent. Miss Evelyn Laye as Sonia is charming and sings well; and the same may be said of Miss Ivy Tresmand. Miss Lily Elsie is not here; and Mr. Carl Brisson makes a rather flavourless Danilo.

On the whole, there is a distinct atmosphere of reminiscence about the revival; we are not disinclined to look back on those years before the war with some sentimental regrets. But *The Merry Widow* has now a more mellow, less electric effect than it had then; and I do not think we shall again hear the famous waltz so freely whistled about the streets. For one thing, the lesson taught by the Viennese Masters has not been without its effect on the English stage; and we have had home-grown specimens of the same variety in some profusion. Such pieces as *The Maid of the Mountains* and *The Lady of the Rose* recognisably carry on that tradition. But it is important to notice that there is nothing especially inspiring in the original tradition. *The Merry Widow* is a little simpler than the pieces which preceded it, but it is still confused and haphazard in plot. The music is quite unusually good, but by no means so well adapted to its purpose as Sullivan's music.

And here we come again to one of the recurrent miracles of the English theatre. Why does no one write a comic opera in the tradition of Gilbert and Sullivan? It would, of course, be absurd to demand a new Shakespeare as an indispensable preliminary to the regeneration of our drama. But any constant reader of this page (if such there be) will know that I have never claimed for Gilbert and Sullivan the rank of great geniuses. They seem to me to have been competent and talented men doing very well what no one else has shown himself able to do otherwise than badly. They ought to grow on every bush. I cannot see that the level of their performance in the comic opera stands much higher than that of Mr. Somerset Maugham in the "legitimate," of Mr. E. F. Benson as a novelist, or of the late Sir Hubert von Herkomer as a painter. These may be invidious comparisons; but they will illustrate my meaning. But for the riddle thus posed I can think of no answer. Why should these two (as they seem to me) excellent craftsmen occupy a lofty and solitary pinnacle to which in no other department of art would they be entitled? No doubt the theatrical manager comes into it to some extent. He seems to be a person who positively prefers to gull the public, instead of satisfying it, in spite of the fact that the first method is infinitely more risky and expensive than the second. I have found him, on the occasions when I have had an opportunity of studying him in his natural habitat, a singular creature, quite unlike anyone else and quite unaware of his unlikeness, devoid of knowledge of his fellow-men, the most innocent and unworldly of God's creatures. But my reason cannot quite accept the image of this Great Janissary standing straddle-legged over the portico of the theatre, resolutely baulking the earnest desires of the public. There must be some further reason. What is it?

## NEW BOOKS Novels

- CHILDREN OF MEN. By Eden Phillpotts. Heinemann. 7s. 6d.  
 THE LEFT LEG. By F. F. Powys. Chatto and Windus. 7s. 6d.  
 THE CREAM OF THE JEST. By James Branch Cabell. Bodley Head. 7s. 6d.  
 MISS BRACEGIRDLE AND OTHERS. By Stacy Aumonier. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.  
 VICTORIA. By Knut Hamsun. Gyldendal. 5s.  
 THE INIMITABLE JEEVES. By P. G. Wodehouse. Jenkins. 3s. 6d.

IN the preface to *Children of Men* Mr. Eden Phillpotts promises, not, I think, for the first time nor, I hope, for the last, to leave Dartmoor for ever. The quality and the bulk of his Dartmoor Cycle would have justified him in writing of it with less humility and more confidence. Yet when he calls himself a "minor artist" it is impossible for the honest reader to do other than agree with him. The great artist makes his work the habitation of his spirit, but in his work Mr. Phillpotts has never been quite at home. Of this there are many small signs; the impatience, for example, with which upon occasion he shatters or strains the conventions of peasant dialect to put into his characters' mouths an alien aphorism, and his frequent dawdlings which betray his distraction. And beneath these superficial errors one suspects a too conscious artifice, a too deliberate design. It almost seems that Mr. Phillpotts, by a hard restraint upon his imagination or a conscious reserve in its expression, had evaded the heavier responsibilities of creative art. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and Mr. Phillpotts has not followed the wind. He has sought, instead, those places where it is likely to blow. What place, however, is more probably favoured than Dartmoor? Mr. Phillpotts's affection for Dartmoor is not based upon an easy familiarity or some pleasant comeliness. Its scenery is congruent with his method and perhaps his temper. "To sacrifice without regret the highest, but most hopeful"; to be "pitiless that his audience may learn the meaning of pity; ugly, that others may find wherein the beauty lies"; to affirm in the negative and construct by criticisms; that has been Mr. Phillpotts's professional aim. The old quarrel between those who seek life with a sickle and those who seek it with a plough is not yet decided. While he destroys illusion he is strong, but when he presents the truth which should have cheered the desert he does not convince. This book, *Children of Men*, describes the ruin of Jacob and Margery Bullstone by Jacob's fierce, secretive jealousy. Jacob's accusations are disproved. But Margery will not return, and dies before he can recover her. His consequent agony and his favourite daughter's consolation are shown with remarkable vigour, and the author's command over emotions both stern and gentle has rarely been better illustrated than here. But the peace which at length visits Jacob is vaguely and distantly described. It follows his agony as a cold platitude follows, and insults, grief. Nor can it be said that the laborious narrative of Jacob's married life has served to make him or his wife especially vivid before the reader. As often, the minor characters, upon whom Mr. Phillpotts has vented his rather sardonic humour, are more lively than those with whom he has sought to sympathise. And so we must conclude that Mr. Phillpotts, giving much, does not give all, and that impatience or a rigid loyalty to his design has left some knowledge of wild places and melancholy lives still unexpressed, some imaginative passion still unreleased.

Happy are those who can manipulate fantasy and take a smiling refuge behind symbols from their too

urgent ideas. Mr. Powys is obviously one of these fortunate few. He has, moreover, a delightfully grotesque humour and a child's box of bright colours wherewith to splash the simple world. The first of these three stories, *The Left Leg* itself, begins: "There was an idea in Madder that if Mr. Jar ever came to the village again something would happen." It was Mr. Jar who had given it the name of God's Madder to distinguish it from Great Madder and Little Madder, and Mr. Jar is possibly God. Two farmers live there. Farmer Mew wanted to own things, and he added field to field and house to house till all the village was his. Farmer Gillett found his pleasure in prayer, and lost everything else, including his daughter, whom Farmer Mew ravished. But Mr. Jar came back, and Farmer Mew blew himself to bits. *Abraham Men* tells of a clerk who came out to Little Dodder to preach the Word. Here occasionally one is rather offended by didactic passages like this: "The people moved between magic hedges in cloud-haunted fields—all hours and days and winds were to them moving beasts and gods and sweet flowers." That Mr. Powys may properly suggest by the quaint beauty in which he delights and makes us delight. The flat statement of it bears us from Wessex to the facile mysticism of Book-shire. The third, longest, and, it would appear, earliest of his stories, *Hester Dominy*, is confused by some strained satire, and tedious in its repetitions. But for *The Left Leg* and for the unusual fancy displayed, though less happily and continuously, in its two fellows, considerable gratitude is due to Mr. Powys. The frontiers of fiction are never determined, and many the pioneers to push them on. Mr. Powys has pushed them far, and his new discoveries promise great wealth.

Mr. Cabell, that "peer among peers of satiric fantasy" (*To-day*), who derives at once from Rabelais and Anatole France (*Daily Telegraph*), wrote other works of "profound beauty, intense sadness, pawky humour, delicate irony, and pure, fantastic imagination" (*Observer*) before he wrote *Jurgen*, and *The Cream of the Jest* is one of them. One knows not whether the most to admire "the amazingly prolific imagination" (*Star*) which enabled him to hit upon the idea of an author visiting remote lands and epochs in dreams, or the "polished wit" (*Daily Express*) wherewith Kennaston in Arcady exclaims that here is no electric light advertisement of chewing gum, or the "rare and attractive" medley of "wit and learning" (*Daily News*) displayed in Henry VIII.'s interview with Anne Boleyn. This "well-nigh unique" volume (*Tatler*) is, moreover, distinguished by having a preface which is not the work of Mr. Hugh Walpole, and I can warmly commend, to all admirers of *Jurgen*, that is, this "silly little story" (OUTLOOK).

Intelligence is not so common that one can afford to value lightly anything Mr. Aumonier writes, but in most of the stories reprinted as *Miss Bracegirdle and Others* his intelligence seems to have been directed to the concealment of his boredom with his job. Here and there, as in *The Funny Man's Day*, the candour and pity which make Mr. Aumonier a power in contemporary fiction are manifest. But many, too many, are conventional conjuring tricks.

*Victoria* is a brief and charming love idyll marred by the devices necessary to ensure an unhappy ending. It is quite obvious that neither lover would have been really put off by prior engagements. But as the happy ending was necessary to some English writers, so the unhappy is to some Scandinavian, and the effect is no less strained and inartistic.

Mr. Wodehouse in *The Inimitable Jeeves* continues by seeming simple methods to amuse two continents. The aristocratic half-wit and the politely unscrupulous butler are among his best inventions.

H. C. HARWOOD.

## Mr. Lawrence Goes to Sea

SEA AND SARDINIA. By D. H. Lawrence. Secker. 21s.

**I**N his new character as a writer of travel notes, Mr. D. H. Lawrence is more entertaining at sea than in Sardinia. Perhaps that is not his fault. The romance of Sardinia is the romance of the unknown; its attraction for the traveller is due to the fact that so few people visit it. After reading Mr. Lawrence's account we begin to understand why. It appears as a bleak, inhospitable land, its inhabitants distinguished by a surly independence which the visitor finds, at best, an acquired taste, its roads bumpy, its inns abominable, its food next door to poison. Mr. Lawrence did his best to admire the sunsets and the manly carriage of the peasants in their black and white hoods, but he clearly found, like many a sensitive traveller before him, that physical discomfort, acute and prolonged, does, in the end, spread an evil film over the most beautiful picture.

It is terrible to read of the hunger of Mr. Lawrence and his companion, as they jolted along in the Sardinian State motor-bus towards some ever-receding town, only to be offered at last, in a cold squalid inn, a meal hardly fit to eat. Mr. Lawrence, with that amazing power of his over words, communicates real, physical hunger to the reader. His continuous disappointments at each inn produce the effect of a nightmare; and as the starving couple, escaped from Sardinia, at last reach Naples, board a well-appointed liner, and seat themselves with a sigh of relief before a sparkling table, covered with glasses, plates, and wine-bottles, you know, somehow, that it will be a failure—a ghastly gnawing at the pit of your stomach, put there by Mr. Lawrence's art, warns you in time. You should close the book at once. It is almost unbearable.

For, of course, Mr. Lawrence hated the meal. In the first place, it is clear that he is one of those people who do not really like food. In the second place, there was a "bounder" sitting opposite, who insisted on offering him whisky, and even criticised England, and trotted out the old story of our having done so well out of the war at the expense of our Allies. Mr. Lawrence on his travels, though he evidently doesn't know it, must be very obviously English. Who but an Englishman would have told the Sardinian inn-keepers exactly what he thought of their wretched, dirty meals? And though he thinks that his annoyance at anti-British talk is inspired by his desire to be treated as himself, Mr. Lawrence, and not as a mere national unit, we cannot help suspecting that his emotion may have the same origin as that of more old-fashioned travellers who grumble about "insolent dagos." His conclusion is that the Italians no longer love us. "Underneath, they hate us, and as human beings we are objects of envy and malice." They can talk of nothing but the state of the exchange. It is the disease of modern Italy:

Liras—liras—liras—nothing else. Romantic, poetic, cypress-and-orange-tree Italy is gone. Remains an Italy smothered in the filthy smother of lira notes: ragged, unsavoury paper money so thick upon the air that one breathes it like some greasy fog. Behind this greasy fog some people may still see the Italian sun. I find it hard work.

This book, as we have said, consists only of a few trivial notes, set down by a rather unhappy traveller who has not the advantage of liking travel for its own sake. He has not put much thought into it. But such as it is, it is authentic D. H. Lawrence, and in every few pages will be found flashes of descriptive imagery so brilliant that you easily forgive all the drearier patches and the sour comments on things in general. Here is one of them, describing a ship pitching in a winter sea:

And so we steam out. And almost at once the ship begins to take a long, slow, dizzy dip, and a fainting swoon upwards, and a long, slow, dizzy dip, slipping away from beneath me. . . . It is the motion of freedom. To feel her come up—then slide slowly, with a sound of the smashing of waters, is like the magic of the sky, the magic gallop of elemental space. That long, slow waveringly rhythmic rise and fall of the ship, with waters snorting as it were from her nostrils, oh, God, what a joy it is to the wild innermost soul. One is free at last—and lifting in a slow flight of the elements, winging outwards. Oh, God, to be free of all the hemmed-in life. . . . Ah, God, liberty, liberty, elemental liberty. I wished in my soul the voyage might last for ever, that the sea had no end, that one might float in this wavering, tremulous, yet long and surging pulsation while ever time lasted: space never exhausted and no turning back, no looking back, even.

Mr. Lawrence ought to be inveigled into going for a long sea voyage in all kinds of weather—in a private yacht for preference, with plenty of good and varied food and no one to talk to him. The resulting book would be cheap at a guinea. This one, quite frankly, is not.

## x Drama in Print

HIS MAJESTY'S EMBASSY. By Maurice Baring. Heinemann. 7s. 6d.

ARTHUR: A TRAGEDY. By Laurence Binyon. Heinemann. 6s.

AT MRS. BEAM'S. By C. K. Munro. Collins. 5s.

PUPPET PLAYS. By Alfred Kreymborg. Secker. 5s.

THE HAIRY APE. By Eugene O'Neill. Cape. 7s. 6d.

**T**HIS collection of plays gives us in small space representative specimens of most of the attempts which are now being made to improve the modern theatre. Mr. Baring and Mr. Binyon have both written plays in blank verse, a development which has often been advocated. Alas that this thing so much desired should be so disappointing when it appears! Mr. Baring's *Manfroy* and Mr. Binyon's *Arthur* are both competently and stately written pieces. But when Guenevere says:

I did the wrong,  
Through me the young have perished, the young men  
Have fallen in their blood.  
From me a woe goes welling through the world  
Like waves in the black night;

or when *Manfroy* says:

Tell them I pardon Cimbro and Gnotho.  
They will accept it from a dying man.  
Now, Palamon, come closer, bend your ear,  
My numbered minutes run like falling sand;  
Go to the convent, ask for Sister Monica,  
Tell her that reconciled at last and shriven,  
I died remorseful of a life of sin,

one turns with unwilling relief to Mr. Munro's little boarding-house thief calling her lover "a damned swine." Mr. Munro's atmosphere is certainly capable of accommodating much less feeling, a much less comprehensive vision of life, but within his range he is alive; and within the much wider range they necessarily assume the modern writers of blank verse plays seem to spread out like gas introduced into a vacuum, until their appreciation of life is so tenuous that for practical purposes it does not exist at all. It would seem to be indisputable that epic drama on the old model is now impossible. Some renovation must be made, some new form must be discovered.

Perhaps Mr. Kreymborg is the innovator we are looking for. Mr. Gordon Craig, who writes a very characteristic introduction to this book, offers only a very tentative opinion. He finds these pieces rather difficult to read and therefore is inclined to believe that "they would go very well on a stage, and that, if they read more easily, it is likely they would not act well," but he points out that "as all the world has known for years, there is no other test but the acting

of the play"; and therefore as he has not seen Mr. Kreyborg's plays he cannot give us a definite decision. Nor, we fancy, can anyone else, for these pieces are of an unusual sort. They are written equally for puppets and for human players, and in verse of this type:

Your least sly look  
recreates folk  
to your image.  
Not that they know what your image is,  
nor that they care—but—  
won't you look at him?  
He'd like to look at you—  
then you'll love him? . . .

the proof of this pudding would certainly be in the eating; and we must leave it at that.

We are therefore thrown back on the drama of contemporary life as written by Mr. O'Neill and Mr. Munro, and also by Mr. Baring. The best of the three plays in Mr. Baring's volume illustrates what a comparatively coarse instrument the stage is, for *His Majesty's Embassy* would almost certainly be a failure in the theatre. Mr. Baring can write most amusing dialogue; and he has the rare power of being able to make his points to the reader without stating them. The faint, unemphasised love-story of the Ambassador is told with wonderful delicacy and poignancy; but it is to be feared that its very delicacy would prevent it from having much effect on an audience.

What Mr. Baring has not, the capacity for bold and decisive drawing, is possessed to a considerable degree by both Mr. Munro and Mr. O'Neill. To be sure, Mr. O'Neill seems to possess very little else, except a knowledge of milieus which have not hitherto been exploited in the theatre. The story of the girl who unwillingly falls in love and then has to confess to her lover the secret of her former disreputable life is made only superficially original when most of the action takes place on board a coal-berge; and this is all that Mr. O'Neill has to add to a well-worn situation. He can write effectively for the stage; but, which would presumably delight Mr. Gordon Craig, he does not read very well. Mr. Munro on the other hand does. His boarding-house comedy is not only original in situation and choice of characters, it gives also an admirable and lively counterfeit of boarding-house conversation.

## × Leopardi

THE POEMS OF LEOPARDI. Edited with Introduction and Notes and a Verse Translation in the Metres of the Original. By Geoffrey L. Bickersteth. Cambridge University Press. 30s.

LEOPARDI is one of those to whom many render lip-service, but who is really read only by the few. He stands too far apart from the broad generality of humankind which demands of poetry honeyed flattery. To be sure there are romantic poets among his contemporaries who made a great show of melancholy and pessimism, but their philosophy of despair seldom went deeper than sentimental self-indulgence. Leopardi faces the ultimate issues. With him the choice is as with the poet of the Greek Anthology—

whether 'twere better worth  
Not to be born, or born to die at birth.

Leopardi's poetry is austere; in it intellect and lyric passion are fused in classical form and chaste diction. There is nothing that is soft, shadowy, or vague. We do not mean that his poetry is cold; on the contrary, it was born out of white heat, but it has nothing to do with the comfortable warmth of glowing coals.

Yet there are some who have turned again and again to one of the slender Italian editions, and

have found there clarity and consolation whenever the confusion of contemporary triviality threatened to overwhelm them. They will probably be awed by Mr. Bickersteth's formidable volume. Forty-one poems constitute the whole of Leopardi's poetical works. The longest is only a little over three hundred lines; many are very short, and some are mere fragments. This small body of poetry we find here sandwiched between 134 pages of introduction and 162 pages of notes. It is, perhaps, well that we should have so complete an edition of Leopardi in English. It is to Mr. Bickersteth's credit to have gathered all this material and to that of the Cambridge University Press to have printed it in so attractive a form, but when we have read the introduction and thumbed over the notes, does Leopardi mean more to us than before? Do the parallel passages and the quotations culled from the world's literature give us a clearer insight into the poet's soul? We fear not, for Mr. Bickersteth approaches the poet as a scholiast even more than as a scholar. He has read his author and everything about him; he has many interesting things to say on the technique of Leopardi's verse structure, but when he comes to the interpretation of his ideas and philosophy we find a curious inadequacy. His attempt at treating the *Canti* as "one coherent work of art expressive of a mind fundamentally at one with itself, rather than as a series of independent poems full of inconsistencies and contradictions," leads him to rather pedantic systematisation. He gallantly defends Leopardi against Matthew Arnold's trite characterisation "unhealthy and false," and then proceeds himself to sum up Leopardi in these words:

Granted that Leopardi condemned "the world," yet in affirming his all-embracing love of mankind—"desidero il bene della mia specie in universale"—and in preaching the necessity of a League of Nations as opposed to the Prussian doctrine that "carnage is God's daughter," he shows as very clearly the standard by which he condemned the world.

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Everyone can agree with Mr. Bickersteth that the short *L'Infinito* is one of "the masterpieces of European poetry," but he continues:

In its context in the *Canti* it marks the point where Leopardi first consciously attains the life of the pure poet, to an activity of mind which he placed at the opposite pole to the philosophers.

It is passages like these that make us want to cry out for protection against expositors and convince us that we prefer Leopardi without commentary even if we fail to get some of his allusions.

It would be unfair to be hypercritical of Mr. Bickersteth's translation. The task is practically insurmountable. How can the infinite vowel melody of Leopardi's Italian be turned into a consonantal English? But even so it does not seem to us that Mr. Bickersteth's feeling for words is particularly happy, nor his rendering fluent. To help out his metre, he employs far too often conventional aids like accented past participles, "twixt," "tis," "ne're," "yon," "o're." They give one an impression of artificiality, which contrasts cruelly with Leopardi's spontaneity and naturalness. One need not be a profound student of Italian to feel the difference between

Ma nebuloso e tremulo dal pianto  
Che mi sorgea sul ciglio, alle mie luci  
Il tuo volto apparìa, che travagliosa  
Era mia vita: ed è, né cangia stile,  
O mia diletta luna.

and

But cloud bedimmed and tremulous from the tears  
That welled up o're mine eyelids, to mine eyes  
Thy countenance appeared, for dolorous  
My life was then: and is, nor changeth style,  
O my beloved Moon.

## Shorter Notices

**BOTULISM.** By Gerald Leighton, M.D. Collins. 10s.

The tragedy last August, when eight adult persons died of botulism in a hotel at Loch Maree, in the Western Highlands of Scotland, suddenly focused public attention on this mysterious disease. As it was definitely traced to sandwiches made from potted wild duck paste, it caused quite an unreasonable panic among consumers of tinned foods. Dr. Leighton, under whose direction the investigation of these cases came, has given a full account of the outbreak, together with a general study of the whole subject of botulism—its history, cause, symptoms, and prevention. As the use of preserved foods is increasing continually, it is important that the public should be protected against their infection with the *Bacillus botulinus*, for the toxin it produces is the most deadly of any micro-organism associated with food-poisoning. The toxin has a definite selective action upon the nervous system. Of the 306 cases recorded in America, no less than 249 proved fatal. This is a mortality rate of 62.8 per cent. Fortunately, the cases are rare, and the conditions favourable to the growth of the bacillus in preserved food do not often occur. The organism is a soil bacillus. It will grow only under strictly anaerobic conditions (that is to say, only in the absence of free oxygen), and normally not in an acid medium. The one method that will absolutely destroy the bacillus or its toxin is heating to a high temperature. Generally the danger is slight. In spite of the tremendous consumption of tinned foods during the Great War, not a single case of botulism was recorded. Dr. Leighton's monograph is a model of scientific presentation. His style is clear, his material well-organised, and his conclusions are to the point.

**BOHN'S POPULAR LIBRARY.** Vols. 85 to 94. Bell. 2s. each.

Since the middle of last century Bohn's Library has had a secure place in the hearts of book-lovers. It was the pioneer series of cheap reprints, and there are few older readers whose first acquaintance with one or more of the masterpieces of literature was not made between the curiously stamped greyish-green or (later) red covers of this library. But there came a time when these volumes got crowded off booksellers' shelves by newer rival series; besides, some were difficult to obtain, and others had been printed so many times that the type began to have a worn and battered look. The re-issue of the familiar volume by Messrs. Bell in a new format is one of the most welcome publishing enterprises in recent years. Nearly a hundred volumes have by now been reprinted. The ten latest have just come to hand. They include a new verse translation of Homer's *Odyssey*, Plutarch's *Lives* (Vols. III. and IV.), Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (three volumes), Swift's *Journal to Stella*, Voltaire's *Zadig and Other Tales*, Coleridge's *Table Talk*, and a volume of *Classic Tales*. There is little

that can be said of the books, except that, considering the cheapness of the price, they are most admirably produced. Their size is small, the paper is thin yet opaque, the typography and press-work are clear, the red, brown, or green cloth binding is simple and strong. The editing is carefully done. There are indexes. A concise history of the text is given in each of the volumes. In most cases the text is that of *Bohn's Standard Library*; but some are new—Mr. Caulfield's *Odyssey*, for example, was first published in 1921. We see no reason why these volumes should not be immensely popular. They certainly deserve to be.

**MICHAEL COLLINS' OWN STORY.** Told to Hayden Talbot. Hutchinson. 6s.

Mr. Hayden Talbot, an American journalist, has written a very short account of Michael Collins's life and a much longer one of his political opinions, all of which he claims to have taken down from Collins's own mouth shortly before his death. He has already been contradicted flatly by some of the persons who figure prominently in his narrative; but he has defended himself with vigour, and since he was alone with Collins on nearly all the occasions when the latter is alleged to have made these confidences to him, it is impossible for an outsider to say how far, if at all, his memory has led him astray. It may, however, be asserted with some confidence, from what is known of Michael Collins, that he did not habitually express himself in the racy American "journalistic" that Mr. Talbot puts into his mouth—it is unlikely that he always made people "voice" things instead of simply "saying" them, and spoke of "viewpoint" instead of "point of view." For the rest, we are not in a position to argue. We can only note with interest the various opinions attributed to Collins—as that Irishmen are not really fond of fighting, but have always been driven into it against their will by the English; that the English are a diabolically "cunning" race, especially Mr. Birrell, but that, at the same time, they are always very "stupid"; that De Valera and Childers are not wrong-headed patriots at all, but unpatriotic, dishonest schemers, and that Childers was an *agent provocateur*. Collins is made to express the strong opinion that, if it came to fighting, Ireland could never have resisted England for long, and that, therefore, it was advisable to make an end of the campaign of hate against England and establish really friendly relations; but his biographer gives us pages and pages of alleged "atrocities" by British troops, which is surely not the best way of improving Anglo-Irish relations—especially when it is accompanied by an absurd denial of any atrocities by the other side.

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**SCRIABIN.** By Alfred Swan. Lane. 6s.  
 Those who like Scriabin's music will find plenty to agree with in this small book, and those who think that Scriabin's was a brilliant but an unbalanced mind may still find entertainment in Mr. Swan's hyperbolic eulogy. In the first sixty pages he deals with the main facts of his composer's life, gives a vivid picture of an erratic, undependable, selfish, egoistical, and withal attractive genius. He had a feminine mind, in which were all sorts of shallows. He clutched first at one panacea, then at another. His last was theosophy. It was while planning a colossal work, which should be a "so-called 'Initial Act' to the central mystery," that he was seized by death. In his last work, the five preludes for piano, Mr. Swan tells us we are on the threshold of the mystery. In his two previous compositions, the *Vers la Flamme* and the two piano dances, "his Ego has swallowed up the Universe." In the preludes "a pantheistic atmosphere pervades the music and we are witnessing a liturgic act of surpassing majesty." And this of the man who has been called the second Chopin. The fact is that through indolence we have conceded the full claims of the Scriabinists and have allowed to a composer who had fewer glimpses of the house beautiful than any of the Russian school, a position absurdly out of place with his merits. The way in which the Prometheus, the outpouring of a diseased imagination, is solemnly performed in our concert rooms is a testimony both to the energy of the Scriabinists and the stupid good nature of musical audiences. Mr. Swan is not the least of the former and makes up in enthusiasm what he lacks in humour. But then he does not profess to be a critic. He only wants others to follow his example and "rejoice in the heritage left by this Messiah amongst men."

**CORRESPONDENCE**

[Whilst we open our columns impartially to correspondence we take no responsibility for the opinions expressed.]

**THE ALBIZZI MADONNA.**  
 TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—Your appreciative review of Sir Theodore Cook's book on Leonardo as Sculptor encourages me to hope that perhaps an account of why I acquired the relief to which he refers as the Albizzi Madonna, and how I originally recognised it to be by Leonardo, will be of some interest to your readers.  
 Let me preface my remarks by saying that I substantially agree with the views of the author and admire his presentation of the case. I propose to submit to your judgment the peculiar circumstances which forced me 25 years ago to make the daring attribution to this great artist of a work in sculpture, when none such by him was known at the time to exist.  
 First, as to the date of purchase and attribution of the relief; this might be difficult to determine now if it were not for the existence of certain letters, one to me from Carlo Orsi, from whom I purchased it, and another from myself to Lord Chelmsford in the autumn of 1897. In Orsi's letter on the occasion of the sale, he writes of the relief as being by a pupil of Verrocchio, and possibly by the great Leonardo; and in mine, which was accompanied by photographs, I write that I have been able to discover and purchase a relief of a Madonna and Child by Leonardo da Vinci.  
 Secondly, as to the prima facie case for the attribution; the reasons for this apparently outrageous temerity may be enumerated under four heads: the historical case; the existence and survival of a peculiar group of reliefs quite unique in Italian art; the actual beauty and original style of the relief; lastly, the impossibility of assigning it to any of the known artists of the quattrocento in Italy, whose works were sufficiently abundant, while not so well known then as they are to-day.  
 I will arrange these arguments in their logical order, even if their sequence in time was presented to me differently. For instance, the appeal of the beauty was immediate, but it took me a long time to work through the negative problem of determining by exhaustion that it could not be by so and so, and even longer to ascertain anything like a complete series of copies and imitations.  
 The historical case is firm. It deals only with big facts. It depends only on clear records. Leonardo in his prime was as famous as a sculptor, possibly more so than, as a painter. The neglect of this fact for 450 years does not minimise its importance. He was called to Milan to execute a gigantic equestrian figure at a date when only one or two transition pieces of the kind and one great Renaissance work, the Gattamelata, were in existence. Leonardo as a sculptor stood on a high pinnacle of fame, and the chief item of that fame is specified by Vasari, that he executed in his youth in sculpture certain heads of women smiling and of children, "che vanno formate per l'arte di gesso." Where are they to be found?  
 The importance of the group of reliefs, allied with the Albizzi Madonna, can only be appreciated after long study and close comparisons. Sir Theodore Cook's book supplies in its illustrations a considerable amount of material for this purpose, but the details shown are not sufficiently clear to reveal all the significant points of the argument, the gist of which is that in this unique group of intimately related reliefs the Albizzi

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Madonna is the central model, and that all the specific characteristics in which they resemble one another are to be found in the original Leonardo, and that no other member of the group has all the critical features together.

Not only is this splendid group unique in Italian art, but its discovery determines the exact location of the centripetal tendency of a much larger group of works of art, long known in history as the Verrocchio type. The Verrocchio type exists no longer. It is the Leonardo type. The head and front of this new and some day to be famous presentment is the Albizzi Madonna. The list includes at least 3 della Robbias, one of them of already great reputation in the Medici Chapel in Santa Croce at Florence.

The beauty of the Albizzi Madonna can hardly be settled by authority. It has not been long enough or well enough known to be fully appreciated by many, but there can be no question that it must rank now as highly as it was rated by the great artists of the Golden Age who freely copied it and made it the leading model of the Madonna and Child for a whole century. Signor Venturi has placed highest in his category of its merits the unequalled skill with which the artist was able to pass from one plane of relief to another.

This consideration of the planes of the relief brings me to the critical position, where I was long ago when I had to determine that its technical qualities were above the skill of even the greatest known sculptors of the early Renaissance. At that period, say 1470, both Donatello and Verrocchio, but no others, had shown themselves complete masters of sculpture in the round. Donatello also had left us five or six supreme works of the very light relief, known as "stiacciato," notably in S. Angelo a Nilo in Naples, and also one now in South Kensington. There was also attributed to Verrocchio, but doubtfully, a low relief in bronze of the same quality of women mourning over the dead body of Christ. But neither the one nor the other nor Luca della Robbia could pass successfully in the same work of art from the "stiacciato" through "basso rilievo" and "alto rilievo" to the "round" without a technical fault, as Leonardo has done in the Albizzi Madonna.

Let me enumerate briefly the qualities in other artists of the period which bring them nearest to the achievement shown in the Albizzi Madonna. Antonio Rossellino had delicacy and suavity, but no strength. Benedetto da Maiano was master of composition, but he never had complete control of the human figure. Mino da Fiesole had gleams of brilliancy, but he was fatally a mannerist. Desiderio da Settignano had charm, but, as he showed most conspicuously in his greatest work, the tomb of Marsuppini in Santa Croce, his taste was not immaculate. The Ferruccis, including Francesco di Simone, only excelled in half-relief, and they never really mastered that art. Matteo Civitale and Jacopo della Quercia were adepts of the "round," and Agostino di Duccio, and Simone, the brother of Donatello, were superb decorators in relief, as they showed in the Malatesta Church at Rimini, but none of the four were sufficiently experienced artists to introduce both forms of this craft of the sculptor into the same piece of work.

But the subject is too long to be adequately treated here.—Yours, &c.,

G. B. DIBLER.

All Souls' College, Oxford.  
May 28th, 1923.

#### PAYING UP LIKE GENTLEMEN. TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

Sir,—I see that, in the matter of the claims against the Home Secretary by the Irish deportees, British tax-payers have again been adjured (this time by Mr. Lloyd George) to "pay up like gentlemen." No doubt we shall do so, and there will be another chorus of self-congratulation, as there was when we admitted our liability for the American Debt, and politicians and journalists went about telling each other that anyhow John Bull had "behaved like a gentleman."

I confess that I am a little tired of the expression, and I have been quite unable to detect among people on buses or in trains any of that "quiet pride and satisfaction" that the nation is supposed to feel in the manner in which we are discharging our debts. In the first place, are "gentlemen" as such so famous for paying their debts? Is it not rather a characteristic of the tradesman to pride himself on his solvency? And is it not typical of a House of Commons, which consists almost entirely of business men, to picture us all patting each other on the back because we have paid up, and Italians and Frenchmen covered with shame because they haven't?

America may love us for it—though one hears little of it—but, after a recent visit to France and Italy, I can assert with confidence that our Latin Allies are not a bit ashamed of their indebtedness, and that, as far as they are concerned, the only effect of our gentlemanly determination to meet the bill is to fill them with envy at our supposed wealth. Charles Lamb has said some pertinent things about creditors and debtors; he did not depict the debtor as feeling ashamed of himself.

I suppose we have got to pay. It is an unpleasant necessity. But if we can pay, I see nothing particularly heroic and certainly nothing particularly "gentlemanly" about it.—Yours, &c.,

May 28th, 1923.

"DISGRUNTLED."

## FINANCE

By URBANUS.

POLITICS have continued to exercise a mild sway in the City, and have perhaps contributed to the extreme quietness of business which has characterised the week. Being predominantly conservative, the City is satisfied with the progress made towards closing the Conservative ranks. It is also pleased with its promise of direct representation in the Ministry which Mr. McKenna's prospective appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer implies. Mr. McKenna, it is said, has been induced to retrace his steps westwards by the strong views he holds on such matters as Treasury Bills, Treasury Bonds, deflation and financial aid to industry. Probably he will not do as much good as he thinks or as much harm as other people fear by any City-learned ingenuity he may display at the Treasury, but I think it is possible to hope that his return to office may strengthen the Government in a department in which it can certainly do with a little backbone, namely foreign policy. Mr. McKenna has shown himself a bold realist on the Reparation question. If he and Lord Robert Cecil choose to assert themselves the reconstruction of the Conservative Government may help towards the reconstruction of Europe.

The big League of Nations loan to Austria is now on the verge of making its appearance. The loan, about £29 millions sterling, will be issued in sections in various financial centres. The prospectus of Austria's own share—she is attempting to raise \$13,000,000—has already appeared. That for the British portion, which will amount to £6 millions at least, and perhaps somewhat more, may be expected in a week or so. It will consist of 6 per cent. bonds issued at 80, giving, therefore, a return on the money invested of 7½ per cent. apart from redemption. Seeing that the loan will be secured not only on the gross receipts of the Austrian Customs and tobacco monopoly, which are at present producing at the rate of nearly £6 millions a year, or 20 per cent. of the total loan, but upon the unconditional guarantees (in different proportions) of Great Britain, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Spain, Switzerland, and other European countries, I think that, making every possible allowance for the alarms and excursions which one has grown to expect in S.E. Europe, the terms can fairly be described as "attractive."

The negotiations for similar aid to Hungary are not going so well. I mentioned a few weeks ago that Hungary was seeking to have the Reparation liens on her State property and revenues raised, in order that she, too, might raise a reconstruction loan. The French representative on the Reparation Commission, however, has insisted that a portion of any such loan should be reserved for the payment of Reparation. That means that Great Britain and other countries not interested in Hungarian Reparation payments are to be asked to undertake to make her payments if she fails to do so. That is an impossible proposition. It is one thing to fail to secure payment of debts due to you, and quite another to undertake to pay debts due by a third party to your own debtors. But France will never lose anything for lack of asking for it.

Mr. Graham, the Canadian Minister of Railways, has been stung by the criticism "of financial writers in London and New York" into defending his Government from the charge of not having carried out its bargain with the Grand Trunk Pacific Debenture Stockholders. Whether the Canadian Government, having now merged in the Canadian National Rail-

ways the Grand Trunk Railway, whose net earnings are charged with the liability of providing for the interest on the Pacific Debenture Stock, is or is not carrying out its legal obligations is a question that can only be settled in the courts of law. But it is easy to show that the Canadian Government is not carrying out its moral bargain with the debenture stockholders. In February, 1918, the Canadian Government offered "to take over the Grand Trunk Pacific and branch lines and the Grand Trunk Railway; to acquire all assets and assume all obligations of both companies." The Grand Trunk Pacific Debenture Stock is primarily an obligation of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The offer to take over the obligations of that company was, therefore, an offer to pay the interest on the Debenture Stock, and it differed from the subsequent offer to take over the obligations of the Grand Trunk Railway only, including the contingent liability for the Pacific interest. What the Canadian Government does not and cannot explain is why, having definitely offered to pay the interest on the Grand Trunk Pacific Debenture Stock, it coolly withdrew that offer without consulting the holders and finally entered into an agreement by which it undertook a liability (the Grand Trunk Guaranteed Stock) ranking behind the debenture stock.

The meeting of the holders of the Chinese 5 per cent. "Vickers" and "Marconi" notes, which was held on Monday, brings the vexed question of the position of the Consortium once more into the limelight. The old Consortium of pre-war days was a body of British, American, French, Russian, and German bankers in whose hands was placed by common agreement the management of China's revenues in so far as they affected the service of her various loans. With the outbreak of war the body was necessarily dissolved, and in 1920 the New Consortium was formed, consisting of the three first-named Powers and Japan. The position now is that the service of all obligations of the Chinese Government which are not secured upon specific revenues is at the mercy of this new body, and without their consent nothing can be done. The New Consortium claims that contracts entered into with the old Consortium are binding on the Chinese Government, despite the fact that the two bodies are quite distinct, and it is at present opposing the various schemes which have been put forward to "fund" the notes and to provide new capital. Such a plan was put forward on Monday, the main points being that note-holders should receive bonds in the new loan at par in exchange for notes, and should be paid arrears of interest in cash on condition that they underwrite an equal nominal value of the bonds in addition to those received in exchange. The scheme was approved, and Mr. C. B. Crisp, who convened the meeting, is prepared to go ahead with the flotation of the loan. It remains to be seen whether the Consortium will prove obdurate. In the meantime the note-holders have formed a "Committee of Protection."

Of recent issues, one which has attracted wide interest is the offer of 250,000 £1 shares in Boots Pure Drug Company at £4. The Company which controls the well-known Boots Cash Chemists is itself managed by Liggetts International Limited, an American concern which purchased the whole ordinary share capital of the Drug Company—£100,000—in 1920, at a cost of £2,750,000. They have now multiplied the nominal amount by 10, and have sold 250,000 of the new £1 shares to the public at a rate which will bring in £4 million on the whole. To do this after three years management is a remarkable achievement, but it is rivalled by the increase in profit secured over the same period, the net amounts being £591,072 in 1922-23, as against £285,978 in 1919-20.

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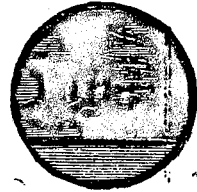
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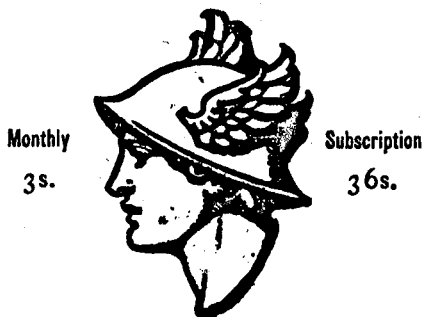
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## URBIS ET ORBIS

I AM able to give an outline of the reply to the British Notes which M. Poincaré intends to send, when he has delayed matters as long as he thinks he reasonably can. He has indicated clearly, in negotiations with the Belgians which have not been kept as secret as he could desire, his own amazing views. But here I pull myself up with a jerk. Why talk about the reply to proposals whose content is unknown to my readers, unless they are fortunate enough “to lunch and dine in the right houses”? I am quoting a distinguished London newspaper editor, who discussed anonymously in *THE OUTLOOK* last week why our newspapers no longer print news. His conclusion was that journalists now no longer seek news in order to print it, but to keep it dark. There are always plausible obscurantist arguments why almost any information on political subjects may do harm. For generations it was a criminal offence to report debates in Parliament. We are returning to that epoch, and soon surreptitious broadsides will have to be sold in the streets if the people of this country are to learn even the gist of the most vital decisions taken in their name, that affect the fortunes of their children as themselves, and the future of their country. Democracy has its faults, an uninformed public opinion may, and sometimes does, stampede politicians who know better into wrong courses. But if we are to have an autocracy, let it be open and aboveboard. At present, as the editor wrote last week, this absurd secrecy not only prevents the public from learning anything about Government policy, but it also, by strangling discussion, keeps the Government in doubt as to the measure of support or criticism which its decisions would attract were they known. All of which leads to timidity and half-measures.

THERE is really nothing in the Government's draft Note to Germany, or in the covering Note to the Allies, to warrant all this mystery. Mr. Baldwin's and Lord Curzon's original intentions were much watered-down by Die-Hard opposition. To be sure, President Wilson's stirring appeals to humanity, to the conscience of the world, are elaborately paraphrased, Whitehall hoping that when the day of publication

comes, its resounding rhetoric will arouse the nations as did the Fourteen Points. Whitehall, be it remarked in parentheses, forgets that when it decides to publish, its purple passages will be out-of-date, and people will not read them, much less thrill to them. Mr. Wilson never made that mistake. Our reply to Germany does not condemn passive resistance, a fact that much annoys the French, as I discovered in Paris this week. On the other hand, it does not demand that France leave the Ruhr. Reference to the Ruhr is scanty, on the ground that the Ruhr is a secondary issue which will settle itself when the main problem of Reparations is out of the way. Our main proposal is for an “impartial” international commission to assess Germany's capacity to pay. That adjective “impartial,” as will be seen later, has much discomfited M. Poincaré. We also plump for an American member, or chairman. Whether we designate him as chairman in the Note, I do not know. But we mean him to be in the chair. We also discuss in some detail, in the Note addressed to the Germans, their proposed guarantees to ensure the handing over of the annuities. They are worth discussing, but insufficient, and will need to be supplemented, we argue. That is really about all. Such sentiments are not incendiary, but we were fools enough to promise secrecy; and then M. Poincaré scared us almost to death when he said that if a word of the contents of the Notes were revealed from England, France would break off negotiations. A mad world, my masters.

NOW I come to the French reply. That it will be the French reply is almost certainly indicated by the none too conciliatory demands made in Brussels on Monday that Belgium adopt these views as her own in the Note she will send to London. M. Poincaré has laid down four points as the basis for his answer to London. Here they are:

POINT ONE.—*Absolute cessation of passive resistance in the Ruhr before any negotiations, direct or indirect, regarding any Franco-Belgian concessions.* This is a veto on a Belgian scheme now being drawn up which lays down the conditions under which the Allies will progressively withdraw from the Ruhr, and modify their regime there before withdrawing, as German payments are

made. Whether Belgium, again rudely rebuffed, will accept the veto, I do not know.

POINT TWO.—*No complete withdrawal from the Ruhr until the last mark of German Reparations has been paid.* Belgium was severely reminded that she has already agreed to this principle.

POINT THREE.—*No definite Reparations total to be fixed by the commission of investigation.* (Read this with Point Two in mind!) M. Poincaré's willingness to permit a commission to determine Germany's capacity to pay annuities, for a term of years, was indicated. Also, he agrees that the commission should report on the German guarantees suggested, and on the new ones to be required. But the total of Reparations, he suggests, should be considered ten or fifteen years hence in connection with inter-Allied debts.

POINT FOUR.—*As to the composition of the commission, M. Poincaré objects to our use of the word "impartial."* He has told the Belgians that this may mean we want neutrals on the commission, which he will not tolerate. The Belgians have answered that since an American member is specifically named, if England meant neutrals as well, she would have said neutrals. *The commission must have no authority, and must be subsidiary to the Reparations Commission.*

THE cornerstone of our new Continental policy is to get the Reparations problem settled, out of the way, so that Europe can down arms and get back to work. M. Poincaré's attitude is clear from the facts given above, obtained, I may say, from an unquestionable source. He is willing to send a joint reply to Germany, even to make our Note a basis for that reply, provided its meaning is twisted into exactly the opposite of what it does mean. There is to be no Reparations settlement. No total sum is to be fixed. For a period of years as much is to be got out of Germany as Germany can pay. But, always, France remains in the Ruhr until the last of the total indemnity has been paid. Here, at last, is the direct and open challenge that will force Mr. Baldwin to act, or to admit that he was bluffing. If the Die-Hards forbid him to accept the challenge, he will have no honourable alternative, after what he has said, but resignation. On other matters we might make concessions, but not on this vital point. Why is it that the French object to neutrals on the Commission, and to an American, although they think it inadvisable openly to protest against an American? The answer is so obvious that it need not be set down. If France would accept the Commission, an "impartial" Commission, we should not haggle about the nationality of its members. And, as for passive resistance, the Germans are in such desperation that they will give that up, if we ask them. We shall not ask it, we cannot in decency do so, unless we have assurances that France will respect her Treaty obligations and evacuate after a settlement has been reached. But in view of the attitude of the French Premier, it now seems certain that no agreement is possible, at any rate until after the French elections next year. M. Poincaré expects to win those elections by keeping the Ruhr issue alive, and he may be right. Will the Continent hold together over another winter?

THE serious aspect of Press muzzling in this country has been dealt with above. When you have a Press that is forbidden to print the news of the day, or, as in our case, cajoled into not printing it, you inevitably find that bureaucracy makes up for keeping facts out of newspapers by supplying them with official "pap" tending to its own praise and glorification. Hence the disgraceful "Worthy" incident, when the Post Office officially communicated to the Press a eulogy of its Chief that contained criticism of the man the Postmaster-General's Chief has selected to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. This, of course, was going too far, as yet. Sir L. Worthington-Evans is no fool, and would never have countenanced such an outrage, had he known it was in preparation. But the incident is significant. To-day, it is denounced as unheard-of, and everyone concerned apologises. In another five years, if the Press continues in chains, newspapers will accept such "puffs" as a matter of course, as they do now in France and Italy. In France, what independent Press there is is persecuted by delivery agents and by railways, and in Italy Signor Mussolini has succeeded in silencing every opposition organ excepting the *Corriere della Sera*, which still maintains a precarious existence in Milan. In England, it is true that no editor meekly published the "Worthy puff." But then no editor, even in Manchester, has published the gist of the British Notes to Germany and the Allies.

WITH a surplus of five millions on the Post Office working, there is no reason whatever why the penny post should not be restored next year; indeed, with a little more pluck, it could have been restored this year. The accidents of politics have, however, given us a new Postmaster-General about once a month of late, which is not conducive to taking a long view; but Sir L. Worthington-Evans is probably installed at St. Martins for some time, and once he has settled down into his new job, he should realise both the possibility and the promise. The Post Office does not exist to make profits, but to serve the public—it does its work very well on the whole—and although I have no great belief in a Government's ability to help trade, I agree that a reduction in postage rate would make a very substantial difference to business. The cost of postage has been a serious item in most offices for several years past, and incidentally it has had a small but real effect in keeping prices up. Even if the Post Office showed a small deficit in consequence, this little evil would be more than counterbalanced by the great good. As to the restoration of the Sunday delivery, which is advocated in some quarters, I confess that I do not see the need of it. If a legacy had ever arrived for me on a Sunday morning I might have thought differently; but my recollection of pre-war Sunday deliveries in the country is distinctly of bills, touts, catalogues, and similar stuff. At least it is something to be immune from that one day in the week. I am no strict Sabbatarian. I have never thought it necessary to avoid knitting or lawn tennis on a Sunday. But I do think we ought to try and avoid worry, and that I suspect—if I may say so in all reverence—was the original,

Old Testament idea of the Day of Rest. Being all of us miserable sinners we shall have quite enough to worry about after hearing the litany in Church, without being pestered by Income Tax Forms and Saturday's unpaid bills.

AS I read the division lists on Monday night's disarmament debate, a hopeless feeling came over me that the Liberal split may be irrevocable. Labour naturally went into one Lobby and Tory into the other; but why should Wee Frees have all followed Labour and Nat.-Libs. all voted Tory? This indicates for the first time a definite mental cleavage in the ranks, more fundamental than the old feud of Little Englander and Liberal Imperialist. If this was a considered vote on the part of the Lloyd Georgeites—and one is bound to hold that it was—then their future seems quite definitely with the Conservatives, and Sir John Simon and Mr. Pringle are right in refusing the olive branch of the Liberal Unionists, who are now formally Tories; and the Wee Frees will have to build up the Liberal Party afresh, *gemino ab ovo*. But first they will have to produce the new egg. An attempt was made to do so, of course, at Manchester, but it does not seem to have proved very hatchable. The curious thing is that Tory organisers assure me that Liberalism is very much alive in the constituencies, but it does not seem capable of expressing itself at Westminster. Perhaps the true explanation is that the mental cleavage, which is so apparent in Parliament, hardly exists in the constituencies at all. After all, the Liberal Party, ever since the days of Lord Rosebery, has always managed to include both Imperialists and Little Englanders within its ranks. What has held it together is a unity of temperament and of general outlook rather than of definite opinions. That, at any rate, is my personal impression.

DO not know how much truth there is in the statement that the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which has been considering the question of reports of divorce proceedings in newspapers, has unanimously decided to recommend that in future only a bare statement of the petitioner's case, the defence, and the judge's summing up may be printed. What I am clear on, however, is that any such truncated account of an action in the Divorce Court is liable to do serious injustice to one or other of the parties concerned. There are cases in which nearly everything depends upon the behaviour of witnesses under cross-examination. The newspapers are now to be prohibited from publishing any evidence at all! Another still more obvious point is that if the kind of paper that has been the worst offender in the past is prevented from handing out divorce court tit-bits to its readers, it will give them something else of the same kind instead. And nobody who has ever visited the Criminal Courts can doubt for a moment that they will provide an even wider scope to the reporter whose job it is to dig out dirt for the delectation of his particular public. We shall not have so many titled persons involved, but we shall be even nastier than before. We shall have jumped out of the frying-pan into the fire.

NEMO.

## The Week in Parliament

COMMANDER COOPER RAWSON, exasperated no doubt by the fate of the Brighton Diamond Factory Bill which was talked into the autumn session on Friday night, has now asked the Prime Minister whether he will consider setting up a committee "to consider provisions for limiting the duration of speeches of private members, as is done in the London County Council." Toby Junior, jealous for the privileges of private members, cannot, though he has the fullest sympathy with the honourable and gallant gentleman's wishes, acquiesce lightly in the regulation of this matter by rule of procedure. He wonders, however, whether something could not be done by general consensus of opinion. After all, there is no standing order to prevent private members from sitting on the Government Front Bench, yet somehow (except the Members for the City on certain stated occasions) they don't; nor is there any reason, except tradition and usage, why certain senior members should be allowed an indefeasible claim to corner seats, yet in practice they are. It only needs a lead from Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister, and the Leader of the Opposition, and the thing would be as good as done. Fifteen minutes (at the most twenty) is enough for any skilled debater to make his points in. The length of existing speeches under existing conditions is more than a joke from the point of view of listening to them, and in addition a serious invasion of the rights of other members. In Monday's debate on the Colonial Office, eight speakers took up five hours between them, leaving one hour to be scrambled for, and eventually torn to pieces, by five more speakers. The House of Commons is full of men with intimate knowledge of all the subjects that are debated. They ought to have an opportunity of giving their views, and it should be the aim of the debate to reflect as many facets of opinion as can be shown. This is impossible as debates are arranged now; and Toby Junior, in view of Commander Rawson's question, and at the same time bearing in mind the fact that the voluminous and detailed criticism of the Kenya Settlement was the main cause of the congestion on Wednesday, is content, with one small modification, to repeat the pious aspiration of Mr. Simon Tappetit: "Something ought to come of this. . . . I hope it mayn't be Ormsby's Gore."

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*Tempora mutantur.* When he was last a Member of Government (not so long ago) the Post-Master General was accustomed to a smiling acceptance by the public of what then used to be described as "necessary publicity." It must have come as something of a shock to the Right Honourable Gentleman to find the methods of yesterday held up to scorn and execration by the Press to-day; until he investigated the work of the Publicity Department of the Post Office, and found its output to consist in a "vulgar and stupid puff" (his own description) decidedly unworthy of the traditions of the Civil Service and of his own high office. (Toby Junior hopes he may be forgiven for using the word "unworthy.") Mr. Pringle, however, who of late, like Brer Rabbit, has been "lying low and saying nuffin'," immediately put his top-hatted head out of his lair in the corner seat on the fourth bench below the gangway, and announced his intention of raising the whole question of the publicity services of Government Departments on the Consolidated Fund Bill. Sickly smiles passed over the faces of Ministers, each wondering what he was being or had been let in for.

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It was a little unfortunate that the Prime Minister in his speech on disarmament on Monday should have referred to the gradual repression in mankind of the instincts of the wild beast; for, no sooner had he resumed his seat, leaving fifteen minutes for somebody else, than his supporters proceeded to howl down a Liberal Member who rose to continue the debate. Nor was the conduct of the Government supporters altogether in keeping with the attitude defined by the Prime Minister, who directed his followers to support Mr. O'Neill's amendment which urged the Government "through the League of Nations and otherwise" to take the earliest favourable opportunity of bringing about a general limitation of armaments. The Labour motion having been put and rejected, the normal procedure would have been for the amendment to be carried. However, the division had gone over eleven o'clock, and on the amendment being put the Die Hards rose in their places and talked it out, the result being that the considered opinion of the House of Commons upon the question of disarmament reads as follows: "This House resolves that—," a slightly cynical but not altogether misleading reflexion of the general state of world public opinion on the subject.

TOBY JUNIOR, M.P.

## The Kenya Wobble

THE Government's decision in the controversy between the white and the Indian settlers in East Africa might have been worse. We gladly admit at the outset that Ministers, as any white men would be bound to do, rejected the Indian claims for a racial equality which would in theory have placed the Indians in control of the Colony, and in practice have led to their extermination. But the Duke of Devonshire's Memorandum is unfortunate in form, because it is weak and shifty. Instead of frankly and honestly rejecting the Indian claims, it evades them, and suggests ways and means for getting around them, thereby giving the Indian agitators the impression that the Government is afraid—always wrong tactics in dealing with Orientals, as with blacks. We need not repeat our previous suggestions as to the course that should have been adopted, for we are fortunate in having before us the speech of General Smuts on Wednesday outlining how the Union of South Africa proposes to deal with the same situation that confronts the ten thousand white settlers in Kenya, whose appeal to the Colonial Office has just been answered. His views as to South Africa are those we have expressed as to Kenya. General Smuts is a great Liberal statesman. To his eternal honour, he alone of the Allied plenipotentiaries at Versailles announced in a public statement his dissatisfaction with that pernicious instrument, and the arguments he then laid down have since been accepted by enlightened persons in all nations. It is to General Smuts, more than to any other one man excepting President Wilson, that we owe the Covenant of the League of Nations. Here is a Premier, whatever his faults, who cannot be called a reactionary, or a narrow-minded Imperialist. General Smuts has been in negotiation with the Government of India regarding Indian demands for franchise in the Union. He states frankly, without mincing words, that his Government considers it impossible to distinguish, for franchise purposes, between Indians and natives. He announces the proposed compulsory segregation of Asiatics by local option, and comments: "I do not see why it should be resented by Indians or why the break-up of the British Empire should be threatened over a thing like that. I have heard of such things as caste in India, and have heard of such a thing as one Indian entirely refusing to associate with another Indian; and I do not see why these catchwords 'freedom' and 'equality' should be applied by Indians in South Africa. It is a case for treatment on its merits. . . . We want to do what is just and fair, and to place the Indians where they should be and leave the rest to the people of South Africa. We, as a European community, have only one plain duty before us. We can only carry out that duty . . . and in doing so we shall try to give as little

offence as possible to the Indian people in this country or elsewhere."

That is a brave and manly course to take, and we venture to prophesy that the Indians, after a little more wild talk, will accept the inevitable in South Africa, and cease their agitation there. How does our Government at home meet exactly the same issue, governed by the same racial and economic facts, when it comes up in Kenya? First, the recommendations of Sir William Simpson, a great authority on Oriental disease, for racial segregation in Kenya, are rejected, although they were accepted in Lord Milner's pledge to the Colonists in 1920. Thus, as a sop to Indian agitation, the Government appears to throw the door open to those Oriental diseases which, as Professor Simpson solemnly warned all concerned, in this journal and elsewhere, may without proper measures of control ravage blacks and whites alike. This would be desperately serious, excepting that our Government does not really mean what it appears to say. It is pointed out . . . "the rigid enforcement of sanitary, police, and building regulations, without any racial discrimination, by the Colonial and municipal authorities will suffice. It may well prove that in practice the different races will, by a natural affinity, keep together in separate quarters, but to effect such separation by legislative enactment except on the strongest sanitary grounds would not, in the opinion of his Majesty's Government, be justifiable." This simply means: "We will not have any formally recognised 'racial discrimination,' but you can quietly make such strict sanitary regulations that the Indians, who will not accept those standards which white men find necessary, will have to keep to themselves. Thus the result is the same." Such cowardly evasion, we repeat, will fool no Indian, but it will make the Indians think that the Government is afraid of them, and encourage them to continue their agitation and utter more threats.

On the franchise question, the frankness and honesty of General Smuts again contrasts strangely with our Government's timidity. Why not agree, with General Smuts, that if the Indians are given votes the blacks are equally entitled to them? That is the common-sense answer to Indian claims for equality of citizenship. Instead, the "communal franchise" is adopted in Kenya. The Indians are to vote for members of their own race, and will be permitted to choose five elected Indians for the Legislative Council, as contrasted with eleven elected Europeans and one Arab. The Government proposes always to nominate enough official members, in addition to the elected members, to retain an official majority. Here, again, we have the same evasion, the same timidity, the same fear of rejecting outright the Indian claim. White control of the Legislative Council is carefully assured, but the means adopted are calculated to irritate and annoy the white settlers, and to encourage renewed

Indian unrest, to convince trouble-makers in India itself that their threats have impressed the British Raj.

We have more than once drawn attention to the fact that the British Government cannot, if it would, enforce measures favouring Kenya Indians against the will of the white minority. The reason for this is simply that the Union of South Africa will not permit any Indian danger to exist in any part of Africa, because of the repercussions to be feared within Union territory. General Smuts has made this plain, he has now laid down the Union policy towards the Indians, and we hope the Government at home will take warning and allow Kenya's white settlers the utmost latitude in interpreting the unsatisfactory decision handed down. These men have been patient and long-suffering, and the result of any further interference in favour of the Indians from London is bound to be an appeal to South Africa for protection, an appeal that would not go unheeded. We cannot afford to risk, for the first time in our Empire, the coalition of a Crown Colony with a self-governing Dominion against the Government in London. By their feebleness in the face of agitation in India itself Ministers here have come dangerously near to creating a situation in which one of the links that join together the Empire may be snapped. Kenya may not loom large in the minds of most of us, but the Empire does. And a chain is no stronger than its weakest link.

## The Disarmament Illusion

FIVE years after the war which Mr. H. G. Wells assured us was to end war, the House of Commons again finds it necessary to discuss the increase of armaments. Some of the men who spoke took part in the similar debate ten years ago, and if anybody were cruel enough to compare the speeches of 1913 and 1923, he would probably find that the same arguments were repeated, almost in the same words. Whatever difference war may make to our hearts, our comfort, and our pockets, it appears to make none whatever to our ideas. Everything else has changed, but our mental processes have not. We still think in terms of war and conflict.

The fact deserves more consideration than the House of Commons gave it, for it goes near to the root of all these recurrent and utterly ineffective debates on disarmament. Everybody denounces war as evil and destructive and immoral—the familiar adjectives come trippingly to the tongue—yet everybody is ready to make an exception for one particular war as righteous, just, and moral. The plain, blunt man will tell you in one sentence that he hates war, but is ready to fight the enemies of his country; the great idealist will explain in many columns that he, too, hates war, but that a war for freedom—of a small nation, of the seas, or of somebody's conscience—is a noble enterprise. The low road and the high may be very different, but both lead to the same terminus, which is force.

Even the pacifist, who denounces all wars, is found in practice to make his own significant exception. He will not fight Germany, or France, or Russia, or the political enemy of the moment; he will have nothing to do with crusades on behalf of Armenia or some oppressed nationality in the Balkans or elsewhere; but he is quite ready for a civil war at home. He sees life, not as a conflict of States or peoples, but as a conflict of classes. Yet for all that he still sees life as essentially a struggle and a conflict. The object is different, the mentality is the same.

Until we recognise these things—and they never are recognised in the unreal atmosphere of public debate—we shall never make any progress. We all profess to desire the abolition of war—but the other side must set the example; and meanwhile there is one little exception to the general rule—a market to be secured, a province to be pacified, a tyrant to be deposed, or a wrong to be righted—and that exception happens to be the one thing in which we are interested. The same pulpit that denounces war as un-Christian will proceed to argue that a war against Turkey is a crusade for Christianity.

We discount, therefore, nine-tenths of Monday's talk on disarmament; it is not the armaments that matter, but the state of mind that produces the armaments. And in that respect we see no change whatever between the mentality of 1923 and 1913—or, for that matter, of 1319. Even the prospect of a limitation of armaments, which at first sight seems more hopeful, turns out on examination to be Dead Sea fruit. The Washington Conference was indeed a resounding success—on paper. The three great naval Powers of the world agreed to reduce their battleships; the minor naval Powers, with some hesitation, agreed to follow suit. But France refused to scrap her submarines; land armaments were omitted from the agenda; and the decision as to battleships was obviously influenced by the prevalent feeling that the capital ship is an expensive luxury which is becoming ineffective in comparison with air forces. There was no Washington Conference after the Hundred Years' War; but if there had been, every nation would have paraded its willingness to limit its armaments in pikes and arrows, and have discovered that cannons and gunpowder were outside the terms of reference. The limitation of armaments in practice limits obsolescent arms, and leaves more money for the weapon of the future.

This may sound a pessimistic conclusion; at least it is better than sheer illusion and meaningless sentiment. We shall never get rid of wars by talking about it; it is policy that makes war, not war that makes policy. And in the world as we see it to-day there is not less but more material for war than ten years ago. The late war, it was said, was fought between two rival Imperialisms; but there are now not two, but twenty Imperialisms on the Continent—every little nation among the Succession States has its own Imperial policy, secret but obvious, constantly disavowed yet palpable and evident. The nationalism of the nineteenth century has become a monstrous and sinister growth in the twentieth; the only "good Europeans" to-day are the Americans, and for obvious reasons—of which the chief is the American repudiation of



Europe in 1919—they count for nothing in the maelstrom of intrigue, ambition, and hatred that infests every capital.

On none of these matters did the House of Commons touch. It avoided the crowning insincerity of pretending that war is over for ever; but it significantly accepted, by implication, the theory that war is inevitable, that it is necessary to prepare for it, and that the best that can be done is to postpone it as long as possible. There was in fact little more that could be said in open debate, but we should be sorry to think this is the last word of European diplomacy or British statesmanship. If that is so, then the one is doomed and the other bankrupt.

### The Puff Direct

**P**UFFING, as the great Mr. Puff himself remarked in Sheridan's *Critic*, is of various sorts. There is, for instance, "the puff direct, the puff preliminary, the puff collateral, the puff collusive, and the puff oblique, or puff by implication." And these take various forms, such as "Letter to the Editor, Occasional Anecdote, Impartial Critique," and so on. It all sounds remarkably modern. Indeed, puffing is an art which the present generation is really supposed to understand; it is a subject upon which even Sheridan can teach us nothing—or, at any rate, we try to think so. Our methods may be a little crude. The Occasional Anecdote may be beyond the reach of the average advertising "expert," and the Letter to the Editor may be so clumsily worded as to finish up almost invariably in the editorial wastepaper basket. But these are the subtleties of the trade. We prefer the bludgeon to the eighteenth-century rapier. Our tendency is to avoid the puff oblique and the rest, and to rely almost entirely on the puff direct.

It ought to be. Yet the history of journalism and politics is strewn with its failures, of which the sad case of Sir Laming Worthington-Evans and the publicity man at the G.P.O. is only the last and most striking example. One pictures the unhappy man sitting up all night over his task—he is one of those bright young men, no doubt, whom everyone believes in because they know exactly how to "get there." He puts his whole soul into the work. And when at last the "puff" is ready and has been dispatched to the offices of the morning papers, he leans back with a sigh and thinks of the blush of pleasure that will rise to the face of the P.M.G. when he sees it next morning at breakfast. It must be so. By every standard of intelligence or good taste known to publicity men this "puff" is bound to please. And, if it pleases, it is but "cold and merciless logic" to conclude that it will not go unrewarded. It is pathetic to contemplate the shattering disillusionment of the next morning: the sneers of the Press, the rage of Sir Laming, choking over his eggs and bacon, spluttering about "vulgar and stupid puffs." That well-meaning publicity man must have thought that the world had gone mad.

There are two methods by which such unhappy incidents can be avoided in future. One is for the Post Office to sack its publicity men and give up

puffs altogether. In the general disgust that is the method that seems to be most generally advocated at the present moment. The Post Office people—so singularly unenterprising in other ways—have over-puffed themselves before; there was a story about Mr. Kellaway and a motor-car that caused much ribald laughter. They will do it again, it is argued, unless the whole thing is stopped. On the other hand, the Post Office is a business organisation which is trying to sell things to the public. We dislike personal paragraphs about its head just as we should dislike them about the head of a private firm. Everyone who cares whether or not Sir Laming Worthington-Evans is nicknamed "Worthy" is aware of the fact already. It is a waste of public money to advertise it in print. But good publicity is quite another matter.

In short, the Post Office should *advertise*; it should make its bright young publicity men concentrate upon that alone. There is all the difference in the world, as every advertising man knows, between advertisement and mere publicity. Every murderer, every co-respondent in a divorce case gets publicity—more of it than he wants. If Judas Iscariot had employed the cleverest publicity experts in the world they could not have got him more publicity than he has already. And publicity is all that poor Sir Laming is likely to get out of this present stunt. But if the time and money that were wasted on this stupid "puff" had been expended judiciously upon a carefully thought-out advertisement, both the Post Office and the general public might then have benefited thereby. It is still possible to be up-to-date in these matters without being vulgar.

There is a curious tendency in the Press to blame Mr. Lloyd George for the whole business. At a time when that statesman, if left to himself, would appear to be well on the road to oblivion, his newspaper enemies conspire to keep him in the limelight by saddling upon him every error of judgment and every wrong habit of thought acquired during the later stages of the war. They blame him for introducing publicity stunts, forgetting that he himself was one of the British nation's publicity stunts—and not an entirely unsuccessful one. Such things had to be in war-time. Surely we can drop them now, as we have dropped Mr. Lloyd George, without making a fuss about it or pretending that this kind of thing was always done against our will.

### Russia's New Slavery

BY HUNTLY CARTER.

MOSCOW, JULY.

**I** AM at sea. It is the highly contentious Black Sea. It invites me to write about liberty. The sea always does. Has the Russian Revolution set the Russian people free, or has it enslaved them more than ever? I am writing the answer on board a Russian tramp. And if my pen appears to run off the line occasionally it is because life on board a tramp does not make for political, economic, and social discussion but for sailors' yarns of the Flying Dutchman sort. Especially when, as in the present case, it is a small Soviet tramp not more than 600 tons, old as sin, slow-going and afflicted with a foulness that Satan would like. We, the crew, are twenty all told. I say we because encased in a boiler suit and a week or two's dirt, I feel I am one of them. Eight of us are Com-

munists—the real thing, red to the nose-tips. Exclusive of the skipper and his mates, we form a Soviet. We have chosen our leader, who receives complaints, settles them, or hands them on to Petrograd. As for the skipper, he is negligible. We allow him to take the ship from port to port, and that's about as much authority a skipper may expect these Soviet times. "This is a Russian ship. We don't ask the captain when we want beer," said one of the crew to me one day. "We have it." The ship's chandler had come aboard with some baskets of beer (twenty-five bottles to the basket). I offered to stand the crew treat, the captain willing. So, the captain willing or not, they had it—seventy bottles at a sitting. And as they drank it they re-reminded me that the ship was theirs. Its organisation and discipline was theirs. It was all theirs. They were not slaves. They were men—sailor-men.

I remembered that a factory worker had pitched a similar yarn. The factory was his, he had a committee, the discipline, organisation was his. He was a man. But he forgot to tell me that if he did not go in the street and demonstrate when his Trade Union wanted him, he was heavily fined and dismissed. To return to the ship. Our flag is red also. It bears the mystic sign R.S.F.S.R. Sometimes the westerling golden sun glides behind it, then it turns black and the sign becomes a skull and cross-bones, or so it seems. Near by, swinging aloft in the main rigging, is the ship's ice-safe. A filthy canvas rag flaps round a side of beef blackened out of recognition by sun, wind, and smoke. The dusk comes, and with it the evening mist, and you imagine you see the blackened corpse of a hapless buccaneer swinging at the yard-arm.

On the whole we are a buccaneer-looking lot, made up of the worst elements of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and Barrie's *Peter Pan*. Come aboard and I will show you Long John Silver's double. We have no foul-mouthed parrot. But we have a dog. It is a mangy, terrifying beast, pushed and heavy-laden with pup, and ever ready to bury its fangs in you.

There is much in this old iron hulk to give a stir to the imagination. Indeed it invites a fantasy on the New Pirate Ship. But why? Of course, it is nothing of the sort. It is simply a ship belonging to the Soviet Government, manned by a crew in their service and pay. It may be for this reason that the ship and its human cargo call forth fantastical comparison. It has the new spirit on board. Thus it exhibits characteristics to be found nowhere out of Russia or its somewhat deboshed mercantile navy. The crew are moved by this spirit. They affect equality and fraternity, and believe they enjoy liberty. Liberty to do what? They choose their own Caesar to whom all appeal when trouble appears. There is no doffing of hats, no sound of "Sir," no cringing and crawling to their superiors, as they put it, no keeping at a distance. They glory in dismissing the formalities which characterise the crew's behaviour on ships of other nations. They simply do as they like, subject to obeying sea rules necessary to keep the ship afloat. Even the dog has caught the liberty infection. It manures at will all over the red-hot deck and no one interferes.

It is strange how these Russian sailors mistake familiarity for liberty. Actually it is familiarity which possesses them just as it does a pirate crew who are at each other's mercy. Every blessed member of the Russian crew, who, by the way, are a friendly and harmless lot, talks of liberty as the great blessing conferred on him by the Revolution. Because they can talk to the captain as man to man, can go from bow to stern without asking leave or begging pardon, can horse-play or card-play at will, these sailors firmly believe liberty is theirs. Monstrous delusion! Watch

them and you will find they work as hard as galley-slaves, their pay is poor, their clothes are rag-bag stuff, their food and drink would make English sailors mutiny, they sleep in quarters that resemble little hells, and at the end of a hot, still day you can hear them in their bunks crying aloud to God to send the truant wind to relieve them of the mosquitoes or they perish of stings. But for all their shortcomings and sufferings they obstinately believe they are free people. True, they confess Soviet Russia is not a perfect land of liberty as yet. But the spies have come out of the Canaan bearing fair samples of fruit. In 10, 15, 20, perhaps 25 years—well, wait and see. That eternal Wait and See!!!

As we glide, day after day, across the amazing sea surface, now like polished ivory inlaid with old gold, now like a fabulous film reflecting the fantastical forms of the ship, and now like a Turner palette on which colour sits enthroned, I cannot help comparing the particular conception of liberty held by the crew with the general practice of liberty in Russia itself. Free Russia is like Feudal Rome. This thought continually crosses my mind. The Russian people are like the ancient Romans, divided into three sects—priests, military, and slaves. The heads of the Communist Government are the priests, the army is the military, and the workers are the slaves. It would be unfair to suggest that the latter are as enslaved as the Romans, but they are slaves all the same. They differ from the Romans in not knowing they are slaves. The Roman slaves were chained to galleys and in labour gangs; the Russian workers are chained to the will of the Communist priests. This will is exercised so ingeniously that it produces the delusion of liberty. It allows the workers to express themselves freely in a Communistic way, and sternly represses attempts at expression in any other way. Workers and peasants are told that the land and factories are theirs, the theatres, cinemas, cultural institutions, books, and newspapers are theirs. They are told that they are not slaves. "We are not slaves" is written on the walls of Russia, from one end to the other. They are told that everything is theirs. "You are the people, the means and fruits of production and enlightenment are yours. Artists, poets, actors, musicians—all are at your service. The Intelligentsia that once served your taskmasters will now serve you. Come on the streets. Unite art and life. Revive pageantry as it has never been revived. Let yourselves go. Remember you are free men." Such is the potent wine distilled to intoxicate them. But the hand that distils it, is guided by the iron of will of the Communist dictators. Liberty and Dictatorship! You might as well try to mix oil and water.

Still the wine is drunk and the Dictatorship is felt, but the fumes of the wine blot out the latter's interference with individual liberty. And we have the strange sight of a people enmeshed and denying it. Evidence of this is before me in abundance. A few days before I sailed someone said to me, "To-morrow you will be the happiest man in Petrograd." Noticing my puzzled look, he added, "You will know you are at liberty to leave it." This was at Smolny, the Petrograd passport office. "We Russians," he continued, "may not leave it. For several weeks I have been waiting for a visa, and I know I shall not get it. Do you know that during the last three weeks no Russian passports have been issued? Something is going on. For my own part I have nothing against me except that I am a Russian, and to-day the fact simply is that Russians may not leave Russia." Beyond this he had nothing to complain of. To him, the Soviet Government appeared a good one. In short, he talked like a prisoner whose goaler has hypnotised him. As I toiled through room after room of this vast passport Inferno, it might have been through the seven circles of Dante's Inferno with seventy added, each seething

with festering human beings, a tortured soul rose here and there with the parrot-cry, "I cannot get out of Russia. Three months and more have I waited for a visa." And yet these are the very people who are being continually told that everything in Russia is theirs.

A day or two later I sat in the Government shipping office by the Neva. Next to me sat a little woman. She held a handful of papers. "Leaving Russia?" I inquired. She shook her head, and said: "I am only going a little distance outside Petrograd." "Formalities," I remarked, glancing at her papers. That seemed to stir her up. She pointed in rapid succession to rooms here, there, and everywhere, in the office, across the street, across the river, in the sky, on earth, under it. It was as though she were reciting "The Charge of the Visa Brigade," with apologies to Tennyson. Visas to the right of us; visas to the left of us; visas in front of us; and bureaucrats follied and blundered. She stamped countless imaginary papers, and she paid out countless milliard roubles. In short, she went through a most expressive pantomime of a human being simply controlled to death. But there was no tears in her pantomime. You would have thought it was a part of her daily routine and as pleasant as pudding-making to her.

Then there was the prominent writer who, in answer to my question, "What does Russia want of Literature, Art, the Theatre, and other forms of high expression?" replied, "It wants many things, but it only gets one—revolutionary propaganda." He himself was a writer with an original mind capable of expressing new and formative ideas. Literature, he said, must be Communistic and positive. Mysticism, metaphysics, and philosophy are banned. Thought must be positive, not abstract. The position of an original writer who, like himself, is not a Communist is extremely difficult. He must choose subjects approved by Communists, or get out. Though excluded from original expression he rather liked the Government. With the Government as landlord he only paid 2 or 3 dollars a month (as he put it) for his miserable accommodation, whereas a private landlord would charge him 120 or more. Let the Communists alone and they will let you alone, appeared to be his motto. The same motto applies to the devil.

"You seem to be always at work from noon to midnight," I said to a Russian woman who once upon a time was a leader of Russian progressive thought, but had voluntarily joined the new order. She was bending over a paper filling it up with a mass of writing. She raised her head, threw her pen down wearily, and pointed to a heap of similar documents scattered about her. "It's Government work," she said. "Nowadays I do nothing else but this drudgery. I go to the office at ten. I work steadily to four. I come home and I work hard till the small hours. Work is never finished. Like everybody else in Russia I am obliged to keep on to get bare subsistence. I receive about three milliard roubles a month and it costs five to live." "We are not slaves," I said, sarcastically. "We are not unemployed," she replied, with a touch of sad humour. And added: "Our Government is for the good of the people."

So, all considered, one can see with half an eye that the Russian Revolution has not set the Russian people free. It has brought about a change of expression, that is all. The old slavery is replaced by the new. Perhaps the Russian people themselves are to blame. When studying them in all their relations one cannot avoid the conclusion that they are slaves by temperament, training, and physique. Moreover, ten years of unparalleled vicissitude has set up paralysis of the will. To-day they are mentally and physically sick people. They are as clay in the hands of the Communist potters. Freedom begins with the spirit. The new rulers are hard-faced, strong-willed business men,

trained in up-to-date, practical, and positive business methods. They have nothing to do with the spirit. Have they not banished philosophy, mysticism, metaphysics? Do they not propose that Russia shall enter upon its machine age for the first time in its history? "Communism is Soviet Power plus machinery," says Lenin.

## The Irish Elections

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

ANOTHER General Election is close at hand in Ireland. The present Dail has not been in existence much more than a year; but the conditions under which this body was elected, and the absence of a large number of its members, have necessarily given it a makeshift character. Meanwhile the franchise has been extended, and whereas the present Dail consists nominally of 128 members, 153 seats will be fought for at the approaching elections. Much history has been made during Mr. Cosgrave's tenancy of office. A constitution has been enacted, and peace has been restored after many years—where Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Hamar Greenwood failed, a native Government has succeeded. It is true to say that peace has been restored; indeed Ireland is as peaceful at the moment as ever she has been since the outbreak of the European War—which is not to say, however, that she has never been more contented, or that there are no danger-signals of renewed trouble. Seeing that Republicans will take part in the coming elections—one Republican candidate in every constituency, says Mr. de Valera, will ask for a first preference vote—and that if they win they will not take their seats; further, seeing that some of them threaten more war if they lose, it cannot be pretended either that we have finally decided the question of traditional policy, as it may be called, or that we propose to decide it in future by argument instead of force. The revolutionary Labour movement must also be taken into account.

Nevertheless I think the elections will turn as much on personalities as on policy. The Government is more popular than it was a few months ago; nothing succeeds like success. I saw President Cosgrave coming from a lecture the other day, and he had a welcome from the crowds in the street more enthusiastic than any Irish leader has had since Mr. de Valera went to make an "armistice" with General Macready. There are other Ministers with whom any strong Free State Government will scarcely do without. But the Ministerial Party in the Dail is very weak. Its level of intelligence is not high, and its energy, with one or two exceptions, is confined to mechanical voting. The Independent Free Staters in the Dail, the Labour members, the representatives of Trinity College, even the Farmers' party are much more lively-minded and active. To remedy the position, the Government has attempted to establish a Ministerial Party and organisation in the country. But they have not met with much success in this. The organisation interests no one in particular. Such few Nationalists as are still ambitious of cutting a figure in Irish politics naturally think they should themselves be Ministers, and will not go forward for an organisation the success of which would mean that there would be no change in the personnel of the Government. The probability is that the Ministerial Party will lose a good many seats at the elections, and that, in order to meet the opposition of Labour in the Dail, President Cosgrave will be obliged to propose a coalition with members of the Farmers' Party, and perhaps with the Independents. This will not affect governmental policy should Republicanism revive; it may, however, add fuel to the fire of Labour criticism of Irish society.

As to the Republicans, their prospects are not

generally favoured by the prophets: six of their men returned is a common estimate. I should put the figure higher than this, but at under fifteen. This would be a smaller success than Mr. de Valera's party gained at the polls in 1922; but the elections of 1922 were fought under Michael Collins's unfortunate Pact, which (more or less) obliged Free Staters to give their second preference to a Republican. There is no reason to think that the ordinary Irishman, even the ordinary revolutionary Irishman, wants to be disenfranchised, and disenfranchised he would be if he elects men who propose in advance to abstain from their duties. Presumably the Republican candidates will be, for the most part, selected from prisoners, who could not, if they would, put in an appearance in Dail. This will put an obstacle in the way of the genial suggestion, recently made by Mr. Larkin, that Labour men and Republicans should turn up in the next Parliament, collaborate in a refusal to take the royal oath, but insist on taking their seats, on the model of Bradlaugh's action at Westminster.

In the past the "man-in-the-street" generally could predict pretty closely the main results of an Irish election; and his view this time is very adverse to the Republicans' chances. Indeed, he scarcely discusses them. What he is more interested in is the prospects of Labour. Conservative opinion in Ireland—and Conservative opinion includes some Republicans as well as all the old Unionists—is really rather afraid that some future Irish Parliament may "constitutionally" abolish property. The Senate, with its limited powers, is a small protection in this respect. *The Irish Times* joins with Mr. John Sweetman, one of the early Sinn Feiners and head of a rich Catholic family, in raising an alarm over the danger of confiscation. *The Irish Times* proposes to rouse business interests from their political sloth and stir the moral zeal of the property-holders, whereas Mr. Sweetman urges that the actual Ministerial Party and its organisation is our only protection against red revolution. Labour in Ireland put forward eighteen candidates at the last election, and secured first preference votes equal in number to one-third of all the non-Labour first preferences cast for the Treaty in contested constituencies. It lost only one seat out of all those it contested. At the coming elections the franchise will be much wider, there will be an adult register; and a possibility moreover that many of the Republicans will vote for a cause which promises to keep the country from "settling down" respectably, after the manner of a nicely behaved "colony." Statistics have been produced with the object of showing that Labour in Ireland can never hope to have a parliamentary majority. Owing to peasant proprietorship, the proportion of property-holders to the total population is much higher here than in Great Britain, and there are no large industrial centres except in Dublin and Cork. It is true that no reasoned system of Socialism, such as that of the Webbs, based on abstract principles of justice, is ever likely to have a dog's chance in this country. But that is not to say that a confiscatory Party or confiscatory Government might not be very popular here—for a while at least, until we have learned that one cannot have one's cake and eat it, and that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. The farmers are at present engaged in a very bitter struggle with the agricultural labourers of the Transport Union over reductions of wages: so bitter is the struggle that, in Waterford, a Curfew Order has been enforced. Mr. Johnson, the Labour Leader in the Dail, backs the transport workers against the farmers; he also backs the farmers against the Government when the new Land Purchase Bill is concerned. Under this Bill, the landlords get a moderate price for their lands, and three-quarters of their rent arrears; the terms are more favourable to the unpurchased tenants than any of the British Land Acts, and the

measure, moreover, is compulsory. Nevertheless, amendments amounting almost to confiscation of the landlords' interests have been pressed through unsuccessfully, by the Labour men and the tenants' representatives acting together.

Most of what is said and done nowadays is said and done with an eye on the elections. The Government alone has to think of other things besides popularity; it has to preserve the order created at such cost, and redeem the pledges, given under the Treaty, to a minority which has (except in the region about Dublin) very little voting power. In the circumstances President Cosgrave's treatment of the landlords, most of them former Southern Unionists, in the new Land Bill, must be deemed honourable and just; as also are the financial arrangements made with the "Protestant" University, Trinity College. We don't speak much of idealism in these days in Ireland; but any Party in Ireland that stands for an even approximate justice to all creeds and classes is not altogether without that quality. All the other groups are, unashamedly, egoistic. I don't think this fact provides a confirmation of the Duke of Northumberland's theory that the whole revolutionary movement in Ireland is to be traced to "Russian gold," the "hatred of civilisation," etc. Revolutionary movements profess idealism, not disillusion—and our current greed, our miserable little class war, is largely an expression of disillusion. The Free State has not produced a new heaven and earth; nor, as everyone now knows, would a Republic have done so. Communist talk has also fallen into disrepute. No one bothers now about "Gaelic social ideals," notwithstanding the return of Mr. Larkin, magnetic as ever. The Parliamentary Labour men speak a lot about principle—the principle that property should be dependent on personal service, and so on. But they collaborate with the farmers in their endeavours to strike the hardest possible bargain with the departing landlords. The Unions denounce the policy of doles, and promote it in roundabout ways, as in prohibiting Dublin workers from laying more than three hundred bricks per day, compared with the nine hundred of the Belfast bricklayers at the same wages. In the South of Ireland farmers are buying large tracts of land at from forty years' purchase upwards. They cannot work the land, with the labour at their disposal, profitably for the country; but will put a few cows on it, and enjoy the sensation of being land rich. Meanwhile, their representatives in the Dail pull long faces at the thought of the unpurchased tenants having to buy out their landlords at forty years' purchase. The anxiety of the Duke of Northumberland lest "human nature" in Ireland should be corrupted by Marx and Lenin is surely quite groundless.

## Small-pox and Vaccine-Therapy

By DR. C. W. SALEEBY.

IT is an inherent property of life to adapt and thus protect itself. We learn by experience; we do so with such effect that we become equal to graver experiences by suffering lighter. Nowhere is this universal principle of adaptation more clearly illustrated than in the realm of disease. We know very well, though we may not have thought very steadily about it, that one attack of measles, for instance, usually protects against more. We have profited by experience; we are changed in this specific particular, for life, to our great advantage. In the East this fact was adopted as the basis for a measure against small-pox, consisting in nothing less than deliberate inocula-

tion with the actual virus of the disease, taken from a mild case. The experience of the disease in a mild form yielded an acquired immunity against graver infection later. Taken to the East for a visit in infancy I was inoculated with and against small-pox; and no one since has ever been able to vaccinate me.

For vaccination is simply a modification of the original Eastern practice, which Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had already introduced into this country with great success. Jenner used, instead of the virus of small-pox from a mild case, that of cow-pox, believing this to be a modified small-pox. Doubtless he was right, though our bacteriological resources are not even yet sufficient to demonstrate the fact.

In our own day the principle involved in vaccination is no longer represented by a single instance. It triumphs elsewhere. True, we do not use the cow, no other instance exactly analogous to small-pox and cow-pox being known; but, for the historical reason, we still call our new processes by the name of vaccination, and may speak of Vaccine-therapy when, as may be, we can use the principle not only for prevention but also for cure.

The finest known instance, hitherto, after vaccination against small-pox itself, is in the modern method of dealing with typhoid fever. Assuredly a safe water supply, and food uncontaminated by flies which have lately visited excreta, are the best preventives against typhoid or enteric fever. But in time of war these cannot be guaranteed, and something else is essential if armies are not to be decimated. Thanks to our Sir Almroth Wright and to Professor Calmette, now of the Pasteur Institute, the something else was available in the Great War. It is estimated to have saved not less than three hundred thousand lives in our Army alone; and not less than that number in the French Army. The principle is to obtain the poison or toxin from typhoid bacilli, and to inject a suitable dose of it under the skin. By means of this absurdly so-called "vaccination," the body replies, responds, defends itself, produces the necessary antitoxin, and all is well. Indeed, it is better than well, for the body makes so strenuous a reply as to suggest that it says to itself, "Very well, if *that* is on the cards of Fate, I will be prepared against it next time." Consequently, if living typhoid bacilli be later ingested, the body is already forewarned and forearmed, and overwhelms them from the first. We have used teleological language in suggesting what the body says to itself. In point of fact, the great thinker, Professor Hans Driesch, of Heidelberg, in his Gifford Lectures, cited this property of the living body, its anticipation, so to say, of future events, and precautionary measures against them, as one of the pieces of evidence for the theory called neo-vitalism, as opposed to the mechanistic theory of living things. We do not quite see any machine, that is no more than a machine, behaving thus, he argues.

During the war it was part of my business to lecture to the troops on the inoculation against typhoid, and the War Office supplied me, from time to time, with statistical evidence, the latest figures showing that the uninoculated man was eighty-four times more likely to die of enteric than the inoculated.

Apparently the protection is highly specific. The key fits and will open one lock only, so to say. Paratyphoid fever is not protected against. Hence large numbers of cases in Gallipoli. Thereafter—too late, unfortunately, for the success of that campaign—the bacteriologists provided us with a triple vaccine, comprising the toxins of the typhoid bacillus, and of the two varieties, A and B, of the *bacillus paratyphosus*.

All the foregoing is preventive. Vaccine-therapy takes toxins such as these and uses them, in the course of a disease, in such doses and at such times as, it hopes, to evoke effective response from the organism,

not only against them, but in such abundance as to enable it to cope more effectively with the infection already present. This is doubtless a more difficult proposition to accept with satisfaction, nor do I suppose that it can ever rank in importance with preventive vaccination; but the existing *data* do not permit us to dismiss or even to decry it.

For many years the bacteriologists have tried to effect something on these lines against the chronic infection of tuberculosis. Their perpetual difficulty was, in the first place, to obtain, from the tubercle bacillus, the toxin or toxins which it assuredly produces. About twenty years ago, the late Dr. Allan Macfadyen, at the Royal Institution, approached success,—as Sir James Crichton-Browne, who learns everything and forgets nothing, has lately reminded us—by freezing bacteria with liquid air and then grinding them to pieces. Now comes Professor Georges Dreyer, of Oxford, with another method of getting at those toxins which certain bacteria hold within themselves. It seems that they possess a fatty envelope or coat, which holds the toxins in. If it could be removed, they would be accessible. By means of formalin and acetone, this fatty coat can be dissolved, and now we have bacteria which have been thoroughly washed through, and are, indeed, under the microscope, but shadows of their former selves. In the laboratory, whilst the work was going on, the resultant products were colloquially known as "de-fatted antigens"; but "de-fatted" is a deplorable hybrid, and we need a term that will be the same for students all over the world, science knowing no frontiers. Dr. Dreyer has accordingly introduced the term "diaplytes," or "washed-through," for these substances. Recently, at St. Mary's Hospital, he gave a lecture on the subject, which it was my good fortune to hear, not that I care very much for any curative measures against tuberculosis, a disease of darkness, as I call it, which should not exist outside the medical histories in the company of leprosy, but because Dr. Dreyer's discoveries promise us new resources against several other infections which cannot be prevented, and cannot be cured, in the present state of our knowledge. We may reasonably hope for great things, for we know the validity of our principle, and the method of Dr. Dreyer gives us new access to and new control over the toxins of certain most important bacteria; but no more should properly be said quite as yet.

Meanwhile we observe that the discovery of Jenner proves itself the parent of a precious stock, whilst the centenary year of his death finds his own country and county disgraced by an outbreak of small-pox due to neglect and ignorance and ingratitude towards this great benefactor of mankind. A hundred years ago he died. His statue was erected in Trafalgar Square, and then, his triumph being so complete as to wipe out the very memory of its magnitude, people complained and the monument was removed to Kensington Gardens. Fifty years ago (*The Study of Sociology*, 1873) Herbert Spencer commented thus, in the words of an imaginary future historian of our people, on the singular circumstance:

Their distribution of monumental honours was, indeed, in all respects remarkable. To a physician named Jenner, who, by a mode of mitigating the ravages of a horrible disease, was said to have rescued many thousands from death, they erected a memorial statue in one of their chief public places. After some years, however, repenting then of giving to this statue so conspicuous a position, they banished it to a far corner of one of their suburban gardens, frequented chiefly by children and nursemaids; and, in its place, they erected a statue to a great leader of their fighters—one Napier, who had helped them to conquer and keep down certain weaker races. The reporter does not tell us whether this last had been instrumental in destroying as many lives as the other had saved; but he remarks, "I could not cease wondering at this strange substitution among a people who professed a religion of peace."



*Brandman Robinson*

LORD CURZON.

## MIDDLE SECTION

### What Is Posterity?

By ALEC WAUGH.

I SPENT the other day a couple of hours in the company of a very disgruntled and very minor poet, whose latest book had been received rather uncourteously in Fleet Street, and for the greater part of that two hours he deplored and encouraged me to agree with him in deploring the lamentable condition of modern criticism. Where, he asked, were the successors of Matthew Arnold and Ruskin, of Walter Pater and Andrew Lang. "Ah well," he said, "you wait. Posterity will decide." That is what we always say. Whenever we think ourselves misunderstood and misinterpreted we fling ourselves in proud humility before the future; like the lady in the romantic ballad, "Some day you'll know, some day you'll care," in time, we say, all will be made plain. Posterity will control, adjust, minister our fortunes. Posterity is always right.

But is it? Has not posterity in its time made some pretty appalling blunders? The poet and the artist have, it is true, often enough been in their lifetime unappreciated. Keats was told to get back to his gallipots. Samuel Butler paid for the production of the majority of his books. Shelley was unread till he had been dead thirty years. And while Keats and Shelley were creating in obscurity immortal music, Southey was accounted a great poet. We hear much of the blundering of contemporary task, especially from those who find themselves out of tune with their reviewers; but such blundering has not been confined by any means to the period of the author's lifetime. Posterity has now and again gone pretty badly off the rails. What a mess of things, after all, was made by the eighteenth century, in that supreme period of poise and polish when Fielding flourished with Addison and Defoe and Pope. They were great men and great days. Without them we should be very much the poorer. But they were no more infallible in their judgment of the literature that had preceded them than they were of the literature they were themselves producing. For example—they rewrote Shakespeare.

I suppose that the last four acts of *King Lear* are as faultless, as beautiful, as inevitable as anything in the world's literature. But the eighteenth century did not think so. They gave *King Lear* a happy ending. Edgar is wedded to Cordelia, and the King smiles benediction. The touch of revision was entrusted to a Mr. Tate, who prefaced his version with a dedicatory letter, in which he described Shakespeare's tragedy "as a heap of jewels, unstrung and unpolished . . . yet so dazzling in their disorder that I soon perceived that I had seized a treasure." The other giants of the seventeenth century received less patronising consideration. Dr. Johnson thought little of John Donne, who only fails to be the greatest poet of his age because Milton was his contemporary. In the essay on Cowley in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, Donne's thoughts and expressions are found to be "sometimes grossly absurd and such as no figures or licence can reconcile to the understanding," and we are told that Donne was "in very little care to clothe his notions with elegance of dress," missing therefore "the notice and the praise which are often gained by those who think less but are more diligent to adorn their thoughts." These dictums would find little support to-day. And the Jacobean and Restoration writers who placed their faith in the judgment of posterity must have considered their faith scurvily rewarded. "The world in our Day," we can imagine them to have complained, "was adequately stocked with fools, but these Georgians . . ." and phantasmal shoulders were shrugged, resignedly.

And, indeed, what right had they to expect any different treatment? What is this posterity that we should so worship it. What is posterity, after all? Are not we ourselves, we fallible and imperfect models, the posterity for whose sake Hogarth painted and Shelley sang; perhaps at this very moment in the Elysian fields Browning and Tennyson are walking arm-in-arm. They are both muttering into their beards very definite opinions on the standard of literary criticism in their day. "It was bad, Tennyson," says Browning, "very bad indeed. There was a silly fellow called John Stuart Mill; what was it he said about that first book of mine. I forget! Zenith and self-consciousness, perhaps. But I didn't worry. I looked ahead. I was content to let posterity decide. And I was right. Only the other day I read such a charming thing about me by . . . let me see. Perhaps you know him, a very vigorous young person I thought, ah yes, Mr. Edward Shanks . . ."

And were I not a placid person who dislikes friction I should have said to the disgruntled poet who wasted two hours of my time, "My friend, my very good friend," I should have said, "you despise your generation. You appeal to posterity. You place your faith in the traditions handed down to you by the great writers of the past. Excellent. But let me remind you that Matthew Arnold, of whom you have spoken, also despised his generation. He hoped that he should be receiving in 1923 the commendation of those critics whom you so condemn. That, my friend, is the way things happen. The judgments of posterity are unlikely to be any more profound than those of 1923. For one day this posterity you so worship will be to-day, and in this club and in that arm-chair will be sitting a disgruntled poet, telling an indifferent friend how very much better things were done in the early twentieth century by J. C. Squire and T. S. Eliot and Robert Lynd."

## Second Class

By GILBERT NORWOOD.

THOUGHTLESS precisians will tell you that the railway companies made a mistake when they abolished second-class compartments: "By paying a trifle more you could make certain of a seat when the thirds were crowded." They forgot to add that you became a festering mass of uneasy pride.

Who and what, you asked, are these fellow-passengers—brutes for whom you were too good, or snobs for whom you were not good enough? And till the question was answered you knew not how to behave. How to behave—yes, for in a second-class compartment you have to show definite behaviour. The bestial casualness of the other two classes will not serve. Here you must assert yourself, get things settled with the other inmates. And how? It is against the rules to blurt out: "Look here! Are you a miserly profiteer or a spendthrift proletarian? I am prepared to cringe or be cringed to. But, by Heaven, I must know where I stand!" No; you are compelled to squint at his newspaper and draw therefrom your horoscope, to offer a cigarette and see whether he accepts it (third), declines it (first), or says "After you, sir" (another clue-hunter, curse him!).

All this misery has been swept like an evil dream from most of our railway-systems. What we have there escaped may still be realised by penetrating into analogous resorts. On my first visit to a London theatre I sat in a region called (I believe) the balcony; or was it the second circle? My error soon came home to me. In the gallery you eat oranges and enjoy the play. In the stalls you eat chocolates and enjoy talking about the play. But in the second circle you spend your time convincing your neighbours that you are

out of your element, your spiritual home being the boxes. To this end you need two pieces of apparatus: a penetrating equine voice, and a friend to whom ostensibly you address your clever little phrases of self-exculpation. Clever, that is, if you can manage it; but the vital need is to "get home." It may be necessary to take the-gloves off, as on my own first night, when a lady near me leaned forward and with poking finger vociferated: "When I came befaw, I was in *thait* bawx." Next in order of finesse should rank: "Whyever did we come here, James? I know absolutely nobody." A great deal better, because more exquisitely offensive, is: "What a delightfully quaint place! I really *must* come up here again."

But experts and crude performers alike are lacerated inwardly by frenzied doubt. How to tell whether their neighbours are properly impressed? Be of good cheer, industrious friends! Half of them are consumed with envy, as you may tell by their competing clamours, and the other half are trying to get back at you by the difficult method of pregnant silence. The woman next you saw the original version of the play in Paris, and the fact has gone to her head like strong wine; but she has missed her escort, and all the succulent triumph which is rightly hers must be conveyed by the countenance alone. She hopes you read her correctly. You do, perhaps; and, filled with rancour, you smash the creature. "Do excuse me," you say in the interval, "but you're looking rather bored. I'm so sorry! My husband hoped that *everyone* would be able to appreciate the work." She will find that hard to over-trump.

Even to-day, as was reluctantly hinted above, you cannot altogether escape the thing in trains, especially if you visit the Continent. When I was setting out thither for the first time, I fell into perplexity at Charing Cross Station. All those who were booked for the Continent were swanking—yes, gentle reader, the word has come at last—swanking (I say) at those who were not so booked. The porters, with that miraculous reaction to atmosphere which marks all railwaymen south of Trent and east of Severn, infused into their normal politeness a delicious touch of the family retainer. I wondered. Each of these voyagers was showing off *at* someone, some wretch who, as the Continental Express gathered speed, would slouch drearily away past glamourless bookstalls and catch a 'bus to Cricklewood. What would they do, in the train and later, surrounded only by persons who shared their glory? I might have known. Before that Cricklewood 'bus was ever caught the travellers had begun to divide themselves into sheep and goats—those who had been abroad before and those who hadn't. Oh, the fumbling ready-to-wear look of the goats!

My memory enshrines an elderly lady in a second-class compartment of the Calais-Paris train. I forgot to mention that almost all the offenders I have been discussing were women. And on the Continent they are elderly women. Not always, however. I remember an Englishman who was journeying back from Switzerland with his wife and two young sons—a master, if ever there was one. He was sorely handicapped, for when he "mounted" at Sion with his family and their massed alpenstocks, he found my companion and myself installed. For all the poor fellow knew we were finishing the Overland Route and might produce brick-tea from our pockets at any moment. But he was of the bull-dog breed. First, he skilfully created in that small compartment the almost visible effigy of an English Father's Duty of teaching his boys to find their way about the world: and then—how he scored off them at us! His *savoir-vivre* bounced from the effigy to the boys, and from the boys to us, in lightning ricochets. He knew that in French lavatory-compartments the soap is powder and is kept in a tube of sorts. Yes, but did we know that he

knew? Was he to sit for hours under the shadow of our brick-tea without telling us of the powdered soap? Of course, he could not convey the taunt to us directly, but . . . "I say, you boys, your hands are frightfully grubby. Why didn't you let Johan groom your mules? Be off and wash." Exeunt boys. Loud remarks between the parents as to their long journey in the saddle before reaching the train. ("Anyhow, I bet we started earlier to-day than you did, you brutes!") Re-enter boys, damp and disgusted. "Such a sell, father! No soap!" The paternal eye gleamed. "No soap? You're sure?" Boys: "Yes, quite." The father curtly explained how to extract the stuff. "And let that be a lesson to cocksure little boys." And so it went on—his infernal game of fives.

But the elderly lady in the Calais-Paris express has awaited us long enough. First, of course, she established herself as an old traveller. "Every time I've gone to Florence I've said I would stop at Turin, and now I'm *determined*." A few minutes of this, and the inoffensive middle-aged couple near her were bound fast to her chariot-wheels. Intent on enlarging her phylacteries, she glanced about. On her other side was a nondescript young lady, immersed in a book—not worth considering, except as background. If a star-shell containing rich intimacies about Shephard's Hotel at Cairo were exploded above her head, she would only answer, "Oh, yes." Opposite to the nondescript sat myself, reading *Babbitt* and looking as sulky as a bear. Through my skin I felt her appraising glance. But my appearance baffled her. Those spectacles—was I a professor? Then what had become of my beard and the lovely daughter keeping guard over me and my "formula"? That physique—a pugilist, perhaps? The eye sought in vain for cauliflower ears and smart footwork. Her glance passed to her *vis-à-vis*. Alas! He was a young Hindu, reading nothing, doing nothing—only looking. By this time the hungry female would have attacked any mere Britisher quite recklessly with "I suppose this is your first visit to France?"—a desperate Muzio Gambit, risking hideous overthrow on the chance of spectacular victory. But not this child of the unfathomable East, dreaming (belike) of Krishnu and Nirvana. So she fell back in good order on the married pair, told them where Etaples lay, and pointed out huts used by "our boys." Her manner of discussing the landscape suggested that it had been set for her behoof like a dinner-table. At last we slid through a large station, and she attacked the nondescript girl. "That was Amiens, wasn't it?" You see? Such a perfect familiarity that without any coarse craning of the neck. . . . Why did she ask? She can't have wanted to get out: that kind of person has always seen Amiens before. She can't have wanted to make conversation: the nondescript was intently reading. No; all she needed was the "Oh, yes," which should provide a verbal expression of allegiance. Unfortunately for all this filmy dexterity, it wasn't Amiens. The girl raised her eyes, and, speaking for the first and last time, said: "No, Abbeville."

Simple words, as are all words meet for great occasions. My heart sang hymns at Heaven's gate. The creature was quelled, brought to earth. Soon she would say she was dying for a cup of tea, or ask if Cook and Son had an office in Paris. Ring out, wild bells! . . . I triumphed too soon. Leaning forward to the Hindu, she said: "I wonder if you would mind changing places with me?" There was not the shadow of a reason visible or alleged. He was to be added to the bag, that was all. I trembled. Whatever Mirza Ali said, another superhuman display impended. But it was in truth a wonderful day. No word passed his purple lips. Silently he rose, gave her his place, and sat down in hers, still looking. And when she turned to me, I was fast asleep.



## THE DRAMA

### "The Coming of Gabrielle"

By EDWARD SHANKS.

WE have had a glut of famous authors in the theatre lately; and when a famous author takes the trouble to write that probably most thankless of all things, a play for the stage, we ought to treat him with respect. If Mr. Masefield writes a new poem there is no doubt that a publisher will print it and little doubt that some twenty thousand persons will buy it and some fifty thousand read it. When Mr. George Moore writes a new book there is no doubt that he will print it himself in a beautiful and costly limited edition, every copy of which will be bought and anxiously read by his admirers. Further be it said that when Mr. X., just down from Cambridge, writes a new poem, and Mr. Y., just down from Oxford, writes a new novel, these works do exist, as substantial and embodied as *Hamlet*, though none but X. and Y. take enough interest in them even to turn the pages. But a play, it cannot be too often repeated, does not exist until it has been put on the stage; and there is therefore no certainty that the works on which Mr. John Masefield and Mr. George Moore have bestowed their pains and their genius will ever have a true existence. Indeed, the specimens in question have now attained only the limited existence of a series of special matinées each; and though it is said that *Melloney Holtspur* is presently to be put on for a run, I am bound to express my profound doubt whether that will ever happen to *The Coming of Gabrielle*. Therefore I say we ought to treat Mr. Moore with respect.

I do not mean, however, that we should pretend that he has written a good play when in fact he has not done so. *The Coming of Gabrielle* does not seem to me to be a good play, though I fancy that the special matinées at the St. James's Theatre make it, for reasons to which I shall presently return, appear worse than it is. The idea is an excellent one for polished and artificial comedy. Lewis Davenant is apparently one of the greatest authors that ever lived. He is lionised, idolised, and deluged with letters from unknown female correspondents in all parts of the world. These letters, however, interest his young cousin and secretary more than they do himself, for though he was once an expert in the art of love-making, advancing years have determined him to retire from this sphere of activity. The young secretary, Sebastian Dayne, receives and reads the letters, and sometimes even answers them in his employer's name. In particular he is enraptured by the letters of a certain Countess Gabrielle von Hohenstadt, who writes charmingly from Vienna; and therefore he is not averse from Davenant's suggestion that he shall impersonate the famous author at a Viennese première. He does so and meets Gabrielle: they fall in love with one another, he confesses his deception and they are married. But Gabrielle is determined to be revenged on Davenant. For her revenge she has two methods. She will pretend that she still believes Sebastian to be his cousin; and she will induce Davenant to fall in love with her so that she may humiliate him. The plot is complicated by a quarrel between her and Sebastian; but when Davenant, according to plan, makes love to her and kisses her, his old expertise enables him to tell from the first touch of her lips that she is averse from him and therefore (but why?) still in love with her husband.

So far, so good; but Mr. Moore has not made of it what he might have done. I strongly suspect that he found the composition of the play extremely difficult, and was at his wits' end how to drag it out to the

proper length. At any rate he has encrusted it with irrelevant, distracting, and intrinsically worthless accidents. There is a comic sailor who is inept beyond belief. Mr. Moore has many gifts, but the gift of broad comedy is not one of them; and he ought to avoid writing drunken scenes. Then there is an intrigue between Davenant and the charmingly unmoral Lady Letham, which is much more within Mr. Moore's range, but which is to no discoverable purpose and conflicts with Davenant's declaration that age has driven him from the lists of love. Then there is the blatantly irrelevant intrusion of Lord Carra, who explains that, according to his mother, his career follows with singular exactitude that of one of Davenant's heroes, and asks whether this personage cannot be made to win the Derby. Amusing digression is one of Mr. Moore's strongest suits when he writes novels, but it is fatal on the stage. The dialogue, too, I think, is not suited for the theatre. Mr. Moore in his novels has never got his best effects by *oratio directa*; and here his best things come across the footlights a little muffled and faded. It is a curious thing with dialogue for the stage. Often that which on the printed page looks most natural is completely ineffective when spoken. An author needs a special sense for stage dialogue, just as much as for dramatic situation.

Mr. Moore is not, it would seem, a writer for the stage, and he has not enriched the stage by this performance. However, it is said that it was he who chose Miss Athene Seyler for the part of Gabrielle; and, if this is true, he deserves every kind of praise for a species of dramatic perspicacity which approaches genius. I have said that the production of *The Coming of Gabrielle* makes it seem worse than it is; and when I said that I referred in particular to the acting of the two principal male characters, to Mr. Nicholas Hannen as Sebastian Dayne and Mr. Leslie Faber as Lewis Davenant. The remainder of the cast is not above reproach. Miss Aimée de Burgh, as Lady Letham, was peculiarly tongue-tied, abashed, and ineffective; but Lady Letham would be a tiresome irrelevance, however she was played. Mr. Faber and Mr. Hannen are much more important. Mr. Faber did occasionally, in flashes, give one some idea of the great novelist. Sometimes he was even audible; and when he was not, it was often possible to imagine that, if one had been standing with one's ear to his lips, he might have been doing very well. Sometimes he stumbled over his lines and muttered them into a beard which, though it might have suited him, was not actually there. I am sure that Mr. Faber did his best: I am equally sure that it was not good enough.

As for Mr. Hannen—I do not know what to say of Mr. Hannen. He is an actor of parts, but no one who had not seen him in any other part would ever have suspected it. Sebastian Dayne is a poet who, light-headed and light-hearted as he is, contrives to win the affections of Gabrielle. Mr. Hannen plays the character as Mr. John Deverell might play it in a nightmare. The creation of Mr. Moore is turned by him into a "silly ass" who might have been imagined by Mr. P. G. Wodehouse. There was no poetry, no grace in his folly: only spats and creased trousers and the vivacity of a clockwork canary.

Miss Seyler provided all that was, from the theatrical point of view, satisfying in the entire production. The first act was barren without her: the second and third acts became barren as soon as she disappeared from the stage. It may be said without exaggeration that she carried the whole piece on her shoulders. The part is, or seems to be, very long; but at no point of it did she flag or betray the effort she must have been making. I am not sure that I should like often to see Miss Seyler in such virtuous parts; but in this she has shown, if it still needed showing, what she is capable of doing.

## NEW BOOKS

### Novels

- A LONDON LIGHTHOUSE. By Katherine Pike. Parsons. 7s. 6d.  
 THE RETURN OF THE HERO. By Michael Ireland. Chapman and Dodd. 6s.  
 THE RIDDLE OF THE RIVER. By J. Weare-Gifford. Jarrolds. 7s. 6d.  
 THE BROOKLYN MURDERS. By G. D. H. Cole. Collins. 7s. 6d.  
 THE STEP ON THE STAIRS. By Anna Katherine Green. Bodley Head. 7s. 6d.

THE hero of *A London Lighthouse* is a harassed doctor practising in a district of dingy slums. His pretty wife, after a few months trial of his house, the closed windows of which may slightly muffle the roar of the traffic but cannot exclude the dirt thickening the air, runs away, and the girl he later falls in love with he has good reason to believe to be his own illegitimate daughter. A haggard, elderly, and desperate hero, surrounded by filth and ingratitude; futile or monstrous affections; disease, violence, and decay; Miss Pike must have enjoyed writing about these things. Even the kindest and least uncleanly of the dwellers round the Elephant is introduced so: "A small wisp of a working woman; her sparse, blighted-looking hair rolled up tightly in curling-pins, with the scalp revealing itself in broad roads and barren patches; her glistening, white teeth, embedded in pink gutta-percha gums, discarded for comfort and lying peacefully at rest, wrapped in a handkerchief on the kitchen dresser. Debarred of their support, her cheeks . . ." She died in great pain of malignant disease of the liver. It is not much better in the country. When the doctor goes to the village to see his fiancée he cannot enter the station "bus because it smells so strongly of waterproofs and women. He walks through the woods when the air is oppressive with the "smell of soaked leaves and rotting fungi." The door he reaches is shabby and in want of paint. Behind it waits a heartless woman, meditating lies. The cumulative effect of these depressing details is very strong, and Miss Pike's motive, if it were to release truth from trimmings of make-belief, is respectable. Nor can she be fairly accused of looking only upon ugliness, for she has attempted by the happy ending and some transient glimpses of joy and kindness to open a window on a wider world. Nevertheless, the predominant mood of the author is one of physical disgust proceeding from an acute irritability of the senses, and I cannot believe that a full-of-sadness book is a bit better as art or a representation of reality than a full-of-gladness book. Both alike are fairly easy literary exercises, and the chief difference between them is that one is more popular than the other. It is unfortunately true that our bodies after the prime of life become angular or unwieldy, that teeth rot and may have to be replaced, that hair falls or loses colour, that eyes dim and ears cease to hear, that even young women's faces are not always beautiful; that towns are dusty and villages are insanitary, and that the best York ham, when chewed, feels flabby and sinewy. These facts should be occasionally recalled, and in certain moods may seem of considerable importance. But the artificial prolongation of such moods over the period of this novel, over several years, is unmeaning. It is like Miss Pike's comparison of the moon with a green monkey, fantastic without affording emotional relief or actual criticism of the heavens. I think Miss Pike has something important to say, and know that she can visualise, think, feel, and write. But in this, presumably her first, novel, she has been misled from her

path, and has produced work more curious than original, work momentarily effective but not for long satisfying. It may, however, have been useful in helping to get the grit out of her skin, and should precede a more humane and less self-torturing study of the depressing slums she has so carefully and minutely examined.

The gentleman who has written *The Return of the Hero* has chosen to conceal his name behind the pseudonym of Michael Ireland. Why, is not clear, for it is not a book of which any "well-known Irish author" needs to be ashamed, and though some bishops play an unfavourable part in it—well, attacking bishops is no longer a dangerous trade, surely. It might be De Valera (whose scattered essays could entitle him to be called a well-known Irish author) thus escaping the rancorous criticism of his political opponents. But he has hardly humour enough for work like this, one would have thought. The legend is that of Oisín, who returned, as readers of Mr. Yeats will remember, from Fairyland to find that during his absence Christianity had been introduced into his native land. Finn and the others have gone to Hell, he is told, so he prefers to go to Hell, too. Michael Ireland has despaired of adding much to Oisín's rhetorical loyalty, but he has delightfully elaborated the part of St. Patrick. This is very gay and gallant stuff, and in the modernisation of the dialogue and the psychology the author has hit the happy mean between fustian and farce. Perhaps Michael Ireland, like Mr. Birmingham and other more primitive storytellers, exaggerates the value of sheer repetition as a humorous device.

So long as the mention of smugglers and pirates quickens the pulse of age as well as of youth, Mr. Weare-Gifford's brisk tales of adventure down Bideford way should be found enjoyable. This time it is smugglers, and the chief Preventive Officer was wooing the daughter of their alleged leader. Before Mr. Fulford, that decent industrious man, is exculpated, and Lieutenant Sanders is rewarded with Grace Fulford's hand, a great deal of water flows down the Torridge, and many are the expeditions, the discoveries, and nocturnal encounters. *The Riddle of the River*, like the author's other novels, is simple and undecorated. But it could only have been written by a man expert in the gentler side of antiquarian research. Brandy, gouty and sporting persons; post-chaises and Botany Bay; Mr. Weare Gifford quite frankly relishes these words and can communicate to the like-minded his pleasure. Perhaps in his retrospect the Devon of a century ago is unduly mellowed. Times may have been harder and manners more rude than he would have you think, and men so simply chivalrous as rare as they are to-day. The error, if it is an error, is a cheerful one, and no one will object to the clear sunlight bathing his scene.

Mr. Cole is to be congratulated on starting his new career with so bloody and complex a crime. But he ought to have kept his secret longer to himself. Too many of the later pages are given simply to the accumulation of evidence against the man recognised by detectives and readers as the criminal, who was, moreover, rather too crude in his schemes for throwing the blame upon an innocent man. . . . *The Step on the Stair* has a better plot than that of *The Brooklyn Murders*, but is made much less entertaining by the author's pompous style. Everybody is beyond words noble. The victim has presumably been murdered by one of his two nephews. The one generally suspected is innocent, but will take no steps to prove it, if his cousin is to have the blame. No, guilty or innocent, his cousin was loved by his uncle, and his uncle was loved by himself. Let his uncle go unavenged, and his sweetheart married to a murderer, rather than that affection should be insulted.

H. C. HARWOOD.

## Lord Rosebery

THE MAN OF PROMISE: LORD ROSEBERY. By E. T. Raymond. Fisher Unwin. 10s.

COMMENTING on Lord Rosebery's place in literature, with special reference to his work on the elder Pitt, Mr. "E. T. Raymond" remarks that "pedantic criticism" might suggest that long digressions, such as Lord Rosebery indulges in, are out of place. "But in fact," he adds, "it is the digressions that make *Chatham*." He ought to know; for it is, without a doubt, the digressions that make *Lord Rosebery*, as they have made every other work from this fluent pen. If the sparkling stream of Mr. "Raymond's" discourse were imprisoned between concrete walls, or driven through a pipe line direct to its conclusion, the sparkle would be sensibly diminished. There would be no occasion then, in a work on Lord Rosebery, to sum up Mr. Balfour's puzzling attitude towards the Tariff Reform movement in its opening stages with the remark that the Conservative leader "preferred confounding the spirit of his following to dividing its substance." We should be sorry to have missed that.

But it is fair to add that "E. T. Raymond" never wanders far afield. When he makes fun of "the kind of Liberal who is always a little afraid that he is on the wrong side socially," it is only in order to point out that this was the class from which Lord Rosebery at one time drew his chief support. His apparent digressions always link up with the main argument in the end. His method seems to be to take each aspect of his subject, and, without much preliminary thought, allow his wit to play upon it until at last a spark is struck and you suddenly see it in a new, bright light. (Perhaps he sees it for the first time too.) Then he moves on to the next subject. It is a dangerous method. It would be fatal in less clever hands. It succeeds in the case of "E. T. Raymond," because he is incapable of writing a dull sentence, and because at the back of all his talk is a real knowledge of his subject, a keen judgment and an honest determination to get at the truth. It would be doing him an injustice to mistake for a mere display of wit what is really the implacable pursuit, by a conscientious artist, of the right word. It is a delightful chase, for everyone concerned; and the important point to notice is that we nearly always get there in the end.

Most people think of Lord Rosebery, the politician, as the inventor of Liberal Imperialism. So he was; but "E. T. Raymond" puts the invention in its proper place. From the point of view of Liberalism it was of doubtful value, while from the point of view of Imperialism the Liberals were "dished" by Joseph Chamberlain as neatly as Disraeli "dished" the Whigs. Lord Rosebery deserves credit in that his passion for the Empire dates from a time before even the Conservatives had learned to "think Imperially"; but it was not his great achievement. What he will be remembered for in the pages of history is the new tradition which he set up during his short tenure of the Foreign Office—the tradition that "the Foreign Office should know no politics, and that there should be a substantial continuity of policy despite Party changes." That tradition, carried on by Sir Edward Grey, was still strong among us in the greatest crisis in British history when it strengthened the hands of our rulers to an extent that it would be difficult to over-estimate. "E. T. Raymond" is undoubtedly right in selecting this as "Lord Rosebery's greatest service to his country."

It is about all that he can say for him. It is clear, in fact, that on this occasion "E. T. Raymond" has come perilously near to being bored by his subject. Only the fun of his own sword-play keeps him awake.

He is disappointed in Lord Rosebery, the politician: everybody was. And he underestimates him as an orator. He passes over, almost contemptuously, the closing years of Lord Rosebery's life in which he was out of the political arena, but surely cut a better figure in the world than "E. T. Raymond" admits. Take the following characteristic passage:—

In his study of Napoleon at St. Helena, Lord Rosebery speaks of the difficulty of ascertaining the Emperor's genuine and sincere views, of deciding when he was deluding himself, when he was trying to delude others, or when he was only talking at random for talking's sake. In his own self-ordained St. Helena Lord Rosebery presented an equally puzzling problem. What was the outcome of serious thought, what of fixed irritation that the political world went on so unconcernedly without him, what of mere incidental liver or insomnia, can hardly be determined. Most people know how middle-aged politically minded gentlemen talk in the morning. Happily, talent for articulate speech in public is not common in this class, and the autocrat of the breakfast table seldom explains to the outside world how surely and swiftly the ruin of the Empire must follow any small Governmental proceeding of which he happens not to approve. . . . All this is of little consequence so long as the only audience is a wife and the marmalade. But when the autocrat is a man of genius, with a great knack of melodious speech, and insists on asking the world to his breakfast table, the spectacle is not a little tragic; and no more mournful task could well be than that of following Lord Rosebery through these dismal years of complete political isolation—years during which, by a bitter satire, he accomplished some of his best literary work.

From all of which appears the interesting fact that "E. T. Raymond" himself must be "politically minded"; otherwise he would see no "bitter satire" in a change from politics to literature, nor regard "political isolation" as necessarily "tragic" in the case of a man whose orations were still listened to with admiration—we fancy with *increasing* admiration—by the bulk of his countrymen. Lord Rosebery, at his best, was not a politician nor a statesman, so much as a spokesman of the nation. He could not be compared with Pitt, but he might have been with Burke or Bright. No one thinks of Burke as a tragic failure because he never held high office under the Crown; and if Lord Rosebery had succeeded in justifying comparison with him, he might have let the critics say what they liked about his unfortunate Premiership.

But his oratory has certainly failed to impress one listener. "Though he was usually described as a great orator," says "E. T. Raymond," "he was rather the impressive declaimer of pieces of literature, and it was only his magnificent voice which lent some illusion of fire and passion." Is that possible? Can a man be an "impressive declaimer" of literature unless he has some "passion" for it? Can there be a "magnificent voice" without any feeling behind it? Can there be smoke without "fire"? Actors and operatic singers would say "No"; and, for our part, we agree with them. Lord Rosebery, says "E. T. Raymond" again, "could hold an audience interested and even charmed, but he could not thrill it." That is more difficult to answer; but there are quotations here from Lord Rosebery's speeches (especially one on page 73, from his address to the students of Glasgow University in November, 1900) which, if we had space to quote them, would provide a reply. Except in the mouth of a dullard or a stutterer it is hard to see how such language could fail to thrill.

We have indicated some points of disagreement, but it should be understood that this book falls little, if at all, below the standard of its predecessors. It is not written with quite the gusto of that admirable work on Mr. Lloyd George. The Coalition Premier did not impress "E. T. Raymond" very favourably, but he amused him; whereas Lord Rosebery does neither. But you do put the book down with that curious sensation, familiar to "E. T. Raymond's" readers, of having for the first time got a clear view of somebody who in fact has been standing before you in the limelight for the last thirty years. You do long for

"E. T. Raymond" to do it again. You do wish that he would put into words for you your own bright ideas about other leading men—for that surely is one of his greatest qualities, that he expresses, nine times out of ten, the views of the average, sensible man. You do find yourself speculating as to whom he will tackle next.

It is an interesting question. We have seen that he seems to prefer demagogues to aristocrats, perhaps because they are so much more dramatic. He likes his subjects to be robust, moreover; vacillation and "hedging" are merely stumbling blocks in his path. He doesn't mind if a man is a little obvious, so long as he is a man. Give him a rough diamond, and he will do the cutting. He will supply all the subtlety that the average reader requires. Can there be any doubt as to his next choice? Surely not. We need not even name him. Another few years to enable the most picturesque of modern statesmen to resume the thread of his interrupted political career, and "E. T. Raymond" will have enough data to begin on what should prove the most interesting of all his political studies.

## The Soul of the Slav

DOSTOEVSKY: LETTERS AND REMINISCENCES. Translated by S. S. Kotliansky and J. Middleton Murry. Chatto and Windus. 7s. 6d.

THIS volume, whose contents we owe to the Soviet Government, is a valuable addition to the literature of the great novelist not only for its intrinsic interest, such as that provided by the letter written on the day of his (expected) execution, but also for the light thrown by the letters on the genesis and aim of his own creations. Dostoevsky has captured the imagination of a multitude of European readers, and these, apart from his own countrymen, are now interpreting his work with the usual absence of agreement. The present book presents us with Dostoevsky speaking in his own person, and with a sincerity beyond dispute. Therefore we now have a piece of first-hand evidence to which all theories must be referred, and which cannot possibly be neglected. What does Dostoevsky say about himself?

He reveals himself as a Russian violently reacting from the then fashionable Western ideals, including Catholicism, in favour of the very different traditional ideals of the Slavs, and the, to him, no less different Orthodox interpretation of Christianity. He was, in a sense that seems strange to the Western mind, above all a Christian, who believed that Christianity in its unadulterated form was the peculiar possession of Russia, and, further, that, in the long sweep of history, the destiny of Russia was to save Western corruption from complete collapse by impregnating it from the East with the leaven of Orthodoxy.

The principle of the Russian State (he says), the principle of love not of strife (which I believe was first discovered by the Slavophiles), is the greatest of all ideas on which much will be built. This idea we shall proclaim to Europe, which does not understand anything at all about it. . . . With us the people have given and give their love to every Tsar, and only in him do they finally believe. To the people it is a mystery, a priesthood, an anointment. Our Westerners understand nothing about this; they pride themselves on basing themselves on facts, and they overlook the primary, the greatest fact of our history.

Now, while subsequent events have disappointed Dostoevsky's more immediate hopes, it is yet possible that history may prove him to have been right in the long run. To put ourselves at his point of view is to learn much. To deny ourselves this attitude is to misunderstand even his novels. "The whole destiny of Russia," he says again, "lies in Orthodoxy, in the

light from the East, which will suddenly shine forth to Western humanity, which has become blinded and has lost Christ." In *The Idiot* the *sancta simplicitas* which the Christian spirit meant to him is impersonated; we meet the good man as Dostoevsky conceives him, and though the ideal has been divined in Western literature, the character does seem a peculiarly Russian product.

The letters in the volume display that part of the idiot, the holy fool, which was in Dostoevsky himself. They describe his debts and his tribulations, which no one but a holy fool would have incurred, and show that in his second wife he found an equally true and generous complement. Her love was hardly less than his, but she was, unlike him, possessed of a worldly experience. She teaches us how the phrase "no woman is ever an idealist" may be a tribute, not a sneer, and we know not whether the more to admire her or her husband. It is curious to notice, though she did not, how Dostoevsky's sacrifice of his peace on the altar of generosity involved the sacrifice of his wife also, and we cannot avoid the question whether such conduct was quixotic.

Apart, however, from the issues raised by the letters, they are vivid and personal to a degree, and we come beyond question face to face with their author, his wife, and almost with the friends to whom they were written. The personal flavour of a letter written at the moment which occasioned it may, in a printed book, seem a trifle hysterical, and Dostoevsky's account of the reception of his famous speech at the Poushkin celebrations is no less ecstatic than the demonstration that he received. We must, therefore, distinguish his state of mind at the moment of utterance from the state in which his cherished ideas were conceived, and, in the light of his genius, allow them a weight which we should not give to their expression in the hastiness of a letter. To many of his countrymen they seemed exaggerated or false. We must not judge them by the letters, which are valuable as showing us a harassed man in his daily moods as distinguished from the novelist who was most himself in the silence of composition.

## Oxford and the Classics

GREEK AND LATIN ANTHOLOGY THOUGHT INTO ENGLISH VERSE. By William Stebbing. 3 vols. Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d. each.

THE classics endure and change not—except under the busy pens of editors and emendators—but our translations of them have not the same privilege of immortality. Each age with pardonable egoism wants to see itself reflected in the pages of antiquity. To the classic formalism of the seventeenth century the *Iliad* appeared a great poem because it respected all the rules of the epic. It sounds quaint to us to-day that Boileau should have observed that if Homer used the word dog, it was because the word was noble in Greek. The Liberals of the nineteenth century—and all were Liberals in those days—saw in the *Iliad* the germ of those democratic institutions which came to full efflorescence in 1832. And we to-day amidst the fabric of a badly, possibly irreparably, shaken civilisation are attracted by the picture of a society whose arbiter also is force and whose leaders show about as much good sense as M. Poincaré and the rest.

To say that every age finds Homer a good mirror is only another way of stating that he is a great poet. If one cannot draw up a formula showing how the badness of translators varies with the greatness of their originals, one may affirm that every age has the translations it deserves. We smile at the enthusiasm

of Pope's contemporaries over his translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The nymphs withdrawn, at once into the tide  
Active he bounds; the flashing waves divide:  
O'er all his limbs his hands the waves diffuse,  
And from his locks compress the weedy ooze.

Thus Pope renders the lines in the *Odyssey* where Ulysses takes his impromptu bath whilst Nausicaa and her maidens are waiting, we hope discreetly, in one corner of a Claude landscape. Yet Pope was a first-rate man-of-letters. Doubtless posterity will smile not less condescendingly on us for our draughts of Euripides à la Gilbert Murray. But it is not with this zealous Press-agent—we mean translator—of the first romantic that we are at present concerned. Another Oxonian claims our attention.

Mr. William Stebbing, an honorary fellow of Worcester, is a loyal son of his Alma Mater in that he delights in the classics. True to the spirit of modern Oxford he wants others to do the same. But since even at that home of radical empiricism, Mohamed will not go to the classical mountain, Mr. Stebbing has employed the leisure of ten years in transporting the mountain to every Mohamed who can read the English of 1923. It now lies on our table scattered in rather inchoate heaps, through three well-printed slim volumes, bearing the self-conscious title of *Greek and Latin Anthology Thought into English Verse*. Practically all the poets of antiquity from Homer to Claudian are represented, each prefaced with an introduction. Of his rendering of Homer he says:

The only criticism which I do not so much fear as anticipate and accept, is that I have not expressed the full inspiration of my Author. I know that I have not, though it has not been for want of endeavour. . . . were my offence against the Classic no worse than dilution or dilatation, I could bear the charge lightly. I testify against myself to manifold worst sins, confusion of a Master's ethereal upstrokes and downstrokes. My conscience will be abundantly satisfied if withal I have helped a few to understand, as by an echo, something of the magic of Greek and Latin minstrelsy.

If a reviewer may usurp the function of a father confessor, one should ask whether Mr. Stebbing's conscience has the right to be satisfied? Let us take his rendering of those lovely lines in the *Iliad*, one of the most poignant passages in the whole of literature, where the ghost of Patroclus appears to the sleeping Achilles:

ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ Πατροκλέεος δειλόια,  
παντ' αὐτῷ μέγεθος τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' ἕκκυια  
καὶ φωνήν, καὶ τοῖα περὶ χροῖ ἔματα ἔστο  
στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν

Mr. Stebbing makes of this:

Then, Patroclus came;  
Spirit—but as in life—garb, size, voice, lovely eyes, the same:  
Could anyone seize from this anything of the magic simplicity of the Greek? All the beautiful "upstrokes and downstrokes" have been carefully wiped out, and we have nothing but a line and a half of a metre of which, whatever its merits, Mr. Stebbing is certainly not master. Let us see how he concludes Patroclus's ghost's speech:

So, as now in the flower of my age I have been torn  
From thee by a cruel lot cast for me when I was born,  
And for thee, my Friend, also it has been decreed to fall,  
Cut off, as myself, in thy prime, under Ilium's hall,  
I may, command thee—for our love's sake, do not disobey—  
Let my ashes rest by thine, though I shall be far away.  
Achilles agreed; for it was his own intent; and strove  
To clasp hands.

Grasp the night winds that round a house, screaming, rove!  
Gone the ghost—with a surprise-note, as of bird waked by dawn  
Gone, as smoke dispersing, or tracings a night-frost has drawn.

We have not the space here to compare this minutely with the original, but certainly there are glaring enough faults, both of dilatation and condensation, to disturb anyone's literary conscience.

## CORRESPONDENCE

[Whilst we open our columns impartially to correspondence we take no responsibility for the opinions expressed.]

### THE PRICE OF INDECISION. TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—If we look round the world to-day we must realise how heavy is the price that is demanded for indecision—for temporising with the verities. That England leads Europe, that the English-speaking races rule the world, is not due to any blind favour of a partial Providence; it is the reward of plain speaking and direct action. Ours is the tradition of honest dealing, and consequently we ought to have found but little trouble in maintaining it in the time of the greatest crisis that has yet involved the Empire. Unfortunately, we were tried and found wanting; for reasons not yet apparent to the plain man our rulers could not rise to the height of a great occasion in 1919, and through four following years they failed of courage.

So we have seen the state of Europe pass from bad to worse; so, for the sake of sparing the feelings of hypersensitive friends, we have refrained from stating a case that in the last recourse we should be compelled to assert in the face of all opposition. The chaos in Europe is largely the fruits of our indeterminate policy, and yet that policy of negation and subterfuge is not an expression of the national will. We desire peace and the resumption of normal relations. Temperamentally we are incapable of bearing malice, and we look with a mixture of astonishment and contempt on those who do. Now the Latin races have a different viewpoint. They cannot understand ours, nor can we grasp theirs; and this is why for hundreds of years we have found it impossible to maintain friendly relations with France. To-day these friendly relations are desired by both parties, but they can be achieved only by a wise recognition of the English attitude, for it is the only one that can endure.

Truth to tell we have been misled for years on end, and the present Government must unravel a tangle that was none of its making. The way to disentanglement lies along the road of the fundamental principles that dictate British policy, and if these have been forgotten by allies or friends they must needs be restated. It is most desirable that France be encouraged within all reasonable limits to accept the views we hold, because it is only in co-partnership that Europe can recover from the world war; but if agreement be possible and a cordial misunderstanding is the best substitute we can find for the Entente, it is better far to face the position at once, for we may then proceed to such work of European reconstruction as we may achieve without our ally's assistance. Some of us know that the attitude of the Quai d'Orsay towards Whitehall has had in it of late more than a little truculence, but it is impossible to blame France for this. Our own shifting attitude, the unfortunate disinclination of America to support Mr. Wilson in providing for French security, and the real financial crisis in France will account, if they cannot quite atone, for much that is unpleasant. It is for our statesmen to assert themselves with a very minimum of offence and for Englishmen of every political party to support the policy the times require. The restoration of peace and prosperity to Europe, the removal of all the causes that may provoke another war of revenge—this goal stands far above party politics, for it is not party, but civilisation, that is at stake.—Yours, &c.,

Easton Lodge, Dunmow,                      FRANCES EVELYN WARWICK.  
July 19th, 1923.

### "MR. MILNE'S SUCCESS."

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—I do not know why Mr. Milne should appeal to the confessions of an unnamed "dramatic critic of a daily paper" for evidence as to how these strange creatures do their work, for he himself was once a dramatic critic, and in these very pages. Nor do I know quite what is the basis of his quarrel with me, for I always supposed that no intelligent author ever wrote letters to the Press arguing a judgment on his work, when nothing more was involved than a matter of opinion. However, Mr. Milne allows that I am "an intelligent person" ("in any other work"—presumably when I am condemning plays by some other author), and therefore I hope we may converse together without rancour.

In the first place let me admit that I carelessly used the word "success" in two senses. When I said that *Mr. Pim Passes By* was "a precarious success," I meant that its artistic success was a matter of touch-and-go from beginning to end. But I did speak of Mr. Milne's *Success* as being likely to make Mr. Milne successful, as the box-office understands the word. Whether it will do so, only the box-office can tell us. Mr. Milne seems to assure us that his play will not be successful in this sense; and, of course, I accept his implied assurance that he never thought it would. I presume he made this belief of his clear to all parties before the play was produced. But Mr. Milne's conscious belief is hardly in question. "Success," as he himself says, "closes in on one"; and if he thinks that the theme of his piece is one that foredooms it to failure, I can only retort that I do not agree with him and that I think my prognostication sounder than his. He seems to me to have

deserted a "groove" in which great artistic success lay before him for one which involves sloppy and muddled thinking and unreal, sentimental treatment. My imputation against him as a dramatist can be put in a very few words. He made an attempt to introduce real intelligence and real wit into the West End theatre, which, bound to own his effectiveness, yet felt uncomfortable with these elements. Now he has abandoned that attempt and gives the West End theatre what I called, and still call, "the soft and easy modern doctrine of the importance of being a failure"—a doctrine which is very silly and very well suited to West End theatre audiences.—Yours, &c.,

—London, July 25th, 1923.

EDWARD SHANKS.

#### THE TYRE WAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—May I draw attention to the serious issues involved in what is known as "The Tyre War"? Every taxpayer is concerned in the fact that even before our foreign tyre rivals began to cut prices, one in every eight of British tyre workers were drawing unemployment relief. Unless the Government take up this matter, the taxpayer's burden will be increased. The British tyre industry asks for no subsidy. It claims that it can stand on its own feet by a slight amendment of Finance Act No. 11 of 1915. The British tyre industry, directly employing 65,010 workpeople, reasonably asks that the duty on foreign cars should be extended to foreign tyres. That this was the original intention of the Act is no secret. This was dropped, purely for reasons of war-time expediency, when America assured the Government that, in return, all American tyres would be consigned to Britain which could thus control their destination. There is surely no reason why this handicap on British manufacturers should continue any longer. How many people know that last May 161,000 inner tubes were imported into Britain by Germany? These were sold here at a less cost than would pay for the raw material and labour. The German workman received 1d. for making each tyre! It is surely bad policy to cut down our Army to a skeleton, while we allow foreign trade competitors to filch this valuable tyre trade. Vast profits are being made by these foreign firms, while our own countrymen are eating out their hearts in undeserving idleness.—Yours, &c.,

C. HOWARD BURY.

House of Commons, S.W. 1.  
July 20th, 1923.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—I am not interested, financially or otherwise, in the British tyre industry; but, unfortunately, I have many opportunities for observing the widespread evils resulting from the present unemployment. I make no attack on the quality of imported American or French tyres, but depreciated exchange is helping some of our rivals to compete on unequal terms with British manufacturers. It should be remembered that, during the war, the Government found it necessary to turn all British chassis-makers on to war work, and eventually the Americans received a present of the tyre equipment trade as well. The Government, recognising the handicap, thereupon brought in a Tariff Bill imposing a duty of 33½ per cent. on American cars. The enactment was carried out by the Finance Act No. 2 of 1915. The original intention was that American tyres should likewise have been taxed, but before the Bill became law tyres were excluded. After the war the British tyre industry went to the Board of Trade and asked that some action should be taken. Nothing, however, was done, and it certainly seems to me that our British manufacturers are justified in asking that the word "not," which excluded tyres, should be deleted from this Act. The British tyre and rubber industry directly employs 65,010 workpeople, of whom 8,179, or 12½ per cent. (one in every eight), were unemployed and drawing unemployment relief at the end of 1922, while thousands more were on short time. It should further be noted that in that year the amount of manufactured cotton goods imported as component parts of foreign tyres amounted to no less than 5,000 lbs., or fourteen times as much as came into the country in fabric gloves. If it was necessary to safeguard fabric gloves it is equally necessary to safeguard the rubber industry, which has become an industry of great importance. During last year British taxpayers spent some £5,500,000 upon foreign tyres, although the British tyre industry could have supplied the whole of the demand. This industry has successfully emerged from its post-war difficulties of manufacture. This is no question of politics; it is not a matter of Protection or Free Trade. It is, however, of vital importance that our British manufacturers, who contribute so largely to the national revenue, should have fair trade. In other words, let us have Free Trade if you like, but we must see to it that first of all we have Free Trade within the Empire. How many people realise that last year Europe bought £400,000,000 of American goods, while Europe bought half of America's exports. This means that Europe is supporting 2,000,000 American families, and these figures prove conclusively that we must develop our own trade inside our Empire.—Yours, &c.,

WILLIAM BULL.

House of Commons,  
July 18th, 1923.

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"THE CAPITALIST WINDMILL."  
TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—Your excellent article provokes a few comments. Implicit in all discussions on this subject is the naive assumption that because an evil exists there is necessarily a remedy for it. No one denies the existing inequality of wealth; but no one has yet found a remedy for it. The Communists' panacea might answer for a few months, but after that we should all be levelled down to starvation point. Nor does "gradualism"—the latest fashion in Socialism—hold out any better prospect of success. In my nursery days I was recommended to salt the tail of a bird I wanted to catch; and Mr. Sidney Webb tells us that if we can only catch the laws of the universe bending they won't kick; but such economic fairy tales are only meant for children. The sad but prosaic truth is that some people are better fitted to amass wealth than others, and that they are only prepared to share it with others for a consideration. But why confine your attention to wealth? The distribution of other valuable things is equally unjust. Why not make good-looking people wear false noses or hare-lips? Why not forbid clever people to read books or to cultivate their brains? Or why not pass a law that all jokes, good, bad, or indifferent, are to be appreciated? To give successful Socialists their due, I have never seen the smallest inclination on their part to put these principles into practice; they are apparently only intended for the failures. In the meantime, one wonders what will become of the Labour Party when it is forced by bitter experience to abandon the economic myths on which it thrives in opposition. Where will it find the grounds to justify its *raison d'être*?—Yours, &c.,

London, July 23rd, 1923.

L. T.

A NEW ART THEATRE.  
TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—A company is being formed for the establishment of the Forum Theatre, whose artistic management will be in the hands of Mr. Theodore Komissarjevsky and Mr. Allan Wade at a well-known West End theatre. Mr. Theodore Komissarjevsky enjoys an unrivalled reputation based on his achievements at the Moscow Art Theatre, and his successes in Paris and New York. Mr. Allan Wade was for years the right-hand man of Mr. Granville Barker, and everyone who has seen the performances of the Stage Society and the Phoenix will realise what a debt theatre-lovers owe to him.

The stumbling-block to schemes of this kind is generally finance, but the omens are peculiarly happy in this case. A guarantor has been found who is prepared to guarantee the payment of 5 per cent. free of tax on a capital of £30,000 on condition that this sum is subscribed. The Articles of Association of the company are such that the possible losses of the shareholders are strictly limited to 25 per cent. of their holding, so that investment in the Forum Theatre is a reasonable commercial proposition. It should be added that there will be no issue of free shares to the guarantor or to the promoters, whose services are honorary.

A meeting of prospective shareholders was held at my residence, Seaford House, Belgrave Square, at 5.30 on Friday, July 27th, and I cordially invite those who are interested in supporting the Forum Theatre to communicate with the joint honorary secretaries, William Foss and J. Holroyd-Reece at Lawn House, Hampstead Square, who will be very pleased to send full particulars.—Yours, &c.,

HOWARD DE WALDEN.

Seaford House, Belgrave Square, S.W.

July 24th, 1923.

PAPER PULP FROM STRAW.  
TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—The twofold importance to the British Empire of an experiment to be made in Kent should not escape the attention of those of your readers interested in the deliberations of the coming Imperial Economic Conference.

Much of the time of that Conference will be occupied in debating how best to use to the full our Imperial resources, particularly in regard to developing vast territories, at present unpeopled, in Australasia, Africa, and Canada. The last-named Dominion alone possesses 300,000,000 acres of land suitable for farming, of which as yet only one-sixth is under cultivation.

A striking fact about the millions of Canadian acres which are being farmed is that practically the whole of their enormous annual yield of straw is a waste product; after every harvest it is largely burned. If, however, the experiments to be carried out in Kent are as successful on the big scale as they have been in France, it will in the future be a practicable thing to buy all the straw from the farmer and to turn it into pulp in the Prairie Provinces for the higher grades of paper.

Evidently we have here the seedling of a gigantic new industry which will benefit the man on the homestead, give employment to thousands of pulp and paper makers, and offer a further attraction to intending emigrants. But it will do more than that; it will bring nearer that ideal of a self-supporting British Empire so eloquently advocated at the last Empire Press Conference.—Yours, &c.,

FREDERICK BECKER.

London, July 21st, 1923.

## FINANCE

By URBANUS.

HERE is little or no change in the financial situation to report this week. Floating credit has become quite plentiful again, with the consequence that both the discount market and the Stock Exchange have got over their fear of an early further rise in the Bank Rate. I think, indeed, that the prospects of avoiding the 5 per cent. rate for the rest of the year are quite favourable. If so we shall be able to congratulate ourselves on making the best of both worlds. There is now very little question but that the 4 per cent. rate has been effective in checking the fall in the American exchange, just as incidentally the raising of the Swiss Bank Rate to 4 per cent. ten days ago has already sent the value of the Swiss franc up from 26.60 to 25.50 to the £. The higher rate has also checked any tendency to over-speculation in gilt-edged stocks. On the other hand, even the severest critics of the Bank's action have now been constrained to admit the truth of the fact on which I laid stress a fortnight ago, that a 4 per cent. bank rate makes not the slightest difference to trade. The controversy, however, still simmers on, and the Federation of British Industries has come forward with the request for a new Currency Commission—no doubt in the hope that it will produce a more palatable tonic than the deflation remedy of Lord Cunliffe and his colleagues.

Chairmen of public companies are not always signally successful when they venture *ultra crepidam* and aspire to enlighten their shareholders on general questions of economics. The recent speech of Mr. Ostrer, vice-chairman of Illingworth, Morris & Co., was, however, so striking an exception to the general rule that I take the liberty of reproducing part of his argument—Mr. Ostrer was discussing the old question of whether a country with a depreciating currency gains or loses. "Does the depreciation of the franc mean a profit or a loss to France?" he asked. The answer he gave was as follows: France gains by selling francs, say at 60 to the pound (buying raw material with the proceeds), and by subsequently buying back her francs at say 80 to the pound with the finished product manufactured from the raw material. She gains because by raising prices she lowers wages in France without the unpleasantness of actually reducing their money amount. And she gains because she increases her exports by lowering their gold price to the purchaser. But that means that she must give more exports than before per unit of imports. In the long run she must lose if she exports say two units of commodities against imports of one unit, whereas when exchange is stable she exports one unit for an import of one unit. "France and Germany," said Mr. Ostrer, "by lowering prices in terms of gold and sterling compete more effectively. The result is increased unemployment in the United Kingdom. There is no increase in the purchasing power of France and Germany to compensate. The only advantage we have is to export less goods per unit of imports. We produce less; they produce more. They receive lower wages in terms of commodities, but employment is better distributed. We receive unaltered wages approximately, but employment decreases." I do not think that the profit and loss account of Inflation Unlimited could be more clearly presented.

One or two investment suggestions have occurred to me during the week. There have just been offered two debenture stock issues of the Newfoundland Power and Paper Company, which is executing large and, for

all I know, wild-cat schemes of water-power and lumber development in Newfoundland. But the point is this. One of these debenture stocks, the 4½ "A" stock offered at 95, is unconditionally guaranteed by the British Government under the Trade Facilities Acts. It is thus for all practical purposes identical with the similar City and South London, Central London, and London Electric Railway 4½ guaranteed debenture stocks. But it stands a full three points below these, solely because the ordinary investor has never heard of Newfoundland Power and Paper, whereas City and South London are household words. The other Power and Paper debenture is the 5½ per cent. "B" debenture which is unconditionally guaranteed by the Newfoundland Government, and has just been issued at 98½. Because it is a stock guaranteed by a Colony and not the direct liability of the Colony it is not a trustee stock, but in point of security it seems to compare favourably with some recent colonial municipal issues (which have no guarantee), such as the Johannesburg 5½ per cent. stock which stands at 105, or the Auckland and Wellington City Electric loans at 105 and 103 respectively. Holders of any one of these and other similar issues might well take the opportunity of exchanging into the Newfoundland "B" stock, thus securing an equally eligible investment plus a handsome profit into the bargain.

Last week I dealt with the agreement arrived at between the directors of the "Chartered" Company and the Crown. This has now become a *fait accompli* by virtue of its adoption by the shareholders and its ratification by Parliament. At the meeting held on Tuesday a certain amount of opposition to the scheme was manifest, but the alternative, namely, legal action against the Crown, was so unsatisfactory that this opposition was easily overcome. Much time was spent in recriminations against the Crown, and it must be admitted that the settlement cannot be considered either generous or calculated to encourage investors to put their money into similar enterprises. But as one shareholder put it: "The past is done with. It's the future that matters. Only no more Chartered companies for us." On the market valuation of the stock, which fell when it was made clear that if a return of capital were made it would be callable, it appears that very little is expected from the Company in the near future. Judged on the value of assets given as about £9½ millions after repayment of the debentures there is a cover of 20s. 6d. for the £1 shares, and a dividend of 4½ per cent. is anticipated.

The Crosse and Blackwell report just issued must have come as further disappointment to shareholders, showing as it does a loss of very nearly £100,000 as compared with a profit of £112,000 a year ago. The losses of the subsidiary companies have now reached a total of £1,233,000, and the directors admit that a drastic reconstruction of both these bodies and the parent concern is necessary. They do not, however, advise the immediate adoption of such a course. The unfortunate position of the Company is attributed to the general dislocation of trade and the very high duty on sugar. Considerable expense has also been involved in the transfer of the factory from Charing Cross Road to the country. There can be no doubt that the extensive unemployment at home and the generally reduced standard of living on the Continent make the sale of the Companies' products in sufficiently large quantities a matter of extreme difficulty, but there seems no reason for putting off a reconstruction. This step would not only place the concern on a sound basis, but would show shareholders of all classes the real position of their holdings. As things stand the ordinary shares appear to be overvalued at 4s.

## COMPANY MEETING.

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THE thirty-second annual general meeting of the Company was held at Furness House, Leadenhall Street, E.C., on Thursday, Sir Fredk. W. Lewis presiding.

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the report and accounts, and a bonus of 2½ per cent. free of income-tax, said that those who had any knowledge of the Shipping industry, and trading conditions generally, would not be surprised to see that the profits were reduced by £102,696 1s. 3d. It would probably be a gratification to them, as it was to the directors, that the falling off of the profits had not been greater. The outlook being so uncertain and unsatisfactory the directors had, very reluctantly, decided they would be lacking in prudence if they continued to distribute the same sum in dividend and bonus as had been their custom for the past seven years. The reduction in profits represented 2½ per cent. on the ordinary capital, and he would ask them to-day to approve the customary bonus of 5 per cent. being reduced to half that amount. This would make a distribution for the year of 7½ per cent. free of income-tax, which, under all the circumstances, he was sure the shareholders would regard as satisfactory. They could have maintained the bonus at the sacrifice of the depreciation or the carry forward, and whilst their assets stood in the books at a satisfactory figure, they felt that every prudent board of directors should strive, under all circumstances, to set aside something to their reserves. They were, therefore, asking the shareholders to authorise them to apply £200,000 of the profits to depreciation, and to carry forward £202,315 12s. 11d., which, in itself, was equal to over 5 per cent. of the ordinary share capital of the Company, and their reserve fund stood at £2,000,000, equivalent to one-half of the ordinary capital. If there should fortunately be any considerable revival in the shipping trade, he could say without the slightest hesitation that their Company was as well equipped as it ever had been, and they had resources at their disposal that would enable them to take the fullest advantage of any improvement. All their subsidiary shipping, finance, insurance, and other associated companies, and their Branch offices continued to expand, and contributed in greater or lesser degree to the revenue of the parent Company. He was sorry he could not hold out any very encouraging hopes of substantial improvement as regards the current financial year, one quarter of which had already passed. The only thing they could do, as he had repeatedly pointed out, was to concentrate their energies in reducing expenditure. He was glad to be able to say that, in response to their many petitions, the Government had introduced a clause in the Finance Act which opened up the possibility of accepting the offer of the United States Government to exempt from taxation the ships of countries which, in turn, exempted from taxation the earnings of United States vessels.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted.



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# The Outlook

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## URBIS ET ORBIS

WHAT truth there may be in M. Poincaré's hints that German resistance in the Ruhr is about to collapse I do not know. The French War Lord has secured an enormous majority in the Chamber for the credits to pay for an expedition that France was told, in advance, would produce streams of gold flowing westwards across the Rhine. The prediction was exact, except that the streams flow East. Should the Germans cease their opposition to French measures, of course the entire French Press, with the Rothermere organs tagging at their heels, will loudly proclaim the victory of force. The facts will be, assuming this to happen, that France has obtained at great expense a fraction of what Herr Bergmann would have offered, had he been permitted, in Paris last January. Moreover, by the Ruhr operation, whether or not Germany formally "surrenders," France will have crippled for a long time the power of Germany to pay anything worth mentioning. This, unfortunately, is clearly what a powerful section of the French Government desires. It would be unfair, however, not to note an increasing nervousness in Paris that seems to indicate a desire for a settlement. That settlement, if it comes, will be less advantageous to France than the one possible last January, as last January's agreement, owing to the French wrecking policy, would have been about half as productive of gain for the Allies as the one Herr Simons offered here in May, 1921. However, we shall all be so grateful for a French surrender to common sense, if and when it comes, that we can afford to smile indulgently at the shouts of victory that will go up from Paris, and from Carmelite House.

AN interesting light on the reasons for Belgium's new reparations offer is thrown by a conversation I have had with a diplomat who interviewed the Belgian Prime Minister, M. Theunis, in Brussels this week. M. Theunis based the action of his Government upon three considerations. First, he deplored the breach between England and France that has led to the dispatch to Germany of rival Notes, expressed the predominant interest of Belgium in Allied unity, and hinted that Belgium cannot afford

to be compelled to side with France against England, any more than with England against France. Secondly, the Premier discussed the present chaos in Germany, and declared it was a vital interest of Belgium to prevent her great neighbour from committing financial suicide. This, M. Theunis said, would be ruinous for Belgium. Thirdly, and most important, M. Theunis admitted the heavy "indirect" losses which have fallen upon Belgium as a result of the occupation of the Ruhr. Loss of trade, the crippling of many industries, with consequent unemployment and unrest, he ascribed in the main to the Franco-Belgian invasion. It would seem to follow from this, my informant declared, though M. Theunis did not pursue his reflections to their logical conclusion, that it is imperative for Belgium to liquidate the Ruhr adventure as soon as possible. I am sure all the sentiments I have ventured to summarise above will command the enthusiastic assent of the majority of the British Government, and of the City.

NEXT week, it seems, we shall see the new German offer. It will clearly be more sensible than Berlin's cool proposal to pay 30 milliards of gold marks provided other people lent them to her. That German industry has agreed to provide half a milliard per annum on account of reparations is encouraging news. A draft of Herr Bergmann's suggested scheme has already been unofficially exhibited to two or three high personages in London. The trouble is that no one can predict what, after the other Germans get through shooting holes in Bergmann's plan, the final document will look like. I am told that Herr Stinnes and other influential industrialists, while willing to accept liability for increasing annuities—one milliard gold marks for five years, one and a-half for the next five years, and two and two and a-half for the succeeding five-year periods—object with bitterness to paying three milliards yearly during a final five years. They want to wind the matter up in twenty years, when they will have paid a total of 35 milliards, instead of Bergmann's 50—the same 30 milliards proposed in the last German Note plus five milliards in interest. I lack space to discuss financial details, but consider the incredible folly of this haggling! Even the Germans, I should have thought, would be able to

realise that no assessment of definite sums to be paid twenty-five years hence can be considered definitive to-day. They cannot be such idiots as to imperil a settlement now, with their country tumbling about their ears, because of solicitude for hypothetical burdens to be borne by the next generation in the nineteen-forties. If Herr Stinnes is seriously opposing the Bergmann scheme on such grounds as this, one must doubt whether he is really more anxious for a liquidation of this unhappy business than is M. Poincaré himself.

SOME of these Independent Liberals remind one of old-time smellers-out of witches, or heresy hunters of the Middle Ages. Only 10 per cent. of the delegates to the National Liberal Federation meeting at Buxton favoured Liberal reunion, and Sir Alfred Mond's courageous attempt to unite the party met with enthusiastic and all but unanimous rejection. Sir Donald Maclean, unanimously elected President of the Federation, struck the keynote of this mediaeval gathering when he said by-gones might be treated as by-gones if there were "repentance." Repentance, in heaven's name, for what? Nowhere has Mr. Lloyd George been more severely criticised than in these columns. But do these Wee Frees of pure faith forget that at the end of 1916 we were losing the war, and that Mr. Lloyd George took the reins from the nerveless hands of the already failing Prime Minister just in time to prevent disaster, if not collapse? If the Wee Frees forget this, the country does not. Is Mr. Lloyd George to wear sackcloth and ashes because he considered winning the war more important than permitting Mr. Asquith to slumber in Downing Street? This sort of pestilential nonsense must be swept aside by the voice of the Liberal rank and file through the country, and Liberals to whom faction means more than party, party more than country, must be deposed from positions where they are able to prevent Liberal reunion at the expense of all prospects of Liberal victory at a general election that can scarcely be postponed a year.

MAX," whether guilty or not of bad taste in caricaturing the Royal Family, has committed what is worse than a crime, a blunder. He succeeded in offending a great many people and giving the *Daily Herald* a chance to hold him up in a leading article, poor sentimental loyalist that he is, as heading the "reaction" against the adulation and "Press-agenting" of Royalty in the "millionaire" Press, a process of reaction which, the Labour organ not obscurely indicates, may ultimately mean the end of the "King business." No wonder Max hastily begged the proprietors of the Leicester Galleries to withdraw all those pictures in which fun was poked at the Queen, the Prince, and King Edward. "The end of Max Beerbohm" was the headline in the *Graphic*, other newspapers swelled the chorus of condemnation, while the *Times* and the *Morning Post* were grieved and shocked. It would be interesting to find the origins of the conception, now almost universally accepted, that it is bad taste and bad form to caricature Royalty. It is based upon sound instincts of fair play—Royalty is exempt from attack, because Royalty alone is for-

bidden to hit back. This tradition, however, dates from only the middle of last century. Before that time, merciless cartoons and satires appeared with impunity ridiculing the Georges, Victoria, and Prince Albert. I believe, subject to correction, that this stopped with Queen Victoria's widowhood, a tragic event that made popular ridicule of her Majesty for the time impossible, and that when the Prince Consort's death was no longer recent the new code of good manners had secured such a hold that the country has never shaken it off.

THERE are murmurs of irritation here because the brass hats of Ellis Island refuse to admit British first-class passengers, under some immigration law that seems borrowed from the period of Tutankhamen, when Egypt set up posts on all the frontiers and appointed officials to cudgel soundly foreigners seeking admission and to send them back into the desert. Such are the methods of America, who vaunts herself a "forward-looking" country. But before we wax too indignant, let us consider our treatment of that supreme tragic *artiste*, Eleonora Duse. Signora Duse, as is well known, is in poor health. The visit to our shores of the most distinguished exponent of her art now living was signalled by Babylonish activity on the part of the Ministry of Labour and the Passport Service. It was bad enough for the Ministry of Labour to require Signora Duse to obtain a permit for her entrance, after true-born Britishers had signed statements that Signora Duse's "work" could not be performed instead by any subject of his Majesty. It was worse for the Passport minions to compel the nation's guest, in a high sea, to stand in an uncomfortable queue for half an hour in order to undergo the inquisition of an official whose questions showed he had never heard of the lady he was examining. The most insignificant scion of the most unimportant Royal house in Europe would have been bowed and scraped into England. If this incident results in the abolition of the Ministry of Labour's permit system, and of passport examinations, it may be productive of good; but it stamps us, no less than the Americans, as Stone Age barbarians.

THERE is a piquant possibility that Mr. Henry Ford may be the next American President. The powerful Hearst Press supports him. He has more money than any other man in the world, and 40,000 Ford car agents in every nook and corner of the United States are pushing his candidacy. The *New York World* last week remarked: "There is unquestionably a great deal of Henry Ford Presidential sentiment throughout the South and Middle West. Mr. Ford is economically unsound in all the different ways that appeal to the American farmer who is in debt, and he is undoubtedly efficient in all the different ways in which the average man thinks that Government could be managed. Back of the Ford political myth is a notion that somehow he would manage, if he were President, to run the Government in the same way that he runs the Ford factory, with quantity production, big wages for everybody, large profits to be invested in further production, and steadily reduced prices to the consumer." Here is a Ford story to illustrate the hold he has

on the idealistic American. Mr. Ford proposed a branch motor-car factory in Troy, New York, a town given up to making billions of linen collars for the necks of nearly all Americans. The collar manufacturers put obstacles in Mr. Ford's way, fearing his high wages would upset the labour market. Mr. Ford took the train to Troy, appeared before the Executive Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and announced that he was prepared to manufacture collars in Troy at one-third the standard price. He explained to his dismayed enemies the details of production costs and the organisation proposed, and said his collar workers would receive Ford wages, a minimum of one guinea daily. Mr. Ford may have been bluffing, but the collar manufacturers took no risks, and begged him to make all the motors he liked in Troy.

THE Indemnity Bill has had a rough passage. Mr. Bridgeman among the lawyers rather reminded me of Daniel in the lions' den—confident that it would be all right in the end, but a little anxious lest the performance should be too protracted. The Liberals were more effective critics than Labour, as usual, and the honours of the debate rested with them. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at his best sounded like stage thunder; at his worst, like a drum with a hole in it. The other members of his team simply sputtered wrath, and we have heard those incoherences so often that they no longer impress one even as novelties. But the Liberal attack struck me as sound and well maintained—the liberty of the subject is emphatically the Liberal gospel, and I agree wholeheartedly with the reluctant Tory who remarked to me that “these fellows may be useful sooner than we expect.” It was his thesis that the next Government will be a Labour Government, which will try to make England a Procrustes's bed on which the individual withers, and State Socialism is stretched to more and more. When we are all trimmed to the same pattern, in his opinion, there will be such a revulsion of feeling that we shall all with one accord cry aloud for our old liberties, and demand an end to this tyranny.

NOTICE that there is to be a conference in America of the “big guns” in the advertising world, and that the British delegates have already sailed to attend it. If it is not too late, I should like to suggest one addition to the agenda. There is a Bill before the British Parliament—the Lords have already passed it—giving local authorities power to prohibit the setting up of ugly advertisements along our roads and railway lines. Now surely this is a matter for the advertising fraternity to inquire into themselves. Reform from inside is always the most efficacious method and the most satisfactory to everyone concerned. If advertisers do not enjoy the same reputation as the leaders of other industries, if there is a tendency to sneer at them and their methods, it is because in their eagerness to “put it across” the public, they have too often forgotten that the public has its finer feelings. Ugly hoardings may sometimes induce people to buy things, but they also create a permanent resentment, even among the actual buyers, against those who disfigure the countryside by setting them up.

NEMO.

## The Week in Parliament

HAMMER and tongs is now the order of the day. Any tenderness for the Government which may have been manifested by the Opposition before the recess, as a mark of regret for the failing health of Mr. Bonar Law, has now completely disappeared. Mr. Lloyd George has been seen of nights in mysterious fastnesses of the Welsh hills forging a new sword and repairing his armour, the glare of his furnace shining on a countenance renewed in determination and valour. Mr. Asquith at this moment is launching a great Liberal agricultural programme at Buxton. And as for Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in the very speech in which he welcomed the new Prime Minister to the House, he undertook on behalf of the Opposition to make things so hot for the new Government that the very infernal regions would prove as bracing as Skegness by comparison—a promise which so far has been religiously kept.

This is the testing time of new Ministers. Lord Robert Cecil has had first innings, and, to vary the metaphor, has secured a somewhat mixed bag. Playing the part of Hercules to the Prime Minister's King Eurystheus of Mycene, he was set to his first labour in the task of piloting through the House the Indemnity Bill in respect of the Irish deportations. On the Second Reading on Monday things on the whole went smoothly. He summed up the debate in a masterly fashion, scoring heavily off his interrupters, and making an excellent impression by his readiness on behalf of the Government to introduce a compensation clause into the Bill in committee stage. On the following day, however, it ought to have been apparent that the programme of the Government, namely, to carry the Bill through all its remaining stages at one sitting, was impossible. There were a number of substantial amendments down, and in addition there was the Government's own amendment for compensation. It would have been quite easy to have made a bargain with the Opposition that, in exchange for getting the two non-contentious Bills (Agricultural Credits and Workmen's Compensation) set down for Wednesday without discussion, only the Committee stage of the Irish Bill should be taken on Tuesday, and the remaining stages, when the House had taken a few hours to reflect upon the scope of the alterations, on the Wednesday afternoon. This, however, the Minister was not authorised to do, and accordingly the Opposition girded up its loins for a rough house.

The proceedings began tamely enough. Two amendments were disposed of by 6.15 p.m., the second (Mr. Lansbury's) being clean bowled first ball by the Attorney-General, who sat down beaming at his achievement. Then came an innocent-looking proposal solicitously shepherded to the wicket by Captain Berkeley, who asked that the words “in good faith” should be added to the Bill, in case it should prove that some spy or informer who had acted in bad faith received the protection only intended for those who had made a bona fide mistake. The words are to be found in all modern Indemnity Bills, and the Government could have accepted them in this case without in any way damaging their indemnity. But the Attorney-General, elated by his success with Mr. Lansbury, suavely attempted to put aside this amendment in the same way. The result was a battle of giants. First Mr. Lloyd George, then Mr. Asquith, and then Sir John Simon, to say nothing of the light cruiser squadron, Mr. Pringle, Mr. Harney, and Mr. Frank Gray—bombaraded the Treasury Bench with arguments to which the luckless Lord Privy Seal had the felicity of replying without much assistance from his own benches. In the heat of the fray he contrived by a hasty remark to outrage the feelings of Mr. Asquith, who answered with becoming dignity. The effect of this on Sir John Simon can only be compared with the reputed effect of monkey-gland upon the lethargic and aged. He sprang to his feet. He hurled the noble Lord's words back at him; and then, by way of showing what Simon can do when he is roused, proceeded to expose the Bill as such a masterpiece of ineptitude in draftsmanship that once again the Government had to promise amendment. Even at this hour it was not too late to make a bargain with the Opposition to be satisfied with the Committee stage that night, in which case the sitting would have come to an end at a reasonable hour. But a motion to report progress, made by the leader of the Opposition just after midnight, was refused by the Minister, whereupon the Liberals and Labour proceeded to carry on the fray until 6.15 a.m., at which time the Government was glad to accept the Committee stage and defer the Report and Third Reading till Friday.

If hon. members cannot exercise a certain discretion in regard to the ten-minute rule nothing can save it from being swept away. Mr. Remer's use of it on Tuesday as a screen for making a personal attack on Mr. Sexton was unjustifiable. He deservedly incurred a severe castigation from Mr. Neil McLean for his misrepresentations, but that did not restore the wasted time to the House of Commons.

TOBY JUNIOR, M.P.

## Light in Darkness

FOR the first time since the Treaty of Versailles laid upon the fabric of the economic world shackles that have prevented the recovery of trade, we discern in the convolutions of European politics some reason for hope that these fetters may soon be stricken off. Our optimism may well at any moment be shattered, the cup of prosperity that the statesmen of Europe can raise to the lips of a suffering humanity may very probably be dashed to the ground untasted. But in such darkness as this a single ray of light is rightly hailed as an omen.

Let us summarise the tragic plight, at the present time, of a world only too anxious to get back to work and to repair the ravages of war, if only its politicians would give it a chance. France, her armies strangling the economic heart of Germany, is fast reducing that great industrial people to hopeless chaos. Her statesmen, as blind as were the Germans who sent Lenin and Trotsky into Russia, fail to realise that as the repercussions from a ruined Russia rocked Germany, so a ruined Communist Germany must unsettle France. These things are being done in the name of the London Agreement of 1921, which, to our disgrace and heavy loss, Mr. Lloyd George accepted. By this agreement Germany is bound to pay reparations of £6,600 millions. Under the weight of this burden German finance, as was inevitable, collapsed. Meanwhile, both France and Italy have steadily protested, and still protest, their inability, if they cannot obtain these irrecoverable sums from Germany, to meet their obligations to us. The present Prime Minister, notwithstanding this situation, saw fit to fund our debt to the United States of a thousand millions, and so saddle this and the next generation of Englishmen with a war indemnity which we have no assurance that we can ever recover from enemies or friends. This paper protested, at the time, almost alone in the British Press, against Mr. Baldwin's action. The British are a sentimental people, and the appeal to their emotions evoked by the spectacle of John Bull nobly meeting his obligations, while everybody else begged off, proved too strong even for the City to withstand. The Washington Agreement was ratified, and protest after Mr. Baldwin's "victory" would have been useless. So things remain in a fearful tangle. Germany made of late a ludicrous proposal to pay a sizeable indemnity of 30 milliard gold marks, provided other nations, meaning England and America, would lend her all the money. France, in reply, has intensified her wrecking policy, and it has become more and more probable that as things are going nothing further can be obtained from Germany, that Italy and France will in consequence default, and that we and our children shall have to go on paying the single indemnity resulting from the war to our creditors across the Atlantic. Meanwhile, the very

existence of these colossal debts keeps in turmoil the exchanges, prevents the necessary repairs to the machinery of international credit, and so destroys all possibility that we, who depend upon foreign markets for our very life, can ever regain our lost position as the great merchantmen of the world.

Little Belgium saved civilisation in 1914 by her heroism. She has been of late, through no fault of her own, dragged bound to the chariot wheels of inexorable French Imperialism. Now at last, spurred on by the necessity for her own independence of breaking the bonds that bind her, Belgium has brought forward a plan for settling the reparations question that represents that ray of light in the darkness to which we referred above. Neither people nor Parliament in this country will submit to any scheme by which Germany and Allies alike evade their obligations to us, while we have to pay America. Whether this is economic wisdom or not, it is political fact. Mr. Bonar Law's January plan, rejected with contumely by M. Poincaré in Paris, offered to cancel 71 per cent. of the Allied debts to this country provided enough was paid to meet the British annual contribution to America. We do not think the British Government, nor the City, who have long since written off any real hope of sizeable contributions from our late enemies, particularly mind where the money comes from to pay America, so long as we get it. In other words, Mr. McKenna and Mr. Baldwin, if their training and their knowledge of world finance count for anything, would wash out all our share in German reparations provided France and Italy paid us annually the interest and sinking fund which goes to New York; or, alternatively, they would cancel the Allied debts entirely if Germany, upon good security, covenanted to meet our debt to America. The security, in the latter case, would have to be unimpeachable.

The essence of the Belgian plan is that all attempts to secure great sums in the immediate future from Germany are to be given up. Germany is to be asked instead to pay annuities, and it is clear that Belgian statesmen have in mind that these annuities should be sufficient, but no more than sufficient, to provide for the service of the internal reparations loans raised by France, Belgium, and Italy, and for the service of the British debt to the United States. With this scheme we certainly have no quarrel. It would be accepted here with enthusiasm. There are signs that in Paris, too, sane financial opinion realises the impossibility of raising large international loans for Germany, and therefore would not be unwilling to adopt the Belgian scheme. Should this view prevail in Paris, Belgian insistence provides an opportunity for the "wild men" to save their faces. They can now allege that as they cannot afford to lose Belgium as an Ally, they are acting under Belgian pressure. Italy, we believe, would prove joyfully amenable.

There remains, of course, a formidable X in the equation. Can, or will, Germany agree? Germany, to make a settlement on these lines possible, must raise about £75 millions yearly in cash, and pay a similar amount in kind. If we are content with some 30 millions of this to pay the American debt, leaving 120 millions to our Allies, we shall be accepting a considerable reduction in the agreed reparation percentages. The German industrialists, bankers, and agricultural magnates, are reported on good authority to have offered to contribute 500 million gold marks yearly to reparations. And Germany, it is understood, will propose during the next five years to pay annually one milliard gold marks, or £50 millions. This sum, if Berlin forecasts are correct, is to be raised, during succeeding periods of five years, to 1½, 2, 2½, and 3 milliards yearly, thus concluding the whole German obligation in thirty years. Between this figure, and one which would enable the Allies to pay the service of their internal loans contracted on account of reparations, and us to pay America, there is no insurmountable difference.

Another unknown quantity is the attitude of America. Should that country demand from France and Italy payment in full, as she has obtained it from us, the greater would be the burden placed upon Germany by these nations, a burden that the German people probably could not bear. We cannot believe, however, that America will not in the end be generous, if she sees that Germany and the Allies have come to terms, and that the Allies are agreed among themselves, the whole settlement hinging upon the single condition that the United States foregoes the greater part of her claims against France and Italy. Europe now presents, to American eyes, a spectacle of conflicting greeds, hatreds, and insanities that makes America naturally resent any suggestion that she show compunction to such unpleasant, not to say impossible, creditors. It is not too much to hope, and after all our whole thesis is a hope, that a profound change in American opinion may follow the tremendous fact of an inter-European agreement.

### Personalities'

THE new Government is very like the old. It has a new head, but the same tail. Now with politicians, as with other of the lower invertebrates, the powerful tail is often more important than the limited head, and we have yet to see whether the new Prime Minister will contrive to assert his superiority over his colleagues and followers. In one respect, at least, he has obeyed their commands. There was a moment when he thought of Mr. Chamberlain as a member of the Cabinet. But the earth suddenly trembled, the volcano on which Mr. Baldwin sits showed signs of sudden activity, and that idea was strangled almost before it was born. The mild and inoffen-

sive Sir L. Worthington-Evans sits on the Treasury Bench, but his leader from Birmingham is left wandering disconsolately in the wilderness.

We cannot pretend that the loss is a serious one. Everybody agrees that something ought to be done for Mr. Chamberlain. But everybody agrees that the ideal job is at the other end of the earth. One statesman wants to banish him to Simla, another suggests that Washington is an earthly paradise, but nobody seems to want him in Downing Street. He is offered any number of leading parts on tour, but the cast of the great play at Westminster is filled. It is an unhappy predicament for an honest and upright man of limited abilities.

But if Mr. Baldwin has bowed to the earthquake, he has taken a pretty revenge on the volcano in the selection of Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. McKenna. Lord Robert is the enigma of current politics. So far as he hates Mr. Lloyd George, the Tories love him; and so far as he loves the League of Nations, they detest him. There have been moments when the Liberals have considered him a possible recruit, and moments when the Conservatives have believed that the most austere product of Hatfield House was a possible deserter. Both hope and fear have been beside the mark. Lord Robert is a genuine Tory, but all the worship which his brother Hugh bestows on Canterbury the elder man gives to Geneva. But there is in fact a reasonable conviction behind the fanaticism of which Lord Balfour once accused him. He has a passion for unity and order—which alone is sufficient guarantee of his essential Toryism. "The disruption of the Welsh Church nearly broke his heart, because it was a breach in Anglican unity. But the peril of European disruption has touched him more nearly still, and it is because he sees the one hope of averting that disaster that he supports the League of Nations. The League in his view may not be quite the League of President Wilson, but it is something very different from the political dustbin of the Coalition, and we take it that he would not have entered the Government unless he had received pledges to make it operative.

Mr. McKenna is a more curious case—a piece of Radical granite cropping up in the old red sandstone of Toryism. Ten years ago every Conservative hated him like the devil, but a common enmity to Mr. Lloyd George has revealed points of union between the incompatibles. If Mr. McKenna's only distinction were his cursing of Criccieth, there would not be much to be said for him, but he has other qualities which make him inevitable. He rather enjoys unpopularity, which is a valuable asset in a Chancellor of the Exchequer; and he not only believes in economy, but insists upon it. He is the Geddes axe in person.

His position will not be an easy one. The Liberals regard him as a deserter; but his acceptance of office is hardly to be so construed. It means that he is conscious that he can serve his country at the Treasury with success, and incidentally that the Liberal feud offers him no chance of doing so in the fold that he would naturally have chosen; and it also means that he is willing to exchange a large and secure income for a relatively small and certainly insecure one. Now we cannot call a man a traitor who follows that particular path.

The real troubles of Mr. McKenna, and those of the Prime Minister, will come, however, from the intransigent Tories. Somebody once said that Whiggery was a disease that only attacked elderly Liberals; like diabetes and cancer, it is practically unknown before forty. We doubt if there is a similar age-limit to Die-Hardism, but obviously this distressing and occasionally devastating complaint plays equal havoc in the Tory ranks. The symptoms, however, are entirely different. The onset of Whiggery betrays itself as a kind of sleepy sickness, a *politicus lethargicus*, which paralyses the will to action. In the Tory victim the position is reversed. The incipient Whig thinks so much that he becomes incapable of action. The Die-Hard, on the other hand, acts so violently that he becomes incapable of thought.

This type of politician is a victim to his own narrow conception of orthodoxy. Twelve years ago he got rid of Mr. Balfour—who came back smiling. There was a time when he objected to Mr. Bonar Law—who saved himself by putting on the Carson Ulster. Even Lord Curzon was once suspect—but Lord Curzon continues. Only the smaller fish get caught in that particular net, and Mr. Chamberlain, we fear, is the solitary victim of the extremists of his own party. They have taken Lord Robert Cecil as a small boy takes a seidlitz powder—attracted by the sizzle, but a little doubtful of the effects. Mr. McKenna, we admit, is a more serious proposition; but the more furiously the Liberals rage at his defection, the more palatable he will become to the Conservatives. There is always something attractive about poaching a neighbour's windfalls; the apple may be slightly sour, but the fact that it is stolen takes the edge off the teeth.

On the whole, then, we think the Baldwin Government is rather stronger than the Bonar Law Government. But two of the main elements of the strength have no connection whatever with its merits or demerits. The Liberal vendetta deprives the intelligent part of the Opposition of effectual attack; and the Labour boorishness makes plain men feel that the only possible change would be one for the worse. While those factors remain, the Government is likely to continue.

### The Indian Case

THE climate of Kenya Colony, the Indian delegation has officially hinted to the Colonial Secretary, may be held responsible for the bitterness of the disputes between the white and the Indian settlers. We may pay this characteristically Oriental remark the tribute of a smile, and pass on to examine the case which the Indians, after weeks of conference and intrigue, have at last put forward. Neither the Indian nor the European settlers should have the control of native affairs, and the Imperial Government ought to keep in its own hands the legislative power in East Africa until the native is able to rule his own country. That is the first suggestion. The Indian delegation, however, is good enough to recognise the difficulty in withdrawing from English settlers the rights solemnly conferred upon them by recent British Governments, and so suggests what is

claimed as the principle of Cecil Rhodes, "the franchise for every civilised man," irrespective of race. "It is prayed that the same rights of franchise may be granted to Indians as are enjoyed by Europeans." No new restrictions should be imposed on Indian immigration, the delegation claims, and such immigration should be encouraged for the due and rapid development of the country. The contention that the Highlands should be thrown open to Indian settlers is definitely avowed, and a request follows for "the abrogation of the Governor's power of veto of land transfers from members of one race to those of another." Racial segregation is condemned, and the statement put forward that "the Indian community has never objected to necessary sanitary measures." The colour bar, it is urged, should no longer stand in the way of merited promotion on the railway and in technical Government posts, and "the essence of the whole case presented is that his Majesty's Government is asked to carry out the resolution of the 1921 Imperial Conference by assigning to British Indians in Kenya a status not inferior to that of any other of his Majesty's subjects, and to repeal all racial legislation which has been enacted in the past to the detriment of Indian interests."

With this Imperial Conference resolution, upon which the Indians formally rest their case, we have already dealt. It is, in effect, a pious sentiment, voted for by the representative of Great Britain, where there are no Indians, and the representatives of Australia and Canada, where effective immigration laws already prevent Indian invasion. General Smuts, on behalf of South Africa, the only white member of the Conference to whose country the resolution had practical meaning, refused his assent. Kenya comes within the "sphere of influence" of the Union of South Africa. Technicalities aside, as we have pointed out, the Union cannot and will not permit elsewhere in Africa a political status of equality to be assigned to a non-white race. General Smuts, as a result of the Kenya Indian agitation, already has to deal with the claim of hundreds of thousands of non-white residents, who are not blacks, for equal rights—a demand which, if granted, must cause the Union to expire in fire and blood. General Smuts has made South Africa's attitude as clear as is possible without using direct threats to the Mother Country. We wonder how our Liberal journalistic colleagues, who support the Indian case feel about General Smuts. They know that of all living statesmen he is one of the most Liberal, open-minded and fair, as he proved himself at the Peace Conference.

But setting aside the fact that this country will scarcely countenance a new South African war to deprive the ten thousand white men in Kenya of their supremacy, we may fairly claim that, considered solely on its merits, the Indian case is so weak that further delay in reaching a settlement seems inexcusable. The Indian suggestion that the rights conferred upon the white settlers be withdrawn is insolent, because it is a demand that the British Government repudiate the most sacred pledges. We printed on May 5th "Kenya's Charter of Liberty," Lord Milner's dispatch of May 21st, 1920. In that dispatch, which the ten thousand white men accepted and upon which they take their stand, though it by no means met their



full claims, Lord Milner definitely promised that the Highlands should be reserved for white settlers, and that the principle of segregation would be enforced—the necessity for which, if the introduction of Oriental diseases among the white and native population is to be averted, Professor Simpson has urgently, and with all the weight of his expert knowledge of these problems, expounded in our columns. Lord Milner decided in favour of the election of two Indian members of the Legislative Council “on a special franchise.” This was a denial of the Indian claim, now again brought forward, for a “uniform qualification and a common electoral rôle.” The latter can mean nothing else than that 22,000 Indians will out-vote and therefore dominate 10,000 white men.

That a non-white race should presume to dictate to the Imperial Government concerning the relations between that Government and a colony settled and governed by white emigrants from these islands, is a new and unheard of fact in Imperial history. Any concessions to such a claim would merely lay up trouble for the future, not only in Kenya but in India itself. Kenya, the “last white man’s country,” must remain under white control. The ten thousand have the word of the British Government for this, and that should be enough. If it is not enough, let the Government consider the attitude of the Union of South Africa. If they still remain unconvinced, let them remember that our dominion in East Africa, in the hands of a few thousand men of our race, is based upon the respect, born of past deeds in the field, felt by millions of brave black warriors for the white man. Once the blacks believed that the white overlordship was being exchanged for a brown, the unwarlike non-caste Indians of Kenya would curse with their last breath, while their throats were being cut, the agitators who led them to assert dominion which they lacked courage, moral fibre, combative prowess, and racial tradition to enable them to put into force.

## A House of the Dead

By E. T. RAYMOND.

**T**WELVE years ago the House of Lords—or rather those who used the House of Lords, and wanted to make it a sharper weapon—played for a very high stake.

If the gamble had succeeded nothing short of armed revolution could have prevented the Peers becoming the most powerful element in the British polity. For there can be no such thing as equality between an indissoluble Chamber and one which is liable to dissolution. Make the former not inferior, and it will infallibly, and in a very short time, achieve a decisive superiority. Had Mr. Asquith failed in 1911, the House of Lords would now be well on its way to practical omnipotence. With its loss of effective power the status of the House of Commons would have been automatically reduced. A seat in that House would have become of less consequence to a private member, and to a Minister it would, in many cases, have presented the aspect of a positive disadvantage.

A Peerage would have become the desire, instead of the nightmare, of statesmen in their prime. Everything would have tended to convert the Upper House into the seat of authority and the source of legislative initiative, while the representative Chamber would

have slowly but surely shrunk to a mere debating body, chiefly useful as a training-ground for young ability.

But at a roulette table, where the possibilities are so great, loss means not inconvenience but simple ruin; and the Peers who were encouraged to “damn the consequences” have been learning piecemeal ever since how disastrous the damned consequences are. The King’s passing over of Lord Curzon carries the dismal process of enlightenment a long step forward. It has been laid down, as clearly as if heralds had shouted it from the steps of St. Paul’s Cathedral, that henceforth no Peer, however able, experienced, industrious, and virtuous, can hope to control a British Cabinet. And this, of course, means that the heirs of Peers in the House of Commons—an always numerous and a frequently talented body—must in future live in constant peril of political extinction, or something very near to it. At any moment the death of a relative may summon them, in a political sense, to their own last long home. It is as cruel as *suttie*.

For the withholding of the Premiership is only a symbol of much wider things. The same considerations which made Lord Curzon impossible as Prime Minister will operate to exclude from the House of Lords the more important Cabinet Ministers. A Peer will no doubt still be considered desirable at the Foreign Office, and not objectionable, in quiet times, at the War Office, the Admiralty, or the Ministry of Agriculture. But wherever there is a probability of stress and strain the claims of the House of Commons will be preferred.

This sterilisation of the House of Lords must soon become intolerable to itself, and already there is a renewal of all the old suggestions for giving the Peers the best of both worlds. Some are proposing, as Lord Rosebery did forty years ago, that a Peer, if he likes, may declare himself politically a Commoner. Others are suggesting that Ministers shall have, as in some Continental States, the right of sitting and speaking in both Houses.

Both are excellent suggestions, which would have been adopted long ago but for one reason—the people would not stand them. The first plan means that a Peer is to have all the advantages of being Lord Thomas, Lord Richard, or Lord Henry, and also all the advantages of being plain Tom, Dick, or Harry. The second plan means that Governments will be able to avoid by-elections and keep in the position of masters of the public men whom the public may detest and distrust. Ask the first working-man you meet what he thinks of either proposition, and he will signify his opinion in the usual manner. He will call it cheek. You will be fortunate if he does not say exactly what sort of cheek it is.

The plain fact, though with the usual English shrinking from logical conclusions it is not faced, is that the House of Lords is a dying institution. It is not dying of disease, for which a cure might be found. It is rather in the position of the great lizards of old time, which vanished because of a change of conditions, climatic or otherwise, to which they were unable to adapt themselves. The advance of Labour is the political analogue of the cold wave which destroyed the Jurassic dinosaurs. So long as the country was politically divisible as Conservative and Liberal it was possible to admit a certain representative character in the House of Lords. Its moral strength, it is true, was ebbing all through the nineteenth century, and sank rapidly after the Home Rule split had so greatly added to the disparity of the two Parties in the House. But until now the argument could still be advanced that the Peers did in some sort represent the community in its more sober moods. There were not many Liberal Peers, and their Liberalism was not very pronounced. But still there were

Liberal Peers. There are no Labour Peers, and Labour opinion, in its mildest form, is to seek in the Upper Chamber.

This was adduced, in the semi-official explanation, as an all-sufficient reason for the preference of Mr. Baldwin's claims over Lord Curzon's. The public was given to understand that it was not a question of a mere balance of advantage on the side of the Commoner. Any Commoner, it would seem, is to be preferred to any Peer, because there is no Opposition in the House of Lords, and to have the chief spokesman of the Government in this House would be a monstrous absurdity. But it does not seem to have been realised what this argument implies. If it be a striking absurdity to have the chief spokesman of the Government in the House of Lords, it is an absurdity only less in degree to have any other spokesman there. The argument is a practical admission that the House of Lords does not represent the people as a whole, since an important section of the people, so important that it has sent the second largest group to the House of Commons, has no single member in the Upper Chamber. But if the House of Lords does not represent all the people, what section of the people does it represent? Not the lower middle class; very few Peers can be clerks or small shop-keepers. Not at all adequately the middle and upper middle class; the few professional men in the Upper House are there less because they are masters of their craft than because they have money as well as distinction.

There seems to be no escape from the dilemma. Either the House of Lords represents something which is just as well represented without a single Labour Peer, or it represents only a very small class of very rich men. It is either an impartial guardian of every interest, or it is a mere Soviet of the wealthy. But the argument that it is no fit place for the Prime Minister because he has no Labour Peers to meet clearly abandons the first claim. It acknowledges by implication that since Labour is not directly represented, Labour is not represented at all.

But this is not all. If by any chance Labour should be in a position to form a Government, what would that Government do for its spokesmen in the House of Lords? It could hardly entrust its interests to any good-natured Peers who offered their services, to see fair play, as barristers at Quarter Sessions undertake the defence of a poor prisoner who would otherwise be without legal assistance. But if the Labour Government failed to acquiesce in some such arrangement, two courses alone would be open to it. It must either treat the House of Lords as practically non-existent, sending its Bills to the Lord Chancellor, and signifying its disagreement with Lords' amendments, through the registered post, or it must create Peers of its own.

But the Labour Party could not, without stultifying itself, create Labour Peers or consent to their creation. It does not possess the great advantage of the Liberals in this respect—of being able to mingle very wild profession with very tame practice. The manufacture of Labour Peers, except in masses for some revolutionary purpose, would simply kill Labour with ridicule. Nor can we imagine that, even if Labour were a very Barkis for willingness in this matter, the owners of inherited and acquired titles would submit willingly to such adulteration of their order. A very natural and proper pride is, indeed, one of the main obstacles in the way of the realization of those schemes of Lords reform which were so familiar a feature of discussion thirteen years ago. The "backwoodsman" will not, in the vivid phrase of one of his representatives, "order his own tumbrel." The Labour man will not submit to sit in a House in which he is assigned an inferior status to other members. There can be, of course, as much a mixture of classes in the Upper

House as in the Lower. But a mixing of hereditary and non-hereditary elements, as such, will always be defeated, because it affronts the ordinary instincts of the ordinary self-respecting man. No squire-Peer will admit himself the inferior of a pushing political Peer or an ennobled captain of industry; why should he? No Labour man will consent to sit as a popularly elected Lord of Parliament when somebody else is sitting as a hereditary Peer by value of the votes of other hereditary Peers. Again, why should he?

Probably nothing will be done until the practical difficulty arrives: that is our way. But there will be no harm in thinking over a problem which may at any moment be formidably upon us. If nothing can be done—and, after all, what can be done?—to fit the House of Lords, which has been for a century a steadily growing anomaly, to actual and easily possible conditions, what is to take its place in our polity? Sir Robert Peel, in meeting his problem in 1846, said it was "no easy task to ensure the united action of an ancient monarchy, a proud aristocracy, and a reformed constituency." One wonders what language he would have to describe the present difficulty.

## Palestine Abstains

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

DESCRIBING his visit to Palestine, in the recently published diary of his world tour, the late Lord Northcliffe remarked that he did not suppose that "anyone except a stone image could enter the country of Christ without deep emotion." In the same way, unfortunately, it would seem that no one except a stone image can approach the question of the political future of that country without prejudice. Every inquirer starts out with a preconceived bias either for or against the Zionist idea. Every article that is written on the subject, every utterance in the House of Commons, is described with perfect accuracy by hostile critics as Zionist or anti-Zionist propaganda, as the case may be. No European can help taking a side in this quarrel. A prominent British official is said to have remarked at a semi-official banquet in Jerusalem, that the Palestine Mandate ought to have been given to the Japanese, since they alone among the Allies were neither Christian, nor Jewish, nor Mohammedan. In the meantime, as Lord Northcliffe remarked in his diary, all we know is that "both sides are liars."

Confronted by this cheerful situation, it should obviously be the first task of the impartial critic to discover the cause of all the prejudice, and, having found it, to expel it from his mind before he begins to talk. The cause is not far to seek. It is, simply, religion. Everybody in Palestine is a religious fanatic and propagandist. Let us, therefore, try to forget, for a moment, the religious aspect of the matter. Apart from religion, what is the grievance of the local Arabs, which led them to boycott the recent elections and turn their new Constitution into a farce? It is not unlike the grievance of the white colonists in Kenya. The Arabs, Christian and Moslem, who are settled inhabitants of the country, find themselves threatened by a flood of alien immigration. They object. If the Jews were Arabs like themselves, they would object just the same. They fear, like the Kenya colonists, that the newcomers will not only undersell them and get all the trade of the country into their hands, but that they will presently buy up the land, and, with their increasing numbers, will also secure first voice in the government of the country. No one seriously disputes that these fears are well grounded. It is simply a question—a question which the British Empire has got to decide one way or the other—of whether or not the existing

inhabitants of a country have a right to decide what additions shall be made to their numbers. Every European country, by its immigration laws, exercises that right as a matter of course. So do the British self-governing Dominions—Canada, Australia, South Africa. Can we deny it to the inhabitants of Palestine? We may arrange compromises. Kenya may be brought to consent, in the interests of Imperial unity, to a restricted Indian immigration, which, at the same time, is more than it really likes. Such compromises settle nothing. What we have got to decide is where the decision should rest in these matters—at Downing Street or on the spot. One thing is quite certain, and that is that the Palestinians cling to their right of decision—as they consider it—as firmly as any European nation.

I shall be told that Palestine is not a self-governing dominion, and cannot be treated as such; that it has even refused to implement the up-to-date, democratic Constitution which we have devised for it. It is true that the Arabs boycotted the recent elections, but everybody who has ever been in the Near East knows that the thing would have been a farce in any case. We go about benevolently offering representative institutions to people who do not understand the A B C of democracy—do not want to, and probably never will. We cannot assume that, on that account, they are unfit to express opinions about alien immigration. There was a by-election in Egypt shortly before the war at which the two candidates were the only people who turned up at the polling booth. Such cases are common. More than 90 per cent. of the inhabitants of Palestine are totally illiterate, and prefer to express their political views by demonstrations and riots rather than by making inexplicable marks upon ballot papers that they cannot read. Different countries, different manners. The only trouble is that the British Press will not speak the plain, brutal truth about it. It is doubtful whether there is a single Englishman in Palestine who shares the grief of the *Times* at the failure—or, at any rate, postponement—of this ill-conceived experiment in democracy.

As a matter of fact, it is idle to talk of the "failure" of the Palestine Arabs to seize this great "opportunity." They have not failed. On the contrary, they have scored a notable success. They have plainly intimated to the Mandatory Power that so long as the flood of Jewish immigrants—all potential voters—continues they will have nothing to do with any system of Government by votes, but will deliberately make it impossible, by their abstention from the ballot. In that they have succeeded, and the recent Order in Council simply means that the government of the country will be carried on by the High Commissioner as before. If we attach any importance to our friendship with the Arabs—and the treaties just concluded with Iraq, the Hedjaz and Trans-Jordania would seem to indicate that we do—we can hardly afford to ignore this strong expression of opinion by the inhabitants of an Arab country, which we hold in trust, and which is strategically more important to us than any of them. The collapse of the democratic experiment does not matter a straw. What does matter is that we should make up our minds at once as to whether or not we are going to carry on with the much more dangerous Zionist experiment.

## Atheism in Moscow

BY HUNTLY CARTER.

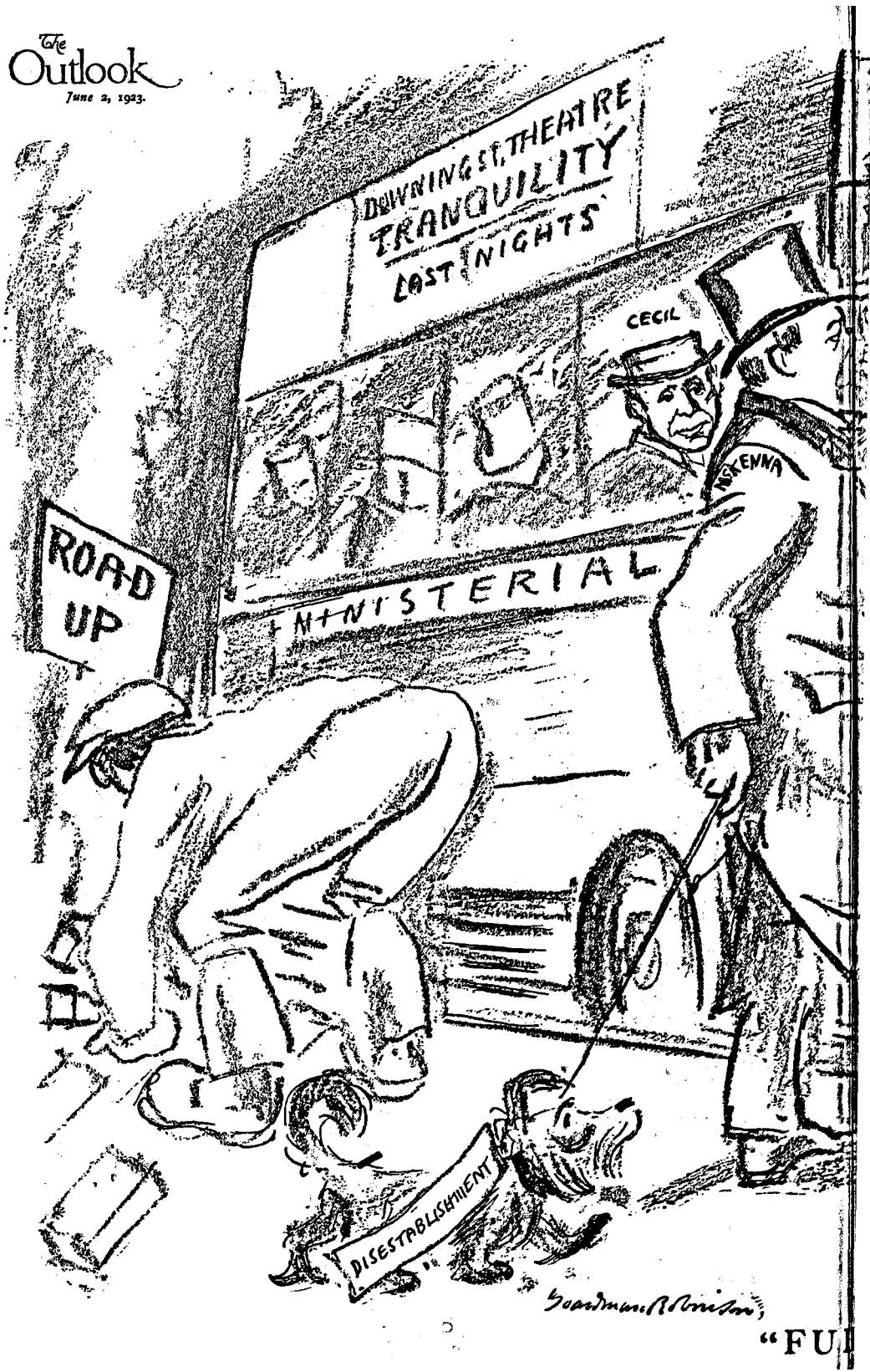
MOSCOW, MAY 17TH.

**M**OSCOW appears the most irreligious city on earth. No one can truly compare the Moscow of 1913 with the Moscow of 1923 without coming to this conclusion. I remember making my

last pre-war visit to this wonderful city in the late summer of 1913. The decrepit drosky-driver who jolted me from the Nicholas station to a small hotel in Tberskoi seemed to be afflicted with St. Vitus's Dance. The whole way he bobbed and crossed himself before ikons and chapels that strewed our path as numerous as the Atlantic Cities that Emerson speaks of. On every hand devoted pedestrians went through the same antics, bobbing, crossing themselves, even kneeling before sacred images and symbols, as though their lives depended on it. Mysticism, superstition, mediaevalism went hand in hand casting a many-coloured but deadening halo upon everything.

From the religious intoxication of the drosky-driver and the multitude to that of the chapels themselves was but a step, as one might say, of the distance from the Balcony Scene to the Divorce Court. The gorgeousness of their interiors took the breath away. Enmeshed in glittering gold as though a mighty golden spider had in a golden ecstasy spun its very soul over them, they took the mind with wonder leaving but little room for meditation, that essence of the Church's secret charm. Vessels of gold and silver, and precious stones, unsurpassed even by the glories of Solomon's sumptuous temple; the flow of the rich vestments of the priests, the air dense with subtle incense, and the sound of music and chant—all these united to produce a harmony of religious colour, sound, and movement whose potent spell no human mind could withstand. These glowing shrines were the symbols of a people still buried in religious observances of the Dark Ages, still preserving habits and customs that belonged to the eleventh century. Indeed, at the time I write of, Moscow was a strange blend of the barbaric and the modern. Its shocking cobbled streets, its one and two-storied timbered houses, its multitudes of priests and pestiferous beggars, its superstition, its dirt and dilapidation, and along with these its colossal mammonised Government and commercial buildings, and its great blocks of palatial flats fitted with every up-to-date convenience kept the mind violently jerking from the earliest to the latest period of the world's history.

And Moscow to-day? Gone is the drosky-driver with the religious palsy. The man who drives me from the Nicholas station is young, lusty, and unrighteous, with a mind set on getting his pound of flesh in roubles that mount to millions. He is the new bandit with not a grain of religious faith in the whole of his unclean body. If he vibrates like a jelly it is because of the atrocious roads. Never a glance does he bestow on the chapels or ikons, or where the latter used to be. Gone are the ikons, or most of them. Robbers and others of the Help-Myself-Society have taken toll of them pretty heavily. Nowadays museums and not street and chapel walls are bulging with them. Gone are the vessels of gold and silver and the precious stones that once adorned the chapel interior. True, the tinsel lining is there, and the golden sanctuary and the gallery of saints (some of them sinners too) and the tall candlesticks still shed waxen tears as though doing penance for the sins of the worshippers (or can it be the priests?). True, too, the priests are there, but no longer, except at Festival time, enshrouded as it were in priceless vesture. They are unshaven and unshorn, gaunt and ungainly, their garments are rusty and threadbare, and reek of hard times, and they receive the donations of the devout with the air of men who are signing their own death-warrant. Gone, too, is most of the old ritual and glorified, if not sanctified, observance. The choir sings with its coat collar turned up and wearing its work-a-day clothes and a red nose. The congregation plainly, even poorly, dressed (and including no bejewelled or befurred representatives of the bourgeois or capitalist class), stands immobile with lack-lustre eye, like a person hypnotised, throughout the service.





The Outlook  
June 2, 1923.

P!"

Gone are the frenzied bowings and crossings that once set everyone in a congregation going like fanatical dervishes. Scarcely a member crosses himself or herself, scarcely one bends the knee in adoration. A few continue the old business of kissing the feet of saints half-hidden behind glass thickly overlaid with the grease deposited by the lips of the faithful. Gone is the religious ecstasy which once set its seal upon all who worshipped in the Moscow chapels. Perhaps the Church is the nearest way out of Moscow to-day. Just as gin was once said by a magistrate to be the nearest way out of Manchester. In no other way can I account for the irreligious apathy of the chapel-goer. For an hour or two he receives a free helping of a gorgeous gilt interior, music, chant, incense, in a word, aesthetic enjoyment, which enables him to forget the snow, slush, bitter cold, dirt, and dilapidation—the aftermath of the Revolution outside.

As in the chapels so on the streets. Gone is the mist of bells that once broke from the 400 belfries like a diaphanous canopy of God. Gone, too, is the look of religious fervour, nay, fanaticism, that once set its mark on the Moscow population as though on a people apart. Once the Moscovites looked as though they were the elect of Heaven, now they look like the Chosen of Hell. Nowadays in Moscow—that unique city of domes—where the mounded golds and blues and greens are pressed to heights by a lacework of vernal foliage—the people laugh at God. Perhaps the laugh is with God. You see them gazing intently at a shop-window full of blazing atheistic literature that would make Foote weep with joy. You see them peering into scoffing pages of the *Bezbojnik*, or the *Krasnie Perets* (Red Pepper), or the *Crocodile*, at cartoons whose violent criticisms of saints and sinners would make even the Freethinker green with envy. You watch them in pageants walking six abreast behind guys so ugly you wonder the demonstrators do not faint at the sight of them. You meet them in the Theatre of Revolutionary satire, and in its understudies, held by scenes exhibiting priests to ridicule.

The fact of the whole matter is that a new spirit is manifesting itself in Moscow. It may be reformation, or democracy, or rationalism. Call it what you like. It began with the Revolution, and it may be a protest from people who received no apparent help from Heaven in their hour of need. The Soviet Government is accused of fostering it. But so are the younger priests fostering it. They are clamouring for a Living Church in place of the Dead one. They want to do away with the Patriarch. They want the Church cleansed of many evils which crept into it during the Czarist regime. It was they who recently unfrocked Tikhon so that he might take his trial as a private person. At this the Government merely shrugged their shoulders. Tikhon has offended against the civil laws of the country, and he must take his trial in any case.

I am writing this on Ascension Day. All the churches and chapels except thirty-nine are brimming over. The twenty chapels of the Kremlin are dead, for the Kremlin is a Government fortress to which no one is admitted save a chosen few. The Kremlin is dead. All the morning I have wandered from one end of Moscow to the other in quest of an open restaurant. In vain. Upon the portals of each was the mystic sign "Zaperta," or in plain English "Closed." Where were the lugubrious waiters? Can it be they had gone to the irresistible public Lottery? This same evening at the Proletcult Theatre I saw the workers in an orgy of play-acting caricature, a processional of priests, and a processional of comic ikons, and pails for the tears of the faithful. Upon such mediaeval drollery they ascended to heights of Aristophanic mockery, but without the clarifying spirit of Aristophanes.

Yes, without doubt, Moscow is laughing at God. But perhaps the laugh is *with* God.

## MIDDLE SECTION

### The Pepper-Box Rampant

BY G. R. STIRLING TAYLOR.

AS they have always told us in Sunday Schools, and other thoughtful places, when one once takes the first wrong step nobody knows where it will all end. And so it has been in the case of Imperialism. It all began with what seemed a very innocent desire for pepper. Hundreds of years ago, when they had not discovered cold storage, meat had a quarrelsome way of asserting itself; and the answer to this mounting fleshy ambition was to drown it in still higher seasonings. So there arose a great craving for "sugar and spice and all that's nice"—and out of that desire grew the trade with the East, which was the beginning of the British Empire. For it really started its career on the day when the first great fleet returned to England from the Indies with a million pounds of pepper in its holds.

If the Heralds' College had to draw a coat of arms for the British Empire, it would be quite a mistake to drag in the cross of St. George, or Scottish thistles, or Irish harps. Such things are all right for the modest little islands they truly represent. But for the Empire, the true sign and symbol of its greatness is the pepper-box—rampant, on a background of pure gold. They state it in more technical terms in the heraldry books, but that is what they mean. In that simple symbol we can find the clue to it all. It becomes at once plain why this Empire of ours has such an irritating effect on the rest of the nations—for is it not built on a foundation of pepper? Little wonder that the world gasps and writhes in half-suffocated annoyance, for its great enemy is a pepper-box on a background of gold, and both gold and pepper have irritating qualities. Together, they quite naturally drive the sanest of worlds to desperate courses.

Of course, the idea always appealed to the ambitious, and France, and Portugal, and Spain, and the Dutch, all tried the same idea. The Dutch were almost the only people who did not lose their heads and get unbalanced—perhaps a race that bred so many charming artists could not get sufficiently vulgar to succeed in empire-building. But sooner or later the Dutch Empire and all the other imperial outbursts one by one died away; and Englishmen and Scotsmen and Irishmen had settled on quite a large part of the world before the rest of the inhabitants began to sneeze. And the most gigantic of these pepper-sneezes was the Great War of 1914-1918.

But now everybody's doing it! Not empire-building itself, of course, for the capacity of the earth is limited, and there is not enough acreage for every nation to have an Empire all to itself. But everybody is doing the next best thing, and is writing a book to show how the thing has been done before, with valuable hints as to how it may be done again. For every race outside the imperial circle of the moment has a reasonable hope, based on all sound history, that one by one the Empires will follow the example of great Rome itself, and pass away; just as unfortunate millionaires sometimes finish in bare garrets. And while waiting their turn, these expectant peoples can find much comfort on every hand. "Imperial Caesar, dead and turned to clay"—the very thought is a comforting hope to the next in order in the imperial succession.

So far (during modern times, at least) there has been a calm assurance about the British position. The gentlemen who write paragraphs in Fleet Street have taken it for granted that the British Empire has solved the problem of perpetual motion. But that in itself has its drawbacks—for to turn round without ceasing

may result in a fatal giddiness. But now, of late, the world has shown signs of much uncertainty; and the premium at Lloyd's for insuring an Empire would probably be exceedingly high. And the premium will be still higher when the underwriters learn that those very active people the Americans are turning their attention to the same subject. There is proof thereof in a new book by Dr. Howard Robinson of Carleton University.\*

Now, if the Americans go into the trade—and it is in every sense a trade and little else but a trade—of empire-building it will have as challenging an effect on the world as when Chatham and Napoleon tried their hands at the same large-scale industry. We may be told that the people of the United States are all lovers of peace, and would never think of conquering the world. But wait till they get the chance.

The English were a fairly quiet domesticated people (and had a fierce horror of a standing army in Chatham's day), yet they took their chance when it came. Of course, some historians pretend the British Empire was all a schoolboy's adventure—the result of high spirits. Thus Dr. Howard Robinson tells us—as most writers do—that the English built up their Empire because they were "lovers of the sea." It is all gammon. We no more enjoy being rocked on the waves than other decent, respectable people. Even Nelson was a pitiable slave to sea-sickness.

The real truth is that we were a hard-headed race continually invaded by Scottish ideas (as well as by their border cattle-stealers); and the result was that we wanted to get on in the world, and become rich. We took to the sea, not because we loved it, but for the very urgent reason that we found ourselves surrounded by it on all sides. So we had to get used to it, and find our sea-legs as well as we could. For it was the only route by which we could get at other people's pepper and gold and the other things which we have seen suitable for the coats of arms of successful men.

But if the Americans, or anybody else, are thinking of following in our footsteps, let them study Dr. Howard Robinson's most admirable book, and its many maps, with closest care. And though his lines themselves are very sound reading, let his readers also consider the still more important things between the lines. The more critical thinkers are beginning to wonder whether this trade of empire-building is quite as easy or as charming a way of making a living as it seems on the surface. Of course, it is very satisfying to see half the world painted in the particular colour which map-designers have allotted to one's own nation. But if every cloud has its silver lining, it is also true that there is a dark side to the most rosy of sunsets. There are all sorts of rifts within the lute.

For example, just think of all the trouble and lives we spent in maintaining ourselves in the East, all that we might be sure (in the beginning at least) of having a full supply of these peppers and spices that were the reason of our going there at all. Of course, we have got them; but now, after all our infinite labours, the best doctors tell us that highly spiced foods are most harmful to the digestion. So it would appear that the very root of our great Empire is a grave digestive blunder (and therefore the gravest of all errors) which it would have been far better for us never to have begun. It almost looks as if imperialism were rotten at the core.

Again, turn from the East to the colony of Virginia, our first settlement in the West. It began as a search for gold, as its charter clearly said. They were fortunate enough not to find this most dangerous of the metals; but when the very sane Captain John Smith told his followers that agriculture should be their most lasting hope, even then things went wrong.

\* *The Development of the British Empire.* By Howard Robinson. Constable. 12s. 6d.

For instead of growing corn, the whole settlement turned to the growing of tobacco—and once more an Empire turned to smoke. On the East side, pepper; on the West, nicotine. Surely neither is a very solid foundation for such a ponderous thing as an Empire.

But perhaps it is not fair to criticise imperialism on scientific or philosophical grounds. For, in substance, it is nothing less or greater than the desire for trade. This is a very sound idea, useful to mankind; and in its simple form of trade it is far less likely to cause havoc in the world than when it is confused with poetical rhetoric on the subject of patriotism, and other propositions which do not declare a dividend at half-yearly intervals.

But if imperialism is to be a steady-going success it must be kept out of the hands of the wild mental freaks that sometimes creep into political office, in spite of the most careful watching at the polling-booths. Take the case of Chatham, who by some strange fate has got the reputation of being the greatest English imperialist. It was his hysterical craving for Empire that led him to tear away Canada from the French. He succeeded in getting it, of course; for a mad bull can do almost anything if it lowers its head and charges recklessly home. But Dr. Robinson gives us a long list of Chatham's sane contemporaries who saw quite clearly that the moment that the English colonists were free from the dread of the French attack they would clamour for independence from a mother-country which was no longer needed as a protector.

Which was exactly what happened. The great imperialist lost a far greater Empire than he won, in this case. Such strangely unexpected results almost lead one to believe that there is something unsound about the whole imperial idea. For so many of its greatest leaders have shown signs of weak heads. Clive's first act in India was to attempt suicide in a fit of melancholia. Sir John Hawkins, our first sailor, when he went slave-hunting, called his ship *The Jesus*, and admonished his crew "to serve God daily"—which suggests, again, that imperialism produces hypocrisy as well as soft intellects.

## Women and Horses

BY HENRY F. DERRICK.

WHILE I was saddling her she tried to bite me  
A dozen times and now I'm hardly mounted  
And feeling for the stirrup she wants to fight me.  
Look there! with rapid sideways steps uncounted  
She tried to brush me off against that wall  
And now she shies and plunges, bucks and rears.  
She feels her oats, my pony, that is all,  
There's nothing, not even me, she hates or fears.  
We missed that lorry by a half an inch—  
She hopes to get her head across the stubble:  
Bless you, you'd think she felt the girth-straps  
pinch:  
That's not the trouble, though we shall have  
trouble.  
But when we're on the turf I'll let her go  
And she'll be happy then and I shall too.  
No wonder in her stable she found it slow,  
But if I'd left her there, I ask you who  
Would have complained the more? She wants  
to run  
And doesn't want it, since I want her to;  
And playing up is what she thinks is fun  
Until on turf there's something better to do.  
Come up, my darling, damn you! Steady now,  
Or else we shan't get anywhere to-day:  
We'll go with delicate steps around the plough  
And then we're on the grass, and then away!

## THE DRAMA

## X "The Merry Widow"

BY EDWARD SHANKS.

ONCE made the suggestion, I think on the occasion of the revival of *Charley's Aunt*, that the producers in such cases ought to follow the example of the Phoenix Society and amplify their programmes with some account of the previous history of the play. This certainly applies as well to the revival at Daly's Theatre. It takes us back to days more completely forgotten even than the last days of Queen Victoria's reign. Those last years before the war were rather like the last stages of sickening for an illness. We look back now, and all that remains of them is distorted and unreal, like something remembered through delirium. At that time the Viennese Masters reigned in the world of musical comedy. It was certainly time for a new dynasty to ascend the throne, for the English practitioners had become as effete as any Merovingian that ever lived.

Comic opera in England had its two amazing but isolated bursts of splendour, under Gay and under Gilbert and Sullivan. One would have thought that Gilbert and Sullivan offered an example which would have been easy, as well as obviously profitable, to follow. But it was not so. The brains of the creature began to atrophy at once; and after a brief uncertainty in the *Geisha* it took an abrupt nose-dive to the horrific levels of such pieces as *The Orchid*, which were only redeemed by the charm of Miss Gertie Millar and the inexhaustible humour of the late Mr. Edmund Payne. This form of entertainment still exists, and when it has a comedian of the rank of Mr. Leslie Henson to carry it through is at least not quite intolerable. But the time came for the infusion of new blood; and just when a brief and cheerful campaign against Serbia was being meditated in Vienna, the Viennese composers were producing musical comedies destined to introduce a new note on the English stage.

The secret of the success of these pieces is to be found in three facts. They had relatively simple and recognisable plots. They brought the music into relation with the plot by means of a *leit-motif*, generally a waltz tune. And, finally, the music was itself very good indeed. I am inclined to think that the best of them all was *The Chocolate Soldier*, which had the advantage not only of several excellent tunes by Oskar Straus, but also of a really original plot, invented in the first place by Mr. Bernard Shaw, and not too seriously deformed by the Viennese librettist. However this may be, *The Merry Widow* was the first and type of them all; and, if we choose to look at it so coldly, its revival is an event of some social and historical interest.

For my own part, I prefer to look at it coldly. No doubt it is a very amusing piece, and Mr. George Graves taking his old part contrives to be exquisitely funny in it. But the audience which surrounded me seemed to have taken this on faith and not to desire to hear any proofs. I daresay the excessive search for proofs may be injurious to faith; and if those people had allowed Mr. Graves to make any of his jokes audible there might not have been so much laughter. But I could wish that I had heard a little more of what he said. True enough, Mr. Graves's expression when he is about to deliver a joke is provocative of laughter. Possibly, too, this audience as largely composed of persons who were familiar with the pre-war production, and have carried in their heads all this time Mr. Graves's best lines. But it is certain that at this performance he was drowned with laughter as soon as he opened his mouth, except when he told two stories, both of which I believe to be new. One

was an admirable account of a boarding-house landlady, whose "Another piece of Yorkshire, Mr. Morris?" is exquisite in the rightness of its vulgarity and of the name employed. Mr. Smith would not have been nearly so funny. The other is what might be called the Saga of Hetty the Hen. But one cannot summarise the Saga of Hetty the Hen, the misfortunes she suffered with Ronald the Rooster and Daniel the Drake, and the lamentable result of the machinations of a rival who mixed brass shavings with her food, after narrating which Mr. Graves was led away sobbing by two of his friends. I have not for many years seen him in such good form as in these two episodes. I imagine, however, that in the original production he did not dominate the play to quite the same extent. Miss Evelyn Laye as Sonia is charming and sings well; and the same may be said of Miss Ivy Tresmand. Miss Lily Elsie is not here; and Mr. Carl Brisson makes a rather flavourless Danilo.

On the whole, there is a distinct atmosphere of reminiscence about the revival; we are not disinclined to look back on those years before the war with some sentimental regrets. But *The Merry Widow* has now a more mellow, less electric effect than it had then; and I do not think we shall again hear the famous waltz so freely whistled about the streets. For one thing, the lesson taught by the Viennese Masters has not been without its effect on the English stage; and we have had home-grown specimens of the same variety in some profusion. Such pieces as *The Maid of the Mountains* and *The Lady of the Rose* recognisably carry on that tradition. But it is important to notice that there is nothing especially inspiring in the original tradition. *The Merry Widow* is a little simpler than the pieces which preceded it, but it is still confused and haphazard in plot. The music is quite unusually good, but by no means so well adapted to its purpose as Sullivan's music.

And here we come again to one of the recurrent miracles of the English theatre. Why does no one write a comic opera in the tradition of Gilbert and Sullivan? It would, of course, be absurd to demand a new Shakespeare as an indispensable preliminary to the regeneration of our drama. But any constant reader of this page (if such there be) will know that I have never claimed for Gilbert and Sullivan the rank of great geniuses. They seem to me to have been competent and talented men doing very well what no one else has shown himself able to do otherwise than badly. They ought to grow on every bush. I cannot see that the level of their performance in the comic opera stands much higher than that of Mr. Somerset Maugham in the "legitimate," of Mr. E. F. Benson as a novelist, or of the late Sir Hubert von Herkomer as a painter. These may be invidious comparisons; but they will illustrate my meaning. But for the riddle thus posed I can think of no answer. Why should these two (as they seem to me) excellent craftsmen occupy a lofty and solitary pinnacle to which in no other department of art would they be entitled? No doubt the theatrical manager comes into it to some extent. He seems to be a person who positively prefers to gull the public, instead of satisfying it, in spite of the fact that the first method is infinitely more risky and expensive than the second. I have found him, on the occasions when I have had an opportunity of studying him in his natural habitat, a singular creature, quite unlike anyone else and quite unaware of his unlikeness, devoid of knowledge of his fellow-men, the most innocent and unworldly of God's creatures. But my reason cannot quite accept the image of this Great Janissary standing straddled over the portico of the theatre, resolutely baulking the earnest desires of the public. There must be some further reason. What is it?



## X NEW BOOKS Novels

CHILDREN OF MEN. By Eden Phillpotts. Heinemann. 7s. 6d.

THE LEFT LEG. By T. F. Powys. Chatto and Windus. 7s. 6d.

THE CREAM OF THE JEST. By James Branch Cabell. Bodley Head. 7s. 6d.

MISS BRACEGIRDLE AND OTHERS. By Stacy Aumonier. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.

VICTORIA. By Knut Hamsun. Gyldendal. 5s.

THE INIMITABLE JEEVES. By P. G. Wodehouse. Jenkins. 3s. 6d.

IN the preface to *Children of Men* Mr. Eden Phillpotts promises, not, I think, for the first time nor, I hope, for the last, to leave Dartmoor for ever. The quality and the bulk of his Dartmoor Cycle would have justified him in writing of it with less humility and more confidence. Yet when he calls himself a "minor artist" it is impossible for the honest reader to do other than agree with him. The great artist makes his work the habitation of his spirit, but in his work Mr. Phillpotts has never been quite at home. Of this there are many small signs; the impatience, for example, with which upon occasion he shatters or strains the conventions of peasant dialect to put into his characters' mouths an alien aphorism, and his frequent dawdlings which betray his distraction. And beneath these superficial errors one suspects a too conscious artifice, a too deliberate design. It almost seems that Mr. Phillpotts, by a hard restraint upon his imagination or a conscious reserve in its expression, had evaded the heavier responsibilities of creative art. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and Mr. Phillpotts has not followed the wind. He has sought, instead, those places where it is likely to blow. What place, however, is more probably favoured than Dartmoor? Mr. Phillpotts's affection for Dartmoor is not based upon an easy familiarity or some pleasant comeliness. Its scenery is congruent with his method and perhaps his temper. "To sacrifice without regret the highest, but most hopeful": to be "pitiless that his audience may learn the meaning of pity; ugly, that others may find wherein the beauty lies"; to affirm in the negative and construct by criticisms; that has been Mr. Phillpotts's professional aim. The old quarrel between those who seek life with a sickle and those who seek it with a plough is not yet decided. While he destroys illusion he is strong, but when he presents the truth which should have cheered the desert he does not convince. This book, *Children of Men*, describes the ruin of Jacob and Margery Bullstone by Jacob's fierce, secretive jealousy. Jacob's accusations are disproved. But Margery will not return, and dies before he can recover her. His consequent agony and his favourite daughter's consolation are shown with remarkable vigour, and the author's command over emotions both stern and gentle has rarely been better illustrated than here. But the peace which at length visits Jacob is vaguely and distantly described. It follows his agony as a cold platitude follows, and insults, grief. Nor can it be said that the laborious narrative of Jacob's married life has served to make him or his wife especially vivid before the reader. As often, the minor characters, upon whom Mr. Phillpotts has vented his rather sardonic humour, are more lively than those with whom he has sought to sympathise. And so we must conclude that Mr. Phillpotts, giving much, does not give all, and that impatience or a rigid loyalty to his design has left some knowledge of wild places and melancholy lives still unexpressed, some imaginative passion still unreleased. Happy are those who can manipulate fantasy and take a smiling refuge behind symbols from their too

urgent ideas. Mr. Powys is obviously one of these fortunate few. He has, moreover, a delightfully grotesque humour and a child's box of bright colours wherewith to splash the simple world. The first of these three stories, *The Left Leg* itself, begins: "There was an idea in Madder that if Mr. Jar ever came to the village again something would happen." It was Mr. Jar who had given it the name of God's Madder to distinguish it from Great Madder and Little Madder, and Mr. Jar is possibly God. Two farmers live there. Farmer Mew wanted to own things, and he added field to field and house to house till all the village was his. Farmer Gillett found his pleasure in prayer, and lost everything else, including his daughter, whom Farmer Mew ravished. But Mr. Jar came back, and Farmer Mew blew himself to bits. *Abraham Men* tells of a clerk who came out to Little Dodder to preach the Word. Here occasionally one is rather offended by didactic passages like this: "The people moved between magic hedges in cloud-haunted fields—all hours and days and winds were to them moving beasts and gods and sweet flowers." That Mr. Powys may properly suggest by the quaint beauty in which he delights and makes us delight. The flat statement of it bears us from Wessex to the facile mysticism of Bookshire. The third, longest, and, it would appear, earliest of his stories, *Hester Dominy*, is confused by some strained satire, and tedious in its repetitions. But for *The Left Leg* and for the unusual fancy displayed, though less happily and continuously, in its two fellows, considerable gratitude is due to Mr. Powys. The frontiers of fiction are never determined, and many the pioneers to push them on. Mr. Powys has pushed them far, and his new discoveries promise great wealth.

Mr. Cabell, that "peer among peers of satiric fantasy" (*To-day*), who derives at once from Rabelais and Anatole France (*Daily Telegraph*), wrote other works of "profound beauty, intense sadness, pawky humour, delicate irony, and pure, fantastic imagination" (*Observer*) before he wrote *Jurgen*, and *The Cream of the Jest* is one of them. One knows not whether the most to admire "the amazingly prolific imagination" (*Star*) which enabled him to hit upon the idea of an author visiting remote lands and epochs in dreams, or the "polished wit" (*Daily Express*) wherewith Kennaston in Arcady exclaims that here is no electric light advertisement of chewing gum, or the "rare and attractive" medley of "wit and learning" (*Daily News*) displayed in Henry VIII's interview with Anne Boleyn. This "well-nigh unique" volume (*Tailer*) is, moreover, distinguished by having a preface which is not the work of Mr. Hugh Walpole, and I can warmly commend, to all admirers of *Jurgen*, that is, this "silly little story" (OUTLOOK).

Intelligence is not so common that one can afford to value lightly anything Mr. Aumonier writes, but in most of the stories reprinted as *Miss Bracegirdle and Others* his intelligence seems to have been directed to the concealment of his boredom with his job. Here and there, as in *The Funny Man's Day*, the candour and pity which make Mr. Aumonier a power in contemporary fiction are manifest. But many, too many, are conventional conjuring tricks.

*Victoria* is a brief and charming love idyll marred by the devices necessary to ensure an unhappy ending. It is quite obvious that neither lover would have been really put off by prior engagements. But as the happy ending was necessary to some English writers, so the unhappy is to some Scandinavian, and the effect is no less strained and inartistic.

Mr. Wodehouse in *The Inimitable Jeeves* continues by seeming simple methods to amuse two continents. The aristocratic half-wit and the politely unscrupulous butler are among his best inventions.

H. C. HARWOOD,

## Mr. Lawrence Goes to Sea

SEA AND SARDINIA. By D. H. Lawrence. Secker. 21s.

**I**N his new character as a writer of travel notes, Mr. D. H. Lawrence is more entertaining at sea than in Sardinia. Perhaps that is not his fault. The romance of Sardinia is the romance of the unknown; its attraction for the traveller is due to the fact that so few people visit it. After reading Mr. Lawrence's account we begin to understand why. It appears as a bleak, inhospitable land, its inhabitants distinguished by a surly independence which the visitor finds, at best, an acquired taste, its roads bumpy, its inns abominable, its food next door to poison. Mr. Lawrence did his best to admire the sunsets and the many carriage of the peasants in their black and white hoods, but he clearly found, like many a sensitive traveller before him, that physical discomfort, acute and prolonged, does, in the end, spread an evil film over the most beautiful picture.

It is terrible to read of the hunger of Mr. Lawrence and his companion, as they jolted along in the Sardinian State motor-bus towards some ever-receding town, only to be offered at last, in a cold squalid inn, a meal hardly fit to eat. Mr. Lawrence, with that amazing power of his over words, communicates real, physical hunger to the reader. His continuous disappointments at each inn produce the effect of a nightmare; and as the starving couple, escaped from Sardinia, at last reach Naples, board a well-appointed liner, and seat themselves with a sigh of relief before a sparkling table, covered with glasses, plates, and wine-bottles, you know, somehow, that it will be a failure—a ghastly gnawing at the pit of your stomach, put there by Mr. Lawrence's art, warns you in time. You should close the book at once. It is almost unbearable.

For, of course, Mr. Lawrence hated the meal. In the first place, it is clear that he is one of those people who do not really like food. In the second place, there was a "bounder" sitting opposite, who insisted on offering him whisky, and even criticised England, and trotted out the old story of our having done so well out of the war at the expense of our Allies. Mr. Lawrence on his travels, though he evidently doesn't know it, must be very obviously English. Who but an Englishman would have told the Sardinian inn-keepers exactly what he thought of their wretched, dirty meals? And though he thinks that his annoyance at anti-British talk is inspired by his desire to be treated as himself, Mr. Lawrence, and not as a mere national unit, we cannot help suspecting that his emotion may have the same origin as that of more old-fashioned travellers who grumble about "insolent dagos." His conclusion is that the Italians no longer love us. "Underneath, they hate us, and as human beings we are objects of envy and malice." They can talk of nothing but the state of the exchange. It is the disease of modern Italy:

Liras—liras—liras—nothing else. Romantic, poetic, cypress-and-orange-tree Italy is gone. Remains an Italy smothered in the filthy smother of lira notes: ragged, unsavoury paper money so thick upon the air that one breathes it like some greasy fog. Behind this greasy fog some people may still see the Italian sun. I find it hard work.

This book, as we have said, consists only of a few trivial notes, set down by a rather unhappy traveller who has not the advantage of liking travel for its own sake. He has not put much thought into it. But such as it is, it is authentic D. H. Lawrence, and in every few pages will be found flashes of descriptive imagery so brilliant that you easily forgive all the drearier patches and the sour comments on things in general. Here is one of them, describing a ship pitching in a winter sea:

And so we steam out. And almost at once the ship begins to take a long, slow, dizzy dip, and a fainting swoon upwards, and a long, slow, dizzy dip, slipping away from beneath me. . . . It is the motion of freedom. To feel her come up—then slide slowly, with a sound of the smashing of waters, is like the magic of the sky, the magic gallop of elemental space. That long, slow waveringly rhythmic rise and fall of the ship, with waters snorting as it were from her nostrils, oh, God, what a joy it is to the wild innermost soul. One is free at last—and lifting in a slow flight of the elements, winging outwards. Oh, God, to be free of all the hemmed-in life. . . . Ah, God, liberty, liberty, elemental liberty. I wished in my soul the voyage might last for ever, that the sea had no end, that one might float in this wavering, tremulous, yet long and surging pulsation while ever time lasted: space never exhausted and no turning back, no looking back, even.

Mr. Lawrence ought to be inveigled into going for a long sea voyage in all kinds of weather—in a private yacht for preference, with plenty of good and varied food and no one to talk to him. The resulting book would be cheap at a guinea. This one, quite frankly, is not.

## X Drama in Print

HIS MAJESTY'S EMBASSY. By Maurice Baring. Heinemann. 7s. 6d.

ARTHUR: A TRAGEDY. By Laurence Binyon. Heinemann. 6s.

AT MRS. BEAM'S. By C. K. Munro. Collins. 5s.

PUPPET PLAYS. By Alfred Kreymborg. Secker. 5s.

THE HAIRY APE. By Eugene O'Neill. Cape. 7s. 6d.

**T**HIS collection of plays gives us in small space representative specimens of most of the attempts which are now being made to improve the modern theatre. Mr. Baring and Mr. Binyon have both written plays in blank verse, a development which has often been advocated. Alas that this thing so much desired should be so disappointing when it appears! Mr. Baring's *Manfroy* and Mr. Binyon's *Arthur* are both competently and stately written pieces. But when Guenevere says:

I did the wrong,  
Through me the young have perished, the young men  
Have fallen in their blood.  
From me a woe goes welling through the world  
Like waves in the black night;

or when *Manfroy* says:

Tell them I pardon Cimbric and Gnotho.  
They will accept it from a dying man.  
Now, Palamon, come closer, bend your ear,  
My numbered minutes run like falling sand;  
Go to the convent, ask for Sister Monica,  
Tell her that reconciled at last and shriven,  
I died remorseful of a life of sin,

one turns with unwilling relief to Mr. Munro's little boarding-house thief calling her lover "a damned swine." Mr. Munro's atmosphere is certainly capable of accommodating much less feeling, a much less comprehensive vision of life, but within his range he is alive; and within the much wider range they necessarily assume the modern writers of blank verse plays seem to spread out like gas introduced into a vacuum, until their appreciation of life is so tenuous that for practical purposes it does not exist at all. It would seem to be indisputable that epic drama on the old model is now impossible. Some renovation must be made, some new form must be discovered.

Perhaps Mr. Kreymborg is the innovator we are looking for. Mr. Gordon Craig, who writes a very characteristic introduction to this book, offers only a very tentative opinion. He finds these pieces rather difficult to read and therefore is inclined to believe that "they would go very well on a stage, and that, if they read more easily, it is likely they would not act well," but he points out that "as all the world has known for years, there is no other test but the acting

of the play"; and therefore as he has not seen Mr. Kreymborg's plays he cannot give us a definite decision. Nor, we fancy, can anyone else, for these pieces are of an unusual sort. They are written equally for puppets and for human players, and in verse of this type:

Your least sly look  
recreates folk  
to your image.  
Not that they know what your image is,  
nor that they care—but—  
won't you look at him?  
He'd like to look at you—  
then you'll love him? . . .

the proof of this pudding would certainly be in the eating; and we must leave it at that.

We are therefore thrown back on the drama of contemporary life as written by Mr. O'Neill and Mr. Munro, and also by Mr. Baring. The best of the three plays in Mr. Baring's volume illustrates what a comparatively coarse instrument the stage is, for *His Majesty's Embassy* would almost certainly be a failure in the theatre. Mr. Baring can write most amusing dialogue; and he has the rare power of being able to make his points to the reader without stating them. The faint, unemphasised love-story of the Ambassador is told with wonderful delicacy and poignancy; but it is to be feared that its very delicacy would prevent it from having much effect on an audience.

What Mr. Baring has not, the capacity for bold and decisive drawing, is possessed to a considerable degree by both Mr. Munro and Mr. O'Neill. To be sure, Mr. O'Neill seems to possess very little else, except a knowledge of milieus which have not hitherto been exploited in the theatre. The story of the girl who unwillingly falls in love and then has to confess to her lover the secret of her former disreputable life is made only superficially original when most of the action takes place on board a coal-barge; and this is all that Mr. O'Neill has to add to a well-worn situation. He can write effectively for the stage; but, which would presumably delight Mr. Gordon Craig, he does not read very well. Mr. Munro on the other hand does. His boarding-house comedy is not only original in situation and choice of characters, it gives also an admirable and lively counterfeit of boarding-house conversation.

## × Leopardi

THE POEMS OF LEOPARDI. Edited with Introduction and Notes and a Verse Translation in the Metres of the Original. By Geoffrey L. Bickersteth. Cambridge University Press. 30s.

LEOPARDI is one of those to whom many render lip-service, but who is really read only by the few. He stands too far apart from the broad generality of humankind which demands of poetry honeyed flattery. To be sure there are romantic poets among his contemporaries who made a great show of melancholy and pessimism, but their philosophy of despair seldom went deeper than sentimental self-indulgence. Leopardi faces the ultimate issues. With him the choice is as with the poet of the Greek Anthology—

whether 'twere better worth  
Not to be born, or born to die at birth.

Leopardi's poetry is austere; in it intellect and lyric passion are fused in classical form and chaste diction. There is nothing that is soft, shadowy, or vague. We do not mean that his poetry is cold; on the contrary, it was born out of white heat, but it has nothing to do with the comfortable warmth of glowing coals.

Yet there are some who have turned again and again to one of the slender Italian editions, and

have found there clarity and consolation whenever the confusion of contemporary triviality threatened to overwhelm them. They will probably be awed by Mr. Bickersteth's formidable volume. Forty-one poems constitute the whole of Leopardi's poetical works. The longest is only a little over three hundred lines; many are very short, and some are mere fragments. This small body of poetry we find here sandwiched between 134 pages of introduction and 162 pages of notes. It is, perhaps, well that we should have so complete an edition of Leopardi in English. It is to Mr. Bickersteth's credit to have gathered all this material and to that of the Cambridge University Press to have printed it in so attractive a form, but when we have read the introduction and thumbed over the notes, does Leopardi mean more to us than before? Do the parallel passages and the quotations culled from the world's literature give us a clearer insight into the poet's soul? We fear not, for Mr. Bickersteth approaches the poet as a scholiast even more than as a scholar. He has read his author and everything about him; he has many interesting things to say on the technique of Leopardi's verse structure, but when he comes to the interpretation of his ideas and philosophy we find a curious inadequacy. His attempt at treating the *Canti* as "one coherent work of art expressive of a mind fundamentally at one with itself, rather than as a series of independent poems full of inconsistencies and contradictions," leads him to rather pedantic systematisation. He gallantly defends Leopardi against Matthew Arnold's trite characterisation "unhealthy and false," and then proceeds himself to sum up Leopardi in these words:

Granted that Leopardi condemned "the world," yet in affirming his all-embracing love of mankind—"desidero il bene della mia specie in universale"—and in preaching the necessity of a League of Nations as opposed to the Prussian doctrine that "carnage is God's daughter," he shows as very clearly the standard by which he condemned the world.

### Tutankhamen

By PROF. G. ELLIOT SMITH, F.R.S.

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Everyone can agree with Mr. Bickersteth that the short *L'Infinito* is one of "the masterpieces of European poetry," but he continues:

In its context in the *Canti* it marks the point where Leopardi first consciously attains the life of the pure poet, to an activity of mind which he placed at the opposite pole to the philosophers.

It is passages like these that make us want to cry out for protection against expositors and convince us that we prefer Leopardi without commentary even if we fail to get some of his allusions.

It would be unfair to be hypercritical of Mr. Bickersteth's translation. The task is practically insurmountable. How can the infinite vowel melody of Leopardi's Italian be turned into a consonantal English? But even so it does not seem to us that Mr. Bickersteth's feeling for words is particularly happy, nor his rendering fluent. To help out his metre, he employs far too often conventional aids like accented past participles, "twixt," "'tis," "ne're," "yon," "o're." They give one an impression of artificiality, which contrasts cruelly with Leopardi's spontaneity and naturalness. One need not be a profound student of Italian to feel the difference between

Ma nebuloso e tremulo dal pianto  
Che mi sorgea sul ciglio, alle mie luci  
Il tuo volto apparìa, che travagliosa  
Era mia vita; ed è, né cangia stile,  
O mia diletta luna.

and

But cloud bedimmed and tremulous from the tears  
That welled up o're mine eyelids, to mine eyes  
Thy countenance appeared, for dolorous  
My life was then: and is, nor changeth style,  
O my beloved Moon.

## Shorter Notices

**BOTULISM.** By Gerald Leighton, M.D. Collins. 10s.

The tragedy last August, when eight adult persons died of botulism in a hotel at Loch Maree, in the Western Highlands of Scotland, suddenly focused public attention on this mysterious disease. As it was definitely traced to sandwiches made from potted wild duck paste, it caused quite an unreasonable panic among consumers of tinned foods. Dr. Leighton, under whose direction the investigation of these cases came, has given a full account of the outbreak, together with a general study of the whole subject of botulism—its history, cause, symptoms, and prevention. As the use of preserved foods is increasing continually, it is important that the public should be protected against their infection with the *Bacillus botulinus*, for the toxin it produces is the most deadly of any micro-organism associated with food-poisoning. The toxin has a definite selective action upon the nervous system. Of the 396 cases recorded in America, no less than 249 proved fatal. This is a mortality rate of 62.8 per cent. Fortunately, the cases are rare, and the conditions favourable to the growth of the bacillus in preserved food do not often occur. The organism is a soil bacillus. It will grow only under strictly anaerobic conditions (that is to say, only in the absence of free oxygen), and normally not in an acid medium. The one method that will absolutely destroy the bacillus or its toxin is heating to a high temperature. Generally the danger is slight. In spite of the tremendous consumption of tinned foods during the Great War, not a single case of botulism was recorded. Dr. Leighton's monograph is a model of scientific presentation. His style is clear, his material well-organised, and his conclusions are to the point.

**BOHN'S POPULAR LIBRARY.** Vols. 85 to 94. Bell. 2s. each.

Since the middle of last century Bohn's Library has had a secure place in the hearts of book-lovers. It was the pioneer series of cheap reprints, and there are few older readers whose first acquaintance with one or more of the masterpieces of literature was not made between the curiously stamped greyish-green or (later) red covers of this library. But there came a time when these volumes got crowded off booksellers' shelves by newer rival series; besides, some were difficult to obtain, and others had been printed so many times that the type began to have a worn and battered look. The re-issue of the familiar volume by Messrs. Bell in a new format is one of the most welcome publishing enterprises in recent years. Nearly a hundred volumes have by now been reprinted. The ten latest have just come to hand. They include a new verse translation of Homer's *Odyssey*, Plutarch's *Lives* (Vols. III. and IV.), Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (three volumes), Swift's *Journal to Stella*, Voltaire's *Zadig and Other Tales*, Coleridge's *Table Talk*, and a volume of *Classic Tales*. There is little

that can be said of the books, except that, considering the cheapness of the price, they are most admirably produced. Their size is small, the paper is thin yet opaque, the typography and press-work are clear, the red, brown, or green cloth binding is simple and strong. The editing is carefully done. There are indexes. A concise history of the text is given in each of the volumes. In most cases the text is that of Bohn's *Standard Library*; but some are new—Mr. Caulfield's *Odyssey*, for example, was first published in 1921. We see no reason why these volumes should not be immensely popular. They certainly deserve to be.

**MICHAEL COLLINS' OWN STORY.** Told to Hayden Talbot. Hutchinson. 6s.

Mr. Hayden Talbot, an American journalist, has written a very short account of Michael Collins's life and a much longer one of his political opinions, all of which he claims to have taken down from Collins's own mouth shortly before his death. He has already been contradicted flatly by some of the persons who figure prominently in his narrative; but he has defended himself with vigour, and since he was alone with Collins on nearly all the occasions when the latter is alleged to have made these confidences to him, it is impossible for an outsider to say how far, if at all, his memory has led him astray. It may, however, be asserted with some confidence, from what is known of Michael Collins, that he did not habitually express himself in the racy American "journalese" that Mr. Talbot puts into his mouth—it is unlikely that he always made people "voice" things instead of simply "saying" them, and spoke of "viewpoint" instead of "point of view." For the rest, we are not in a position to argue. We can only note with interest the various opinions attributed to Collins—as that Irishmen are not really fond of fighting, but have always been driven into it against their will by the English; that the English are a diabolically "cunning" race, especially Mr. Birrell, but that, at the same time, they are always very "stupid"; that De Valera and Childers are not wrong-headed patriots at all, but unpatriotic, dishonest schemers, and that Childers was an *agent provocateur*. Collins is made to express the strong opinion that, if it came to fighting, Ireland could never have resisted England for long, and that, therefore, it was advisable to make an end of the campaign of hate against England and establish really friendly relations; but his biographer gives us pages and pages of alleged "atrocities" by British troops, which is surely not the best way of improving Anglo-Irish relations—especially when it is accompanied by an absurd denial of any atrocities by the other side.

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Those who like Scriabin's music will find plenty to agree with in this small book, and those who think that Scriabin's was a brilliant but an unbalanced mind may still find entertainment in Mr. Swan's hyperbolic eulogy. In the first sixty pages he deals with the main facts of his composer's life, gives a vivid picture of an erratic, undependable, selfish, egoistical, and withal attractive genius. He had a feminine mind, in which were all sorts of shallows. He clutched first at one panacea, then at another. His last was theosophy. It was while planning a colossal work, which should be a "so-called 'Initial Act' to the central mystery," that he was seized by death. In his last work, the five preludes for piano, Mr. Swan tells us we are on the threshold of the mystery. In his two previous compositions, the *Vers la Flamme* and the two piano dances, "his Ego has swallowed up the Universe." In the preludes "a pantheistic atmosphere pervades the music and we are witnessing a liturgic act of surpassing majesty." And this of the man who has been called the second Chopin. The fact is that through indolence we have conceded the full claims of the Scriabinists and have allowed to a composer who had fewer glimpses of the house beautiful than any of the Russian school, a position absurdly out of place with his merits. The way in which the Prometheus, the outpouring of a diseased imagination, is solemnly performed in our concert rooms is a testimony both to the energy of the Scriabinists and the stupid nature of musical audiences. Mr. Swan is not the least of the former and makes up in enthusiasm what he lacks in humour. But then he does not profess to be a critic. He only wants others to follow his example and "rejoice in the heritage left by this Messiah amongst men."

## CORRESPONDENCE

[Whilst we open our columns impartially to correspondence we take no responsibility for the opinions expressed.]

THE ALBIZZI MADONNA.  
TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—Your appreciative review of Sir Theodore Cook's book on Leonardo as Sculptor encourages me to hope that perhaps an account of why I acquired the relief to which he refers as the Albizzi Madonna, and how I originally recognised it to be by Leonardo, will be of some interest to your readers.

Let me preface my remarks by saying that I substantially agree with the views of the author and admire his presentation of the case. I propose to submit to your judgment the peculiar circumstances which forced me 25 years ago to make the daring attribution to this great artist of a work in sculpture, when none such by him was known at the time to exist.

First, as to the date of purchase and attribution of the relief; this might be difficult to determine now if it were not for the existence of certain letters, one to me from Carlo Orsi, from whom I purchased it, and another from myself to Lord Chelmsford in the autumn of 1897. In Orsi's letter on the occasion of the sale, he writes of the relief as being by a pupil of Verrocchio, and possibly by the great Leonardo; and in mine, which was accompanied by photographs, I write that I have been able to discover and purchase a relief of a Madonna and Child by Leonardo da Vinci.

Secondly, as to the prima facie case for the attribution; the reasons for this apparently outrageous temerity may be enumerated under four heads: the historical case; the existence and survival of a peculiar group of reliefs quite unique in Italian art; the actual beauty and original style of the relief; lastly, the impossibility of assigning it to any of the known artists of the quattrocento in Italy, whose works were sufficiently abundant, while not so well known then as they are to-day.

I will arrange these arguments in their logical order, even if their sequence in time was presented to me differently. For instance, the appeal of the beauty was immediate, but it took me a long time to work through the negative problem of determining by exhaustion that it could not be by so and so, and even longer to ascertain anything like a complete series of copies and imitations.

The historical case is firm. It deals only with big facts. It depends only on clear records. Leonardo in his prime was as famous as a sculptor, possibly more so than, as a painter. The neglect of this fact for 450 years does not minimise its importance. He was called to Milan to execute a gigantic equestrian figure at a date when only one or two transition pieces of the kind and one great Renaissance work, the Gattamelata, were in existence. Leonardo as a sculptor stood on a high pinnacle of fame, and the chief item of that fame is specified by Vasari, that he executed in his youth in sculpture certain heads of women smiling and of children, "che vanno formate per l'arte di gesso." Where are they to be found?

The importance of the group of reliefs, allied with the Albizzi Madonna, can only be appreciated after long study and close comparisons. Sir Theodore Cook's book supplies in its illustrations a considerable amount of material for this purpose, but the details shown are not sufficiently clear to reveal all the significant points of the argument, the gist of which is that in this unique group of intimately related reliefs the Albizzi

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Madonna is the central model, and that all the specific characteristics in which they resemble one another are to be found in the original Leonardo, and that no other member of the group has all the critical features together.

Not only is this splendid group unique in Italian art, but its discovery determines the exact location of the centripetal tendency of a much larger group of works of art, long known in history as the Verrocchio type. The Verrocchio type exists no longer. It is the Leonardo type. The head and front of this new and some day to be famous presentment is the Albizzi Madonna. The list includes at least 3 della Robbias, one of them of already great reputation in the Medici Chapel in Santa Croce at Florence.

The beauty of the Albizzi Madonna can hardly be settled by authority. It has not been long enough or well enough known to be fully appreciated by many, but there can be no question that it must rank now as highly as it was rated by the great artists of the Golden Age who freely copied it and made it the leading model of the Madonna and Child for a whole century. Signor Venturi has placed highest in his category of its merits the unequalled skill with which the artist was able to pass from one plane of relief to another.

This consideration of the planes of the relief brings me to the critical position where I was long ago when I had to determine that its technical qualities were above the skill of even the greatest known sculptors of the early Renaissance. At that period, say 1470, both Donatello and Verrocchio, but no others, had shown themselves complete masters of sculpture in the round. Donatello also had left us five or six supreme works of the very light relief, known as "stiacciato," notably in S. Angelo a Nilo in Naples, and also one now in South Kensington. There was also attributed to Verrocchio, but doubtfully, a low relief in bronze of the same quality of women mourning over the dead body of Christ. But neither the one nor the other nor Luca della Robbia could pass successfully in the same work of art from the "stiacciato" through "basso rilievo" and "alto rilievo" to the "round" without a technical fault, as Leonardo has done in the Albizzi Madonna.

Let me enumerate briefly the qualities in other artists of the period which bring them nearest to the achievement shown in the Albizzi Madonna. Antonio Rossellino had delicacy and suavity, but no strength. Benedetto da Maiano was master of composition, but he never had complete control of the human figure. Mino da Fiesole had gleams of brilliancy, but he was fatally a mannerist. Desiderio da Settignano had charm, but, as he showed most conspicuously in his greatest work, the tomb of Marsuppini in Santa Croce, his taste was not immaculate. The Ferruccis, including Francesco di Simone, only excelled in half-relief, and they never really mastered that art. Matteo Civitale and Jacopo della Quercia were adepts of the "round," and Agostino di Duccio, and Simone, the brother of Donatello, were superb decorators in relief, as they showed in the Malatesta Church at Rimini, but none of the four were sufficiently experienced artists to introduce both forms of this craft of the sculptor into the same piece of work.

But the subject is too long to be adequately treated here.—Yours, &c.,

G. B. DIBBLE.

All Souls' College, Oxford.  
May 28th, 1923.

#### PAYING UP LIKE GENTLEMEN. TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—I see that, in the matter of the claims against the Home Secretary by the Irish deportees, British tax-payers have again been adjured (this time by Mr. Lloyd George) to "pay up like gentlemen." No doubt we shall do so, and there will be another chorus of self-congratulation, as there was when we admitted our liability for the American Debt, and politicians and journalists went about telling each other that anyhow John Bull had "behaved like a gentleman."

I confess that I am a little tired of the expression, and I have been quite unable to detect among people on buses or in trains any of that "quiet pride and satisfaction" that the nation is supposed to feel in the manner in which we are discharging our debts. In the first place, are "gentlemen" as such so famous for paying their debts? Is it not rather a characteristic of the tradesman to pride himself on his solvency? And is it not typical of a House of Commons, which consists almost entirely of business men, to picture us all patting each other on the back because we have paid up, and Italians and Frenchmen covered with shame because they haven't?

America may love us for it—though one hears little of it—but, after a recent visit to France and Italy, I can assert with confidence that our Latin Allies are not a bit ashamed of their indebtedness, and that, as far as they are concerned, the only effect of our gentlemanly determination to meet the bill is to fill them with envy at our supposed wealth. Charles Lamb has said some pertinent things about creditors and debtors; he did not depict the debtor as feeling ashamed of himself.

I suppose we have got to pay. It is an unpleasant necessity. But if we can pay, I see nothing particularly heroic and certainly nothing particularly "gentlemanly" about it.—Yours, &c.,

May 28th, 1923.

"DISGRUNTLED."

## FINANCE

By URBANUS.

POLITICS have continued to exercise a mild sway in the City, and have perhaps contributed to the extreme quietness of business which has characterised the week. Being predominantly conservative, the City is satisfied with the progress made towards closing the Conservative ranks. It is also pleased with its promise of direct representation in the Ministry which Mr. McKenna's prospective appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer implies. Mr. McKenna, it is said, has been induced to retrace his steps westwards by the strong views he holds on such matters as Treasury Bills, Treasury Bonds, deflation and financial aid to industry. Probably he will not do as much good as he thinks or as much harm as other people fear by any City-learned ingenuity he may display at the Treasury, but I think it is possible to hope that his return to office may strengthen the Government in a department in which it can certainly do with a little backbone, namely foreign policy. Mr. McKenna has shown himself a bold realist on the Reparation question. If he and Lord Robert Cecil choose to assert themselves the reconstruction of the Conservative Government may help towards the reconstruction of Europe.

The big League of Nations loan to Austria is now on the verge of making its appearance. The loan, about £29 millions sterling, will be issued in sections in various financial centres. The prospectus of Austria's own share—she is attempting to raise \$13,000,000—has already appeared. That for the British portion, which will amount to £6 millions at least, and perhaps somewhat more, may be expected in a week or so. It will consist of 6 per cent. bonds issued at 80, giving, therefore, a return on the money invested of 7½ per cent. apart from redemption. Seeing that the loan will be secured not only on the gross receipts of the Austrian Customs and tobacco monopoly, which are at present producing at the rate of nearly £6 millions a year, or 20 per cent. of the total loan, but upon the unconditional guarantees (in different proportions) of Great Britain, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Spain, Switzerland, and other European countries, I think that, making every possible allowance for the alarms and excursions which one has grown to expect in S.E. Europe, the terms can fairly be described as "attractive."

The negotiations for similar aid to Hungary are not going so well. I mentioned a few weeks ago that Hungary was seeking to have the Reparation liens on her State property and revenues raised, in order that she, too, might raise a reconstruction loan. The French representative on the Reparation Commission, however, has insisted that a portion of any such loan should be reserved for the payment of Reparation. That means that Great Britain and other countries not interested in Hungarian Reparation payments are to be asked to undertake to make her payments if she fails to do so. That is an impossible proposition. It is one thing to fail to secure payment of debts due to you, and quite another to undertake to pay debts due by a third party to your own debtors. But France will never lose anything for lack of asking for it.

Mr. Graham, the Canadian Minister of Railways, has been stung by the criticism "of financial writers in London and New York" into defending his Government from the charge of not having carried out its bargain with the Grand Trunk Pacific Debenture Stockholders. Whether the Canadian Government, having now merged in the Canadian National Rail-

ways the Grand Trunk Railway, whose net earnings are charged with the liability of providing for the interest on the Pacific Debenture Stock, is or is not carrying out its legal obligations is a question that can only be settled in the courts of law. But it is easy to show that the Canadian Government is not carrying out its moral bargain with the debenture stockholders. In February, 1918, the Canadian Government offered "to take over the Grand Trunk Pacific and branch lines and the Grand Trunk Railway; to acquire all assets and assume all obligations of both companies." The Grand Trunk Pacific Debenture Stock is primarily an obligation of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The offer to take over the obligations of that company was, therefore, an offer to pay the interest on the Debenture Stock, and it differed from the subsequent offer to take over the obligations of the Grand Trunk Railway only, including the contingent liability for the Pacific interest. What the Canadian Government does not and cannot explain is why, having definitely offered to pay the interest on the Grand Trunk Pacific Debenture Stock, it coolly withdrew that offer without consulting the holders and finally entered into an agreement by which it undertook a liability (the Grand Trunk Guaranteed Stock) ranking behind the debenture stock.

The meeting of the holders of the Chinese 5 per cent. "Vickers" and "Marconi" notes, which was held on Monday, brings the vexed question of the position of the Consortium once more into the limelight. The old Consortium of pre-war days was a body of British, American, French, Russian, and German bankers in whose hands was placed by common agreement the management of China's revenues in so far as they affected the service of her various loans. With the outbreak of war the body was necessarily dissolved, and in 1920 the New Consortium was formed, consisting of the three first-named Powers and Japan. The position now is that the service of all obligations of the Chinese Government which are not secured upon specific revenues is at the mercy of this new body, and without their consent nothing can be done. The New Consortium claims that contracts entered into with the old Consortium are binding on the Chinese Government, despite the fact that the two bodies are quite distinct, and it is at present opposing the various schemes which have been put forward to "fund" the notes and to provide new capital. Such a plan was put forward on Monday, the main points being that note-holders should receive bonds in the new loan at par in exchange for notes, and should be paid arrears of interest in cash on condition that they underwrite an equal nominal value of the bonds in addition to those received in exchange. The scheme was approved, and Mr. C. B. Crisp, who convened the meeting, is prepared to go ahead with the flotation of the loan. It remains to be seen whether the Consortium will prove obdurate. In the meantime the note-holders have formed a "Committee of Protection."

Of recent issues, one which has attracted wide interest is the offer of 250,000 £1 shares in Boots Pure Drug Company at £4. The Company which controls the well-known Boots Cash Chemists is itself managed by Liggetts International Limited, an American concern which purchased the whole ordinary share capital of the Drug Company—£100,000—in 1920, at a cost of £2,750,000. They have now multiplied the nominal amount by 10, and have sold 250,000 of the new £1 shares to the public at a rate which will bring in £4 million on the whole. To do this after three years management is a remarkable achievement, but it is rivalled by the increase in profit secured over the same period, the net amounts being £591,072 in 1922-23, as against £285,978 in 1919-20.

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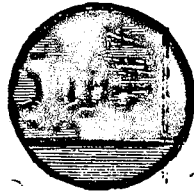
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## URBIS ET ORBIS

I AM able to give an outline of the reply to the British Notes which M. Poincaré intends to send, when he has delayed matters as long as he thinks he reasonably can. He has indicated clearly, in negotiations with the Belgians which have not been kept as secret as he could desire, his own amazing views. But here I pull myself up with a jerk. Why talk about the reply to proposals whose content is unknown to my readers, unless they are fortunate enough "to lunch and dine in the right houses"? I am quoting a distinguished London newspaper editor, who discussed anonymously in THE OUTLOOK last week why our newspapers no longer print news. His conclusion was that journalists now no longer seek news in order to print it, but to keep it dark. There are always plausible obscurantist arguments why almost any information on political subjects may do harm. For generations it was a criminal offence to report debates in Parliament. We are returning to that epoch, and soon surreptitious broadsides will have to be sold in the streets if the people of this country are to learn even the gist of the most vital decisions taken in their name, that affect the fortunes of their children as themselves, and the future of their country. Democracy has its faults, an uninformed public opinion may, and sometimes does, stampede politicians who know better into wrong courses. But if we are to have an autocracy, let it be open and aboveboard. At present, as the editor wrote last week, this absurd secrecy not only prevents the public from learning anything about Government policy, but it also, by strangling discussion, keeps the Government in doubt as to the measure of support or criticism which its decisions would attract were they known. All of which leads to timidity and half-measures.

THERE is really nothing in the Government's draft Note to Germany, or in the covering Note to the Allies, to warrant all this mystery. Mr. Baldwin's and Lord Curzon's original intentions were much watered-down by Die-Hard opposition. To be sure, President Wilson's stirring appeals to humanity, to the conscience of the world, are elaborately paraphrased, Whitehall hoping that when the day of publication

comes, its resounding rhetoric will arouse the nations as did the Fourteen Points. Whitehall, be it remarked in parentheses, forgets that when it decides to publish, its purple passages will be out-of-date, and people will not read them, much less thrill to them. Mr. Wilson never made that mistake. Our reply to Germany does not condemn passive resistance, a fact that much annoys the French, as I discovered in Paris this week. On the other hand, it does not demand that France leave the Ruhr. Reference to the Ruhr is scافتى, on the ground that the Ruhr is a secondary issue which will settle itself when the main problem of Reparations is out of the way. Our main proposal is for an "impartial" international commission to assess Germany's capacity to pay. That adjective "impartial," as will be seen later, has much discomfited M. Poincaré. We also plump for an American member, or chairman. Whether we designate him as chairman in the Note, I do not know. But we mean him to be in the chair. We also discuss in some detail, in the Note addressed to the Germans, their proposed guarantees to ensure the handing over of the annuities. They are worth discussing, but insufficient, and will need to be supplemented, we argue. That is really about all. Such sentiments are not incendiary, but we were fools enough to promise secrecy; and then M. Poincaré scared us almost to death when he said that if a word of the Contents of the Notes were revealed from England, France would break off negotiations. A mad world, my masters.

NOW I come to the French reply. That it will be the French reply is almost certainly indicated by the none too conciliatory demands made in Brussels on Monday that Belgium adopt these views as her own in the Note she will send to London. M. Poincaré has laid down four points as the basis for his answer to London. Here they are:

POINT ONE.—*Absolute cessation of passive resistance in the Ruhr before any negotiations, direct or indirect, regarding any Franco-Belgian concessions.* This is a veto on a Belgian scheme now being drawn up which lays down the conditions under which the Allies will progressively withdraw from the Ruhr, and modify their regime there before withdrawing, as German payments are

made. Whether Belgium, again rudely rebuffed, will accept the veto, I do not know.

POINT TWO.—*No complete withdrawal from the Ruhr until the last mark of German Reparations has been paid.* Belgium was severely reminded that she has already agreed to this principle.

POINT THREE.—*No definite Reparations total to be fixed by the commission of investigation.* (Read this with Point Two in mind!) M. Poincaré's willingness to permit a commission to determine Germany's capacity to pay annuities, for a term of years, was indicated. Also, he agrees that the commission should report on the German guarantees suggested, and on the new ones to be required. But the total of Reparations, he suggests, should be considered ten or fifteen years hence in connection with inter-Allied debts.

POINT FOUR.—*As to the composition of the commission, M. Poincaré objects to our use of the word "impartial."* He has told the Belgians that this may mean we want neutrals on the commission, which he will not tolerate. The Belgians have answered that since an American member is specifically named, if England meant neutrals as well, she would have said neutrals. *The commission must have no authority, and must be subsidiary to the Reparations Commission.*

THE cornerstone of our new Continental policy is to get the Reparations problem settled, out of the way, so that Europe can down arms and get back to work. M. Poincaré's attitude is clear from the facts given above, obtained, I may say, from an unquestionable source. He is willing to send a joint reply to Germany, even to make our Note a basis for that reply, provided its meaning is twisted into exactly the opposite of what it does mean. There is to be no Reparations settlement. No total sum is to be fixed. For a period of years as much is to be got out of Germany as Germany can pay. But, always, France remains in the Ruhr until the last of the total indemnity has been paid. Here, at last, is the direct and open challenge that will force Mr. Baldwin to act, or to admit that he was bluffing. If the Die-Hards forbid him to accept the challenge, he will have no honourable alternative, after what he has said, but resignation. On other matters we might make concessions, but not on this vital point. Why is it that the French object to neutrals on the Commission, and to an American, although they think it inadvisable openly to protest against an American? The answer is so obvious that it need not be set down. If France would accept the Commission, an "impartial" Commission, we should not haggle about the nationality of its members. And, as for passive resistance, the Germans are in such desperation that they will give that up, if we ask them. We shall not ask it, we cannot in decency do so, unless we have assurances that France will respect her Treaty obligations and evacuate after a settlement has been reached. But in view of the attitude of the French Premier, it now seems certain that no agreement is possible, at any rate until after the French elections next year. M. Poincaré expects to win those elections by keeping the Ruhr issue alive, and he may be right. Will the Continent hold together over another winter?

THE serious aspect of Press muzzling in this country has been dealt with above. When you have a Press that is forbidden to print the news of the day, or, as in our case, cajoled into not printing it, you inevitably find that bureaucracy makes up for keeping facts out of newspapers by supplying them with official "pap" tending to its own praise and glorification. Hence the disgraceful "Worthy" incident, when the Post Office officially communicated to the Press a eulogy of its Chief that contained criticism of the man the Postmaster-General's Chief has selected to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. This, of course, was going too far, as yet. Sir L. Worthington-Evans is no fool, and would never have countenanced such an outrage, had he known it was in preparation. But the incident is significant. To-day, it is denounced as unheard-of, and everyone concerned apologises. In another five years, if the Press continues in chains, newspapers will accept such "puffs" as a matter of course, as they do now in France and Italy. In France, what independent Press there is is persecuted by delivery agents and by railways, and in Italy Signor Mussolini has succeeded in silencing every opposition organ excepting the *Corriere della Sera*, which still maintains a precarious existence in Milan. In England, it is true that no editor meekly published the "Worthy puff." But then no editor, even in Manchester, has published the gist of the British Notes to Germany and the Allies.

WITH a surplus of five millions on the Post Office working, there is no reason whatever why the penny post should not be restored next year; indeed, with a little more pluck, it could have been restored this year. The accidents of politics have, however, given us a new Postmaster-General about once a month of late, which is not conducive to taking a long view; but Sir L. Worthington-Evans is probably installed at St. Martins for some time, and once he has settled down into his new job, he should realise both the possibility and the promise. The Post Office does not exist to make profits, but to serve the public—it does its work very well on the whole—and although I have no great belief in a Government's ability to help trade, I agree that a reduction in postage rate would make a very substantial difference to business. The cost of postage has been a serious item in most offices for several years past, and incidentally it has had a small but real effect in keeping prices up. Even if the Post Office showed a small deficit in consequence, this little evil would be more than counterbalanced by the great good. As to the restoration of the Sunday delivery, which is advocated in some quarters, I confess that I do not see the need of it. If a legacy had ever arrived for me on a Sunday morning I might have thought differently; but my recollection of pre-war Sunday deliveries in the country is distinctly of bills, touts, catalogues, and similar stuff. At least it is something to be immune from that one day in the week. I am no strict Sabbatarian. I have never thought it necessary to avoid knitting or lawn tennis on a Sunday. But I do think we ought to try and avoid worry, and that I suspect—if I may say so in all reverence—was the original,

Old Testament idea of the Day of Rest. Being all of us miserable sinners we shall have quite enough to worry about after hearing the litany in Church, without being pestered by Income Tax Forms and Saturday's unpaid bills.

AS I read the division lists on Monday night's disarmament debate, a hopeless feeling came over me that the Liberal split may be irrevocable. Labour naturally went into one Lobby and Tory into the other; but why should Wee Frees have all followed Labour and Nat.-Libs. all voted Tory? This indicates for the first time a definite mental cleavage in the ranks, more fundamental than the old feud of Little Englander and Liberal Imperialist. If this was a considered vote on the part of the Lloyd Georgeites—and one is bound to hold that it was—then their future seems quite definitely with the Conservatives, and Sir John Simon and Mr. Pringle are right in refusing the olive branch of the Liberal Unionists, who are now formally Tories; and the Wee Frees will have to build up the Liberal Party afresh, *gemino ab ovo*. But first they will have to produce the new egg. An attempt was made to do so, of course, at Manchester, but it does not seem to have proved very hatchable. The curious thing is that Tory organisers assure me that Liberalism is very much alive in the constituencies, but it does not seem capable of expressing itself at Westminster. Perhaps the true explanation is that the mental cleavage, which is so apparent in Parliament, hardly exists in the constituencies at all. After all, the Liberal Party, ever since the days of Lord Rosebery, has always managed to include both Imperialists and Little Englanders within its ranks. What has held it together is a unity of temperament and of general outlook rather than of definite opinions. That, at any rate, is my personal impression.

DO not know how much truth there is in the statement that the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which has been considering the question of reports of divorce proceedings in newspapers, has unanimously decided to recommend that in future only a bare statement of the petitioner's case, the defence, and the judge's summing up may be printed. What I am clear on, however, is that any such truncated account of an action in the Divorce Court is liable to do serious injustice to one or other of the parties concerned. There are cases in which nearly everything depends upon the behaviour of witnesses under cross-examination. The newspapers are now to be prohibited from publishing any evidence at all! Another still more obvious point is that if the kind of paper that has been the worst offender in the past is prevented from handing out divorce court tit-bits to its readers, it will give them something else of the same kind instead. And nobody who has ever visited the Criminal Courts can doubt for a moment that they will provide an even wider scope to the reporter whose job it is to dig out dirt for the delectation of his particular public. We shall not have so many titled persons involved, but we shall be even nastier than before. We shall have jumped out of the frying-pan into the fire.

NEMO.

## The Week in Parliament

COMMANDER COOPER RAWSON, exasperated no doubt by the fate of the Brighton Diamond Factory Bill which was talked into the autumn session on Friday night, has now asked the Prime Minister whether he will consider setting up a committee "to consider provisions for limiting the duration of speeches of private members, as is done in the London County Council." Toby Junior, jealous for the privileges of private members, cannot, though he has the fullest sympathy with the honourable and gallant gentleman's wishes, acquiesce lightly in the regulation of this matter by rule of procedure. He wonders, however, whether something could not be done by general consensus of opinion. After all, there is no standing order to prevent private members from sitting on the Government Front Bench, yet somehow (except the Members for the City on certain stated occasions) they don't: nor is there any reason, except tradition and usage, why certain senior members should be allowed an indefeasible claim to corner seats, yet in practice they are. It only needs a lead from Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister, and the Leader of the Opposition, and the thing would be as good as done. Fifteen minutes (at the most twenty) is enough for any skilled debater to make his points in. The length of existing speeches under existing conditions is more than a joke from the point of view of listening to them, and in addition a serious invasion of the rights of other members. In Monday's debate on the Colonial Office, eight speakers took up five hours between them, leaving one hour to be scrambled for, and eventually torn to pieces, by five more speakers. The House of Commons is full of men with intimate knowledge of all the subjects that are debated. They ought to have an opportunity of giving their views, and it should be the aim of the debate to reflect as many facets of opinion as can be shown. This is impossible as debates are arranged now; and Toby Junior, in view of Commander Rawson's question, and at the same time bearing in mind the fact that the voluminous and detailed criticism of the Kenya Settlement was the main cause of the congestion on Wednesday, is content, with one small modification, to repeat the pious aspiration of Mr. Simon Tappertit: "Something ought to come of this. . . . I hope it mayn't be Ormsby's Gore."

*Tempora mutantur.* When he was last a Member of Government (not so long ago) the Post-Master General was accustomed to a smiling acceptance by the public of what then used to be described as "necessary publicity." It must have come as something of a shock to the Right Honourable Gentleman to find the methods of yesterday held up to scorn and execration by the Press to-day; until he investigated the work of the Publicity Department of the Post Office, and found its output to consist in a "vulgar and stupid puff" (his own description) decidedly unworthy of the traditions of the Civil Service and of his own high office. (Toby Junior hopes he may be forgiven for using the word "unworthy.") Mr. Pringle, however, who of late, like Brer Rabbit, has been "lying low and saying nuffin'," immediately put his top-hatted head out of his lair in the corner seat on the fourth bench below the gangway, and announced his intention of raising the whole question of the publicity services of Government Departments on the Consolidated Fund Bill. Sickly smiles passed over the faces of Ministers, each wondering what he was being or had been let in for.

It was a little unfortunate that the Prime Minister in his speech on disarmament on Monday should have referred to the gradual repression in mankind of the instincts of the wild beast; for, no sooner had he resumed his seat, leaving fifteen minutes for somebody else, than his supporters proceeded to howl down a Liberal Member who rose to continue the debate. Nor was the conduct of the Government supporters altogether in keeping with the attitude defined by the Prime Minister, who directed his followers to support Mr. O'Neill's amendment which urged the Government "through the League of Nations and otherwise" to take the earliest favourable opportunity of bringing about a general limitation of armaments. The Labour motion having been put and rejected, the normal procedure would have been for the amendment to be carried. However, the division had gone over eleven o'clock, and on the amendment being put the Die Hards rose in their places and talked it out, the result being that the considered opinion of the House of Commons upon the question of disarmament reads as follows: "This House resolves that—," a slightly cynical but not altogether misleading reflexion of the general state of world public opinion on the subject.

TOBY JUNIOR, M.P.

## The Kenya Wobble

THE Government's decision in the controversy between the white and the Indian settlers in East Africa might have been worse. We gladly admit at the outset that Ministers, as any white men would be bound to do, rejected the Indian claims for a racial equality which would in theory have placed the Indians in control of the Colony, and in practice have led to their extermination. But the Duke of Devonshire's Memorandum is unfortunate in form, because it is weak and shifty. Instead of frankly and honestly rejecting the Indian claims, it evades them, and suggests ways and means for getting around them, thereby giving the Indian agitators the impression that the Government is afraid—always wrong tactics in dealing with Orientals, as with blacks. We need not repeat our previous suggestions as to the course that should have been adopted, for we are fortunate in having before us the speech of General Smuts on Wednesday outlining how the Union of South Africa proposes to deal with the same situation that confronts the ten thousand white settlers in Kenya, whose appeal to the Colonial Office has just been answered. His views as to South Africa are those we have expressed as to Kenya. General Smuts is a great Liberal statesman. To his eternal honour, he alone of the Allied plenipotentiaries at Versailles announced in a public statement his dissatisfaction with that pernicious instrument, and the arguments he then laid down have since been accepted by enlightened persons in all nations. It is to General Smuts, more than to any other one man excepting President Wilson, that we owe the Covenant of the League of Nations. Here is a Premier, whatever his faults, who cannot be called a reactionary, or a narrow-minded Imperialist. General Smuts has been in negotiation with the Government of India regarding Indian demands for franchise in the Union. He states frankly, without mincing words, that his Government considers it impossible to distinguish, for franchise purposes, between Indians and natives. He announces the proposed compulsory segregation of Asiatics by local option, and comments: "I do not see why it should be resented by Indians or why the break-up of the British Empire should be threatened over a thing like that. I have heard of such things as caste in India, and have heard of such a thing as one Indian entirely refusing to associate with another Indian; and I do not see why these catchwords 'freedom' and 'equality' should be applied by Indians in South Africa. It is a case for treatment on its merits. . . . We want to do what is just and fair, and to place the Indians where they should be and leave the rest to the people of South Africa. We, as a European community, have only one plain duty before us. We can only carry out that duty. . . . and in doing so we shall try to give as little

offence as possible to the Indian people in this country or elsewhere."

That is a brave and manly course to take, and we venture to prophesy that the Indians, after a little more wild talk, will accept the inevitable in South Africa, and cease their agitation there. How does our Government at home meet exactly the same issue, governed by the same racial and economic facts, when it comes up in Kenya? First, the recommendations of Sir William Simpson, a great authority on Oriental disease, for racial segregation in Kenya, are rejected, although they were accepted in Lord Milner's pledge to the Colonists in 1920. Thus, as a sop to Indian agitation, the Government appears to throw the door open to those Oriental diseases which, as Professor Simpson solemnly warned all concerned, in this journal and elsewhere, may without proper measures of control ravage blacks and whites alike. This would be desperately serious, excepting that our Government does not really mean what it appears to say. It is pointed out . . . "the rigid enforcement of sanitary, police, and building regulations, without any racial discrimination, by the Colonial and municipal authorities will suffice. It may well prove that in practice the different races will, by a natural affinity, keep together in separate quarters, but to effect such separation by legislative enactment except on the strongest sanitary grounds would not, in the opinion of his Majesty's Government, be justifiable." This simply means: "We will not have any formally recognised 'racial discrimination,' but you can quietly make such strict sanitary regulations that the Indians, who will not accept those standards which white men find necessary, will have to keep to themselves. Thus the result is the same." Such cowardly evasion, we repeat, will fool no Indian, but it will make the Indians think that the Government is afraid of them, and encourage them to continue their agitation and utter more threats.

On the franchise question, the frankness and honesty of General Smuts again contrasts strangely with our Government's timidity. Why not agree, with General Smuts, that if the Indians are given votes the blacks are equally entitled to them? That is the common-sense answer to Indian claims for equality of citizenship. Instead, the "communal franchise" is adopted in Kenya. The Indians are to vote for members of their own race, and will be permitted to choose five elected Indians for the Legislative Council, as contrasted with eleven elected Europeans and one Arab. The Government proposes always to nominate enough official members, in addition to the elected members, to retain an official majority. Here, again, we have the same evasion, the same timidity, the same fear of rejecting outright the Indian claim. White control of the Legislative Council is carefully assured, but the means adopted are calculated to irritate and annoy the white settlers, and to encourage renewed

Indian unrest, to convince trouble-makers in India itself that their threats have impressed the British Raj.

We have more than once drawn attention to the fact that the British Government cannot, if it would, enforce measures favouring Kenya Indians against the will of the white minority. The reason for this is simply that the Union of South Africa will not permit any Indian danger to exist in any part of Africa, because of the repercussions to be feared within Union territory. General Smuts has made this plain, he has now laid down the Union policy towards the Indians, and we hope the Government at home will take warning and allow Kenya's white settlers the utmost latitude in interpreting the unsatisfactory decision handed down. These men have been patient and long-suffering, and the result of any further interference in favour of the Indians from London is bound to be an appeal to South Africa for protection, an appeal that would not go unheeded. We cannot afford to risk, for the first time in our Empire, the coalition of a Crown Colony with a self-governing Dominion against the Government in London. By their feebleness in the face of agitation in India itself Ministers here have come dangerously near to creating a situation in which one of the links that join together the Empire may be snapped. Kenya may not loom large in the minds of most of us, but the Empire does. And a chain is no stronger than its weakest link.

## The Disarmament Illusion

FIVE years after the war which Mr. H. G. Wells assured us was to end war, the House of Commons again finds it necessary to discuss the increase of armaments. Some of the men who spoke took part in the similar debate ten years ago, and if anybody were cruel enough to compare the speeches of 1913 and 1923, he would probably find that the same arguments were repeated, almost in the same words. Whatever difference war may make to our hearts, our comfort, and our pockets, it appears to make none whatever to our ideas. Everything else has changed, but our mental processes have not. We still think in terms of war and conflict.

The fact deserves more consideration than the House of Commons gave it, for it goes near to the root of all these recurrent and utterly ineffective debates on disarmament. Everybody denounces war as evil and destructive and immoral—the familiar adjectives come trippingly to the tongue—yet everybody is ready to make an exception for one particular war as righteous, just, and moral. The plain, blunt man will tell you in one sentence that he hates war, but is ready to fight the enemies of his country; the great idealist will explain in many columns that he, too, hates war, but that a war for freedom—of a small nation, of the seas, or of somebody's conscience—is a noble enterprise. The low road and the high may be very different, but both lead to the same terminus, which is force.

Even the pacifist, who denounces all wars, is found in practice to make his own significant exception. He will not fight Germany, or France, or Russia, or the political enemy of the moment; he will have nothing to do with crusades on behalf of Armenia or some oppressed nationality in the Balkans or elsewhere; but he is quite ready for a civil war at home. He sees life, not as a conflict of States or peoples, but as a conflict of classes. Yet for all that he still sees life as essentially a struggle and a conflict. The object is different, the mentality is the same.

Until we recognise these things—and they never are recognised in the unreal atmosphere of public debate—we shall never make any progress. We all profess to desire the abolition of war—but the other side must set the example; and meanwhile there is one little exception to the general rule—a market to be secured, a province to be pacified, a tyrant to be deposed, or a wrong to be righted—and that exception happens to be the one thing in which we are interested. The same pulpit that denounces war as un-Christian will proceed to argue that a war against Turkey is a crusade for Christianity.

We discount, therefore, nine-tenths of Monday's talk on disarmament; it is not the armaments that matter, but the state of mind that produces the armaments. And in that respect we see no change whatever between the mentality of 1923 and 1913—or, for that matter, of 1319. Even the prospect of a limitation of armaments, which at first sight seems more hopeful, turns out on examination to be Dead Sea fruit. The Washington Conference was indeed a resounding success—on paper. The three great naval Powers of the world agreed to reduce their battleships; the minor naval Powers, with some hesitation, agreed to follow suit. But France refused to scrap her submarines; land armaments were omitted from the agenda; and the decision as to battleships was obviously influenced by the prevalent feeling that the capital ship is an expensive luxury which is becoming ineffective in comparison with air forces. There was no Washington Conference after the Hundred Years' War; but if there had been, every nation would have paraded its willingness to limit its armaments in pikes and arrows, and have discovered that cannons and gunpowder were outside the terms of reference. The limitation of armaments in practice limits obsolescent arms, and leaves more money for the weapon of the future.

This may sound a pessimistic conclusion; at least it is better than sheer illusion and meaningless sentiment. We shall never get rid of wars by talking about it; it is policy that makes war, not war that makes policy. And in the world as we see it to-day there is not less but more material for war than ten years ago. The late war, it was said, was fought between two rival Imperialisms; but there are now not two, but twenty Imperialisms on the Continent—every little nation among the Succession States has its own Imperial policy, secret but obvious, constantly disavowed yet palpable and evident. The nationalism of the nineteenth century has become a monstrous and sinister growth in the twentieth; the only "good Europeans" to-day are the Americans, and for obvious reasons—of which the chief is the American repudiation of

Europe in 1919—they count for nothing in the maelstrom of intrigue, ambition, and hatred that infests every capital.

On none of these matters did the House of Commons touch. It avoided the crowning insincerity of pretending that war is over for ever; but it significantly accepted, by implication, the theory that war is inevitable, that it is necessary to prepare for it, and that the best that can be done is to postpone it as long as possible. There was in fact little more that could be said in open debate, but we should be sorry to think this is the last word of European diplomacy or British statesmanship. If that is so, then the one is doomed and the other bankrupt.

### The Puff Direct

**P**UFFING, as the great Mr. Puff himself remarked in Sheridan's *Critic*, is of various sorts. There is, for instance, "the puff direct, the puff preliminary, the puff collateral, the puff collusive, and the puff oblique, or puff by implication." And these take various forms, such as "Letter to the Editor, Occasional Anecdote, Impartial Critique," and so on. It all sounds remarkably modern. Indeed, puffing is an art which the present generation is really supposed to understand; it is a subject upon which even Sheridan can teach us nothing—or, at any rate, we try to think so. Our methods may be a little crude. The Occasional Anecdote may be beyond the reach of the average advertising "expert," and the Letter to the Editor may be so clumsily worded as to finish up almost invariably in the editorial wastepaper basket. But these are the subtleties of the trade. We prefer the bludgeon to the eighteenth-century rapier. Our tendency is to avoid the puff oblique and the rest, and to rely almost entirely on the puff direct.

It ought to be. Yet the history of journalism and politics is strewn with its failures, of which the sad case of Sir Laming Worthington-Evans and the publicity man at the G.P.O. is only the last and most striking example. One pictures the unhappy man sitting up all night over his task—he is one of those bright young men, no doubt, whom everyone believes in because they know exactly how to "get there." He puts his whole soul into the work. And when at last the "puff" is ready and has been dispatched to the offices of the morning papers, he leans back with a sigh and thinks of the blush of pleasure that will rise to the face of the P.M.G. when he sees it next morning at breakfast. It must be so. By every standard of intelligence or good taste known to publicity men this "puff" is bound to please. And, if it pleases, it is but "cold and merciless logic" to conclude that it will not go unrewarded. It is pathetic to contemplate the shattering disillusionment of the next morning: the sneers of the Press, the rage of Sir Laming, choking over his eggs and bacon, spluttering about "vulgar and stupid puffs." That well-meaning publicity man must have thought that the world had gone mad.

There are two methods by which such unhappy incidents can be avoided in future. One is for the Post Office to sack its publicity men and give up

puffs altogether. In the general disgust that is the method that seems to be most generally advocated at the present moment. The Post Office people—so singularly unenterprising in other ways—have over-puffed themselves before; there was a story about Mr. Kellaway and a motor-car that caused much ribald laughter. They will do it again, it is argued, unless the whole thing is stopped. On the other hand, the Post Office is a business organisation which is trying to sell things to the public. We dislike personal paragraphs about its head just as we should dislike them about the head of a private firm. Everyone who cares whether or not Sir Laming Worthington-Evans is nicknamed "Worthy" is aware of the fact already. It is a waste of public money to advertise it in print. But good publicity is quite another matter.

In short, the Post Office should *advertise*; it should make its bright young publicity men concentrate upon that alone. There is all the difference in the world, as every advertising man knows, between advertisement and mere publicity. Every murderer, every co-respondent in a divorce case gets publicity—more of it than he wants. If Judas Iscariot had employed the cleverest publicity experts in the world they could not have got him more publicity than he has already. And publicity is all that poor Sir Laming is likely to get out of this present stunt. But if the time and money that were wasted on this stupid "puff" had been expended judiciously upon a carefully thought-out advertisement, both the Post Office and the general public might then have benefited thereby. It is still possible to be up-to-date in these matters without being vulgar.

There is a curious tendency in the Press to blame Mr. Lloyd George for the whole business. At a time when that statesman, if left to himself, would appear to be well on the road to oblivion, his newspaper enemies conspire to keep him in the limelight by saddling upon him every error of judgment and every wrong habit of thought acquired during the later stages of the war. They blame him for introducing publicity stunts, forgetting that he himself was one of the British nation's publicity stunts—and not an entirely unsuccessful one. Such things had to be in war-time. Surely we can drop them now, as we have dropped Mr. Lloyd George; without making a fuss about it or pretending that this kind of thing was always done against our will.

### Russia's New Slavery

By HUNTLY CARTER.

MOSCOW, JULY.

**I** AM at sea. It is the highly contentious Black Sea. It invites me to write about liberty. The sea always does. Has the Russian Revolution set the Russian people free, or has it enslaved them more than ever? I am writing the answer on board a Russian tramp. And if my pen appears to run off the line occasionally it is because life on board a tramp does not make for political, economic, and social discussion but for sailors' yarns of the Flying Dutchman sort. Especially when, as in the present case, it is a small Soviet tramp not more than 600 tons, old as sin, slow-going and afflicted with a foulness that Satan would like. We, the crew, are twenty all told. I say we because encased in a boiler suit and a week or two's dirt, I feel I am one of them. Eight of us are Com-



munists—the real thing, red to the nose-tips. Exclusive of the skipper and his mates, we form a Soviet. We have chosen our leader, who receives complaints, settles them, or hands them on to Petrograd. As for the skipper, he is negligible. We allow him to take the ship from port to port, and that's about as much authority a skipper may expect these Soviet times. "This is a Russian ship. We don't ask the captain when we want beer," said one of the crew to me one day. "We have it." The ship's chandler had come aboard with some baskets of beer (twenty-five bottles to the basket). I offered to stand the crew treat, the captain willing. So, the captain willing or not, they had it—seventy bottles at a sitting. And as they drank it they re-reminded me that the ship was theirs. Its organisation and discipline was theirs. It was all theirs. They were not slaves. They were men—sailor-men.

I remembered that a factory worker had pitched a similar yarn. The factory was his, he had a committee, the discipline, organisation was his. He was a man. But he forgot to tell me that if he did not go in the street and demonstrate when his Trade Union wanted him, he was heavily fined and dismissed. To return to the ship. Our flag is red also. It bears the mystic sign R.S.F.S.R. Sometimes the westerling golden sun glides behind it, then it turns black and the sign becomes a skull and cross-bones, or so it seems. Near by, swinging aloft in the main rigging, is the ship's ice-safe. A filthy canvas rag flaps round a side of beef blackened out of recognition by sun, wind, and smoke. The dusk comes, and with it the evening mist, and you imagine you see the blackened corpse of a hapless buccaneer swinging at the yard-arm.

On the whole we are a buccaneer-looking lot, made up of the worst elements of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and Barrie's *Peter Pan*. Come aboard and I will show you Long John Silver's double. We have no foul-mouthed parrot. But we have a dog. It is a mangy, terrifying beast, pus-eyed and heavy-laden with pup, and ever ready to bury its fangs in you.

There is much in this old iron hulk to give a stir to the imagination. Indeed it invites a fantasy on the New Pirate Ship. But why? Of course, it is nothing of the sort. It is simply a ship belonging to the Soviet Government, manned by a crew in their service and pay. It may be for this reason that the ship and its human cargo call forth fantastical comparison. It has the new spirit on board. Thus it exhibits characteristics to be found nowhere out of Russia or its somewhat deboshed mercantile navy. The crew are moved by this spirit. They affect equality and fraternity, and believe they enjoy liberty. Liberty to do what? They choose their own Caesar to whom all appeal when trouble appears. There is no doffing of hats, no sound of "Sir," no cringing and crawling to their superiors, as they put it, no keeping at a distance. They glory in dismissing the formalities which characterise the crew's behaviour on ships of other nations. They simply do as they like, subject to obeying sea rules necessary to keep the ship afloat. Even the dog has caught the liberty infection. It manures at will all over the red-hot deck and no one interferes.

It is strange how these Russian sailors mistake familiarity for liberty. Actually it is familiarity which possesses them just as it does a pirate crew who are at each other's mercy. Every blessed member of the Russian crew, who, by the way, are a friendly and harmless lot, talks of liberty as the great blessing conferred on him by the Revolution. Because they can talk to the captain as man to man, can go from bow to stern without asking leave or begging pardon, can horse-play or card-play at will, these sailors firmly believe liberty is theirs. Monstrous delusion! Watch

them and you will find they work as hard as galley-slaves, their pay is poor, their clothes are rag-bag stuff, their food and drink would make English sailors mutiny, they sleep in quarters that resemble little hells, and at the end of a hot, still day you can hear them in their bunks crying aloud to God to send the truant wind to relieve them of the mosquitoes or they perish of stings. But for all their shortcomings and sufferings they obstinately believe they are free people. True, they confess Soviet Russia is not a perfect land of liberty as yet. But the spies have come out of the Canaan bearing fair samples of fruit. In 10, 15, 20, perhaps 25 years—well, wait and see. That eternal Wait and See!!!

As we glide, day after day, across the amazing sea surface, now like polished ivory inlaid with old gold, now like a fabulous film reflecting the fantastical forms of the ship, and now like a Turner palette on which colour sits enthroned, I cannot help comparing the particular conception of liberty held by the crew with the general practice of liberty in Russia itself. Free Russia is like Feudal Rome. This thought continually crosses my mind. The Russian people are like the ancient Romans, divided into three sects—priests, military, and slaves. The heads of the Communist Government are the priests, the army is the military, and the workers are the slaves. It would be unfair to suggest that the latter are as enslaved as the Romans, but they are slaves all the same. They differ from the Romans in not knowing they are slaves. The Roman slaves were chained to galleys and in labour gangs; the Russian workers are chained to the will of the Communist priests. This will is exercised so ingeniously that it produces the delusion of liberty. It allows the workers to express themselves freely in a Communistic way, and sternly represses attempts at expression in any other way. Workers and peasants are told that the land and factories are theirs, the theatres, cinemas, cultural institutions, books, and newspapers are theirs. They are told that they are not slaves. "We are not slaves" is written on the walls of Russia, from one end to the other. They are told that everything is theirs. "You are the people, the means and fruits of production and enlightenment are yours. Artists, poets, actors, musicians—all are at your service. The Intelligentsia that once served your taskmasters will now serve you. Come on the streets. Unite art and life. Revive pageantry as it has never been revived. Let yourselves go. Remember you are free men." Such is the potent wine distilled to intoxicate them. But the hand that distils it, is guided by the iron of will of the Communist dictators. Liberty and Dictatorship! You might as well try to mix oil and water.

Still the wine is drunk and the Dictatorship is felt, but the fumes of the wine blot out the latter's interference with individual liberty. And we have the strange sight of a people enmeshed and denying it. Evidence of this is before me in abundance. A few days before I sailed someone said to me, "To-morrow you will be the happiest man in Petrograd." Noticing my puzzled look, he added, "You will know you are at liberty to leave it." This was at Smolny, the Petrograd passport office. "We Russians," he continued, "may not leave it. For several weeks I have been waiting for a visa, and I know I shall not get it. Do you know that during the last three weeks no Russian passports have been issued? Something is going on. For my own part I have nothing against me except that I am a Russian, and to-day the fact simply is that Russians may not leave Russia." Beyond this he had nothing to complain of. To him, the Soviet Government appeared a good one. In short, he talked like a prisoner whose goaler has hypnotised him. As I toiled through room after room of this vast passport Inferno, it might have been through the seven circles of Dante's Inferno with seventy added, each seething

with festering human beings, a tortured soul rose here and there with the parrot-cry, "I cannot get out of Russia. Three months and more have I waited for a visa." And yet these are the very people who are being continually told that everything in Russia is theirs.

A day or two later I sat in the Government shipping office by the Neva. Next to me sat a little woman. She held a handful of papers. "Leaving Russia?" I inquired. She shook her head, and said: "I am only going a little distance outside Petrograd." "Formalities," I remarked, glancing at her papers. That seemed to stir her up. She pointed in rapid succession to rooms here, there, and everywhere, in the office, across the street, across the river, in the sky, on earth, under it. It was as though she were reciting "The Charge of the Visa Brigade," with apologies to Tennyson. Visas to the right of us; visas to the left of us; visas in front of us; and bureaucrats follied and blundered. She stamped countless imaginary papers, and she paid out countless milliard roubles. In short, she went through a most expressive pantomime of a human being simply controlled to death. But there was no tears in her pantomime. You would have thought it was a part of her daily routine and as pleasant as pudding-making to her.

Then there was the prominent writer who, in answer to my question, "What does Russia want of Literature, Art, the Theatre, and other forms of high expression?" replied, "It wants many things, but it only gets one—revolutionary propaganda." He himself was a writer with an original mind capable of expressing new and formative ideas. Literature, he said, must be Communistic and positive. Mysticism, metaphysics, and philosophy are banned. Thought must be positive, not abstract. The position of an original writer who, like himself, is not a Communist is extremely difficult. He must choose subjects approved by Communists, or get out. Though excluded from original expression he rather liked the Government. With the Government as landlord he only paid 2 or 3 dollars a month (as he put it) for his miserable accommodation, whereas a private landlord would charge him 120 or more. Let the Communists alone and they will let you alone, appeared to be his motto. The same motto applies to the devil.

"You seem to be always at work from noon to midnight," I said to a Russian woman who once upon a time was a leader of Russian progressive thought, but had voluntarily joined the new order. She was bending over a paper filling it up with a mass of writing. She raised her head, threw her pen down wearily, and pointed to a heap of similar documents scattered about her. "It's Government work," she said. "Nowadays I do nothing else but this drudgery. I go to the office at ten. I work steadily to four. I come home and I work hard till the small hours. Work is never finished. Like everybody else in Russia I am obliged to keep on to get bare subsistence. I receive about three milliard roubles a month and it costs five to live." "We are not slaves," I said, sarcastically. "We are not unemployed," she replied, with a touch of sad humour. And added: "Our Government is for the good of the people."

So, all considered, one can see with half an eye that the Russian Revolution has not set the Russian people free. It has brought about a change of expression, that is all. The old slavery is replaced by the new. Perhaps the Russian people themselves are to blame. When studying them in all their relations one cannot avoid the conclusion that they are slaves by temperament, training, and physique. Moreover, ten years of unparalleled vicissitude has set up paralysis of the will. To-day they are mentally and physically sick people. They are as clay in the hands of the Communist potters. Freedom begins with the spirit. The new rulers are hard-faced, strong-willed business men,

trained in up-to-date, practical, and positive business methods. They have nothing to do with the spirit. Have they not banished philosophy, mysticism, metaphysics? Do they not propose that Russia shall enter upon its machine age for the first time in its history? "Communism is Soviet Power plus machinery," says Lenin.

## The Irish Elections

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

ANOTHER General Election is close at hand in Ireland. The present Dail has not been in existence much more than a year; but the conditions under which this body was elected, and the absence of a large number of its members, have necessarily given it a makeshift character. Meanwhile the franchise has been extended, and whereas the present Dail consists nominally of 128 members, 153 seats will be fought for at the approaching elections. Much history has been made during Mr. Cosgrave's tenancy of office. A constitution has been enacted, and peace has been restored after many years—where Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Hamar Greenwood failed, a native Government has succeeded. It is true to say that peace has been restored; indeed Ireland is as peaceful at the moment as ever she has been since the outbreak of the European War—which is not to say, however, that she has never been more contented, or that there are no danger-signals of renewed trouble. Seeing that Republicans will take part in the coming elections—one Republican candidate in every constituency, says Mr. de Valera, will ask for a first preference vote—and that if they win they will not take their seats; further, seeing that some of them threaten more war if they lose, it cannot be pretended either that we have finally decided the question of traditional policy, as it may be called, or that we propose to decide it in future by argument instead of force. The revolutionary Labour movement must also be taken into account.

Nevertheless I think the elections will turn as much on personalities as on policy. The Government is more popular than it was a few months ago; nothing succeeds like success. I saw President Cosgrave coming from a lecture the other day, and he had a welcome from the crowds in the street more enthusiastic than any Irish leader has had since Mr. de Valera went to make an "armistice" with General Macready. There are other Ministers with whom any strong Free State Government will scarcely do without. But the Ministerial Party in the Dail is very weak. Its level of intelligence is not high, and its energy, with one or two exceptions, is confined to mechanical voting. The Independent Free Staters in the Dail, the Labour members, the representatives of Trinity College, even the Farmers' party are much more lively-minded and active. To remedy the position, the Government has attempted to establish a Ministerial Party and organisation in the country. But they have not met with much success in this. The organisation interests no one in particular. Such few Nationalists as are still ambitious of cutting a figure in Irish politics naturally think they should themselves be Ministers, and will not go forward for an organisation the success of which would mean that there would be no change in the personnel of the Government. The probability is that the Ministerial Party will lose a good many seats at the elections, and that, in order to meet the opposition of Labour in the Dail, President Cosgrave will be obliged to propose a coalition with members of the Farmers' Party, and perhaps with the Independents. This will not affect governmental policy should Republicanism revive; it may, however, add fuel to the fire of Labour criticism of Irish society.

As to the Republicans, their prospects are not

generally favoured by the prophets: six of their men returned is a common estimate. I should put the figure higher than this, but at under fifteen. This would be a smaller success than Mr. de Valera's party gained at the polls in 1922; but the elections of 1922 were fought under Michael Collins's unfortunate Pact, which (more or less) obliged Free Staters to give their second preference to a Republican. There is no reason to think that the ordinary Irishman, even the ordinary revolutionary Irishman, wants to be disenfranchised, and disenfranchised he would be if he elects men who propose in advance to abstain from their duties. Presumably the Republican candidates will be, for the most part, selected from prisoners, who could not, if they would, put in an appearance in Dail. This will put an obstacle in the way of the genial suggestion, recently made by Mr. Larkin, that Labour men and Republicans should turn up in the next Parliament, collaborate in a refusal to take the royal oath, but insist on taking their seats, on the model of Bradlaugh's action at Westminster.

In the past the "man-in-the-street" generally could predict pretty closely the main results of an Irish election; and his view this time is very adverse to the Republicans' chances. Indeed, he scarcely discusses them. What he is more interested in is the prospects of Labour. Conservative opinion in Ireland—and Conservative opinion includes some Republicans as well as all the old Unionists—is really rather afraid that some future Irish Parliament may "constitutionally" abolish property. The Senate, with its limited powers, is a small protection in this respect. *The Irish Times* joins with Mr. John Sweetman, one of the early Sinn Feiners and head of a rich Catholic family, in raising an alarm over the danger of confiscation. *The Irish Times* proposes to rouse business interests from their political sloth and stir the moral zeal of the property-holders, whereas Mr. Sweetman urges that the actual Ministerial Party and its organisation is our only protection against red revolution. Labour in Ireland put forward eighteen candidates at the last election, and secured first preference votes equal in number to one-third of all the non-Labour first preferences cast for the Treaty in contested constituencies. It lost only one seat out of all those it contested. At the coming elections the franchise will be much wider, there will be an adult register; and a possibility moreover that many of the Republicans will vote for a cause which promises to keep the country from "settling down" respectably, after the manner of a nicely behaved "colony." Statistics have been produced with the object of showing that Labour in Ireland can never hope to have a parliamentary majority. Owing to peasant proprietorship, the proportion of property-holders to the total population is much higher here than in Great Britain, and there are no large industrial centres except in Dublin and Cork. It is true that no reasoned system of Socialism, such as that of the Webbs, based on abstract principles of justice, is ever likely to have a dog's chance in this country. But that is not to say that a confiscatory Party or confiscatory Government might not be very popular here—for a while at least, until we have learned that one cannot have one's cake and eat it, and that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. The farmers are at present engaged in a very bitter struggle with the agricultural labourers of the Transport Union over reductions of wages: so bitter is the struggle that, in Waterford, a Curfew Order has been enforced. Mr. Johnson, the Labour Leader in the Dail, backs the transport workers against the farmers; he also backs the farmers against the Government when the new Land Purchase Bill is concerned. Under this Bill, the landlords get a moderate price for their lands, and three-quarters of their rent arrears; the terms are more favourable to the unpurchased tenants than any of the British Land Acts, and the

measure, moreover, is compulsory. Nevertheless, amendments amounting almost to confiscation of the landlords' interests have been pressed through unsuccessfully, by the Labour men and the tenants' representatives acting together.

Most of what is said and done nowadays is said and done with an eye on the elections. The Government alone has to think of other things besides popularity; it has to preserve the order created at such cost, and redeem the pledges, given under the Treaty, to a minority which has (except in the region about Dublin) very little voting power. In the circumstances President Cosgrave's treatment of the landlords, most of them former Southern Unionists, in the new Land Bill, must be deemed honourable and just; as also are the financial arrangements made with the "Protestant" University, Trinity College. We don't speak much of idealism in these days in Ireland; but any Party in Ireland that stands for an even approximate justice to all creeds and classes is not altogether without that quality. All the other groups are, unashamedly, egoistic. I don't think this fact provides a confirmation of the Duke of Northumberland's theory that the whole revolutionary movement in Ireland is to be traced to "Russian gold," the "hatred of civilisation," etc. Revolutionary movements profess idealism, not disillusion—and our current greed, our miserable little class war, is largely an expression of disillusion. The Free State has not produced a new heaven and earth; nor, as everyone now knows, would a Republic have done so. Communistic talk has also fallen into disrepute. No one bothers now about "Gaelic social ideals," notwithstanding the return of Mr. Larkin, magnetic as ever. The Parliamentary Labour men speak a lot about principle—the principle that property should be dependent on personal service, and so on. But they collaborate with the farmers in their endeavours to strike the hardest possible bargain with the departing landlords. The Unions denounce the policy of doles, and promote it in roundabout ways, as in prohibiting Dublin workers from laying more than three hundred bricks per day, compared with the nine hundred of the Belfast bricklayers at the same wages. In the South of Ireland farmers are buying large tracts of land at from forty years' purchase upwards. They cannot work the land, with the labour at their disposal, profitably for the country; but will put a few cows on it, and enjoy the sensation of being land rich. Meanwhile, their representatives in the Dail pull long faces at the thought of the unpurchased tenants having to buy out their landlords at forty years' purchase. The anxiety of the Duke of Northumberland lest "human nature" in Ireland should be corrupted by Marx and Lenin is surely quite groundless.

## Small-pox and Vaccine-Therapy

By DR. C. W. SALEEBY.

IT is an inherent property of life to adapt and thus protect itself. We learn by experience; we do so with such effect that we become equal to graver experiences by suffering lighter. Nowhere is this universal principle of adaptation more clearly illustrated than in the realm of disease. We know very well, though we may not have thought very steadily about it, that one attack of measles, for instance, usually protects against more. We have profited by experience; we are changed in this specific particular, for life, to our great advantage. In the East this fact was adopted as the basis for a measure against small-pox, consisting in nothing less than deliberate inocula-

tion with the actual virus of the disease, taken from a mild case. The experience of the disease in a mild form yielded an acquired immunity against graver infection later. Taken to the East for a visit in infancy I was inoculated with and against small-pox; and no one since has ever been able to vaccinate me.

For vaccination is simply a modification of the original Eastern practice, which Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had already introduced into this country with great success. Jenner used, instead of the virus of small-pox from a mild case, that of cow-pox, believing this to be a modified small-pox. Doubtless he was right, though our bacteriological resources are not even yet sufficient to demonstrate the fact.

In our own day the principle involved in vaccination is no longer represented by a single instance. It triumphs elsewhere. True, we do not use the cow, no other instance exactly analogous to small-pox and cow-pox being known; but, for the historical reason, we still call our new processes by the name of vaccination, and may speak of Vaccine-therapy when, as may be, we can use the principle not only for prevention but also for cure.

The finest known instance, hitherto, after vaccination against small-pox itself, is in the modern method of dealing with typhoid fever. Assuredly a safe water supply, and food uncontaminated by flies which have lately visited excreta, are the best preventives against typhoid or enteric fever. But in time of war these cannot be guaranteed, and something else is essential if armies are not to be decimated. Thanks to our Sir Almroth Wright and to Professor Calmette, now of the Pasteur Institute, the something else was available in the Great War. It is estimated to have saved not less than three hundred thousand lives in our Army alone; and not less than that number in the French Army. The principle is to obtain the poison or toxin from typhoid bacilli, and to inject a suitable dose of it under the skin. By means of this absurdly so-called "vaccination," the body replies, responds, defends itself, produces the necessary antitoxin, and all is well. Indeed, it is better than well, for the body makes so strenuous a reply as to suggest that it says to itself, "Very well, if that is on the cards of Fate, I will be prepared against it next time." Consequently, if living typhoid bacilli be later ingested, the body is already forewarned and forearmed, and overwhelms them from the first. We have used teleological language in suggesting what the body says to itself. In point of fact, the great thinker, Professor Hans Driesch, of Heidelberg, in his Gifford Lectures, cited this property of the living body, its anticipation, so to say, of future events, and precautionary measures against them, as one of the pieces of evidence for the theory called neo-vitalism, as opposed to the mechanistic theory of living things. We do not quite see any machine, that is no more than a machine, behaving thus, he argues.

During the war it was part of my business to lecture to the troops on the inoculation against typhoid, and the War Office supplied me, from time to time, with statistical evidence, the latest figures showing that the uninoculated man was eighty-four times more likely to die of enteric than the inoculated.

Apparently the protection is highly specific. The key fits and will open one lock only, so to say. Paratyphoid fever is not protected against. Hence large numbers of cases in Gallipoli. Thereafter—too late, unfortunately, for the success of that campaign—the bacteriologists provided us with a triple vaccine, comprising the toxins of the typhoid bacillus, and of the two varieties, A and B, of the *bacillus paratyphosus*.

All the foregoing is preventive. Vaccine-therapy takes toxins such as these and uses them, in the course of a disease, in such doses and at such times as, it hopes, to evoke effective response from the organism,

not only against them, but in such abundance as to enable it to cope more effectively with the infection already present. This is doubtless a more difficult proposition to accept with satisfaction, nor do I suppose that it can ever rank in importance with preventive vaccination; but the existing data do not permit us to dismiss or even to decry it.

For many years the bacteriologists have tried to effect something on these lines against the chronic infection of tuberculosis. Their perpetual difficulty was, in the first place, to obtain, from the tubercle bacillus, the toxin or toxins which it assuredly produces. About twenty years ago, the late Dr. Allan Macfadyen, at the Royal Institution, approached success,—as Sir James Crichton-Browne, who learns everything and forgets nothing, has lately reminded us—by freezing bacteria with liquid air and then grinding them to pieces. Now comes Professor Georges Dreyer, of Oxford, with another method of getting at those toxins which certain bacteria hold within themselves. It seems that they possess a fatty envelope or coat, which holds the toxins in. If it could be removed, they would be accessible. By means of formalin and acetone, this fatty coat can be dissolved, and now we have bacteria which have been thoroughly washed through, and are, indeed, under the microscope, but shadows of their former selves. In the laboratory, whilst the work was going on, the resultant products were colloquially known as "de-fatted antigens"; but "de-fatted" is a deplorable hybrid, and we need a term that will be the same for students all over the world, science knowing no frontiers. Dr. Dreyer has accordingly introduced the term "diaplytes," or "washed-through," for these substances. Recently, at St. Mary's Hospital, he gave a lecture on the subject, which it was my good fortune to hear, not that I care very much for any curative measures against tuberculosis, a disease of darkness, as I call it, which should not exist outside the medical histories in the company of leprosy, but because Dr. Dreyer's discoveries promise us new resources against several other infections which cannot be prevented, and cannot be cured, in the present state of our knowledge. We may reasonably hope for great things, for we know the validity of our principle, and the method of Dr. Dreyer gives us new access to and new control over the toxins of certain most important bacteria; but no more should properly be said quite as yet.

Meanwhile we observe that the discovery of Jenner proves itself the parent of a precious stock, whilst the centenary year of his death finds his own country and county disgraced by an outbreak of small-pox due to neglect and ignorance and ingratitude towards this great benefactor of mankind. A hundred years ago he died. His statue was erected in Trafalgar Square, and then, his triumph being so complete as to wipe out the very memory of its magnitude, people complained and the monument was removed to Kensington Gardens. Fifty years ago (*The Study of Sociology*, 1873) Herbert Spencer commented thus, in the words of an imaginary future historian of our people, on the singular circumstance:

Their distribution of monumental honours was, indeed, in all respects remarkable. To a physician named Jenner, who, by a mode of mitigating the ravages of a horrible disease, was said to have rescued many thousands from death, they erected a memorial statue in one of their chief public places. After some years, however, repenting then of giving to this statue so conspicuous a position, they banished it to a far corner of one of their suburban gardens, frequented chiefly by children and nursemaids; and, in its place, they erected a statue to a great leader of their fighters—one Napier, who had helped them to conquer and keep down certain weaker races. The reporter does not tell us whether this last had been instrumental in destroying as many lives as the other had saved; but he remarks, "I could not cease wondering at this strange substitution among a people who professed a religion of peace."



LORD CURZON.

## MIDDLE SECTION

### What Is Posterity?

By ALEC WAUGH.

I SPENT the other day a couple of hours in the company of a very disgruntled and very minor poet, whose latest book had been received rather uncourteously in Fleet Street, and for the greater part of that two hours he deplored and encouraged me to agree with him in deploring the lamentable condition of modern criticism. Where, he asked, were the successors of Matthew Arnold and Ruskin, of Walter Pater and Andrew Lang. "Ah well," he said, "you wait. Posterity will decide." That is what we always say. Whenever we think ourselves misunderstood and misinterpreted we fling ourselves in proud humility before the future; like the lady in the romantic ballad, "Some day you'll know, some day you'll care," in time, we say, all will be made plain. Posterity will control, adjust, minister our fortunes. Posterity is always right.

But is it? Has not posterity in its time made some pretty appalling blunders? The poet and the artist have, it is true, often enough been in their lifetime unappreciated. Keats was told to get back to his gallipots. Samuel Butler paid for the production of the majority of his books. Shelley was unread till he had been dead thirty years. And while Keats and Shelley were creating in obscurity immortal music, Southey was accounted a great poet. We hear much of the blundering of contemporary task, especially from those who find themselves out of tune with their reviewers; but such blundering has not been confined by any means to the period of the author's lifetime. Posterity has now and again gone pretty badly off the rails. What a mess of things, after all, was made by the eighteenth century, in that supreme period of poise and polish when Fielding flourished with Addison and Defoe and Pope. They were great men and great days. Without them we should be very much the poorer. But they were no more infallible in their judgment of the literature that had preceded them than they were of the literature they were themselves producing. For example—they rewrote Shakespeare.

I suppose that the last four acts of *King Lear* are as faultless, as beautiful, as inevitable as anything in the world's literature. But the eighteenth century did not think so. They gave *King Lear* a happy ending. Edgar is wedded to Cordelia, and the King smiles benediction. The touch of revision was entrusted to a Mr. Tate, who prefaced his version with a dedicatory letter, in which he described Shakespeare's tragedy "as a heap of jewels, unstrung and unpolished . . . yet so dazzling in their disorder that I soon perceived that I had seized a treasure." The other giants of the seventeenth century received less patronising consideration. Dr. Johnson thought little of John Donne, who only fails to be the greatest poet of his age because Milton was his contemporary. In the essay on Cowley in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, Donne's thoughts and expressions are found to be "sometimes grossly absurd and such as no figures or licence can reconcile to the understanding," and we are told that Donne was "in very little care to clothe his notions with elegance of dress," missing therefore "the notice and the praise which are often gained by those who think less but are more diligent to adorn their thoughts." These dictums would find little support to-day. And the Jacobean and Restoration writers who placed their faith in the judgment of posterity must have considered their faith scurvily rewarded. "The world in our Day," we can imagine them to have complained, "was adequately stocked with fools, but these Georgians . . ." and phantasmal shoulders were shrugged, resignedly.

And, indeed, what right had they to expect any different treatment? What is this posterity that we should so worship it. What is posterity, after all? Are not we ourselves, we fallible and imperfect models, the posterity for whose sake Hogarth painted and Shelley sang; perhaps at this very moment in the Elysian fields Browning and Tennyson are walking arm-in-arm. They are both muttering into their beards very definite opinions on the standard of literary criticism in their day. "It was bad, Tennyson," says Browning, "very bad indeed. There was a silly fellow called John Stuart Mill; what was it he said about that first book of mine. I forget! Zenith and self-consciousness, perhaps. But I didn't worry. I looked ahead. I was content to let posterity decide. And I was right. Only the other day I read such a charming thing about me by . . . let me see. Perhaps you know him, a very vigorous young person I thought, ah yes, Mr. Edward Shanks . . ."

And were I not a placid person who dislikes friction I should have said to the disgruntled poet who wasted two hours of my time, "My friend, my very good friend," I should have said, "you despise your generation. You appeal to posterity. You place your faith in the traditions handed down to you by the great writers of the past. Excellent. But let me remind you that Matthew Arnold, of whom you have spoken, also despised his generation. He hoped that he should be receiving in 1923 the commendation of those critics whom you so condemn. That, my friend, is the way things happen. The judgments of posterity are unlikely to be any more profound than those of 1923. For one day this posterity you so worship will be to-day, and in this club and in that arm-chair will be sitting a disgruntled poet, telling an indifferent friend how very much better things were done in the early twentieth century by J. C. Squire and T. S. Eliot and Robert Lynd."

## Second Class

By GILBERT NORWOOD.

THOUGHTLESS precisians will tell you that the railway companies made a mistake when they abolished second-class compartments: "By paying a trifle more you could make certain of a seat when the thirds were crowded." They forgot to add that you became a festering mass of uneasy pride.

Who and what, you asked, are these fellow-passengers—brutes for whom you were too good, or snobs for whom you were not good enough? And till the question was answered you knew not how to behave. How to behave—yes, for in a second-class compartment you have to show definite behaviour. The bestial casualness of the other two classes will not serve. Here you must assert yourself, get things settled with the other inmates. And how? It is against the rules to blurt out: "Look here! Are you a miserly profiteer or a spendthrift proletarian? I am prepared to cringe or be cringed to. But, by Heaven, I must know where I stand!" No; you are compelled to squint at his newspaper and draw therefrom your horoscope, to offer a cigarette and see whether he accepts it (third), declines it (first), or says "After you, sir" (another clue-hunter, curse him!).

All this misery has been swept like an evil dream from most of our railway-systems. What we have there escaped may still be realised by penetrating into analogous resorts. On my first visit to a London theatre I sat in a region called (I believe) the balcony; or was it the second circle? My error soon came home to me. In the gallery you eat oranges and enjoy the play. In the stalls you eat chocolates and enjoy talking about the play. But in the second circle you spend your time convincing your neighbours that you are

out of your element, your spiritual home being the boxes. To this end you need two pieces of apparatus: a penetrating equine voice, and a friend to whom ostensibly you address your clever little phrases of self-exculpation. Clever, that is, if you can manage it; but the vital need is to "get home." It may be necessary to take the gloves off, as on my own first night, when a lady near me leaned forward and with poking finger vociferated: "When I came befaw, I was in *thait* bawx." Next in order of finesse should rank: "Whyever did we come here, James? I know absolutely nobody." A great deal better, because more exquisitely offensive, is: "What a delightfully quaint place! I really *must* come up here again."

But experts and crude performers alike are lacerated inwardly by frenzied doubt. How to tell whether their neighbours are properly impressed? Be of good cheer, industrious friends! Half of them are consumed with envy, as you may tell by their competing clamours, and the other half are trying to get back at you by the difficult method of pregnant silence. The woman next you saw the original version of the play in Paris, and the fact has gone to her head like strong wine; but she has missed her escort, and all the succulent triumph which is rightly hers must be conveyed by the countenance alone. She hopes you read her correctly. You do, perhaps; and, filled with rancour, you smash the creature. "Do excuse me," you say in the interval, "but you're looking rather bored. I'm so sorry! My husband hoped that *everyone* would be able to appreciate the work." She will find that hard to over-trump.

Even to-day, as was reluctantly hinted above, you cannot altogether escape the thing in trains, especially if you visit the Continent. When I was setting out thither for the first time, I fell into perplexity at Charing Cross Station. All those who were booked for the Continent were swanking—yes, gentle reader, the word has come at last—swanking (I say) at those who were not so booked. The porters, with that miraculous reaction to atmosphere which marks all railwaymen south of Trent and east of Severn, infused into their normal politeness a delicious touch of the family retainer. I wondered. Each of these voyagers was showing off at someone, some wretch who, as the Continental Express gathered speed, would slouch drearily away past glamourless bookstalls and catch a 'bus to Cricklewood. What would they do, in the train and later, surrounded only by persons who shared their glory? I might have known. Before that Cricklewood 'bus was ever caught the travellers had begun to divide themselves into sheep and goats—those who had been abroad before and those who hadn't. Oh, the fumbling ready-to-wear look of the goats!

My memory enshrines an elderly lady in a second-class compartment of the Calais-Paris train. I forgot to mention that almost all the offenders I have been discussing were women. And on the Continent they are elderly women. Not always, however. I remember an Englishman who was journeying back from Switzerland with his wife and two young sons—a master, if ever there was one. He was sorely handicapped, for when he "mounted" at Sion with his family and their massed alpenstocks, he found my companion and myself installed. For all the poor fellow knew we were finishing the Overland Route and might produce brick-tea from our pockets at any moment. But he was of the bull-dog breed. First, he skilfully created in that small compartment the almost visible effigy of an English Father's Duty of teaching his boys to find their way about the world: and then—how he scored off them at us! His *savoir-vivre* bounced from the effigy to the boys, and from the boys to us, in lightning ricochets. He knew that in French lavatory-compartments the soap is powder and is kept in a tub of sorts. Yes, but did we know that he

knew? Was he to sit for hours under the shadow of our brick-tea without telling us of the powdered soap? Of course, he could not convey the taunt to us directly, but . . . "I say, you boys, your hands are frightfully grubby. Why didn't you let Johan groom your mules? Be off and wash." Exeunt boys. Loud remarks between the parents as to their long journey in the saddle before reaching the train. ("Anyhow, I bet we started earlier to-day than you did, you brutes!") Re-enter boys, damp and disgusted. "Such a sell, father! No soap!" The paternal eye gleamed. "No soap? You're sure?" Boys: "Yes, quite." The father curtly explained how to extract the stuff. "And let that be a lesson to cocksure little boys." And so it went on—his infernal game of fives.

But the elderly lady in the Calais-Paris express has awaited us long enough. First, of course, she established herself as an old traveller. "Every time I've gone to Florence I've said I would stop at Turin, and now I'm *determined*." A few minutes of this, and the inoffensive middle-aged couple near her were bound fast to her chariot-wheels. Intent on enlarging her phylacteries, she glanced about. On her other side was a nondescript young lady, immersed in a book—not worth considering, except as background. If a star-shell containing rich intimacies about Sheppard's Hotel at Cairo were exploded above her head, she would only answer, "Oh, yes." Opposite to the nondescript sat myself, reading *Babbitt* and looking as sulky as a bear. Through my skin I felt her appraising glance. But my appearance baffled her. Those spectacles—was I a professor? Then what had become of my beard and the lovely daughter keeping guard over me and my "formula"? That physique—a pugilist, perhaps? The eye sought in vain for cauliflower ears and smart footwork. Her glance passed to her *vis-à-vis*. Alas! He was a young Hindu, reading nothing, doing nothing—only looking. By this time the hungry female would have attacked any mere Britisher quite recklessly with "I suppose this is your first visit to France?"—a desperate Muzio Gambit, risking hideous overthrow on the chance of spectacular victory. But not this child of the unfathomable East, dreaming (belike) of Krishnu and Nirvana. So she fell back in good order on the married pair, told them where Etapes lay, and pointed out huts used by "our boys." Her manner of discussing the landscape suggested that it had been set for her behoof like a dinner-table. At last we sid through a large station, and she attacked the nondescript girl. "That was Amiens, wasn't it?" You see? Such a perfect familiarity that without any coarse craning of the neck. . . . Why did she ask? She can't have wanted to get out: that kind of person has always seen Amiens before. She can't have wanted to make conversation: the nondescript was intently reading. No; all she needed was the "Oh, yes," which should provide a verbal expression of allegiance. Unfortunately for all this filmy dexterity, it wasn't Amiens. The girl raised her eyes, and, speaking for the first and last time, said: "No, Abbeville."

Simple words, as are all words meet for great occasions. My heart sang hymns at Heaven's gate. The creature was quelled, brought to earth. Soon she would say she was dying for a cup of tea, or ask if Cook and Son had an office in Paris. Ring out, wild bells! . . . I triumphed too soon. Leaning forward to the Hindu, she said: "I *wonder* if you would mind changing places with me?" There was not the shadow of a reason visible or alleged. He was to be added to the bag, that was all. I trembled. Whatever Mirza Ali said, another superhuman display impended. But it was in truth a wonderful day. No word passed his purple lips. Silently he rose, gave her his place, and sat down in hers, still looking. And when she turned to me, I was fast asleep.

## THE DRAMA

### "The Coming of Gabrielle"

By EDWARD SHANKS.

WE have had a glut of famous authors in the theatre lately; and when a famous author takes the trouble to write that probably most thankless of all things, a play for the stage, we ought to treat him with respect. If Mr. Masfield writes a new poem there is no doubt that a publisher will print it and little doubt that some twenty thousand persons will buy it and some fifty thousand read it. When Mr. George Moore writes a new book there is no doubt that he will print it himself in a beautiful and costly limited edition, every copy of which will be bought and anxiously read by his admirers. Further be it said that when Mr. X., just down from Cambridge, writes a new poem, and Mr. Y., just down from Oxford, writes a new novel, these works do exist, as substantial and embodied as *Hamlet*, though none but X. and Y. take enough interest in them even to turn the pages. But a play, it cannot be too often repeated, does not exist until it has been put on the stage; and there is therefore no certainty that the works on which Mr. John Masfield and Mr. George Moore have bestowed their pains and their genius will ever have a true existence. Indeed, the specimens in question have now attained only the limited existence of a series of special matinées each; and though it is said that *Melloney Holtspur* is presently to be put on for a run, I am bound to express my profound doubt whether that will ever happen to *The Coming of Gabrielle*. Therefore I say we ought to treat Mr. Moore with respect.

I do not mean, however, that we should pretend that he has written a good play when in fact he has not done so. *The Coming of Gabrielle* does not seem to me to be a good play, though I fancy that the special matinées at the St. James's Theatre make it, for reasons to which I shall presently return, appear worse than it is. The idea is an excellent one for polished and artificial comedy. Lewis Davenant is apparently one of the greatest authors that ever lived. He is lionised, idolised, and deluged with letters from unknown female correspondents in all parts of the world. These letters, however, interest his young cousin and secretary more than they do himself, for though he was once an expert in the art of love-making, advancing years have determined him to retire from this sphere of activity. The young secretary, Sebastian Dayne, receives and reads the letters, and sometimes even answers them in his employer's name. In particular he is enraptured by the letters of a certain Countess Gabrielle von Hohenstadt, who writes charmingly from Vienna; and therefore he is not averse from Davenant's suggestion that he shall impersonate the famous author at a Viennese première. He does so and meets Gabrielle: they fall in love with one another, he confesses his deception and they are married. But Gabrielle is determined to be revenged on Davenant. For her revenge she has two methods. She will pretend that she still believes Sebastian to be his cousin, and she will induce Davenant to fall in love with her so that she may humiliate him. The plot is complicated by a quarrel between her and Sebastian; but when Davenant, according to plan, makes love to her and kisses her, his old expertise enables him to tell from the first touch of her lips that she is averse from him and therefore (but why?) still in love with her husband.

So far, so good; but Mr. Moore has not made of it what he might have done. I strongly suspect that he found the composition of the play extremely difficult, and was at his wits' end how to drag it out to the

proper length. At any rate he has encrusted it with irrelevant, distracting, and intrinsically worthless accidents. There is a comic sailor who is inept beyond belief. Mr. Moore has many gifts, but the gift of broad comedy is not one of them; and he ought to avoid writing drunken scenes. Then there is an intrigue between Davenant and the charmingly unmoral Lady Letham, which is much more within Mr. Moore's range, but which is to no discoverable purpose and conflicts with Davenant's declaration that age has driven him from the lists of love. Then there is the blatantly irrelevant intrusion of Lord Carra, who explains that, according to his mother, his career follows with singular exactitude that of one of Davenant's heroes, and asks whether this personage cannot be made to win the Derby. Amusing digression is one of Mr. Moore's strongest suits when he writes novels, but it is fatal on the stage. The dialogue, too, I think, is not suited for the theatre. Mr. Moore in his novels has never got his best effects by *oratio directa*; and here his best things come across the footlights a little muffled and faded. It is a curious thing with dialogue for the stage. Often that which on the printed page looks most natural is completely ineffective when spoken. An author needs a special sense for stage dialogue, just as much as for dramatic situation.

Mr. Moore is not, it would seem, a writer for the stage, and he has not enriched the stage by this performance. However, it is said that it was he who chose Miss Athene Seyler for the part of Gabrielle; and, if this is true, he deserves every kind of praise for a species of dramatic perspicacity which approaches genius. I have said that the production of *The Coming of Gabrielle* makes it seem worse than it is; and when I said that I referred in particular to the acting of the two principal male characters, to Mr. Nicholas Hannen as Sebastian Dayne and Mr. Leslie Faber as Lewis Davenant. The remainder of the cast is not above reproach. Miss Aimée de Burgh, as Lady Letham, was peculiarly tongue-tied, abashed, and ineffective; but Lady Letham would be a tiresome irrelevance, however she was played. Mr. Faber and Mr. Hannen are much more important. Mr. Faber did occasionally, in flashes, give one some idea of the great novelist. Sometimes he was even audible; and when he was not, it was often possible to imagine that, if one had been standing with one's ear to his lips, he might have been doing very well. Sometimes he stumbled over his lines and muttered them into a beard which, though it might have suited him, was not actually there. I am sure that Mr. Faber did his best: I am equally sure that it was not good enough.

As for Mr. Hannen—I do not know what to say of Mr. Hannen. He is an actor of parts, but no one who had not seen him in any other part would ever have suspected it. Sebastian Dayne is a poet who, light-headed and light-hearted as he is, contrives to win the affections of Gabrielle. Mr. Hannen plays the character as Mr. John Deverell might play it in a nightmare. The creation of Mr. Moore is turned by him into a "silly ass" who might have been imagined by Mr. P. G. Wodehouse. There was no poetry, no grace in his folly: only spats and creased trousers and the vivacity of a clockwork canary.

Miss Seyler provided all that was, from the theatrical point of view, satisfying in the entire production. The first act was barren without her: the second and third acts became barren as soon as she disappeared from the stage. It may be said without exaggeration that she carried the whole piece on her shoulders. The part is, or seems to be, very long; but at no point of it did she flag or betray the effort she must have been making. I am not sure that I should like often to see Miss Seyler in such virtuous parts; but in this she has shown, if it still needed showing, what she is capable of doing.



July 28, 1923

## NEW BOOKS

### Novels

- A LONDON LIGHTHOUSE. By Katherine Pike. Parsons. 7s. 6d.  
 THE RETURN OF THE HERO. By Michael Ireland. Chapman and Dodd. 6s.  
 THE RIDDLE OF THE RIVER. By J. Weare-Gifford. Jarrolds. 7s. 6d.  
 THE BROOKLYN MURDERS. By G. D. H. Cole. Collins. 7s. 6d.  
 THE STEP ON THE STAIRS. By Anna Katherine Green. Bodley Head. 7s. 6d.

THE hero of *A London Lighthouse* is a harassed doctor practising in a district of dingy slums. His pretty wife, after a few months trial of his house, the closed windows of which may slightly muffle the roar of the traffic but cannot exclude the dirt thickening the air, runs away, and the girl he later falls in love with he has good reason to believe to be his own illegitimate daughter. A haggard, elderly, and desperate hero, surrounded by filth and ingratitude; futile or monstrous affections; disease, violence, and decay; Miss Pike must have enjoyed writing about these things. Even the kindest and least uncleanly of the dwellers round the Elephant is introduced so: "A small wisp of a working woman; her sparse, blighted-looking hair rolled up tightly in curling-pins, with the scalp revealing itself in broad roads and barren patches; her glistening, white teeth, embedded in pink gutta-percha gums, discarded for comfort and lying peacefully at rest, wrapped in a handkerchief on the kitchen dresser. Debarred of their support, her cheeks . . ." She died in great pain of malignant disease of the liver. It is not much better in the country. When the doctor goes to the village to see his fiancée he cannot enter the station 'bus because it smells so strongly of waterproofs and women. He walks through the woods when the air is oppressive with the "smell of soaked leaves and rotting fungi." The door he reaches is shabby and in want of paint. Behind it waits a heartless woman, meditating lies. The cumulative effect of these depressing details is very strong, and Miss Pike's motive, if it were to release truth from trimmings of make-belief, is respectable. Nor can she be fairly accused of looking only upon ugliness, for she has attempted by the happy ending and some transient glimpses of joy and kindness to open a window on a wider world. Nevertheless, the predominant mood of the author is one of physical disgust proceeding from an acute irritability of the senses, and I cannot believe that a full-of-sadness book is a bit better as art or a representation of reality than a full-of-gladness book. Both alike are fairly easy literary exercises, and the chief difference between them is that one is more popular than the other. It is unfortunately true that our bodies after the prime of life become angular or unwieldy, that teeth rot and may have to be replaced, that hair falls or loses colour, that eyes dim and ears cease to hear, that even young women's faces are not always beautiful; that towns are dusty and villages are insanitary, and that the best York ham, when chewed, feels flabby and sinewy. These facts should be occasionally recalled, and in certain moods may seem of considerable importance. But the artificial prolongation of such moods over the period of this novel, over several years, is unmeaning. It is like Miss Pike's comparison of the moon with a green monkey, fantastic without affording emotional relief or actual criticism of the heavens. I think Miss Pike has something important to say, and know that she can visualise, think, feel, and write. But in this, presumably her first, novel, she has been misled from her

path, and has produced work more curious than original, work momentarily effective but not for long satisfying. It may, however, have been useful in helping to get the grit out of her skin, and should precede a more humane and less self-torturing study of the depressing slums she has so carefully and minutely examined.

The gentleman who has written *The Return of the Hero* has chosen to conceal his name behind the pseudonym of Michael Ireland. Why, is not clear, for it is not a book of which any "well-known Irish author" needs to be ashamed, and though some bishops play an unfavourable part in it—well, attacking bishops is no longer a dangerous trade, surely. It might be De Valera (whose scattered essays could entitle him to be called a well-known Irish author) thus escaping the rancorous criticism of his political opponents. But he has hardly humour enough for work like this, one would have thought. The legend is that of Oisín, who returned, as readers of Mr. Yeats will remember, from Fairyland to find that during his absence Christianity had been introduced into his native land. Finn and the others have gone to Hell, he is told, so he prefers to go to Hell, too. Michael Ireland has despaired of adding much to Oisín's rhetorical loyalty, but he has delightfully elaborated the part of St. Patrick. This is very gay and gallant stuff, and in the modernisation of the dialogue and the psychology the author has hit the happy mean between fustian and farce. Perhaps Michael Ireland, like Mr. Birmingham and other more primitive storytellers, exaggerates the value of sheer repetition as a humorous device.

So long as the mention of smugglers and pirates quickens the pulse of age as well as of youth, Mr. Weare-Gifford's brisk tales of adventure down Bideford way should be found enjoyable. This time it is smugglers, and the chief Preventive Officer was wooing the daughter of their alleged leader. Before Mr. Fulford, that decent industrious man, is excupulated, and Lieutenant Sanders is rewarded with Grace Fulford's hand, a great deal of water flows down the Torridge, and many are the expeditions, the discoveries, and nocturnal encounters. *The Riddle of the River*, like the author's other novels, is simple and undecorated. But it could only have been written by a man expert in the gentler side of antiquarian research. Brandy, gouty and sporting persons; post-chaises and Botany Bay; Mr. Weare Gifford quite frankly relishes these words and can communicate to the like-minded his pleasure. Perhaps in his retrospect the Devon of a century ago is unduly mellowed. Times may have been harder and manners more rude than he would have you think, and men so simply chivalrous as rare as they are to-day. The error, if it is an error, is a cheerful one, and no one will object to the clear sunlight bathing his scene.

Mr. Cole is to be congratulated on starting his new career with so bloody and complex a crime. But he ought to have kept his secret longer to himself. Too many of the later pages are given simply to the accumulation of evidence against the man recognised by detectives and readers as the criminal, who was, moreover, rather too crude in his schemes for throwing the blame upon an innocent man. . . . *The Step on the Stair* has a better plot than that of *The Brooklyn Murders*, but is made much less entertaining by the author's pompous style. Everybody is beyond words noble. The victim has presumably been murdered by one of his two nephews. The one generally suspected is innocent, but will take no steps to prove it, if his cousin is to have the blame. No, guilty or innocent, his cousin was loved by his uncle, and his uncle was loved by himself. Let his uncle go unavenged, and his sweetheart married to a murderer, rather than that affection should be insulted.

H. C. HARWOOD.

## Lord Rosebery

THE MAN OF PROMISE: LORD ROSEBERY. By E. T. Raymond. Fisher Unwin. 10s.

COMMENTING on Lord Rosebery's place in literature, with special reference to his work on the elder Pitt, Mr. "E. T. Raymond" remarks that "pedantic criticism" might suggest that long digressions, such as Lord Rosebery indulges in, are out of place. "But in fact," he adds, "it is the digressions that make *Chatham*." He ought to know; for it is, without a doubt, the digressions that make *Lord Rosebery*, as they have made every other work from this fluent pen. If the sparkling stream of Mr. "Raymond's" discourse were imprisoned between concrete walls, or driven through a pipe line direct to its conclusion, the sparkle would be sensibly diminished. There would be no occasion then, in a work on Lord Rosebery, to sum up Mr. Balfour's puzzling attitude towards the Tariff Reform movement in its opening stages with the remark that the Conservative leader "preferred confounding the spirit of his following to dividing its substance." We should be sorry to have missed that.

But it is fair to add that "E. T. Raymond" never wanders far afield. When he makes fun of "the kind of Liberal who is always a little afraid that he is on the wrong side socially," it is only in order to point out that this was the class from which Lord Rosebery at one time drew his chief support. His apparent digressions always link up with the main argument in the end. His method seems to be to take each aspect of his subject, and, without much preliminary thought, allow his wit to play upon it until at last a spark is struck and you suddenly see it in a new, bright light. (Perhaps he sees it for the first time too.) Then he moves on to the next subject. It is a dangerous method. It would be fatal in less clever hands. It succeeds in the case of "E. T. Raymond," because he is incapable of writing a dull sentence, and because at the back of all his talk is a real knowledge of his subject, a keen judgment and an honest determination to get at the truth. It would be doing him an injustice to mistake for a mere display of wit what is really the implacable pursuit, by a conscientious artist, of the right word. It is a delightful chase, for everyone concerned; and the important point to notice is that we nearly always get there in the end.

Most people think of Lord Rosebery, the politician, as the inventor of Liberal Imperialism. So he was; but "E. T. Raymond" puts the invention in its proper place. From the point of view of Liberalism it was of doubtful value, while from the point of view of Imperialism the Liberals were "dished" by Joseph Chamberlain as neatly as Disraeli "dished" the Whigs. Lord Rosebery deserves credit in that his passion for the Empire dates from a time before even the Conservatives had learned to "think Imperially"; but it was not his great achievement. What he will be remembered for in the pages of history is the new tradition which he set up during his short tenure of the Foreign Office—the tradition that "the Foreign Office should know no politics, and that there should be a substantial continuity of policy despite Party changes." That tradition, carried on by Sir Edward Grey, was still strong among us in the greatest crisis in British history when it strengthened the hands of our rulers to an extent that it would be difficult to over-estimate. "E. T. Raymond" is undoubtedly right in selecting this as "Lord Rosebery's greatest service to his country."

It is about all that he can say for him. It is clear, in fact, that on this occasion "E. T. Raymond" has come perilously near to being bored by his subject. Only the fun of his own sword-play keeps him awake.

He is disappointed in Lord Rosebery, the politician: everybody was. And he underestimates him as an orator. He passes over, almost contemptuously, the closing years of Lord Rosebery's life in which he was out of the political arena, but surely cut a better figure in the world than "E. T. Raymond" admits. Take the following characteristic passage:—

In his study of Napoleon at St. Helena, Lord Rosebery speaks of the difficulty of ascertaining the Emperor's genuine and sincere views, of deciding when he was deluding himself, when he was trying to delude others, or when he was only talking at random for talking's sake. In his own self-ordained St. Helena Lord Rosebery presented an equally puzzling problem. What was the outcome of serious thought, what of fixed irritation that the political world went on so unconcernedly without him, what of mere incidental liver or insomnia, can hardly be determined. Most people know how middle-aged politically minded gentlemen talk in the morning. Happily, talent for articulate speech in public is not common in this class, and the autocrat of the breakfast table seldom explains to the outside world how surely and swiftly the ruin of the Empire must follow any small Governmental proceeding of which he happens not to approve. . . . All this is of little consequence so long as the only audience is a wife and the marmalade. But when the autocrat is a man of genius, with a great knack of melodious speech, and insists on asking the world to his breakfast table, the spectacle is not a little tragic; and no more mournful task could well be than that of following Lord Rosebery through these dismal years of complete political isolation—years during which, by a bitter satire, he accomplished some of his best literary work.

From all of which appears the interesting fact that "E. T. Raymond" himself must be "politically minded"; otherwise he would see no "bitter satire" in a change from politics to literature, nor regard "political isolation" as necessarily "tragic" in the case of a man whose orations were still listened to with admiration—we fancy with *increasing* admiration—by the bulk of his countrymen. Lord Rosebery, at his best, was not a politician nor a statesman, so much as a spokesman of the nation. He could not be compared with Pitt, but he might have been with Burke or Bright. No one thinks of Burke as a tragic failure because he never held high office under the Crown; and if Lord Rosebery had succeeded in justifying comparison with him, he might have let the critics say what they liked about his unfortunate Premiership.

But his oratory has certainly failed to impress one listener. "Though he was usually described as a great orator," says "E. T. Raymond," "he was rather the impressive declaimer of pieces of literature, and it was only his magnificent voice which lent some illusion of fire and passion." Is that possible? Can a man be an "impressive declaimer" of literature unless he has some "passion" for it? Can there be a "magnificent voice" without any feeling behind it? Can there be smoke without "fire"? Actors and operatic singers would say "No"; and, for our part, we agree with them. Lord Rosebery, says "E. T. Raymond" again, "could hold an audience interested and even charmed, but he could not thrill it." That is more difficult to answer; but there are quotations here from Lord Rosebery's speeches (especially one on page 73, from his address to the students of Glasgow University in November, 1900) which, if we had space to quote them, would provide a reply. Except in the mouth of a dullard or a stutterer it is hard to see how such language could fail to thrill.

We have indicated some points of disagreement, but it should be understood that this book falls little, if at all, below the standard of its predecessors. It is not written with quite the gusto of that admirable work on Mr. Lloyd George. The Coalition Premier did not impress "E. T. Raymond" very favourably, but he amused him; whereas Lord Rosebery does neither. But you do put the book down with that curious sensation, familiar to "E. T. Raymond's" readers, of having for the first time got a clear view of somebody who in fact has been standing before you in the limelight for the last thirty years. You do long for

"E. T. Raymond" to do it again. You do wish that he would put into words for you your own bright ideas about other leading men—for that surely is one of his greatest qualities, that he expresses, nine times out of ten, the views of the average, sensible man. You do find yourself speculating as to whom he will tackle next.

It is an interesting question. We have seen that he seems to prefer demagogues to aristocrats, perhaps because they are so much more dramatic. He likes his subjects to be robust, moreover; vacillation and "hedging" are merely stumbling blocks in his path. He doesn't mind if a man is a little obvious, so long as he is a man. Give him a rough diamond, and he will do the cutting. He will supply all the subtlety that the average reader requires. Can there be any doubt as to his next choice? Surely not. We need not even name him. Another few years to enable the most picturesque of modern statesmen to resume the thread of his interrupted political career, and "E. T. Raymond" will have enough data to begin on what should prove the most interesting of all his political studies.

## The Soul of the Slav

DOSTOEVSKY: LETTERS AND REMINISCENCES. Translated by S. S. Koteliansky and J. Middleton Murry. Chatto and Windus. 7s. 6d.

THIS volume, whose contents we owe to the Soviet Government, is a valuable addition to the literature of the great novelist not only for its intrinsic interest, such as that provided by the letter written on the day of his (expected) execution, but also for the light thrown by the letters on the genesis and aim of his own creations. Dostoevsky has captured the imagination of a multitude of European readers, and these, apart from his own countrymen, are now interpreting his work with the usual absence of agreement. The present book presents us with Dostoevsky speaking in his own person, and with a sincerity beyond dispute. Therefore we now have a piece of first-hand evidence to which all theories must be referred, and which cannot possibly be neglected. What does Dostoevsky say about himself?

He reveals himself as a Russian violently reacting from the then fashionable Western ideals, including Catholicism, in favour of the very different traditional ideals of the Slavs, and the, to him, no less different Orthodox interpretation of Christianity. He was, in a sense that seems strange to the Western mind, above all a Christian, who believed that Christianity in its unadulterated form was the peculiar possession of Russia, and, further, that, in the long sweep of history, the destiny of Russia was to save Western corruption from complete collapse by impregnating it from the East with the leaven of Orthodoxy.

The principle of the Russian State (he says), the principle of love not of strife (which I believe was first discovered by the Slavophiles), is the greatest of all ideas on which much will be built. This idea we shall proclaim to Europe, which does not understand anything at all about it. . . . With us the people have given and give their love to every Tsar, and only in him do they finally believe. To the people it is a mystery, a priesthood, an anointment. Our Westerners understand nothing about this; they pride themselves on basing themselves on facts, and they overlook the primary, the greatest fact of our history.

Now, while subsequent events have disappointed Dostoevsky's more immediate hopes, it is yet possible that history may prove him to have been right in the long run. To put ourselves at his point of view is to learn much. To deny ourselves this attitude is to misunderstand even his novels. "The whole destiny of Russia," he says again, "lies in Orthodoxy, in the

light from the East, which will suddenly shine forth to Western humanity, which has become blinded and has lost Christ." In *The Idiot* the *sancta simplicitas* which the Christian spirit meant to him is impersonated; we meet the good man as Dostoevsky conceives him, and though the ideal has been divined in Western literature, the character does seem a peculiarly Russian product.

The letters in the volume display that part of the idiot, the holy fool, which was in Dostoevsky himself. They describe his debts and his tribulations, which no one but a holy fool would have incurred, and show that in his second wife he found an equally true and generous complement. Her love was hardly less than his, but she was, unlike him, possessed of a worldly experience. She teaches us how the phrase "no woman is ever an idealist" may be a tribute, not a sneer, and we know not whether the more to admire her or her husband. It is curious to notice, though she did not, how Dostoevsky's sacrifice of his peace on the altar of generosity involved the sacrifice of his wife also, and we cannot avoid the question whether such conduct was quixotic.

Apart, however, from the issues raised by the letters, they are vivid and personal to a degree, and we come beyond question face to face with their author, his wife, and almost with the friends to whom they were written. The personal flavour of a letter written at the moment which occasioned it may, in a printed book, seem a trifle hysterical, and Dostoevsky's account of the reception of his famous speech at the Poushkin celebrations is no less ecstatic than the demonstration that he received. We must, therefore, distinguish his state of mind at the moment of utterance from the state in which his cherished ideas were conceived, and, in the light of his genius, allow them a weight which we should not give to their expression in the hastiness of a letter. To many of his countrymen they seemed exaggerated or false. We must not judge them by the letters, which are valuable as showing us a harassed man in his daily moods as distinguished from the novelist who was most himself in the silence of composition.

## Oxford and the Classics

GREEK AND LATIN ANTHOLOGY THOUGHT INTO ENGLISH VERSE. By William Stebbing. 3 vols. Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d. each.

THE classics endure and change not—except under the busy pens of editors and emendators—but our translations of them have not the same privilege of immortality. Each age with pardonable egoism wants to see itself reflected in the pages of antiquity. To the classic formalism of the seventeenth century the *Iliad* appeared a great poem because it respected all the rules of the epic. It sounds quaint to us to-day that Boileau should have observed that if Homer used the word dog, it was because the word was noble in Greek. The Liberals of the nineteenth century—and all were Liberals in those days—saw in the *Iliad* the germ of those democratic institutions which came to full efflorescence in 1832. And we to-day amidst the fabric of a badly, possibly irreparably, shaken civilisation are attracted by the picture of a society whose arbiter also is force and whose leaders show about as much good sense as M. Poincaré and the rest.

To say that every age finds Homer a good mirror is only another way of stating that he is a great poet. If one cannot draw up a formula showing how the badness of translators varies with the greatness of their originals, one may affirm that every age has the translations it deserves. We smile at the enthusiasm

of Pope's contemporaries over his translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The nymphs withdrawn, at once into the tide  
Active he bounds; the flashing waves divide:  
O'er all his limbs his hands the waves diffuse,  
And from his locks compress the weedy ooze.

Thus Pope renders the lines in the *Odyssey* where Ulysses takes his impromptu bath whilst Nausicaa and her maidens are waiting, we hope discreetly, in one corner of a Claude landscape. Yet Pope was a first-rate man-of-letters. Doubtless posterity will smile not less condescendingly on us for our draughts of Euripides à la Gilbert Murray. But it is not with this zealous Press-agent—we mean translator—of the first romantic that we are at present concerned. Another Oxonian claims our attention.

Mr. William Stebbing, an honorary fellow of Worcester, is a loyal son of his Alma Mater in that he delights in the classics. True to the spirit of modern Oxford he wants others to do the same. But since even at that home of radical empiricism, Mohamed will not go to the classical mountain, Mr. Stebbing has employed the leisure of ten years in transporting the mountain to every Mohamed who can read the English of 1923. It now lies on our table scattered in rather inchoate heaps, through three well-printed slim volumes, bearing the self-conscious title of *Greek and Latin Anthology Thought into English Verse*. Practically all the poets of antiquity from Homer to Claudian are represented, each prefaced with an introduction. Of his rendering of Homer he says:

The only criticism which I do not so much fear as anticipate and accept, is that I have not expressed the full inspiration of my Author. I know that I have not, though it has not been for want of endeavour. . . . were my offence against the Classic no worse than dilution or dilatation, I could bear the charge lightly. I testify against myself to manifold worst sins, confusion of a Master's ethereal upstrokes and downstrokes. My conscience will be abundantly satisfied if withal I have helped a few to understand, as by an echo, something of the magic of Greek and Latin minstrelsy.

If a reviewer may usurp the function of a father confessor, one should ask whether Mr. Stebbing's conscience has the right to be satisfied? Let us take his rendering of those lovely lines in the *Iliad*, one of the most poignant passages in the whole of literature, where the ghost of Patroclus appears to the sleeping Achilles:

ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ Πατροκλέος δειδαία,  
παντ' αὐτῆ μέγας τε καὶ ἄμα καλὰ ἔκνυα  
καὶ φωνήν, καὶ τοῖα περὶ χροῖ ἔματα ἔστο  
στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν

Mr. Stebbing makes of this:

Then, Patroclus came;  
Spirit—but as in life—garb, size, voice, lovely eyes, the same:  
Could anyone seize from this anything of the magic  
simplicity of the Greek? All the beautiful "upstrokes  
and downstrokes" have been carefully wiped out, and  
we have nothing but a line and a half of a metre of  
which, whatever its merits, Mr. Stebbing is certainly  
not master. Let us see how he concludes Patroclus's  
ghost's speech:

So, as now in the flower of my age I have been torn  
From thee by a cruel lot cast for me when I was born,  
And for thee, my Friend, also it has been decreed to fall,  
Cut off, as myself, in thy prime, under Ilium's wall,  
I may, command thee—for our love's sake, do not disobey—  
Let my ashes rest by thine, though I shall be far away.  
Achilles agreed; for it was his own intent; and strove  
To clasp hands.

Grasp the night winds that round a house, screaming, rove!  
Gone the ghost—with a surprise-note, as of bird waked by  
dawn  
Gone, as smoke dispersing, or tracings a night-frost has  
drawn.

We have not the space here to compare this minutely  
with the original, but certainly there are glaring  
enough faults, both of dilatation and condensation, to  
disturb anyone's literary conscience.

## CORRESPONDENCE

[Whilst we open our columns impartially to correspondence we take no responsibility for the opinions expressed.]

### THE PRICE OF INDECISION.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—If we look round the world to-day we must realise how heavy is the price that is demanded for indecision—for temporising with the verities. That England leads Europe, that the English-speaking races rule the world, is not due to any blind favour of a partial Providence; it is the reward of plain speaking and direct action. Ours is the tradition of honest dealing, and consequently we ought to have found but little trouble in maintaining it in the time of the greatest crisis that has yet involved the Empire. Unfortunately, we were tried and found wanting for reasons not yet apparent to the plain man our rulers could not rise to the height of a great occasion in 1919, and through four following years they failed of courage.

So we have seen the state of Europe pass from bad to worse, so, for the sake of sparing the feelings of hypersensitive friends, we have refrained from stating a case that in the last recourse we should be compelled to assert in the face of all opposition. The chaos in Europe is largely the fruits of our indeterminate policy, and yet that policy of negation and subterfuge is not an expression of the national will. We desire peace and the resumption of normal relations. Temperamentally we are incapable of bearing malice, and we look with a mixture of astonishment and contempt on those who do. Now the Latin races have a different viewpoint. They cannot understand ours, nor can we grasp theirs; and this is why for hundreds of years we have found it impossible to maintain friendly relations with France. To-day these friendly relations are desired by both parties, but they can be achieved only by a wise recognition of the English attitude, for it is the only one that can endure.

Truth to tell we have been misled for years on end, and the present Government must unravel a tangle that was none of its making. The way to disentanglement lies along the road of the fundamental principles that dictate British policy, and if these have been forgotten by allies or friends they must need be restated. It is most desirable that France be encouraged within all reasonable limits to accept the views we hold, because it is only in co-partnership that Europe can recover from the world war; but if agreement be possible and a cordial understanding is the best substitute we can find for the Entente, it is better far to face the position at once, for we may then proceed to such work of European reconstruction as we may achieve without our ally's assistance. Some of us know that the attitude of the Quai d'Orsay towards Whitehall has had in it of late more than a little truculence, but it is impossible to blame France for this. Our own shifting attitude, the unfortunate disinclination of America to support Mr. Wilson in providing for French security, and the real financial crisis in France will account, if they cannot quite atone, for much that is unpleasant. It is for our statesmen to assert themselves with a very minimum of offence and for Englishmen of every political party to support the policy the times require. The restoration of peace and prosperity to Europe, the removal of all the causes that may provoke another war of revenge—this goal stands far above party politics, for it is not party, but civilisation, that is at stake.—Yours, &c.,  
Easton Lodge, Dunmow, FRANCES EVELYN WARWICK.  
July 19th, 1923.

### "MR. MILNE'S SUCCESS."

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—I do not know why Mr. Milne should appeal to the confessions of an unnamed "dramatic critic of a daily paper" for evidence as to how these strange creatures do their work, for he himself was once a dramatic critic, and in these very pages. Nor do I know quite what is the basis of his quarrel with me, for I always supposed that no intelligent author ever wrote letters to the Press arguing a judgment on his work, when nothing more was involved than a matter of opinion. However, Mr. Milne allows that I am "an intelligent person" ("in any other work"—presumably when I am condemning plays by some other author), and therefore I hope we may converse together without rancour.

In the first place let me admit that I carelessly used the word "success" in two senses. When I said that *Mr. Pim Passes By* was "a precarious success," I meant that its artistic success was a matter of touch-and-go from beginning to end. But I did speak of Mr. Milne's *Success* as being likely to make Mr. Milne successful, as the box-office understands the word. Whether it will do so, only the box-office can tell us. Mr. Milne seems to assure us that his play will not be successful in this sense; and, of course, I accept his implied assurance that he never thought it would. I presume he made this belief of his clear to all parties before the play was produced. But Mr. Milne's conscious belief is hardly in question. "Success," as he himself says, "closes in on one"; and if he thinks that the theme of his piece is one that foredooms it to failure, I can only retort that I do not agree with him and that I think my prognostication sounder than his. He seems to me to have

deserted a "groove" in which great artistic success lay before him for one which involves sloppy and muddled thinking and unreal, sentimental treatment. My imputation against him as a dramatist can be put in a very few words. He made an attempt to introduce real intelligence and real wit into the West End theatre, which, bound to own his effectiveness, yet felt uncomfortable with these elements. Now he has abandoned that attempt and gives the West End theatre what I called, and still call, "the soft and easy modern doctrine of the importance of being a failure"—a doctrine which is very silly and very well suited to West End theatre audiences.—Yours, &c.,

London, July 25th, 1923.

EDWARD SHANKS.

#### THE TYRE WAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—May I draw attention to the serious issues involved in what is known as "The Tyre War"? Every taxpayer is concerned in the fact that even before our foreign tyre rivals began to cut prices, one in every eight of British tyre workers were drawing unemployment relief. Unless the Government take up this matter, the taxpayer's burden will be increased. The British tyre industry asks for no subsidy. It claims that it can stand on its own feet by a slight amendment of Finance Act No. 11 of 1915. The British tyre industry, directly employing 65,010 workpeople, reasonably asks that the duty on foreign cars should be extended to foreign tyres. That this was the original intention of the Act is no secret. This was dropped, purely for reasons of war-time expediency, when America assured the Government that, in return, all American tyres would be consigned to Britain which could thus control their destination. There is surely no reason why this handicap on British manufacturers should continue any longer. How many people know that last May 161,000 inner tubes were imported into Britain by Germany? These were sold here at a less cost than would pay for the raw material and labour. The German workman received 3d. for making each tyre! It is surely bad policy to cut down our Army to a skeleton, while we allow foreign trade competitors to filch this valuable tyre trade. Vast profits are being made by these foreign firms, while our own countrymen are eating out their hearts in undeserving idleness.—Yours, &c.,

C. HOWARD BURY.

House of Commons, S.W. 1.  
July 20th, 1923.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

SIR,—I am not interested, financially or otherwise, in the British tyre industry; but, unfortunately, I have many opportunities for observing the widespread evils resulting from the present unemployment. I make no attack on the quality of imported American or French tyres, but depreciated exchange is helping some of our rivals to compete on unequal terms with British manufacturers. It should be remembered that, during the war, the Government found it necessary to turn all British chassis-makers on to war work, and eventually the Americans received a present of the tyre equipment trade as well. The Government, recognising the handicap, thereupon brought in a Tariff Bill imposing a duty of 33½ per cent. on American cars. The enactment was carried out by the Finance Act No. 2 of 1915. The original intention was that American tyres should likewise have been taxed, but before the Bill became law tyres were excluded. After the war the British tyre industry went to the Board of Trade and asked that some action should be taken. Nothing, however, was done, and it certainly seems to me that our British manufacturers are justified in asking that the word "not," which excluded tyres, should be deleted from this Act. The British tyre and rubber industry directly employs 65,010 workpeople, of whom 8,179, or 12½ per cent. (one in every eight), were unemployed and drawing unemployment relief at the end of 1922, while thousands more were on short time. It should further be noted that in that year the amount of manufactured cotton goods imported as component parts of foreign tyres amounted to no less than 5,000 lbs., or fourteen times as much as came into the country in fabric gloves. If it was necessary to safeguard fabric gloves it is equally necessary to safeguard the rubber industry, which has become an industry of great importance. During last year British taxpayers spent some £5,500,000 upon foreign tyres, although the British tyre industry could have supplied the whole of the demand. This industry has successfully emerged from its post-war difficulties of manufacture. This is no question of politics; it is not a matter of Protection or Free Trade. It is, however, of vital importance that our British manufacturers, who contribute so largely to the national revenue, should have fair trade. In other words, let us have Free Trade if you like, but we must see to it that first of all we have Free Trade within the Empire. How many people realise that last year Europe bought £400,000,000 of American goods, while Europe bought half of America's exports. This means that Europe is supporting 2,000,000 American families, and these figures prove conclusively that we must develop our own trade inside our Empire.—Yours, &c.,

WILLIAM BULL.

House of Commons,  
July 18th, 1923.

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"THE CAPITALIST WINDMILL."  
TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

Sir,—Your excellent article provokes a few comments. Implicit in all discussions on this subject is the naive assumption that because an evil exists there is necessarily a remedy for it. No one denies the existing inequality of wealth; but no one has yet found a remedy for it. The Communists' panacea might answer for a few months, but after that we should all be levelled down to starvation point. Nor does "gradualism"—the latest fashion in Socialism—hold out any better prospect of success. In my nursery days I was recommended to salt the tail of a bird I wanted to catch; and Mr. Sidney Webb tells us that if we can only catch the laws of the universe bending they won't kick; but such economic fairy tales are only meant for children. The sad but prosaic truth is that some people are better fitted to amass wealth than others, and that they are only prepared to share it with others for a consideration. But why confine your attention to wealth? The distribution of other valuable things is equally unjust. Why not make good-looking people wear false noses or hare-lips? Why not forbid clever people to read books or to cultivate their brains? Or why not pass a law that all jokes, good, bad, or indifferent, are to be appreciated? To give successful Socialists their due, I have never seen the smallest inclination on their part to put these principles into practice; they are apparently only intended for the failures. In the meantime, one wonders what will become of the Labour Party when it is forced by bitter experience to abandon the economic myths on which it thrives in opposition. Where will it find the grounds to justify its *raison d'être*?—Yours, &c.,  
London, July 23rd, 1923.

L. T.

A NEW ART THEATRE.  
TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

Sir,—A company is being formed for the establishment of the Forum Theatre, whose artistic management will be in the hands of Mr. Théodore Komissarjevsky and Mr. Allan Wade at a well-known West End theatre. Mr. Théodore Komissarjevsky enjoys an unrivalled reputation based on his achievements at the Moscow Art Theatre, and his successes in Paris and New York. Mr. Allan Wade was for years the right-hand man of Mr. Granville Barker, and everyone who has seen the performances of the Stage Society and the Phoenix will realise what a debt theatre-lovers owe to him.

The stumbling-block to schemes of this kind is generally finance, but the omens are peculiarly happy in this case. A guarantor has been found who is prepared to guarantee the payment of 5 per cent. free of tax on a capital of £30,000 on condition that this sum is subscribed. The Articles of Association of the company are such that the possible losses of the shareholders are strictly limited to 25 per cent. of their holding, so that investment in the Forum Theatre is a reasonable commercial proposition. It should be added that there will be no issue of free shares to the guarantor or to the promoters, whose services are honorary.

A meeting of prospective shareholders was held at my residence, Seaford House, Belgrave Square, at 5.30 on Friday, July 27th, and I cordially invite those who are interested in supporting the Forum Theatre to communicate with the joint honorary secretaries, William Foss and J. Holroyd-Reece at Lawn House, Hampstead Square, who will be very pleased to send full particulars.—Yours, &c.,

HOWARD DE WALDEN.

Seaford House, Belgrave Square, S.W.  
July 24th, 1923.

PAPER PULP FROM STRAW.  
TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."

Sir,—The twofold importance to the British Empire of an experiment to be made in Kent should not escape the attention of those of your readers interested in the deliberations of the coming Imperial Economic Conference.

Much of the time of that Conference will be occupied in debating how best to use to the full our Imperial resources, particularly in regard to developing vast territories, at present unpeopled, in Australasia, Africa, and Canada. The last-named Dominion alone possesses 300,000,000 acres of land suitable for farming, of which as yet only one-sixth is under cultivation.

A striking fact about the millions of Canadian acres which are being farmed is that practically the whole of the enormous annual yield of straw is a waste product; after every harvest it is largely burned. If, however, the experiments to be carried out in Kent are as successful on the big scale as they have been in France, it will in the future be a practicable thing to buy all the straw from the farmer and to turn it into pulp in the Prairie Provinces for the higher grades of paper.

Evidently we have here the seedling of a gigantic new industry which will benefit the man on the homestead, give employment to thousands of pulp and paper makers, and offer a further attraction to intending emigrants. But it will do more than that; it will bring nearer that ideal of a self-supporting British Empire so eloquently advocated at the last Empire Press Conference.—Yours, &c.,  
London, July 21st, 1923.

FREDERICK BECKER.

## FINANCE

By URBANUS.

HERE is little or no change in the financial situation to report this week. Floating credit has become quite plentiful again, with the consequence that both the discount market and the Stock Exchange have got over their fear of an early further rise in the Bank Rate. I think, indeed, that the prospects of avoiding the 5 per cent. rate for the rest of the year are quite favourable. If so we shall be able to congratulate ourselves on making the best of both worlds. There is now very little question but that the 4 per cent. rate has been effective in checking the fall in the American exchange, just as incidentally the raising of the Swiss Bank Rate to 4 per cent. ten days ago has already sent the value of the Swiss franc up from 26.60 to 25.50 to the £. The higher rate has also checked any tendency to over-speculation in gilt-edged stocks. On the other hand, even the severest critics of the Bank's action have now been constrained to admit the truth of the fact on which I laid stress a fortnight ago, that a 4 per cent. bank rate makes not the slightest difference to trade. The controversy, however, still simmers on, and the Federation of British Industries has come forward with the request for a new Currency Commission—no doubt in the hope that it will produce a more palatable tonic than the deflation remedy of Lord Cunliffe and his colleagues.

Chairmen of public companies are not always signally successful when they venture *ultra crepidam* and aspire to enlighten their shareholders on general questions of economics. The recent speech of Mr. Ostrer, vice-chairman of Illingworth, Morris & Co. was, however, so striking an exception to the general rule that I take the liberty of reproducing part of his argument—Mr. Ostrer was discussing the old question of whether a country with a depreciating currency gains or loses. "Does the depreciation of the franc mean a profit or a loss to France?" he asked. The answer he gave was as follows: France gains by selling francs, say at 60 to the pound (buying raw material with the proceeds), and by subsequently buying back her francs at say 80 to the pound with the finished product manufactured from the raw material. She gains because by raising prices she lowers wages in France without the unpleasantness of actually reducing their money amount. And she gains because she increases her exports by lowering their gold price to the purchaser. But that means that she must give more exports than before per unit of imports. In the long run she must lose if she exports say two units of commodities against imports of one unit, whereas when exchange is stable she exports one unit for an import of one unit. "France and Germany," said Mr. Ostrer, "by lowering prices in terms of gold and sterling compete more effectively. The result is increased unemployment in the United Kingdom. There is no increase in the purchasing power of France and Germany to compensate. The only advantage we have is to export less goods per unit of imports. We produce less; they produce more. They receive lower wages in terms of commodities, but employment is better distributed. We receive unaltered wages approximately, but employment decreases." I do not think that the profit and loss account of Inflation Unlimited could be more clearly presented.

One or two investment suggestions have occurred to me during the week. There have just been offered two debenture stock issues of the Newfoundland Power and Paper Company, which is executing large and, for

all I know, wild-cat schemes of water-power and lumber development in Newfoundland. But the point is this. One of these debenture stocks, the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  "A" stock offered at 95, is unconditionally guaranteed by the British Government under the Trade Facilities Acts. It is thus for all practical purposes identical with the similar City and South London, Central London, and London Electric Railway  $4\frac{1}{2}$  guaranteed debenture stocks. But it stands a full three points below these, solely because the ordinary investor has never heard of Newfoundland Power and Paper, whereas City and South London are household words. The other Power and Paper debenture is the  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. "B" debenture which is unconditionally guaranteed by the Newfoundland Government, and has just been issued at 98 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Because it is a stock guaranteed by a Colony and not the direct liability of the Colony it is not a trustee stock, but in point of security it seems to compare favourably with some recent colonial municipal issues (which have no guarantee), such as the Johannesburg  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. stock which stands at 105, or the Auckland and Wellington City Electric loans at 105 and 103 respectively. Holders of any one of these and other similar issues might well take the opportunity of exchanging into the Newfoundland "B" stock, thus securing an equally eligible investment plus a handsome profit into the bargain.

Last week I dealt with the agreement arrived at between the directors of the "Chartered" Company and the Crown. This has now become a *fait accompli* by virtue of its adoption by the shareholders and its ratification by Parliament. At the meeting held on Tuesday a certain amount of opposition to the scheme was manifest, but the alternative, namely, legal action against the Crown, was so unsatisfactory that this opposition was easily overcome. Much time was spent in recriminations against the Crown, and it must be admitted that the settlement cannot be considered either generous or calculated to encourage investors to put their money into similar enterprises. But as one shareholder put it: "The past is done with. It's the future that matters. Only no more Chartered companies for us." On the market valuation of the stock, which fell when it was made clear that if a return of capital were made it would be recallable, it appears that very little is expected from the Company in the near future. Judged on the value of assets given as about £9½ millions after repayment of the debentures there is a cover of 20s. 6d. for the £1 shares, and a dividend of 4½ per cent. is anticipated.

The Crosse and Blackwell report just issued must have come as further disappointment to shareholders, showing as it does a loss of very nearly £100,000 as compared with a profit of £112,000 a year ago. The losses of the subsidiary companies have now reached a total of £1,233,000, and the directors admit that a drastic reconstruction of both these bodies and the parent concern is necessary. They do not, however, advise the immediate adoption of such a course. The unfortunate position of the Company is attributed to the general dislocation of trade and the very high duty on sugar. Considerable expense has also been involved in the transfer of the factory from Charing Cross Road to the country. There can be no doubt that the extensive unemployment at home and the generally reduced standard of living on the Continent make the sale of the Companies' products in sufficiently large quantities a matter of extreme difficulty, but there seems no reason for putting off a reconstruction. This step would not only place the concern on a sound basis, but would show shareholders of all classes the real position of their holdings. As things stand the ordinary shares appear to be overvalued at 4s.

## COMPANY MEETING.

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The thirty-second annual general meeting of the Company was held at Furness House, Leadenhall Street, E.C., on Thursday, Sir Fredk. W. Lewis presiding.

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the report and accounts, and a bonus of 2½ per cent. free of income-tax, said that those who had any knowledge of the Shipping industry, and trading conditions generally, would not be surprised to see that the profits were reduced by £102,696 1s. 3d. It would probably be a gratification to them, as it was to the directors, that the falling off of the profits had not been greater. The outlook being so uncertain and unsatisfactory the directors had, very reluctantly, decided they would be lacking in prudence if they continued to distribute the same sum in dividend and bonus as had been their custom for the past seven years. The reduction in profits represented 2½ per cent. on the ordinary capital, and he would ask them to-day to approve the customary bonus of 5 per cent. being reduced to half that amount. This would make a distribution for the year of 7½ per cent. free of income-tax, which, under all the circumstances, he was sure the shareholders would regard as satisfactory. They could have maintained the bonus at the sacrifice of the depreciation or the carry forward, and whilst their assets stood in the books at a satisfactory figure, they felt that every prudent board of directors should strive, under all circumstances, to set aside something to their reserves. They were, therefore, asking the shareholders to authorise them to apply £200,000 of the profits to depreciation, and to carry forward £202,315 12s. 11d., which, in itself, was equal to over 5 per cent. of the ordinary share capital of the Company, and their reserve fund stood at £2,000,000, equivalent to one-half of the ordinary capital. If there should fortunately be any considerable revival in the shipping trade, he could say without the slightest hesitation that their Company was as well equipped as it ever had been, and they had resources at their disposal that would enable them to take the fullest advantage of any improvement. All their subsidiary shipping, finance, insurance, and other associated companies, and their Branch offices continued to expand, and contributed in greater or lesser degree to the revenue of the parent Company. He was sorry, he could not hold out any very encouraging hopes of substantial improvement as regards the current financial year, one quarter of which had already passed. The only thing they could do, as he had repeatedly pointed out, was to concentrate their energies in reducing expenditure. He was glad to be able to say that, in response to their many petitions, the Government had introduced a clause in the Finance Act which opened up the possibility of accepting the offer of the United States Government to exempt from taxation the ships of countries which, in turn, exempted from taxation the earnings of United States vessels.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted.

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