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OF **REVIEWS**  
FOR AUSTRALASIA 9D

JAN., 1912.

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AND  
**ITALY.**

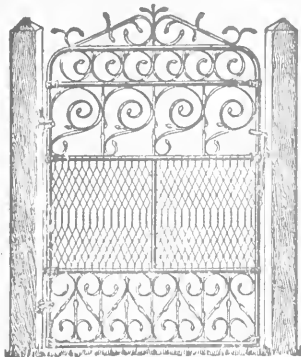
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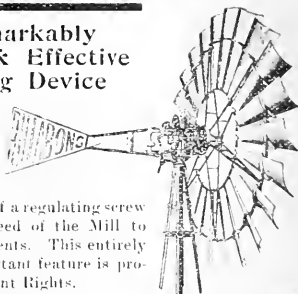




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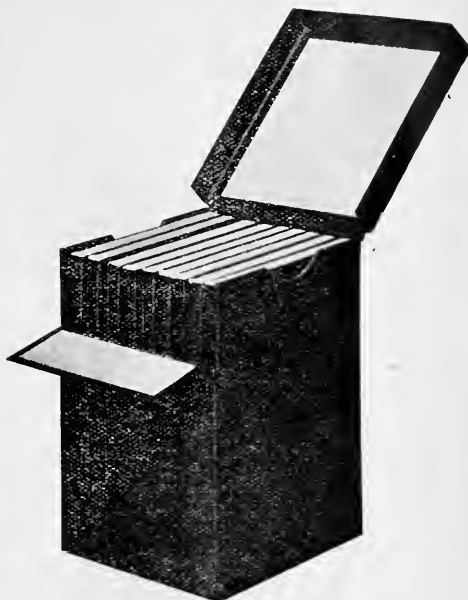
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## THE HISTORY OF THE MONTH.

### New Zealand and Prohibition.

MELBOURNE, December 20, 1911. New Zealand has done magnificently in her recent contest with the liquor trade. At the poll held on 7th December the Prohibition party polled 55.93 per cent., while all of the twelve No-license districts maintained their position. The result must surely make the Trade gasp. Only the barest fraction over 4 per cent. was necessary to wipe the Trade out of the Dominion, and the Temperance party may look forward with the greatest confidence to winning at the next poll three years' hence. It is not-worthwhile that the Roman Catholic Church issued throughout all its churches a direction to its people to vote against Prohibition. Had that not been done, it is certain that the issue would have been carried. The result more than ever proves that the people of the Dominion have been unfairly handicapped by the imposition of the 60 per cent. majority necessary to carry the issue. Here is a result which would be counted a fine victory in any political conflict, but in this fight the losers win, although in numbers they are far behind. It is certain that the Party will do its utmost to secure an amendment of the law in the direction of getting the handicap removed. Even a 55 to 45 majority would not be so bad, but there is no valid reason yet put forward as to why the simple majority should not prevail in this as in other questions. The New Zealand reformers are to be congratulated upon their splendid fight. For the first Dominion struggle they have done nobly.

### Interesting Comparisons.

The final figures show that 255,864 declared for Prohibition, and 202,608 against it—a majority of 53,256 in favour of banishing the Trade. Last time the electors voted, the total votes for Dominion prohibition showed a majority of about 30,000, so that this poll shows a huge increase, and will put cheer into the hearts of the workers. Evidently the larger issue of National Prohibition has overshadowed the local one of No-license, for the total electoral votes for No-license fall short of the Prohibition vote by 26,302. That is to say, 26,302 more people voted for wiping the

Trade out of the Dominion than voted for its electoral extinction. On the other hand, among those who favoured the Liquor Trade, 14,076 more people voted for local than for national retention. These comparisons are interesting, as showing clearly that there is a large section in the community that wishes to see an end of the Dominion Trade here and now. This is the more evident from the fact that of the 458,472 persons who voted on the question of National Prohibition, 12,226 ignored their Local Option papers altogether. One cannot dogmatise on the situation, but it seems to the advantage of reform that the national issue has appealed so splendidly to the imagination of the people. What an object-lesson for the world would be an experiment in the Dominion. The totals of the record show—

For Prohibition ... ..	255,864
Against ... ..	202,608
For local No-license ... ..	216,684
Against ... ..	229,502

### The New Zealand Elections.

The elections, which were held on the same day, gave rather a surprise. The Liberal Party in New Zealand has held power for so long that it seemed as though it was invulnerable. Moreover, the Conservative Party in New Zealand is so very Liberal that there was little difference between the policies of the two. The Opposition was strongly opposed to the Government's policy of borrowing, and has been advocating the conversion of perpetual leases to freehold, but on general questions there was not much to choose between. For twenty-one years under Mr. Ballance, Mr. Seddon and Sir Joseph Ward, the Government has held on its way, sometimes with such overwhelming force that opposition has seemed foolish, but it looks now as though the days of the Government were numbered. It is of course possible for men to remain in power for so long that they become stale, finding it difficult to keep up warm interest in new departures, and that may be what has happened in New Zealand. It is regrettable that Mr. Fowlds lost his seat. Some time ago he resigned his seat in the Cabinet in order that he might be free to promulgate his own



views. But he is the type of man one cannot afford to lose from public life. Sir John Findlay, Attorney-General, who resigned his seat in the Upper House to contest an Assembly seat, was defeated. Mr. L. M. Isitt is to be congratulated upon regaining his seat for Christchurch North.

#### The Final Result.

In twenty-nine cases in New Zealand, second elections have had to be held. The law had been altered in the last session of Parliament to provide for second ballots, so as to secure the return of candidates by majorities. This seems a very cumbersome method of finding out the people's will. A very much simpler way is by the preferential vote, which is now in vogue in some of the States. For all concerned, it is far better to have the matter ended on the election day, and the desire of the people may be registered just as accurately in this way. The other is cumbersome, and an anti-climax, and is likely to be somewhat stale, after the excitement of election day is over. The fate of the Government almost appears to be hanging in the balance. The returns, now complete, show 35 Ministerialists, 37 Opposition, 1 Independent, 2 Labour, 6 Socialists and 3 Maoris. The latter are divided as to the general support they will give the Government, but from election speeches it looks as though seven of them may be counted on in case of the Government being in a tight place. New Zealand's new Parliament will be unique in the Dominion. It is many years since parties were so equally divided, and it goes without saying that the next session will be a lively one. No extraordinary election has been held for many years. New Zealand has differed strangely in this respect. Curiously enough the trend in New Zealand has been exactly opposite to that in Australia. Here in State after State, and in Federal politics the Labour Party has gone ahead like a victorious army. In New Zealand the Conservative forces have come to the fore.

#### The Federal Government and Free Workers.

The Free Workers' Union has drawn from Mr. Fisher a most damaging statement damaging to the Government and to the Labour Party, a statement that bears out all that has been said of the selfishness and lack of sense of justice of the Labour Party. It will be fresh in the memory of all that a little time ago the Government unintentionally announced its determination to give preference to unionists on Government works, and such a popular outcry was raised that the intention was watered down until it could hardly be recognised. But at the time the Secretary of the Free Workers' Union wrote to the Prime Minister, asking if its members came within the scope of the preference. It took a long time to get a reply, but at last one came, and the momentous decision is that the members of the Free Workers' Union, registered

as a trades union under the Victorian Act, are not members of a union that is recognised by the Labour Party, and therefore are anathema. The position is so ridiculous that one wonders Mr. Fisher had the courage to put his name to it. Says Mr. Fisher:—

"As the rules of your Society provide, *inter alia*, that "no member of any trades union or any organisation formed under the provisions of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Acts 1904-1910, or of any similar union or organisation" can be admitted to the Society, and as the law not only specially recognises but encourages the formation of such organisations, which in their turn are almost invariably composed of members of trades unions, it is conceived that it would be contrary both to public policy and to the principles of the Compulsory Conciliation and Arbitration Act to recognise your Society in any way.

#### Mr. Fisher and Expediency.

But Mr. Fisher is, to use a colloquialism, "all up a tree." His premises are wrong, necessarily his deductions are faulty. If what Mr. Fisher urges as a bar to a Free Worker is correct, then no trade unionist should be recognised at all, and preference to unionists falls to the ground. Of course the great thing that loomed before Mr. Fisher's fearful gaze was the provision in the Free Workers' Constitution that "no member of any trades union or any organisation formed under the provisions of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Acts" could be admitted to the Society. But that provision was necessary, while at the same time it did not shut the Society out from "recognition in any way." One can imagine Mr. Fisher's sigh of relief to have settled the whole question in those terms. He brushes it out of the way, and therefore it is ended. But there Mr. Fisher erred. This reply has really shown up in lurid colours the iniquity of the Government's "preference," and the Society of Free Workers, which doubtless anticipated Mr. Fisher's answer, has done the public a benefit in exposing the fallacy of the position which the Government took up. "Spoils to the victors" was the principle, which actuated the Labour Government. "Our own men may get work; others be put aside." That this is so becomes evident from a very casual study of Mr. Fisher's reply. He bases his decision upon two things, expediency and legality. One can understand his relying on the former, for it is an old trick of politicians to bury all sorts of reforms under the dust-heap of "public policy." For all that, expediency is the curse of public men, and the ruin of honesty. And Mr. Fisher has fallen a prey to it. The fact is that the Free Workers' Union stands for industrial improvement without strikes and violence, and with brotherly relations between employer and employee, a state of affairs which blatant unionism says is impossible and undesirable. Of course it is not expedient, it is opposed to "public policy" that a society which stands for

brotherly love and amity in industrialism should be fostered. Therefore, says Mr. Fisher, the representative of blatant unionism, "it is contrary to public policy to recognise your Society in any way." The fact of the matter is that if the principles laid down by the Free Workers were accepted, blatant unionism, with its unbrotherliness and strikes, would go, and Mr. Fisher with it. The members of the Labour Government could not live politically in an atmosphere of industrial amity and brotherly love. These elements would stifle their aims.

#### Mr. Fisher on Legal Ground.

But when Mr. Fisher ventures on legal ground he gets all astray. In his own words, he puts the Free Workers' Society out of the pale of "recognition," because it has, according to him, no legal standing. True, it requires conformity with its constitution, and will not allow in its ranks any members of any societies or unions that stand for the things it opposes. Of course it does. Otherwise what is the use of constitutions and rules. Societies are formed for definite purposes. Free Workers say that those who stand for strikes and violence and base epithets cannot become members of their society. Nevertheless they stand for the best wages and the best conditions of work possible. Other trades unions would refuse admission to a Free Worker because he stands for fraternalism and amity and a fair day's work for a fair day's wage. And they would be justified. Why, it is on record that unions have refused to allow those of their own belief to enter their unions because they were afraid that if they let their brother in there might not be enough work for themselves, a dog in the manger policy. Keeping the work for themselves, that is, those at present in the union, has been the practice. Will Mr. Fisher go to the logical conclusion of his statement and say that therefore "it is contrary to public policy to recognise Trades Unions in any way"? The Free Workers' Society is opposed to "public policy and to principles of the Compulsory Conciliation and Arbitration Act," says Mr. Fisher, because it confines its members to those who support its principles, and would not allow a member of a body which opposed its aims to become one of its members. That might be law, but how can it equally be law under the same statute for a union to confine its members to those who support its principles, and to "not allow a member of a body which opposed its aims to become one of its members"? You are strangely illogical, Mr. Fisher. Possibly no union would admit as a member a Free Worker unless he ceased to be such. If Mr. Fisher's dictum be reasonable, then he should refuse to "recognise in any way" every such union. But what is sauce for the unionist goose is not sauce for the gander. The Society is actually registered as a

Union under the Victorian law. Moreover, what is "public policy"? According to Mr. Fisher, it is the interests of the Trades Unions and nothing else.

#### Sauce for the Goose.

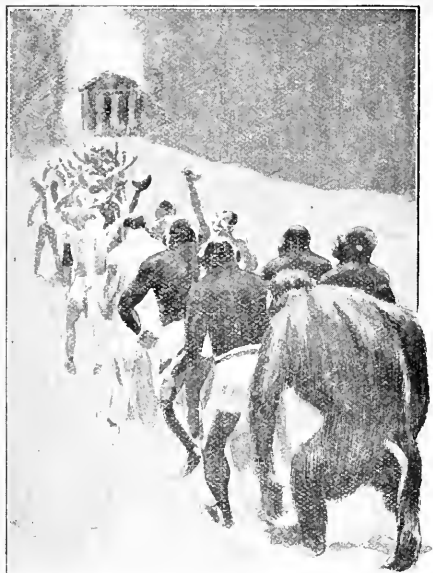
And what shall be said of those Unions which shut out of membership those of their own trade, in order to keep a monopoly of work.

Surely these come in the category of those who are to be cast into the outer darkness of unrecognition. Not on account of contrary views, nor on account of inability to pay heavy entrance fees, but on account of a monopoly (dreadful word) on the part of those who have work and want to keep prospective work in their own hands. No matter whether employers want more hands. Never mind if fellow workmen outside the pale of the Union—but anxious to get in—are wanting work, and bread. The Unions can carry on such heartless practices, but Mr. Fisher would not consider such action as opposed to "public policy," and would sternly repudiate any suggestion that it was not worthy to be "recognised in any way." No, the legal sophistry fails. In point of law, Mr. Fisher is wrong, absolutely wrong, and the plea of expediency remains. It is "public policy" to refuse to allow "recognition" to a society that aims at bringing in the ideals of brotherhood, inasmuch as it would interfere with the revolutionary party. The veil is too thin. Anybody can see it. Preference to unionists is not preference to unionists—it is preference to those who see no desirability of friendly relations in industrialism, who spread the doctrine of industrial hate. These the Government will protect. But it is a monstrous thing to use the public funds in that fashion. Employment by the Government should be open to all, ability being the only passport; but that is a thing that does not count with blatant unionism.

#### Fiscal Matters.

During the month the Government brought in an ill-digested measure for the increase of taxation on a list of imported goods. That it is not satisfactory to those concerned is evident from the outcry from those affected. In scarcely any case does anyone seem satisfied. Some of the severest criticisms the Government got came from members of its own party. The fact is, that the proposals are crude and ill-considered. How senseless they are one may judge from a typical case. There are no motor car manufactories in Australasia, and yet the tariff on the chassis of motors was proposed to be raised. The effect would be that the chassis of a motor would cost much more, so much more that it would pay better to import motors complete rather than make the bodies of cars here. There are splendidly equipped works for body-making, and the result of tinkering with the tariff just now would be that hundreds of bodymakers would be





[The Bulletin.]

## MAKING FOR THE PROMISED LAND.

Mr. Woodman said that such a gathering of fighting men had never before travelled half way across the globe together. All were making for Sydney, which was regarded as "the Mecca of fighting men." In Sydney, during the next few months, there would be some of the greatest fights ever known in the history of boxing.

economise? It is certainly spending with a lavish hand. There seems no reason why a loan should be wanted just now. Probably Mr. Fisher is providing for contingencies, and is looking forward to the end of the next financial year, when another good season and the loan may give a credit balance which will give apparent proof of financial perspicuity.

•  
**A Loan Not  
a Loan.**

The loan, says Mr. Fisher, is not a loan in the ordinary sense. He is only going to replenish No. 1 account by taking from No. 2, which, being interpreted, means that the money is to come from the Australian Notes Trust Funds account. Does Mr. Fisher overlook the fact that this account must be kept good? Surely not; and so his argument that a loan is not a loan when the Labour Government, which sternly set its face against borrowing, seeks authority to borrow money from one department to spend in others, is only a piece of fine spin spindistry. The money will go in the Western Railway scheme, in acquiring the land in

the Capital Territory (all of it is to be resumed), in purchase of land and erection of buildings in London, in Northern Territory obligations which the Government takes over from South Australia, and in payment to South Australia of money expended out of revenue for the Port Augusta-Oodnadatta railway. It is a matter of some concern that the Government is reducing the gold security against notes. Altogether, its financing is of a somewhat wobbly character.

**The New South  
Wales Speaker.**

Mr. Willis has at last roused himself from the moral lethargy into which he had fallen. Possibly our remarks in our last issue may have helped him. Let us hope so. The fact remains that he has fallen out with the Party from which he accepted office, and has told them in so many words that they have broken their compact with him. His agreement was, he says, that the Electoral Bill should be passed, that no more contentious legislation brought in, and that a dissolution should then take place. The record of the past few weeks is that the very opposite has been attempted. The Government retorts that the bye-election which gave another seat to it brought about quite a different state of affairs. But it is significant that the Government let the event pass without attempting to modify the agreement. Clearly, Mr. Willis ought to resign, and so end the compact, and force upon the Government the onus of the discreditable position that now exists. Mr. Willis still holds Mr. Wood at arm's length. That gentleman came to the door of the House and requested that what was necessary to be done to secure his return to the chamber should be done, but Mr. Willis declined to consider the request while the motion of censure then before the House was being discussed. This is party Government with a vengeance. The inference is that Mr. Wood's return might have altered things, another proof that the present position is unfair and intolerable.

**Governments  
and Morals.**

The West Australian Government is deliberately opening the door to gambling. Whippet racing is one of the most pernicious forms of gambling, and is carried on to a great extent in the West, and the Government has removed the embargo upon it, placing it upon the same level as horse-racing as far as facilities are concerned. It is a serious thing indeed when a Government makes one of its first acts an extension of facilities to indulge in a vice. A proposition also came before the New South Wales House, by one of the members of the Government, to establish a State lottery. One could not help surprise at Mr. Griffith, one of the Ministers, entering into an eulogy of gambling. The situation was saved somewhat by the Premier, Mr. McGowen, protesting against it, and declining to do

anything to give State facilities for this particular vice. The question of the totalisator in New South Wales has been relegated to a Royal Commission, which is to take evidence in New Zealand and the States. It is a pleasure to reformers to know that Mr. Albert Bruntnell, of the New South Wales Assembly, is a member of the Commission.

#### New South Wales' Welcome to Bruisers.

There is universal regret that the New South Wales Government has not shut the door upon the army of prize-fighters that has set its eyes upon New South Wales. A deputation representing the best thought of New South Wales deputationised the Government, and pointed out that New South Wales was likely to become the happy hunting ground of the off-scourings of other parts of the world. But they were told that no action would be taken beyond that which the police may exercise. Mr. Norman Lindsay has satirised the situation admirably in a cartoon which we publish, in which he depicts a procession headed for New South Wales, as a Mecca for devout worshippers of pounding and of brute strength. The procession is closed by an enormous ape, and the artist has brilliantly depicted a wonderful likeness between the repellant-looking monster and the fighters. Unless some of the Governments beware, there will have to be an uprising similar to that of a few years ago, when indignant States compelled Governments to legislate in the interests of morals. New South Wales is bidding high for a very unenviable notoriety.

#### The late Sir Jenkin Coles.

Universal regret was felt at the death of Sir Jenkin Coles, the veteran Speaker of the South Australian House of Assembly. Sir Jenkin was one of those men who are born to the position. Affable and courteous, he won the esteem and confidence of both sides of the House during his long occupancy of the Chair. So faithful was he in the discharge of his duties, that during his long service of twenty-one years, he never missed a sitting, and was never late. For some months severe illness has prevented his appearance in the House, and at last he resigned, when he found the end approaching. It was a final proof of his regard for the position, but one cannot help wishing that he had not done it, and had retained the post till his death.

#### A Wise Condition.

Mr. Justice Higgins took a fine stand the other day in making an award in connection with seamen. He had announced a decision that meant a vast improvement in the conditions of work of the men who go down to the sea in ships. But he had before him the fact that the wharf labourers of Sydney had done an agreement, and the case of seamen of a boat in West Australia, who had



The Late Sir Jenkin Coles.  
Speaker of the South Australian House of Assembly.

disarranged a time-table and hung up a steamer because they objected to the chief steward. He therefore rightly held that he must have some guarantee that the award would be loyally observed by the men, and that the situation in the West should be ended. Everyone will uphold him in such decisions, whether the direction be against employers or employees, everyone, that is, but those who are willing to tear agreements to ribbons, and let integrity go to the winds. The award provides for eight hours' work on ships, which is as reasonable a demand as eight hours' work on land. It is understood that the union concerned in the West Australian case has penalised its members, who acted in opposition to the union's orders. If this kind of thing be done, it will raise the status of the unions. Moreover, it is only in this way that unions can keep even the place they now occupy. Hitherto members have looked on them as machines to get for them all they want, but one that could not hurt themselves. If unions throughout the Commonwealth took a firm stand, and penalised irresponsible strike-makers, they would gain in moral force. One thing is certain, they will never gain self-respect until they recognise that moral law must operate among themselves, and even against themselves, as among and against others, and until self-respect comes they can only act selfishly and tyrannically. The correction is a hopeful sign.

**Factory Life and Morals.**

A remarkable pronouncement was made during the month by two prominent Sydney medical men—Drs. McClelland and Cooley—before the Royal Commission on Labour, regarding the effects of factory life. They say that factory life is responsible for much immorality among girls of tender years, and that it is developing a type of female that is highly strung, and quite incapable of performing properly the high functions of housekeeper and mother. Of course every country that has factory life developed to a high degree knows that these things are. The close confinement, the high nervous tension, the general factory conditions, for which womanhood is totally unfitted, produce a reaction which drives them to unhealthy, and often immoral pursuits, after business hours. Some of us have seen the trouble for a long time, and have known that the largest cause of immorality is due to shop and factory life, and that not because of low wages, but because of the neurotic conditions that cluster round them. Disarrange the physical condition of girls, and then set them free amidst the unbounded facilities that exist in Australia for the mixing of the sexes, with a climate that invites to open-air life on practically every night of the year, and you have all the conditions necessary to bring about a dislike to the ordinary conventions of life. One sees the result of all this in the growing contempt that girls have for home life and household duties. The problem that confronts the women of our homes in getting help grows out of the attractions of factory life. The centre of gravity in these matters is slowly shifting. The growing tendency of householders in the cities to seek life in residential flats, one of the products of factory life, is due to the same thing. It makes a grave outlook for woman's liking for home is one of the best sureties for a sex and morality in the nation. The declaration of men like Drs. McClelland and Cooley is, therefore, to be hailed with delight, as showing that the conscience of the community is likely to be roused upon the matter.

**States v. Federal Savings Banks.**

The States are protesting against the Federal Government's determination to start in the Savings Banks business, and the Victorian Government has introduced legislation to help the Saving Bank to meet the new competitor. At the present time each post office is a depot of the Savings Bank, but the Federal Government will not allow a dual occupancy when it begins business. The Savings Banks' Commissioners will then receive notice to quit. The Commissioners are therefore to have authority to open branches and create depots, as to conserve their business, and, incidentally, they have increased the salaries of their officers so that they may not be tempted to join the Government bank. Seeing that every

State, without exception, had protested against this unnecessary innovation, the Federal Government might have waited till it met the State Premiers in conference and discussed the matter with them. All through, however, the Labour Government has shown a high disdain for suggestions and advice, and this is only in keeping with its traditions.

**The Northern Territory.**

A declaration has finally been made concerning the Northern Territory, our huge fertile hinterland, that lies unpopulated within easy reach of millions of alien race. When the Budget was under discussion it was announced that an endeavour would be made to get immigrants to settle on the land, and that all the territory would be leased. There are to be no private owners of property in the Federal area. It is, of course, an interesting experiment, and it will be an object-lesson to students of political economy. If it succeeds, there ought to be no reason why it should not succeed elsewhere. It is interesting, however, to put alongside this the clamour that is made in New Zealand for the freehold. There all kinds of leases have been issued, but the man who farms it cannot get over his surging and insistent desire "to own his bit of land." At any rate, the Socialistic section of the community has an opportunity now to experiment. One may predict, however, with some safety, judging from what is happening in other parts of Australasia, that the Government will have some difficulty in getting immigrants to come and settle under proposed conditions. It is one of those cases where one hopes his prophesy may not come true, for Australia needs the Northern Territory populating, and that quickly.

I wish to thank the readers of the "Review of Reviews," who in such numbers have expressed their kindly sympathy with me in my illness. It is a great delight to me to be able to address my friends of the "Review" once more. At one time it seemed to be, humanly speaking, impossible that I should ever do this again. But I have rallied and gained a good deal of strength, although the malady remains with me. I am grateful for the opportunity to still help, although in a much more restricted area than in the past, to remove some of the obstacles that lie in the way of the finest and freest nation development. We have such glorious opportunities in our young nationhood to do the things that will make for permanence of national character of the best. It has been part of the work of the "Review" to point these out, and I am thankful for the part, large or small, that I am still permitted to share in it. I wish all our readers a very Happy and Blessed New Year.

W. H. JUDKINS.



LONDON, Nov. 1, 1911.

England,  
1911.

Milton! thou should'st be living  
at this hour:  
England hath need of thee: she  
is a fen

Of stagnant waters; altar, sword, and pen,  
Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,  
Have forfeited their ancient English dower  
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men;  
Oh! raise us up, return to us again;  
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.  
Thy soul was like a Star, and dwelt apart:  
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea:  
Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,  
So didst thou travel on life's common way,  
In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart  
The lowliest duties on herself did lay.

Our Duty  
in  
Tripoll.

It is not to be thought of that the  
Flood  
Of British freedom, which to the  
open Sea

Of the world's praise from dark antiquity  
Hath flowed; "with pomp of waters unwithstood,"  
Roused though it be full often in a mood  
Which spurns the check of salutary bands,  
That this most famous Stream in Bogs and Sands  
Should perish; and to evil and to good  
Be lost for ever. In our Halls is hung  
Armoury of the invincible Knights of old:  
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue  
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold  
Which Milton held.—In everything we are sprung  
Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

The Challenge  
of  
the Crime.

I have quoted Wordsworth's immortal sonnets because they express what ought to be the mood of the nation confronted as it is by the challenge of a monstrous crime. The Italian attack upon Tripoli is the culmination of a long series of incidents which have proved that we are living in "one of those recurring eras when force, truculent and unabashed, sweeps away the

moral judgments of the world." It has unfortunately found Great Britain without any spokesman on either side of the House competent to express with adequate authority the horror and loathing inspired by the latest and most cynical outrage upon the elementary principles of international intercourse. Since the *coup d'état* of the Third Napoleon nothing quite so infamous has been accomplished by men in authority. Victor Hugo voiced the conscience of mankind on that occasion as Mr. Gladstone did on the subject of the Neapolitan prisons and the Bulgarian atrocities. But nowadays, since the eloquent voice of the great master has been hushed in death, even the challenge of the Tripolitan crime awakes no adequate censure from those who sit in the high places of the land. But as there is no longer a Mr. Gladstone amongst us, and the voices even of those who stood nearest to him are muffled by the liveries of office, we must needs be make this like Inkerman, a private soldier's battle, and each man be his own Gladstone. Otherwise one of the greatest outrages upon the moral bonds which hold the nations together will pass without protest and without punishment.

The Enormity  
of the  
Italian Attack.

Many States, our own included, have made unprovoked and unwarranted attacks upon the territory of their neighbours. These attacks have been condoned by many specious pleas which impose upon no one but those who hope to profit by the aggression. There is sufficient resemblance between the Italian attack on Tripoli and our own harrying of the South African Republics to enable Britons to understand the frenzy of conquest which has converted even Nobel prizemen like Signor Moneta into exultant jingoes. But bad as was the Boer war, its criminality pales before the lurid hue of the Italian outrage. The invasion of the Transvaal was so to speak a domestic crime. The integrity and



National Review]

[China.

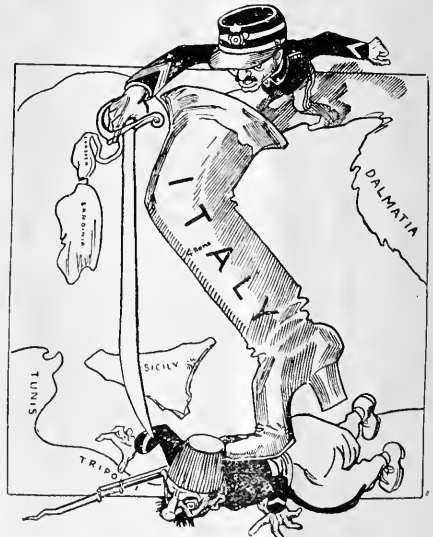
"Western Civilisation!"

independence of the Boer Republics had never been the subject of a solemn international guarantee to which we were parties. The final rupture came at the end of months of negotiation, and was indeed precipitated by a declaration of war from the other side. But notwithstanding these differences in our favour the South African crime entailed a tremendous penalty, a bitter repentance, and ample reparation. In Tripoli the Italian Government suddenly attacked the Turks, without even allowing the twenty-four hours' notice of the ultimatum to expire, an ultimatum in which it was frankly and cynically admitted that the Turks had offered to make all the economic concessions Italy asked for.

#### The Breach of Treaties.

The Italian Government was a signatory of the Treaty of Paris, 1856, by which it bound itself, in case of any dispute arising between itself and the Ottoman Empire, to allow the other signatory Powers an opportunity to settle the difference by amicable mediation. The Italian Government, ignoring this obligation, which has been constantly enforced since the Treaty was signed, embarked upon what was to all intents and purposes a buccaneering expedition for the purpose of seizing the Turkish provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, without affording her fellow signatories any warning as to her intentions. Upon our Foreign Office, at least, which appears to be almost as badly informed as any in Europe—although that may be quite as

much due to the deafness of Downing Street as to the idleness or blindness of its agents abroad—the Italian declaration of war fell like a bolt from the blue. The aggressors imagined they would carry everything by a *coup de main*. They had but to make their naval Jameson Raid, and in two or three days the provinces would be theirs. The Italian freebooters, like their South African prototypes, found the adventure much less easy than they had anticipated. Instead of it being all over in two or three days, the war has been raging for a month and more, and the Italians are beginning to realise that the way of the transgressor is hard. It is devoutly to be hoped that disaster may follow disaster, until the accumulated penalty exacted by unrelenting Nemesis teaches the Italians in the North of Africa as we were taught in the South of the same Continent to desist from evil and to learn to do well. In the schoolhouse of the world the cane of the schoolmaster is replaced by the scourge of military defeat and financial bankruptcy. For the sake of the Italians themselves it is well that retribution is following so promptly upon the steps of crime.



Lustige Blätter.]

Cheaper Glory.

[Berlin.]

"The Ancient Romans conquered the world with the sword; the modern tramples on the defenceless with the boot."



**The Excuse  
for  
the War.**

The Italian Government has hardly deigned to offer any excuse for the war which it is waging in Turkey beyond the frank declaration that it wants Tripoli and means to take it. The Turks, the Italians complained, put obstacles in the way of Italian financial adventurers in Tripoli, fearing that they might be the pioneers of military invaders. The fear has been abundantly justified by events. The Turks were also accused of creating a bad atmosphere, that is to say, a public opinion hostile to Italy, in Tripoli. With the utmost ill-will in the world the Turks could not have created anything like such a bad atmosphere for Italians in Tripoli as the Italian Government has now created for Italy throughout the whole civilised world. The above affair stands self-confessed as a put-up job between the clerically financed Banca di Roma and the Italian Government for jumping the country. Naboth's vineyard lay mighty conveniently near Ahab's estate, and the clerical bank played the part of Jezebel to perfection. But when the time comes for the stoning of Naboth that worthy old gentleman often puts up a fight which astonishes his enemies not a little. The Italian fleet, with its long range heavy guns, had no difficulty in pounding the antiquated fortifications of the Tripolitan littoral without even coming within range of the Turkish cannon. But when they landed and came face to face with the natives of the country which they were trying to steal that was another story altogether.

**Making the Way  
of  
the Transgressor  
Smooth.**

The Great Powers of Europe, instead of making the way of the transgressor hard, appear to have set themselves to make it smooth. None of the signatories of the Hague Convention, forty-three in all, performed the task which they had solemnly declared to be their duty at both the conferences of the Hague. Italy was left free to sin, apparently with impunity: no warning voice reached her from any quarter that whatever she might try to do in Tripoli, she would not be allowed to dispose of a single inch of Ottoman territory without the consent of all the other signatories of the Treaties of Paris and Berlin being had and obtained. Not a single reminder reached the Italian Government from any of the Governments of the world as to the existence of the Hague Conventions, and of the duty of utilising one or other of the various methods by them suggested for avoiding war. Italy became swell-headed. She hardened her heart, stiffened her neck, and haughtily refused to listen to any terms but those of the unconditional surrender and



[By permission of the proprietors of "Punch,"

**The Psychological Moment.**

DAME EURORA (of the Hague Academy for Young Gentlemen): "I thoroughly disapprove of this, and as soon as ever it's over I shall interfere to put a stop to it."

absolute annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. When the Turks appealed three times in succession for mediation, the mediating Powers had no consultation to offer except to inform them that peace was only possible by surrendering their sovereignty. It was the abdication of the European concert, the formal acceptance by the Powers of the tearing up of treaties and the final repudiation by "force truculent and unabashed," once more to quote Lord Morley's phrase of the moral judgments of the world.

**The Resistance  
of the  
Turks and Arabs.**

Fortunately the Italians did not find the inhabitants of Tripoli so complacent as the Foreign Offices of Europe. Even when they bombarded them at long range the Turks kept up a heroic resistance, blazing away with their antiquated guns from behind their worthless earthworks, while the 10-inch shells of the naval guns burst like thunderbolts in their midst. It was a combat between pop-guns and rifles, but the pop-guns went on popping until the poor pop-gunners were killed.

The Italians landed and occupied the forts. For a moment it seemed as if the sudden irresistible attack had stunned the defenders. It was only for a brief moment. The Italian bulletins, lying after the fashion of bulletins, represented the Arabs as welcoming their deliverance from the Turkish despotism. Not even a bulletin, however, can disguise the fact that after the first moment of paralysis and dismay the Arabs, rallying round the remnant of the Turkish garrison, actually resumed the offensive against the Italians, and were giving them a great deal of trouble. This, I confess, came as a surprise to Europe. We knew that the Desert

in his possession, under the pretext that they were "rebels" ("revoltés"). Rebels against whom? Tripoli is not yet annexed. The Sultan is the legal Sovereign to whom these Arabs owed allegiance. To shoot patriots in cold blood merely because they have not given up their arms was bad. But worse remained behind. Finding that the fusillade, in which they massacred prisoners and disarmed peasants, failed to strike terror into the hearts of the Arabs, rather, indeed, provoked them to assume the offensive, in which the Italians lost heavily, the Italians lost their temper, and before the horrified eyes of the civilised world in the

twentieth century loosed upon the population of the oasis of Tripoli all the bandogs of hell. This was no frenzied onrush of panic and passion. The Italian authorities deliberately ordered a systematic massacre which lasted three days, from the 24th to the 27th October. The war correspondents, seasoned to the horrors of war, were appalled at the atrocities committed when Hell was let loose in the interests of Italian conquest.

Of course the usual official disclaimer followed.

But the evidence of English eye-witnesses is conclusive. The *Times* correspondent says:—

Italians having set themselves to cow the Arabs, the flood-gates of blood and lust were opened, and in many instances the men got beyond control and the innocent suffered with the guilty.

The memory of this awful retribution will take long to live down. Even making allowances for the exigencies of the military situation, there is every possibility that the hideous severity of this retribution will give rise to a war of sanguinary and pitiless reprisals upon the unfortunates who fall by the way. War is merciless. I have witnessed one of its most merciless phases.

Reuter's correspondent says:—

Parties of soldiers penetrated throughout every portion of the oasis, shooting indiscriminately all whom they met, without trial, without appeal. For three days the popping of rifles marked the progress of the troops. Innocent and guilty were wiped out; many of those killed were quite young, and many women perished in the confusion. It is impossible to state the numbers of the persons thus shot, but scarcely any escaped. Nothing more deplorable than the scenes in Tripoli has been witnessed in war for many a day.

This is only the beginning, the opening scene of



Photograph by

A Snapshot of our Editor in Constantinople.

[L. N. J.]

would hold its own; but that the sons of the Desert would actually attack, and that not without success. The Italian positions on the coast, where they were under the guns of the fleet, was not expected anywhere in Europe, least of all in Italy.

#### The Atrocities of the Italians.

Then it was that the Italians, irritated by finding their primrose path of triumphant conquest suddenly converted into a *via dolorosa* filled with their wounded and their dead, abandoned all the restraints of civilisation and gave way to an orgy of savagery from which mankind would fain avert its eyes in shame. They began by shooting in cold blood every Arab found with a rifle

the grim tragedy involved in the Italian decision to "cow the Arabs." If this precedent be allowed to pass without stern protest, the measure which we allow to be meted out to the Arabs will ere long be meted out to us and to ours, and it will serve us right.

The long-protracted negotiations between France and Germany over Morocco seem to be at last approaching to their final conclusion.

**The Moroccan Nightmare.**

The agreement between the two Powers is on the point of being signed. The whole forms a chapter in international diplomacy which reflects no credit on any of the parties concerned. It is perhaps well to recall the simple facts of the situation. The Moroccan question had been settled for a period of years by the Algeiras Convention. France, however cogent or otherwise the grounds of her action, by occupying Fez, was held by Germany to have exceeded her powers under that Convention. Spain promptly followed suit by a similar encroachment. The obvious course of at once submitting these acts, with such grounds of justification as could be offered, to the Powers that combined in the Algeiras Convention, was not taken. Still worse, the other Powers did not insist on such submission to their collective judgment, and Sir Edward Grey even endorsed the action of France. So each Power went its own way, to take or to claim, to support or to oppose claims and takings. Germany followed suit and sent the *Panther* to Agadir. Even then the other Powers might have required a public settlement of the opposing claims. The United States at least might have urged this plain solution. But, no, France and Germany were supposed to settle the matter entirely between themselves. At the same time Great Britain gave clear indication of her intention to support France.

**How it was Banished.**

The immediate outcome seems to be that France has conceded to her what is practically a free hand in Morocco, and Germany receives as compensation a slice of the French Congo territory, thus adding to her Cameroon colonial area. But at what a cost has this long diplomatic discussion proceeded! The Great Powers have suffered sadly in dignity and in international respect. Instead of uniting as a European agora for the worthy settlement of disputes, they have sunk perilously near the level of individual bandits quattrelling or compacting with each other over private booty. Germany feels that she has lost painfully in prestige and has suffered in her finances to an extent that will not be made good

by any compensation. Great Britain has not merely roused the anti-British sections of the German public to fury, but, what is far more deplorable, the malignant attacks of these papers seem to have led astray some of our best friends in Germany. Germans who have given the best part of their lives to promoting friendship between Fatherland and Mother-country, lament that England has made all their efforts futile. This is serious, because it implies that German friendship has to be paid for by giving away other people's territory whenever Germany chooses to ask for it.

One of the first-fruits of the Morocco "agreement" will probably be an increase in naval armaments all round. A return

**Its Price.**

issued during the month has shown us that during the last ten years the expenditure on naval armaments among the eight Great Powers has increased from 90 millions to 134 millions. But still the mad race goes on, and will go on until statesmen learn that deviation from public treaties cannot be made a matter of private settlement, as France has tried to make it in Morocco and Italy in Tripoli. In this general rush for bigger fleets, believers in the English-speaking man may find some ray of hope in the fact that the American Atlantic fleet now being reviewed in the Hudson River is declared to be only second to the Coronation assembly of the British Fleet. The fleet is said to number a hundred and two warships of all classes, and a tonnage of considerably over half a million, with some of the very biggest battleships in the world. The launch on the Clyde of the first armoured ship of the Royal Australian Navy has almost synchronised with Mr. Andrew Fisher's declaration of his hope that "as part of the family of nations, and co-operating with perhaps the United States, we may at no distant date be able to say to those who would break the peace of the world, You shall not do it with impunity." But perhaps the time has scarcely yet come for Empire and Republic to place their combined navies at the disposal of the Hague Tribunal for the enforcement of its decisions.

**Ministerial Changes.**

"That a Liberal Ministry in England should hold its fist under our nose and declare, 'I alone am arbiter over the world,'"—to quote the vigorous phrase of Herr von Heiderbrandt—involves consequences which are supposed to be reflected in the recent Ministerial changes. The frequency with which members of the present Administration have changed their offices suggests

that the Cabinet is regarded as an educational establishment in many-sided statesmanship. The average man, who considers that the headship of one of the great departments of State is an office to which the training of a lifetime is necessary, is somewhat bewildered when he finds these positions of world-wide responsibility passed from hand to hand, until three or four of them have been held in less than half-a-dozen years by the same man. The most significant exchange of offices is that between Mr. McKenna and Mr. Churchill. Mr. Churchill's presence at the Admiralty may perhaps be traced more surely to Mr. Churchill's desire to avoid a conflict with Labour than to any desire for more

**The Revolution  
in  
China.**

But all the re-shuffling of national and international cards in Europe is of small moment compared with what has been going on in China.

In three weeks the government of one-fourth of the human race appears to have passed from the hands of the Manchus, and has been secured, under a paper constitution more Radical in some respects than the British, for the people of China. The Empire has been long seething with discontent. Plans of drastic political transformation had been cherished for years. But the explosion came on October 10th, when the Viceroy of Wuchang, the centre of the Chinese railway



*Photograph by*

**Mr. C. E. Hobhouse.**

The new member of the Cabinet.

*[C. Van Dyk,*



*Photograph by*

**Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P.**

A new member of the Ministry.

*[Elliott and Fry.*

vigorous preparation of the Navy for possible European complications. The new appointments are as follows:—

Lord Privy Seal—Earl Carrington.  
Home Secretary—Mr. McKenna.  
First Lord of Admiralty—Mr. Churchill.  
Chancellor Duchy of Lancaster—Mr. C. E. Hobhouse.  
President Board of Agriculture—Mr. Runciman.  
President Board of Education—Mr. J. A. Pease.  
Financial Secretary Treasury—Mr. McKinnon Wood.  
Financial Secretary to the War Office—Mr. H. J. Tennant.  
Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade—Mr. J. M. Robertson.  
Under-Secretary Foreign Affairs—Mr. F. D. Acland.  
Under-Secretary Colonies—Mr. Alfred Emmott.  
Secretary Board of Agriculture—Lord Lucas.  
Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees—Mr. J. H. Whitley.  
Deputy Chairman—Mr. Donald Maclean.

system, executed four ringleaders of a revolutionary centre which he had just discovered. All the provincial troops in and around Wuchang promptly mutinied. The Viceroy fled for his life, and the insurgents proclaimed a Republic or Reformed Government. Hankow was captured, along with Mint and Arsenal; the Manchus were massacred. But, in marked contrast to previous rebellions, the rebels issued a proclamation warning anyone against injuring foreigners, and promising faithfully to respect all obligations assumed by China towards the outer world. They made it perfectly clear that their attack was directed against the tyranny of the Manchus. Great alarm ensued at Peking, where it is stated the

opinion of all educated Chinamen was strongly in sympathy with the rebels. The court promptly called back Yuan Shih-Kai, who had been dismissed from office, and made him Viceroy of the provinces in rebellion. The manœuvres were discontinued, but the Imperial troops which had been prepared for the manœuvres were hurried up to the seat of war. Though the rebels fought with immense valour, they were overpowered and driven out of Hankow with great slaughter.

But at the very hour of their defeat, their cause triumphed.

#### A Pathetic Decree.

On the 30th ult., presumably under the combined pressure of the army and the National Assembly then in session, the Throne issued a decree in which the Emperor, a boy of five and a half years old, is, with rare dramatic pathos and skill, made to utter a comprehensive confession of sin and a yet more comprehensive repentance:—

I have not employed men properly, not having political skill. I have employed too many nobles, which contravenes Constitutionalism. In railway matters someone whom I trusted fooled me. The whole Empire is settling. The spirits of our nine late Emperors are unable properly to enjoy sacrifices. All these are my own fault. Hereby I announce to the world that I swear to reform, and with our soldiers and people to carry out the Constitution faithfully, modifying legislation, developing the interests of the people, and abolishing their hardships, all in accordance with the wishes and interests of the people.

An immediate Constitution is granted, with a Cabinet from which nobles are excluded, and a Prime Minister who will, it is said, have to be elected by Parliament, the Parliament to share the power of making treaties, but to have full power over the Budget. A free pardon is offered to rebels and all political offenders. The Manchu President of the National Assembly is "allowed" to resign, and a Chinese is appointed to succeed him. The Manchu Minister of Constabulary is similarly replaced by a Chinese. So, suddenly and dramatically, absolutism ends in China—for the time. But these transformation scenes, as sudden as those of a pantomime, are often followed by others of a very different nature. Much blood is likely to flow in China before the new régime is established, and when blood flows in China it flows like a mountain stream in spate.

#### The Eastern Ferment.

The three weeks' event shows how rapidly the ferment of the West is working in the Far East. Sun Yat-Sen, at present in hiding in the United States, is said to be the leader of the Republicans, who, with their rebellion at Wuchang, burst up the old order. He is said to be a Christian, and the

son of a Christian. The military head of the rebels, Brigadier-General Li Yuan Hung, is a man of English speech and European culture. Both he and his colleague, Yuan Sin, were educated in Japan. Whether, as is expected, the Republicans having got everything that they desire, excepting the nominal abolition of monarchy, will acquiesce in the new Constitution remains to be seen. The effect of a Parliament at Peking on our fellow-subjects in India also remains to be seen. When Japan, China, Persia and Turkey have at least a semblance of Constitutional government, it would be difficult to refuse kindred institutions to the peoples of Egypt and of India. Not that the Constitutional experiment in Persia is all that could be desired, to put it very mildly. On the other side of Europe the Republic of Portugal has apparently weathered its first great storm; an invasion of Monarchists has been repelled and dispersed. Mexico, no longer under the hand of the old Strong Man, has elected its President in what seems to be a normal method. Parliamentary government in Europe has been discredited by the scenes at the opening of the Austrian Chamber, when shots were fired at deputies. The Reichstag has re-assembled at Berlin for the last time before dissolution, and is bubbling over with discontent, even pressing for some say on the Morocco settlement.

#### Empty Continents and the Wistful German.

The Canadian Census has been published, showing a population of 7,081,869, slightly under the population of Greater London. There is room to live in Canada, at any rate, for some time to come. There is a cry from another meagrely peopled continent, from the Commonwealth of Australia, of the scarcity of labour. At Sydney alone 3,247 artisans are said to be wanted at once. When will the Governments of the Britains at home and oversea take seriously in hand the problem of the redistribution of population within the Empire?

#### Earl Grey's Imperialism.

The new Canadian Cabinet, as is natural after so long a period of Liberal ascendancy, is largely composed of men little known on this side of the Atlantic. Mr. Borden has taken care to indicate that the recent elections were no verdict of hostility towards the American Republic, but only a choice of methods in expressing friendship. The Duke of Connaught has been received with great demonstrations of loyalty as new Governor-General, and this country has been enriched by the invaluable presence of Earl Grey. His speech at the Royal Colonial Institute on the 24th ult. was worthy of the



Photograph by]

[News Illustrations Co.

Earl Grey bids farewell to Quebec.

man and of the occasion. Lord Grey made prompt but courteous havoc of the endeavours which have been freely made to turn the Canadian elections to party account in this country. He said:—

The method in which the various self-governing units of the Empire may collect the revenue required to enable them to fulfil their national and Imperial obligations is regarded by Canadians as a local matter within the sole jurisdiction of the Dominion concerned. They claim the right to tax British imports, should their revenue and national requirements render such a tax in their opinion desirable, and they do not wish to interfere with the desire of the people of the United Kingdom to raise their revenue in such way as may seem best to them.

He was equally emphatic in disavowing, on behalf of the people of Canada, "sympathy with any form of Imperialism which involves the idea of Jingo aggressiveness or arrogant refusal to acknowledge the equal rights of others":—

The Empire, of which Canada realises she is one day destined to become the controlling part, stands not for aggressiveness, not for the wanton, arrogant, or unscrupulous exercise of force, but for the ideals of fair play, freedom, duty and righteousness, and for an ungrudging recognition of the equal rights of others. Yes, it is because these are the noble and inspiring ideals of the British Empire that every patriotic Canadian, like every patriotic Briton, in whatever part of the world he may reside, regards it as a privilege, the value of which no wealth can measure, to be able to call himself a British citizen. It is because the British Empire stands for a community of ideals, ideals of the highest practical manly Christianity, that the allegiance of the

Empire in all parts of the world is so whole hearted and universal.

Once the world is convinced that Lord Grey's ideal of the British Empire is accepted by its subjects, once the Jingo fiend is for ever laid, the Empire will be trusted as the manifest agent of the loftiest purposes of collective mankind. One result of the political change in the Dominion is that Lord Strathcona remains in the country as High Commissioner for Canada.

California has a carried with a Sex and Colour. decisive majority an amendment to its Constitution,

extending the franchise to women. A suggested consequence is that an editor, who is now charged

with publication of improprieties, shall be tried before a jury composed, in part at least, of women jurors. This is a hint that Britomart in the Law Courts may yet make short work of the dragons of the slime. On the other hand, it is significant that the Transvaal Native Union have issued a request for the abolition of trial by jury in cases to be adjudicated between black and white. The trouble about Liberia has been ended by putting that black Republic under American supervision. Though at present only a



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Cheering the Duke of Connaught on his arrival in Ottawa as Governor-General of Canada.

commercial suzerainty, it may be another beginning of American influence on the African continent. Happily, there is no Monroe doctrine to prevent the United States exercising some measure of jurisdiction in the Eastern hemisphere. American intervention may yet have to be invoked to vindicate the claims of humanity in Tripoli which the paralysed accomplices of Italy in the Foreign Offices of Europe dare not defend.

After a short lull the volleys of political oratory have begun again.

#### Home Rule Balloons.

Mr. Redmond has been speaking on the subject of Home Rule with a statesmanlike outlook, a conciliatory spirit and a true Imperial loyalty that does him and his cause all credit. The *Daily News* professes to give the Government measure in advance outline. Its "disclosures," if such they be, have thus been summarised by a Unionist M.P. :—

With one exception—unimportant except to the English taxpayer—it differs hardly at all from the Government of Ireland Bill of 1893. The Irish Parliament is to consist of two Houses (the Upper one partly nominated), with joint sittings in case of disagreement. Seventy members from Ireland are to sit and vote at Westminster and give a hearty support to future Coalition Governments. Irish Customs and Excise are to be collected and regulated by "foreign" officials in Dublin. There is to be a carefully compiled list of what the subordinate Parliament may or may not legislate on. There is to be an Imperial Constabulary maintained in Ireland but paid for by England. With all this the Parliament of 1893 was familiar. All this the electorate of 1895, by a majority of 150, swept into the limbo of things forgotten.

In 1912 a tribute of three millions is to be paid for Irish old age pensions and national insurance. The Imperial Exchequer will guarantee a further issue of one hundred millions to complete land purchase, and there will be a grant of a lump sum to liquidate any further liability claimed for Ireland by Mr. Kettle, Professor of Irish Finance. In 1893 Ireland was to pay her way and contribute three-quarters of a million to Imperial finance. In 1912, in order that the British taxpayer may not repeat his error of seventeen years ago, an indecentum to vote the Home Rule ticket will be offered him in the shape of the few financial adjustments mentioned.

The most noted speech of the recess was that by Mr. Lloyd George at the Whitefield's Tabernacle, in which he treated at length the charges made against the Insurance Bill, and declared dramatically that that measure would be passed before Christmas, and "by it I will stand, or by it I will fall."

#### Re-opening of Parliament.

The autumn session began by the Government appropriating practically the whole of the time to certain specified measures, of which the Insurance Bill is the chief. The contents of this measure are so vast and voluminous that nothing short of at least a pamphlet is necessary for its elucidation. The Government has adopted, in dealing with this measure, certain methods which, while eminently

practical and even desirable in the present instance, may be made the precedent of much that is neither under other administrations. The interests concerned in the measure have been dealt with by the Chancellor of the Exchequer outside the House of Commons. Their difficulties have been met, or at least considered, and in many cases the opposition that was feared has been avoided. Notably was this the case with the great Friendly Societies, who in conference with Mr. Lloyd George were, by timely compromise, transformed from active opponents to unanimous supporters of the measure. The Bill having been discussed out of doors, with the principal interests that could make their voices heard, the Government feels that the only course open before it is to force the Bill through the House by means of the closure. But supposing it were a Tariff Reform Bill, introduced by a Conservative Government, and discussed by its chief promoter with all the interests outside the House with which it was concerned—and they would be legion—and then were to be forced through Parliament by a compact majority and a pitiless closure—what would Liberals have to say then, with the precedent of the Insurance Bill before them?

#### The Industrial Council.

After the storm of strikes, the waters of industry are still heaving and tossing, and frequent mutterings are heard threatening yet more tempestuous times. On the 13th ult. the President of the Board of Trade announced that he had established an Industrial Council representative of employers and workmen, "for the purpose of considering and inquiring into matters referred to them affecting trade disputes, and especially of taking suitable action in regard to any dispute referred to them affecting the principal trades of the country, or likely to cause disagreements involving the ancillary trades, or which the parties to a dispute are themselves unable to settle." Thirteen employers' representatives and thirteen workmen's representatives have been appointed, with Sir George Askwith as Chairman. Though fears have been expressed on the part of some of the men that this might lead to the institution of a Board with compulsory powers, the project has been generally welcomed.

#### The Report of the Railway Commission.

The Report of the Royal Commission on the Railways came out on the 20th. It is unanimous in its findings. On the vexed question of "recognition" of the Trade Union, it admits that the Companies cannot permit any intervention between

them and their men on the subject of discipline and management, but in other respects a more general adoption of the methods of negotiation between the companies and the Unions is declared to be helpful. The scheme, which is necessarily a compromise, only indirectly admits of Trade Union representation. The men are free to appoint, as their Secretary and advocate, at all meetings of the Conciliation Board, any suitable person, whether an employee of the Company or not. So the Companies are certain to find themselves face to face with a Trade Union official. The report has called forth many expressions of discontent from the men. Mr. Arthur Henderson claims that at Keighley he entirely satisfied the railwaymen of the justice of the award. The fact that possibly a hundred thousand pounds more will in consequence be paid in wages by such a railway company as the Great Western may have a further effect in allaying discontent. But the industrial barometer by no means stands at "Set Fair." Nevertheless a reassuring note was boldly struck by the Bishop of London in his sermon before the Church Congress at Stoke-upon-Trent. He did not hesitate to declare that "in this country the labour movement was definitely and avowedly religious," and he contrasted somewhat scathingly the absorption of the Church in questions of ritual while the working classes were manfully working out their own salvation. He went on to say that in view of the needs of labour "the whole tone and texture of the Church must be altered."

**Lord Roberts  
on  
Social Reform.**

In spite of all the talk there is about increasing lawlessness, Government returns show a gratifying decrease in crime. Pauperism also is rapidly diminishing. Old Age Pensions are doing their work. Another step that has been begun is the registration of vagrants, with a view, let us hope, to their ultimate absorption or extirpation. The conscience of the community, happily, is not satisfied with the social reforms that have already been initiated. Here is Lord Roberts, who was born in 1832, writing to the papers to demand "a constructive policy of social reform and national defence." This demi-god of popular patriotism does not hesitate to say "the conditions amid which millions of our people are living

appear to me to make it natural that they should not care a straw under what rule they may be called upon to dwell, and I can quite understand their want of patriotic feeling." It is thought an awful thing for a working man to say, "I don't care whether the flag that floats from Victoria Tower is the British red, white and blue, or the German red, white and black. What difference does the bunting make to me? Perhaps I might even be better off under German municipal care than under British rule." Now Lord Roberts admits that this sentiment, although mistaken, is perfectly natural. He also says, "Social reform is a preliminary to any thorough system of national defence." We all know how Lord Roberts has spent his powers without stint in demanding what he considers the specific for national defence: yet even he, soldier as he is, postpones the claims of national defence to those of social reform.

**The New  
British Cardinal.**

A new batch of cardinals is shortly to be created. While there are six Italians and four Frenchmen, there are only three English-speakers designate for the biretta. The British Empire, which covers one-fourth of the globe, has for many years had no representative in the Sacred College of what claims to be the Church Universal. Now, however, it will have one representative—Dr. Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster—and a worthy representative he will be. His episcopal life began amidst the dense poverty and misery of London's central borough, in the Bishopric of Southwark. Dr. Bourne combines with the most unswerving loyalty to his own communion the most charming courtesy towards all people calling themselves Christians. There is an old shepherd's saying that the best way to cure a sheep-dog of worrying sheep is to shut him up for one night with a well-seasoned old ewe, and he will never worry a sheep again. It would be a pleasanter discipline if some of our frantic No-Popery men were compelled to spend a few hours in the genial company of the new Cardinal. They would find it very hard to indulge in the baiting of Papists again. There are to be two new American Cardinals, but Archbishop Ireland is still held to be too liberal and brave a man to be deemed "safe" enough to wear the scarlet cap



# Current History in Caricature.



By permission of the proprietors of "Punch."

## The Heir Presumptive.

Scene: An historic costume ball.

MR. BALFOUR (as Charles II., to Austen Chamberlain as James, Duke of York): "What was it I said to you some two or three centuries ago: 'They'll never kill me to make you King'? Strange how the words come back to me."



Westminster Gazette.

## Adding Hypocrisy to Injury.

THE GAROTTER (indignantly): "Who says I'm hurting him? I'm only trying to show the gent how fond I am of him!"



Kladderadatsch.

## The Old Story!

Once more the grapes are sour!

(Berlin.)



Westminster Gazette.

## How They Do It—in China.

MANDARIN HALSEBURY: "Edict is that you retire because of weakness in honourable legs."  
(Yuan-Shih-kai, the Viceroy of Hunan, was compelled to retire in 1909 on the pretext that he had a bad leg.)



Westminster Gazette.

## The Call of the Wild.

(THE OLD CHIEF SEES NEW SMOKE.)

Mr. Henry Chaplin's elation over the result of the Canadian Elections.



*Kladderatsch.*

[Berlin.]

Protection of the Moslems!

"Great Allah! I fear the umlaella is not quite watertight!"



JEP

*Le Rire.*

[L. 115]

L'Enfant Terrible.



*Minneapolis Journal.*

The Awakening of the Asiatic Giant.



*Le Rire.*

[L. 115]

The Overture.

A revival of "The Brigands." With the original Cast.



Ull.]

The Spy Scare.

[Berlin.]

JOHN BULL: "I must ascertain from time to time through my lieutenants if everything is well with my dear cousin."



La Silhouette.]

Confusion Everywhere.

[Paris.]

A French cartoonist's view of the disturbed state of Europe.

FRANCE, SPAIN AND MOROCCO.



La Silhouette.]

[Paris.]

FRANCE: "Be careful, Alphonso, it is pretty hard, and your teeth might be broken."



Pasquino.]

Too Previous.

[Turin.]

PEACE: "May I come in?"  
COMBATANTS: "No, not yet; you wait!"

THE KAISER AND MOROCCO.



La Silhouette.]

[Paris.]

Familiarity Breeds Contempt.

"A scarecrow that has been used too often."



*Kikeriki.*

France—Snap!

[Vienna.]

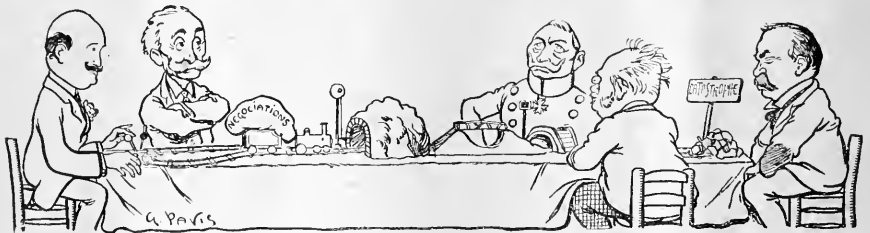


*Lustige Blätter.*

[Berlin.]

A Suggestion of Falsehood.

MARS: "I could not manage it with Morocco, but surely I shall succeed with Tripoli."



*Le Rive*

The New Game for Diplomats.

[Paris.]

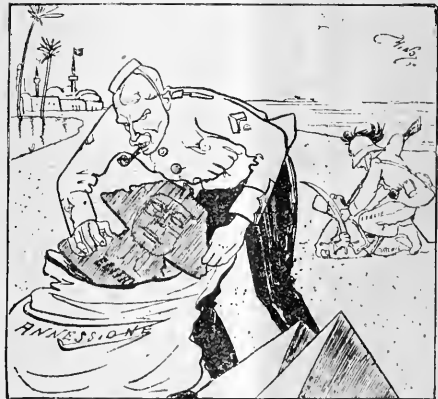
The game consists in sending the Paris-Berlin train of negotiations (re Morocco) through tunnels, over obstacles, etc., and the great thing is to see that it is not brought to a standstill before any player.



*National Review.*

[China.]

"Shall We bury this Hatchet—in Manchuria?"



*Fischitto*

A Suggestion of Falsehood.

England annexing Egypt whilst Turkey is otherwise engaged.



*Spokesman-Review.*

On the Anxious Seat.



*Kladderatsch.*

[Berlin.]

The Manchu Dynasty in Danger.



*Lustige Blätter.*

Russia and Turkey.

[Berlin.]

THE SULTAN: "Ivan, come quickly and save me"  
THE TSAR: "I come; I hasten—but open the Dardanelles first!"



*Spokesman-Review.*

"Hope Springs Eternal."

The cartoonist suggests that Mr. W. J. Bryan, who has made so many attempts to get the Presidency of America, does not despair of getting in somewhere—even in China.



*Toronto Daily Star.*

The Way the Game is Played.

"Isn't it great to have these little fellers do all the pulling."

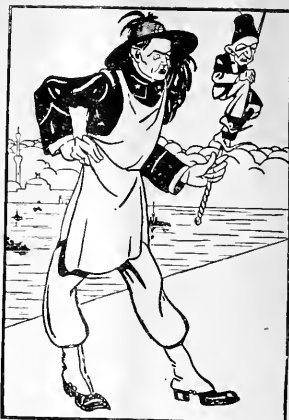


[Il Puffaglio]

[Bologna.]

### The Situation in Eastern Europe.

As might be expected, at a time when Italy is at War with Turkey, this Italian cartoonist is violent in picturing the situation. Turkey is represented as calling the smaller Balkan States *canaille*, and declaring that he will grant none of their pretensions, for if he did he would be on his last legs. So Islam proceeds to pump cold water on Greece, Crete, Albania, Montenegro, and the rest of them.



[us uno]

[Twin.]

### A Warning to the Italian Premier.

ITALIAN ARMY: "We will serve the dinner up hot, but it is to be hoped you won't have indigestion!"



[De Amsterdamer.]

[Holland.]

### The Burglars and Their Booty.

The Pots in the background are calling the Kettle black.

The *Moslem World* for October contains a paper by Fr. Buhl, who thinks that Mohammed's peculiar attacks point to a pathological condition, and in many other ways he betrays a hysterical nature with decided anomalies, amongst which is the complete inability to distinguish falsehood from truth. The Bishop of Mombasa emphatically declares that Islam is not a stepping-stone towards Christianity. Rev. S. M. Zwemer gives a general survey of the Moslem world, which includes over two hundred million Moslems. He points out that not merely are there more Moslems under British rule than under any other rule, but the total number of Moslems in the British Empire is five millions in excess of the Christian population of that Empire.



[A. v. d. P. Bild. 1907]

[Berlin.]

A German cartoonist's portrait of Herr von Kiderlin-Waechter, who conducted the Moroccan negotiations with France.

## For Peace with Justice by Arbitration.

### AN APPEAL TO ALL FRIENDS OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

**FRIENDS AND COMRADES.**—One of those decisive moments has arrived in the history of mankind when the destiny of the future hangs upon the promptitude with which we seize an opportunity which once neglected goes by for ever.

For years past we have seen the stealthy encroachment of lawless Might upon the Rights of Nations. It was difficult to say at what precise point this tendency could be challenged. There was always some semblance of justification pleaded by the aggressor. Always some complication which rendered it difficult, if not impossible, for the masses of mankind to form a clear idea as to the issue at stake. But at last an occasion has arisen in which it is impossible for anyone to be in any doubt as to the issue that has been raised. The Italian attack upon Tripoli is one of those rare crimes which are devoid of any semblance of justification or excuse, which are equally a violation of the moral law and the law of nations. Against this we must one and all take our stand or for ever hold our peace.

Anything more wicked than the Italian seizure of Tripoli it is impossible to conceive. It is as if the Author of all evil had deliberately said to his friends in council, "Go to, let us see whether or not the conscience of the world is dead. We pricked it with Morocco; it did not stir. We seared it with Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and it remained impassive. Perhaps it is really dead. But let us make certain. Therefore let us create a crime so flagrant, compounded out of outrages so inexcusable, that if there be even a lone glimmering spark of vitality left in the moral sense of the world, it must be fanned into a flame. If the conscience of mankind will stand the Italian seizure of Tripoli it will stand anything. Therefore let us try it on."

The Devil has tried it on, and we are face to face with one of these supreme moral questions which decide the destiny of nations. "Some great cause—God's new Messiah!" has once more risen in our midst to divide the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right. The governments have, by a process of natural selection, gravitated to the side of the goats. But hast thou chosen, oh, my people, on whose party you shall stand, "Ere the doom from the worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?" It is a question for you, for me, for all of us. Above all it is a question for all who profess, however perfunctorily, to belong to the Church of Christ.

The Italians, their own allies—nay, their own ultimatum—being witness, are absolutely and demonstrably in the wrong. They have trodden under foot their own solemn treaties, they have defied their own allies, they have done none of the things which they ought to have done, they have done all the things they ought not to have done. There is no excuse conceivable for them beyond the excuse of the highwayman and the burglar; "I coveted my neighbour's goods, I have taken them, and I mean to keep them." But against this monstrous claim, which destroys at one fell blow the treaties on which European peace depends, and the regard for the great usage of the comity of nations, whereby alone it is possible for weak nations to exist in safety by the side of their stronger neighbours, Humanity is rousing itself to protest. That protest will grow stronger every day until at last it will force Cabinets to do its bidding, and Italy will be compelled to disgorge its ill-gotten plunder in Africa.

I appeal to my countrymen to do what in them lies to defend the threatened law of nations and the endangered safety of smaller Powers from this monstrous and inexcusable attack upon civilisation and humanity. I bear no ill-will to the Italians. The more articulate among them have temporarily gone mad. The Italian Government needs a strait waistcoat. It is for you and for me to see that that strait waistcoat is applied.

It is a testimony borne for British Christianity. Last month the Churches, established and disestablished, were worked up to an extraordinary pitch of excitement in order to prevent one black man beating one white man in a boxing match.

But when a nominally Christian nation carries fire and sword into the territories of its neighbour in order to seize a province the Christian Churches preserve an ominous and sinister silence.

The Socialists throughout the whole of Europe have protested and are protesting against this monstrous crime. The Christian Churches are mute. Is Christianity dead amongst us? And if Christ came to Europe would he find the only followers of the Prince of Peace among the Socialists and those who repudiate His authority?

It is for you and for me to decide. If at this supreme moment we remain silent we become accomplices in the crime, and we shall share in the retribution which sooner or later will overtake the transgressor. For myself I have done what I could. I was sent to Constantinople as the emissary of an International Arbitration Emergency Committee, and I have seceded from the Sultan and from his Ministers and from the representatives of the Ottoman people, a declaration unanimous and enthusiastic in favour of submitting the whole dispute to arbitration. Italy refuses to allow any international authority to decide upon the justice of her claim. Every friend of peace, every believer in international arbitration is

bound to do his utmost to support the appeal of the Turks to an international tribunal. If we are silent and apathetic at this supreme moment, we shall be like those men who held the clothes of those who stoned Stephen the First Martyr of the Christian Church.

I am no partizan of the Turks. No living man has written more articles and published more pamphlets denouncing the misdeeds of the late Turkish Government in Europe and in Asia. But even the Devil has a right to fair play, and the Turks, even if anti-human, ought not to be treated as wild beasts. Three years ago the Turks abolished their despot, established a parliament and manfully attempted to introduce a régime of liberty and progress. Now, while still struggling with the enormous difficulties of their task, they are waylaid by an international highwayman, whose avowed design is to wrest from them their African possessions. However atrocious Abdul Hamid may have been, Italy has no right to annex the provinces of his successor.

I append a condensed summary of the contents of a Manifesto which I published in French, Turkish, and Arabic in Constantinople. It is a plain, straightforward statement of the Ottoman case against Italy, of the Ottoman appeal to the peoples for justice and arbitration. If that appeal falls upon deaf ears. . . . Put no, already throughout Europe the response is heard, a response which will rise ever louder and louder until it reaches the deaf ears of the Downing Streets of the world, and Italy is compelled to disgorge her ill-gotten prey.

Everything depends upon the prompt, energetic individual action of each one of us. I appeal to you to follow my lead in this crisis; and I have confidence that I shall not appeal in vain.

October 29, 1911.

WILLIAM T. STEAD.

## The War in Tripoli and Arbitration.

### An Appeal from the Governments to the Peoples.

#### THE MEANING OF MEDIATION.

THE Italian Government has now been at war for nearly a month, and we have hardly wakened up to the fact that we are at war.

I say we, because the Italian ultimatum heralded an attack, not on Tripoli only, but on you and me, on Treaty Faith, on the Rights of Nations, on the hope of Progress and the safeguards of civilisation.

What are we going to do about it?

One thing is certain, whatever else is doubtful. The Governments will do nothing to help us as things are. They may, however be roused to a sense of their duty by an appeal to the peoples, who in the long run are the masters of the Governments.

Left to themselves, the Governments will compromise and temporise, fumble and bungle; in short, they will do nothing and everything but their duty.

Meanwhile, not merely is the Ottoman Empire slowly bleeding to death, but the forces hostile to civilisation and to the great laws which bind nations into one community are entrenching themselves in an impregnable position.

The time has come to rouse into action the popular forces which as yet are only dimly conscious of the significance of the blow which the Italian Government has dealt against them.

The Governments will do nothing more than proffer their mediation, exchange their views, make representations solely with a view of arranging some compromise by which the robber may be allowed to carry off his booty. That in plain English is what Mediation means.

If the Ottoman peoples are content to see Tripoli

handed over to the Italian Government, then let them sit still, and wait till the resources of diplomacy have discovered some means of rendering acceptable the results of brigandage.

If, on the contrary, they are not content to submit to this dismemberment of their Empire, it is about time they resorted to some more effective means of resistance than plaintive appeals to Foreign Offices whose occupants have only one thought, that is to persuade the Ottomans to abandon Tripoli.

Mediation of this one-sided kind has been going on for a month. It will go on for another month, and a great triumph will be claimed by the mediators if after two months' mediating they succeed in severing Tripoli from the living body of the Ottoman Empire, and in handing it over, coast-line and hinterland, Ottomans and Arabs, stock, lock and barrel, to the Italian Government. For the only god of diplomacy is the "Fait Accompli," and the object of all mediation is to make all Ottomans bow down and worship that. All the old gods are dethroned. On the ruins of the temples which mankind once erected to the great ideals of Justice, Right and Public Law, the mediators have set up this bloody and savage false god, the "Fait Accompli."

For my own part I protest against the assumption that when one government commits a crime all the other governments are bound to endeavour to induce the victim of that crime to sit still and say nothing about it. That is not the way in which civilisation can be defended. It makes the Mediators accomplices of the Criminal.

What the people want is not Mediation but Justice



What the Governments ought to have done was to have restrained the Italians from violating the public law of Europe. They have failed in their duty. Some of them are even believed to have been accomplices in the crime, having encouraged by secret treaty the perpetration of this outrage. But one and all have failed to discharge the duty they recognised in the Hague Convention and to defend the stipulations of the treaty of Paris.

What then must be done?

That is a question almost as pressing for the nations of Europe as for the Ottoman people. For if the action of the Italian Government is acquiesced in, then we are face to face with an era of international anarchy in which no frontier is safe, no nation is secure; in which Might is the only Right, and the conscience of mankind fails even to protest against the most cynical violation of Treaty Faith.

Are solemn international treaties to be torn up like waste paper? Is no attempt to be made to secure a settlement of international disputes save by methods of slaughter? These two questions will be answered in the negative if nothing is done to check the steady progress of international anarchy. We stand at the parting of the ways. If the action of Italy is to be condoned by the peoples as well as by the Governments, then the fair prospect which shone before the eyes of mankind at the opening of the Hague Conference is blotted out with a black cloud. Instead of progressing towards the establishment of an international world-State in which justice is administered by an impartial tribunal, mankind will be thrown back into the bloody welter of predatory war.

From the brigandage of the Italian Government and from the criminal connivance of the mediating Powers an Appeal must be made to the Peoples of the World. They are at present ill-informed concerning what has happened, they are preoccupied with their own affairs and but half awake to the enormity of the crime that has been committed in Tripoli.

They must be informed as to the facts, they must be roused to attention, they must be summoned to the defence of the right.

The task is difficult. But it is not impossible. The Conscience of Mankind may sleep. It is not extinct. Deep in the human heart lies latent a belief in Justice to which it is possible to appeal.

Let us make that Appeal, and make it now, without wasting another day in waiting for the results of Mediation, which simply is another way of spelling Annexation.

#### WHY APPEAL TO ARBITRATION?

The appeals of the Sublime Porte to the Powers have so far produced Mediation. They can go on making these appeals, and they can go on with their mediating; but the time has come when the Ottoman people must supplement the Appeals for Mediation by a Demand of Justice. This demand must be made, not to the Diplomacy, but to the Democracy

of the World. It must be made in broad and simple terms which the man in the street and the peasant at the plough can understand. The case is simple enough.

The Italian Government has picked a quarrel with the Turk in order to pick his pocket. The Italian Government, having seized Tripoli, wishes to keep it. Against this the Ottoman people protest in the name of Justice and of Right.

But they can do more than protest. They can make known to the Peoples of the World that they are ready to prove the justice of their case before an impartial Court. The popular formula is, "We are willing to submit the whole case to arbitration and to abide by the decision of the Judge."

In the present case what is needed is not so much a Tribunal of Arbitration as a Criminal Court. But a Criminal Court for International Malefactors does not exist, whereas there is a Hague Tribunal for Arbitration. It is unfortunately true that such a Tribunal can only be constituted by consent of both parties, and, as Italy will not consent to appear before any Court, therefore the door of the Temple of Justice is barred by the Power that has broken the law.

But in a broad popular appeal to the Conscience of the Nations these juristic difficulties do not arise.

What is wanted is a declaration in a clear unmistakable popular formula that the Ottomans desire to settle this dispute, whatever it may involve, by Arbitration and not by War. This declaration can be made under Article 48 of the Hague Convention by the simple process of addressing a note to the International Bureau of the Hague, stating that the Ottoman Government is willing to submit the whole question in dispute between it and the Italian Government to arbitration. The clause is as follows:—

In case of dispute between two Powers one of them can always address to the International Bureau a note containing a declaration that it would be ready to submit the dispute to arbitration. The Bureau must at once inform the other Power of the declaration.

The advantage of making this declaration in this form lies in the fact that it would be immediately understood by every nation as a direct challenge to Italy to settle the dispute by an appeal to a tribunal where Truth, Law, and Justice are supreme.

When the Ottoman Government has made that distinct formal declaration of the readiness to appeal to arbitration, then it will be possible to make any general appeal to the public opinion of Europe.

The Note need not assume that Mediation has failed; all that is necessary is to notify the Bureau that the Ottoman Government is willing, when the right time arises, to submit the dispute to arbitration. The Government can then go on with its mediation till Christmas or the Greek kalends.

The questions in dispute are capable of being simply stated. They are:—

1.—Have treaties, especially the treaties of 1856 and 1878, any value, or may they be treated as waste paper?

Turkey answers, Yes. Italy answers, No.

Which is right?

II.—Have the Hague Conventions any value or are the Powers bound to act upon their recommendations?

Turkey answers, Yes. Italy answers, No.

Which is right?

III.—Has the Italian Government any legitimate grievance against the Ottoman Government in the administration of Tripoli which the latter refused to remedy?

Turkey answers, No. Italy answers, Yes.

Which is right?

IV.—Has any Power, even if she has grievances, any right on that ground to declare war at twenty-four hours' notice, without affording any opportunity of removing these grievances, and then to seize territory in defiance of treaty rights?

Italy answers, Yes. Turkey answers, No.

Which is right?

These are roughly the four questions in dispute. The two first and the fourth concern all the peoples of Europe as well as the Ottomans. The third is a question of fact which could be easily cleared up by an International Commission d'Enquête. Why should not all these questions be settled by a High Court of the Nations?

It is true that no such High Court is actually in existence. At the last Hague Conference a vigorous effort was made to set up such a Court, but the attempt fell through owing to the impossibility of reconciling the claims of the small Powers and the Great Powers as to the appointment of Judges. Nevertheless the Hague Court offers at least a formal opportunity for the Ottomans to declare their readiness to settle the whole dispute by an appeal to a Judicial Tribunal.

It is only a form, but it is useful because it puts Turkey in the right before the nations. If the dispute were really to be sent for judicial settlement, a very different Court of Nations would have to be created to that contemplated by the Hague Convention.

#### HOW TO APPEAL TO PEOPLES OF EUROPE.

The following telegram sent to the *Daily News*, October 27th, summarises the explanation given at length in the Constantinople Broadsheet:—

“CONSTANTINOPLE, October 27th, 1911.

“I have succeeded beyond my utmost hopes. A fortnight ago arbitration was never mentioned; to-day it is universally demanded. The Grand Vizier, speaking for the Sultan and the Cabinet, gives his public endorsement to the arbitration campaign that is now about to be undertaken throughout Europe. The Turks are not satisfied with merely appealing to the Hague Tribunal, which is rendered powerless by Italy's refusal to arbitrate; they demand the creation of a permanent High Court with obligatory arbitra-

tion. They offer to submit the whole dispute to such a High Court, and this week the most influential deputation ever dispatched abroad by Turkey will begin its pilgrimage of propaganda and appeal for obligatory arbitration through Europe.

“The initiative has been left to the Turkish Inter-Parliamentary group because the Government is hampered by the negotiations for mediation, but the Government warmly support the action that has been taken. The deputation, selected by the Parliamentary Group, consists of six Senators and Deputies, representing the Turks, Arabs, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews of the Empire. [The number has now been raised to nine, and a Bulgarian has been added.] Its president is Prince Ferid Pasha, the Sultan's brother-in-law. The deputation contains members of all the parties. Boustani Effendi, Deputy for Beyrout, Talaat Bey (former Minister of the Interior), or Djahid Bey (editor of the *Zamir*), Mavrocordat Effendi (former Minister of Agriculture), and Nouradoughian Effendi (formerly Minister of Public Works), and the other members will probably start on Saturday for Bucharest, where they will add to their number a Roumanian Deputy. Thence they proceed to Budapest, and there will add Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Servian Deputies; thence to Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Stockholm, Christiania, Copenhagen, The Hague, Brussels, Berne, Paris, and London. The deputation will then number twenty, representing fifteen States in all, and making a demonstration all along the route in favour of obligatory arbitration.

“The scheme has already been assured of the approval of Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, and has been promised by the Ambassadors a warm welcome in Germany, Russia, and England. The journey will last over thirty days. The effect will be cumulative; everywhere an appeal will be made to the peoples.

“Their commission would be one of protest, of discovery, and of appeal. They go to protest not against Italy as Italy, but against the cynical violation of Treaties. They go to discover how far the nations of Europe have deserted their ancient faith in the sanctity of the pledged word, and whether there still lingers in any quarter the aspiration to supersede war by International Arbitration. If they should find in the various Inter-Parliamentary Groups, in the Parliaments and in the people at large any regard for Treaties and any faith in Arbitration, then they will appeal to their friends to co-operate with them in bringing the utmost pressure to bear upon their Governments to compel Italy to submit her claims to the judgment of an impartial Court. If it should be objected that, on the facts as they stand, the proper place for the Italian Government is in the dock in which justice places those caught red-handed in the commission of crime, the Ottoman Delegation will gladly assist in constituting such a High Court in which the Italian Government could be tried for its

crimes against the comity of nations. They only say, 'To the Hague!' because at the Hague is the nearest approach to an International High Court at present in existence.

"The route by Bucharest will be taken because of the quarantine imposed by Bulgaria upon travellers from Constantinople. Belgrade and Sofia could be visited on the return journey. Delegates from the Bulgarian and Servian parliaments could meet the Delegation at Buda Pesth."

The following is an outline of the probable course of proceedings. On arriving at any capital the Delegation will be met by the members of the local Interparliamentary Group and conducted to their hotel. They will discuss together what means can be taken to bring the question of substituting arbitration for war before the attention of the Government and the public. The means which will be adopted will most probably be the following:—

(1) Each delegate will pay his respects to the local representative of his own Government and endeavour to enlist his sympathy and support.

(2) The Delegation will endeavour to secure through the agency of the local group, (a) the placarding in conspicuous places throughout the country of the Ottoman Appeal to the Nations, and (b) the despatch by post of appeals to every person in a representative or influential position in the country, asking them to append their names to the international demand for arbitration.

(3) The Delegation will then address one or more public meetings, at which resolutions will be submitted demanding that the dispute now inflamed by war should be submitted to a Court of Arbitral Justice for settlement, and calling upon the local Government to use its influence to support that demand.

(4) After the meeting the local parliamentary group will introduce the Delegation as a deputation to the Foreign Minister, to whom they will state their case, present the resolutions passed at the public meeting and appeal for his support.

(5) The local parliamentary group will be asked to nominate one of their members to accompany the Delegation on its progress through other capitals, so that when it reaches London the original nucleus of Ottomans will be surrounded by twice their number of delegates from other nations, all united in presenting the same request.

(6) There will also be an interchange of hospitalities, interviews with the press, and all the usual subsidiary means of rousing public attention and educating public opinion.

It is evident that if this programme or even one-half of it be carried out, the net effect of the combined appeal by the accredited representatives of so many Parliaments would be immense. It would ripen opinion in favour of a much more drastic and compulsory International Court than that which at

present exists, it would warn the nations of their danger, and it would incidentally confer upon the Ottomans the *beau rôle* of bearing the standard of Arbitration and Justice through the world.

As a natural consequence, if the Italian Government persisted in refusing to submit to Arbitration it would create a very bad atmosphere for Italy in every country in Europe. It would increase the chances that the Italian Government would, like that of Russia in 1878, be compelled to appear before a new Conference of Berlin.

Although it forms no official part of the programme of the Delegation, individual members will probably recommend the boycotting of Italian products, manufactures, stocks, etc., as a simple but effective method of showing the resentment aroused by the lawless outrage perpetrated by the Italian Government upon Treaty faith and the rights of nations.

### THE WAR IN TRIPOLI.

#### THE OTTOMAN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES OF THE CIVILISED WORLD.

##### *To the Men of Great Britain.*

Like a brigand from the mountains, the Italian Government in a time of profound peace has suddenly swooped down upon our country, and is trying to make Tripoli her captive.

It is our turn to-day, it may be yours to-morrow.

We appeal to you for your energetic assistance to defend the common interests of civilisation and humanity against the lawless aggression of plundering Powers.

We are not making war upon the Italians.

The Italian Government is making war upon us in order to steal our provinces in the interest of financial speculators.

The Italian Government has bombarded our seaports, slaughtered our people, and seized the whole of our African Coast lines. It continues to prosecute its campaign with unrelenting fury.

We ask for peace, for a cessation of hostilities, and above all we ask that the whole dispute may be at once referred to the impartial arbitration of the Tribunal of the Hague.

The world established that Tribunal to be "accessible to all." We ask you to help us to gain access to it for the settlement of our disputes on the principles of equity and right.

We do not ask you to support our cause against the cause of Italy.

Still less do we ask to be allowed to act as judges in our own cause.

We ask only that the International Tribunal which you have established shall not be closed to us by the refusal of the aggressor to submit to its jurisdiction. Brothers:

It is not merely the fate of Tripoli which is at stake. It is the future of our race. The defence of the authority of the Hague Tribunal is the first duty of civilised States.

If Italy is allowed to carry out her designs unchecked by the moral sense of mankind, the policy of the brigand will be established upon the ruins of the public law of Europe and the weaker nations will be abandoned, to be devoured by their stronger neighbours.

To save humanity from so dire a disaster, we appeal to you to join us in crying, in the hearing of the whole world :

TO THE HAGUE! TO THE HAGUE! TO THE HAGUE!

Although war is still being waged against us, and although the questions at issue involve our honour, our vital interests, our independence and our integrity, the Turkish Government unreservedly submit the whole question to arbitration.

We ask you to insist that the Italian Government whose only interest is that of the burglar in the retention of his booty, should not be allowed to evade justice by refusing arbitration.

It is the first time in history that all the races and religions in the Ottoman Empire have appealed for sympathy and help to the peoples of the world.

But we make this appeal with confidence that we shall not appeal in vain.

Wrongs as great may have been perpetrated in the past, but never before has there been an International Tribunal to whom the injured and oppressed could appeal for Justice.

Hence the supreme importance of the present moment. We have submitted our case to arbitration. Conscious in the justice of our cause, we accept in advance whatever award may be given.

If Italy, conscious of her guilt, fears to appeal to the Arbitral Tribunal, then in the name of Justice and of Rights, we appeal to you to denounce the Italian Government as the enemy of the human race, and to treat it as excommunicate of humanity until it repents and submits to the verdict of the Hague.

Signed on behalf of the whole Ottoman Nation,

*(Here follow signatures.)*

#### THE BOYCOTT, THE WEAPON OF THE - PACIFIST.

The pacifist has neither gun nor bayonet, but he has, nevertheless, a weapon which if he chooses to use it is more efficacious than high explosives. War in the old style with weapons and fleets and armies is daily becoming more and more impossible. The immense magnitude of modern armies is now the greatest security for the general peace. When there were small standing armies always ready for war a country thought nothing of engaging in war upon the most trivial pretext. Nowadays, with universal military service, to send a nation to war is to pluck that nation up by the roots. The cost of mobilising the Germany Army was estimated by Bebel at £2,000,000 per day. The present little war is said to be costing Italy £2,000,000 a week. The cost of appealing to the Court of Mars, who has hitherto been the final judge between

nations, is becoming prohibitive. Only among nations of comparatively low order and who have not yet evolved a high state of civilisation will war remain possible. Another reason why war on land and sea will become impossible is that warfare will soon be transferred to the air, and the aeroplane and airship will make armies, fleets, frontiers and fortresses obsolete. But although mankind may no longer be able to use armies or navies it will be absolutely necessary to find some means for coercing the evil-doer and reducing to obedience a state which outrages the comity of nations. Some method of coercion will have to be devised unless states are to relapse into a condition of lawless anarchy. It is here where the weapon of the pacifist supplies the important need of advancing civilisation. That weapon is the Boycott.

The modern pacifist can lay no claim to be the first discoverer of this potent weapon. The suggestion that it should be used as a settlement of disputes between man and man was first made by the first of all pacifists, to wit, Jesus Christ, who is worshipped by Christians as their Lord and Saviour. It is remarkable that Jesus Christ, whether he be God or man, legendary myth or Jewish carpenter, has seldom or never given directions as to the application of the principles which he laid down to the affairs of actual life. He confined himself to enunciating sublime truths or to laying down general principles. Only on one occasion, and the exception is very significant, did he give practical directions as to how his disciples should apply those principles in the facts of life. The one exception was that in which he recommended the Boycott as the last means of settling disputes. This will probably startle most Christians. For the truth of my statement if you will turn to the eighteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew you will find the three following verses. There are only three verses, but they contain clear directions as to the settlement of disputes between man and man, which can equally be applied for the settlement of disputes between nations.

"If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone : if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother."

If this principle be applied to national disputes this command must be taken as directing that in the first place when disputes arise nations should communicate with each other by the direct method of diplomacy, which is, of course, always followed.

"But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established."

Here we have the command that if direct diplomatic methods fail, recourse must be had to the mediation of friendly powers. The wisdom of this course has been recognised and unanimously confirmed by both

the conferences at the Hague. It is laid down in the Treaty of Paris, but it was cynically set aside by the Italian Government when it declared war on the Turkish Government at such short notice as to render mediation impossible. We now come to the third verse which suggests the boycott:—

“And if he shall neglect to hear them tell it unto the Church, and if he shall neglect to hear the Church also, **let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican.**”

The practical application of this verse to the present circumstances is quite clear. If mediation has failed, an appeal must be made to the Hague Tribunal.

Christ uses the word Church in an obviously non-ecclesiastical sense, for at the time that he spoke the Church, as we now know it in its ecclesiastical sense, did not exist.

What is the idea of a Church? It is that of a community of believers in the Prince of Peace who organise themselves for the purpose of realising what they believe to be the will of God in all parts of the world. When we come to look into it there is no institution existing in the world to-day which corresponds to that ideal, or nearly so, but the Tribunal of the Hague. At the Hague Conferences, mankind, in the representatives of the forty-three organised States of the world, assembled on a footing of equality in order to frame regulations and make recommendations with the object of securing the peace of the nations. The Hague Conference was universal and catholic, as no Church can claim to be, and its chief object is the realisation of peace on earth. If, therefore, mediation fails, all disputes must be referred to the Church, which being interpreted means—Appeal to the Hague Tribunal!

If appeal is made to the Church or to the Hague by one disputant and the other refuses to listen, then we have the clear direction that the obstinate recalcitrant brother must henceforth be to us as a heathen man and a publican.

Here, therefore, we have the Plan of Campaign of the pacifist set out in a few and simple words.

If any Power refuses to appeal to the Hague Tribunal, or which, having appealed, refuses to abide by the award, boycott him—“let him be as a heathen man and a publican.”

Now a heathen man and a publican in the time of Jesus Christ was one with whom the devout Israelite would not have anything to do. He did not drink with him, eat with him, or have anything whatever to do with him. He simply left him alone. If that policy were pursued to-day resolutely by all the nations towards any one of their neighbours which would not settle its dispute by arbitration instead of by war there would be no more war between civilised States. With the enormous growth of inter-communication between nations, every modern State is dependent upon its neighbour for the necessities of life. Suppose, for instance, Germany and England

were to have a dispute. If mediation failed, and Germany offered to go to arbitration while England refused, if all the other nations of the world were to boycott England, Germany would have no need to fire a shot to reduce England to submission. For England is the workshop of the world, and two-thirds of her food supplies reach her from abroad. She lives by taking in the raw materials from various countries and working them up into manufactures and reselling them. Universal boycott would immediately reduce her to submission, and the same result would follow the application of a boycott against Germany if the cases were reversed. In fact, in relation to the two great European Powers, the enforcement of a strict boycott in the case of war by only three Powers, the United States of America, the Argentine Republic, and Russia, would be sufficient to starve the outlawed nation into submission.

It is remarkable that the Christian law of settling disputes has never been applied by any Christian State, but that it has been reserved for the Chinese and the Turks to submit to the world an object lesson as to the efficiency of this method of coercion. In both cases the boycott was applied spontaneously by the action of private individuals acting, no doubt, with the approval of the Government. The Chinese employed it with great effect in their disputes with America and Japan. The Turks first made it famous by their using it in their dispute with Austria, and afterwards, with less effect and much less wisdom, in the dispute with the Greeks. Neither China nor Turkey by their Governments as a whole have undertaken to wield the weapon of the pacifist. It has been left to private individuals. The same course will undoubtedly be followed in the present dispute between civilisation and the Italian Government.

#### WHY WE MUST BOYCOTT ITALY.

The war which the Italian Government is waging against Turkey for the purpose of seizing Tripoli is a crime which ought not to be tolerated by a world which calls itself civilised. It ought to have been prevented by the other Powers. But as they failed in doing their duty, this atrocious crime has been committed, is being committed, and will continue to be committed until it is stopped. It ought to be stopped and stopped at once. If it is not stopped it will breed more crimes. More plunder-wars will be waged, not only against Turkey, but against other nations, until at last this wicked war for Tripoli may involve the whole world in the catastrophe of a general war, in which civilisation itself may disappear.

“It is all very well,” the reader may reply—“it is all very well to say that the war ought to be stopped, but who is to stop it? Who is to bell the cat? Where is the gendarme of the nations who can be summoned to arrest this international criminal, and to compel him to keep the peace?”

The objection is just. There is as yet unfortunately

no gendarme of the nations—although if the Hague Tribunal is supported and developed, we shall some day have an international police. But for the moment there is no international gendarme, and so the criminal goes scot free—also for the moment. It is a mistake, however, to assume that because there is no gendarme nothing can be done. On the contrary a great deal can be done, and very effectively done, if we all will but make up our minds to try and do it.

“But who is to try, and who is to do it?”

You and I, just you and I. We are to try and we are to do it. What is more, if we are but earnest enough and numerous enough we can do it. Make no mistake about that. You shrug your shoulders? That is natural. But wait and see if it is not true.

Why did this war begin? Why are brave Arabs and Turks being blown to pieces by shells because they defend their country? Why this hideous bloodshed, this cold-blooded murder of innocent men? Everybody knows why. The Italian Government is committing murder to gain a market. A few financial speculators think that if Tripoli is stolen from Turkey they can make a lot of money. So they are using the Italian navy and army as the monkey used the cat, to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. The Government makes the war, the financial men of business pocket the profits. Behind all disguises this ugly fact stands out clear and plain—war is being made on Turkey in order to make more business for Italian financiers.

If the Italian Government is making the war to make business, the way to stop the war is to stop doing business with Italy and so make them see that they are losing more business in Europe than they can ever gain in Tripoli. The criminal will cease from stealing when he finds that thieving does not pay.

It is the duty of all honest citizens to do what they can to teach the Italians that honesty is the best policy. If the Italians persist in killing men and women and children—for long range-shells make no distinction of age or sex—in order to sell more goods in the African market, then we must make it impossible for them to sell so many goods in the markets of Europe, Asia, America and Australia. The Italian Government having resorted to methods of barbarism to open up a market in Tripoli, let us resort to the methods of civilisation in order to close her markets in Europe, in Asia, in America—everywhere outside Tripoli.

When civilisation has made further progress all the Governments of the world will punish any State which is guilty of a crime like this of the Italian Government by forbidding all trade and all intercourse with the criminal country. Imports and exports would alike be prohibited, no ship bearing the criminal's flag would be allowed to enter a foreign port. The stock exchanges of the world would be closed against the offender. The country and its

inhabitants would be placed under an interdict. The strictest quarantine would be enforced, as in the case of the plague, against all persons, letters, or newspapers coming from the country that made war without first exhausting all methods for settling the dispute amicably. For that country is suffering the worst of plagues—a rottenness of the soul.

Civilisation has not yet advanced sufficiently for us to hope that any Government will declare a legislative compulsory boycott and permanent quarantine against Italy as long as this war lasts. But in every land there are many sufficiently civilised persons to impose a voluntary boycott upon all things Italian. In the old days in England, when reformers were agitating for the abolition of the slave trade, it was a principle of honour among all good abolitionists never to buy or to use any slave-grown sugar. “The blood of the slave,” they said, “is on every piece of slave-grown sugar. We cannot sweeten our tea or our coffee with human blood.” There was the boycott in its purest form, the boycott of self-sacrifice for the good of humanity. It gives us an example and an inspiration.

We say to all who care for the peace of the world, or for the laws of nations, or for the rights of peoples, let us enter into a solemn pact to abstain from buying or using all things Italian until the Italian Government repents and ceases from its Tripolitan brigandage. Let us each for himself make a vow—not out of hatred to the Italian people, but with a sincere desire to deliver them as speedily as possible from their present evil rulers—to do the following things:—

- (1) Not to purchase or to hold any Italian Government bonds.
- (2) Not to drink Italian wine, to eat Italian food, to wear Italian silk or cloth, to use Italian manufactures; in short, to regard everything Italian, while this war lasts, as leprous or plague-smitten.
- (3) Not to visit Italy or take passage on or despatch goods by any Italian ship.
- (4) Never to write or speak to any Italian without expressing to him your conviction as to the wickedness of this war.

This self-sacrificing vow, if taken and kept by even a small number of earnest resolute men and women in every country in the world, will soon bring the Italian Government to its senses.

It is a duty which we owe to civilisation and international morality, to make the way of the transgressor hard. To allow the attack on Tripoli to remain unpunished is to put a premium upon brigandage, and to reward murder as if it were a virtue.

We cannot make our Government act, but no Government can compel us to buy Italian goods against our will.

Therefore our advice is—

If we want to stop the war let us boycott Italy!

# The Revolution in China and its Reputed Guiding Spirit:

## DR. SUN YAT-SEN.

MANY tributes to the "Chin se Garibaldi," as he has been called by one of those who know him best, have appeared both in the British and the Chinese Press. What is most remarkable about them is their unanimity. All the writers agree in trusting, praising, and admiring Dr Sun Yat-Sen. Not one of them does he seem to have inspired with a feeling of either distrust or contempt. All take him seriously. On his head a price of £50,000 is set, has been set for long past. Yet according to a personal friend, the writer of an excellent notice of the Doctor in the *Westminster Gazette*, "Sun Yat-Sen carries his life in his hand without the least trace of nervousness."

"His disguises," continues the writer, "are so successful as to deceive even his closest friends. As a propagandist his methods have rarely been equalled—never surpassed. No one ever suspected in Eastern seas that the quiet, silent, commercial traveller, wearing blue spectacles, with his heavy baggage of trade samples labelled 'Tadeshi Okamura and Co., General Merchants and Commission Agents, Yokohama,' was no less a personage than the Doctor 'on tour' Here was the clever 'Japanese' bagman pushing his wares in every nook and corner of the Malay Peninsula, visiting Chinese firms, explaining the advantages of this new patent hook and eye or safety pin to the admiring ship assistants who crowded round the traveller with his novelties in haberdashery from the United States of America, England, and

Japan. And all the while he was winning adherents to the great cause to which he has devoted his life and dedicated his magnificent talents."

The same writer sums up the general opinion of other British writers as to Dr. Sun by saying that he has laid his great campaign for Chinese freedom on

solid foundations, the four corner-stones of his work being "unselfishness, patriotism, courage, capacity." This writer, like all others, seems to agree as to Sun Yat-Sen being a quiet, calm, practical man, no dreamer of visions, no waver of wild hands, and above all no self-seeking adventurer, whose first thought is himself. A writer in the *Daily Mail*, who signs himself a "British Sympathiser," and who met him in Victoria, B.C., considers his influence to be due, not to personal magnetism or great oratorical power, but to strong common-sense and deep devotion to his country and countrymen "patriotism," in short, as the writer first quoted put it. He listened to the Doctor addressing a number of Chinese in their own language, and was struck by the fact that he disdained all the "little oratorical tricks dear to ordinary agitators."

He simply gave to his audience, exactly as he gave to me, a long, well-reasoned, and carefully thought-out statement of China's sufferings, and then added his proposals for relief.

This, considering that the Chinaman is not very emotional, and appreciates common-sense and quiet logic far more than impassioned appeals or oratory of



Photograph by

Elliott and Fry.

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen.



### THE CENTRE OF THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA.

On the south bank of the river, to the right in picture, is Wuchang. On the north bank, to the left, is Hanyang with the arsenal and ironworks. Separated by the Han River is Hankow with its railway station, golf course, and international concessions. The three cities are densely populated and together probably form the largest congeries of human beings in the East, namely, 1,250,000.





Photo-rak by]

[E.N.A.]

## The Emperor of China.

Born at Peking, 1906.

the "tub-thumping" description, was obviously the best course to take. Dr. Sun's addresses apparently often last three or four hours, and all the time his hearers listen, without tiring, to accounts of the sufferings of their countrymen and of the progress of the Chinese revolutionary movement.

Dr. Sun's party does not lack funds. He informed one writer that many Chinamen had devoted all their fortunes to the revolutionary movement, thrown in their all with it; in fact, the movement has adherents numbering millions, and among its members are, Dr. Sun reckons, nearly all the modernised army, the Government relying chiefly on the old troops.

A consequence of this is that while the latter

are provided with cartridges, the former have no ammunition, and one of Dr. Sun's great difficulties has been to acquire control of an arsenal.

His great object appears to be to change the form of Chinese Government, which he describes as "no Government," and establish a Republic, modelled on that of the United States, with representative Chambers for each Chinese province, and a Central Chamber for the whole Empire. At the stage which matters have now reached, he considers that, even were his life taken, and the £50,000 set on his head won by some assassin, it would matter little to the revolutionary movement. He told a *Daily Mail* writer, who wished him not to go home alone at

night: "If they had killed me some years ago it would have been a pity for the cause. I was indispensable then. Now my life does not matter. There are plenty of Chinamen to take my place."

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen has often visited London, where his chief friends are Dr. and Mrs. James Cantlie, of Harley Street, and formerly of Hong-Kong. He is said to have had one or two friends among the barristers of the Temple, but in general to have been somewhat reserved, avoiding the society of strangers, and not easily drawn into conversation by them. As recently as January last he was in London, visiting his friends Dr. and Mrs. Cantlie. He has visited them almost every year since 1896, when he was released from his famous imprisonment at the Chinese Legation, largely through Dr. Cantlie's efforts. On January 11th, as Mrs. Cantlie informed a *Daily Chronicle* interviewer, Dr. Sun left for America, in excellent spirits, but, contrary to his usual custom, without leaving any address to which she and her husband could write. In spite of the price set on his head, he has spent most of his time since in China, of course disguised, and of course often at imminent risk.

"When he was here in January," said Mrs. Cantlie, "he felt confident that he was on the eve of a great coup—he spoke so hopefully of success. 'We have two-thirds of the army,' he used to say, and then he would add, 'You will soon hear of me again.'

"The impression that great things were coming was curiously confirmed on March 23 last, when a London detective—I do not know whether he was from Scotland Yard or the Chinese Legation—called here and asked whether we knew where Sun Yat-Sen was. We were unable to say, and there the incident ended, but we realised that he was causing anxiety to someone, and this further prepared us for the present events.

"It is an ugly word, this word 'Revolution,' and Sun Yat-Sen often discussed it with us, and regretted that it should be necessary to use it in connection with his movement. For he is a patriot, and his sole



General Yin Chang.

Leader of the Imperial Troops.



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A GROUP OF MANCHU WOMEN - THE RULING CASTE  
IN CHINA.

The picture shows the distinctive fashion-in dress followed by the Manchus

aim is to release his beloved country from the foreign rule of the Manchus. This should not involve any very great change. The rule is really in the hands of the Viceroy, who govern their own provinces, and come only in touch with the Court at Peking to send reports and money. Each province really has more freedom than the States in the United States of America. Sun Yat-Sen would retain these Viceroys, making them subject to a strong President, and giving the people a Parliament. Apart from this there would be little change in the actual machinery of government.

"As for any reform of the Court, he regards that as impossible. He points out that the Emperor is a child, that the Regent, his uncle, is a weak man, and everything is at the mercy of intrigues between two Dowager Empresses."

On the occasion of one of Dr. Sun's last visits to London, he wrote to Lord Crewe asking permission to land at Hong Kong, in order to visit his mother who was lying ill there. Lord Crewe refused, alleging that Sun Yat-Sen was an enemy of the Chinese Government; but when the doctor was nearing the port, his mother's dead body was brought out to sea in order that he might take a last farewell of it.

"The men who will control the confidently expected republic," said Dr. Sun recently, "well know their responsibilities." They are travelled men, knowing Paris, London and America. Foreign affairs, he added, would not be disturbed by the advent of Young China to power. The revolutionary movement was and would continue to be purely "anti-dynastic." Chinese women, under the new era, are to be given a legal status, and family life will be entirely changed. Dr. Sun hopes that the Powers



Photograph by

Yuan Shih-Kai.

[Revised Press

The "Strong Man of China," who was recalled from exile, appointed Commander-in-Chief in the disaffected provinces, and then Premier in the new Government.

meanwhile will maintain strict neutrality, and the Young Chinese, for their part, will do their utmost to prevent any action which could possibly call for intervention.

Sun Yat-Sen is now about forty-nine years of age. He was born in Honolulu, and about his early life not very much seems to be known. In 1892 he came to Macao, a small island near the mouth of the Canton River, intending to practise as a doctor, after leaving Dr. Cantlie's medical school at Hong Kong, where he made the acquaintance which has ripened into so fast a friendship. Macao has belonged to Portugal for more than three and a half centuries, but its population is chiefly Chinese, with only a section calling itself Portuguese, but really Eurasian. In Macao island Dr. Sun found the Chinese hospital authorities willing to assist him in every way, which he describes as "an event," for never before had the Board of Directors of any Chinese hospital given direct official encouragement to Western medicine. With the Portuguese authorities, however, he had continual trouble. The law of Portugal forbids the practice of medicine within Portuguese territory by anyone not possessing a Portuguese diploma. Consequently the Portuguese first forbade the Chinese doctor to prescribe for Portuguese patients, then forbade the dispensers to make up his prescriptions, and finally made it impossible for him to establish himself in Macao island. After considerable losses, he therefore went and settled in Canton.

In Macao, however, as he tells us in the interesting



Photograph by

[Exclusive News A. S. P.]

General Li-Yuan-Heng.

Leader of the Revolutionary Forces.



Photograph by

Prince Tsai Chen.

[Lafayette.

The Heir-Apparent to the Chinese Throne.

but too brief account of his life included in his little book "Kidnapped in London,"\* he first learned of the "Young China" party, and its objects appeared to him "so wise, so modest, and so hopeful" that he at once sympathised with them and believed himself to be doing his best for his country by identifying himself with this party. In his little book Dr. Sun, summing up his indictment of so-called Chinese government, gives some information as to the state of China which is not generally known. For example, he says no one may read a political book, and no one below the grade of "a mandarin of the seventh rank" may read Chinese geography, far less foreign; the laws of the present dynasty cannot be read by the public, neither can books on military subjects, the penalty for the perusal of which, by-the-by, is death. The masses of the people a little way inland never heard of the Japanese war, nor even of a people called Japan's.

Most of Dr. Sun's little book deals, as the title would lead anyone to expect, with the extraordinary, almost incredible story of his having been kidnapped as a dangerous revolutionary leader by some Chinese Legation officials one Sunday morning, about 10.30, as he was going to his friends the Cantlies, meaning to go to church with them. The story of his confinement; of his fear of poisoning; of his efforts to escape by giving servants notes with heavy "tips," the former of which they gave up to the legation officials while keeping the latter; of his throwing notes out of the window weighted with coppers or two-shilling pieces; of Dr. Cantlie's chase after

detectives and officials in order to free him, and of his being finally set at liberty by order of the Foreign Office, under Lord Salisbury, is too long to summarise here. Those who wish to read in detail a highly exciting detective story of real life, a kind of mediæval romance which occurred in the year of grace 1896, will do best to procure and read Dr. Sun's own account, already referred to. One could wish that, in that volume, Dr. Sun had told more of himself, but the narrative is as unegotistical as it possibly can be, Dr. Sun being a striking instance of how true it is that those about whom we most wish to hear are least ready to talk about themselves.

Various personal descriptions of the Doctor exist, and all agree in saying that he is of middle height (about 5 feet 6 inches), and of robust, or, as it is sometimes put, "wiry" physique, with sallow complexion and coal-black hair and moustache. His appearance suggests a Japanese rather than a Chinese; but, according to a correspondent of the *Morning Post*, who agrees in his description with other writers, "in manner, dress, and speech there is nothing to distinguish him from an educated English man except the slight trace of foreign accent with which he pronounces his fluent English." Dr. Sun, however, cannot write English freely and idiomatically. The *Morning Post* correspondent, too remarks



Photograph by

Admiral Sir Alfred Winsloe

[Russell, Southampton.

Commander-in-Chief of the British China Squadron.

\* Bristol: Arrowsmith. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1s.

on there being about Dr. Sun "nothing of the fanatic, nothing of the idealist." He is a man of one purpose, of which he never for a moment loses sight. The present revolt is the fourth revolutionary movement with which he has been identified, the first having been the Canton revolution, which failed through a premature action on the part of one of the leaders.

It is interesting to note that the Chinese papers printed in English seem to treat Dr. Sun Yat-Sen as seriously and with as much admiration as the British papers. The *China Mail*, for instance, commenting on his release by the British Foreign Office, wrote of him as follows:—

An unassuming manner and an earnestness of speech, combined with a quick perception and resolute judgment, go to impress one with the conviction that he is in every way an exceptional type of his race. Beneath his calm exterior is hidden a personality that cannot but be a great influence for good in China sooner or later, if the Fates are fair."

Dr. Sun's own account of how he was first led to organise his fellow-countrymen was that it was by being present as a youth at executions. "Then I got into communication with the families of victims, and everywhere found revolutionary aspirations. Hatred for the Manchu corruption and administrative exactions is innate in the Chinese people."

It is, indeed, a fight against the Manchus which is now being waged in China, a fight against the half a million to a million who are misgoverning and have long misgoverned 400,000,000.

"Our greatest hope," Dr. Sun confided to a *Tit-Bits* interviewer, "is to make the Bible and education, as we have come to know them by residence in America and Europe, the means of conveying to our unhappy fellow-countrymen what blessings may lie in the way of just laws, and what relief from their sufferings may be found through civilisation. We intend to try every means in our power to seize the country. I think we shall; but if I am doomed to disappointment in this, then there is no engine of warfare we can invoke to our aid that we will hesitate to use. Our 400,000,000 must, and shall, be released from the cruel tyranny of barbaric misrule, and be brought to enjoy the blessings of control by merciful and just government."

Mr. Arthur Diósy, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, expresses hope for the success of the revolutionary movement in China, and is in absolute agreement with all other writers as to the high character, sincerity, ability and singleness of purpose of his firm friend, "the Mazzini of China," Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. The revolution he describes as "of the first magnitude, probably one of the greatest in history." The war-cry of the revolutionaries, "Down with the Manchu," is often inspired by racial hatred in the case of the rank and file, but not in the case of the leaders, who are ready to admit the misgoverning class to their full share of citizenship in New China. It is merely the privileged position of the Manchu which they are determined to abolish, and the whole Manchu dynastic system, which must go if China is ever to breathe freely. It is the Manchu, alien in race to the

Chinese, and, says Mr. Diósy, immeasurably inferior to them in civilisation, who has imposed on the Chinese the queue or pigtail which with ignorant Europeans has become the symbol of the Chinaman. The pigtail is not a Chinese, but a Tartar fashion.

For the first time the Chinese, says the writer, are filled with a consciousness of their solidarity as a nation, and they are developing, with marvellous rapidity, a strong spirit of patriotism. "Shoulder to shoulder they now march to the cry of 'China for the Chinese!'" The causes of this awakening, of which of course we have long heard, are many, chief among them being the rise of the power of Japan and her complete victory over China. What is very remarkable is that China, "the Quaker among nations," is fast becoming highly military. Once having made up her mind that a well-drilled army is necessary, she is doing everything in her power to get such an army, and now even young men of good families are induced to enter the once despised professions of the army and the navy.

Mr. Diósy says that the form of government fixed upon by the Revolutionaries as the best for China is the United States Constitution minus its glaring defects and inelasticity. But it is obvious from the details into which he enters, that it will be not unlike the Swiss form of republican government, with such matters as foreign relations, national defence, national finance, fiscal policy, constitution of a Supreme Court etc., controlled by the Federal Legislature, and smaller matters under the control of the different provinces which are to enjoy a large measure of autonomy, similar to that enjoyed by the Swiss Cantons. As for the acceptance of the new system of government by the Chinese nation, the writer thinks that it is so weary of Manchu administration as to be ready to accept any form of government which its deliverers recommend.

As to the highly respected mercantile community, "they are practically unanimous in their desire for radical reform," and, as Dr. Sun Yat-Sen has stated, they have given bountifully of their wealth, sometimes more than half their fortune, to further the revolutionary cause. But not the merchants alone have contributed their thousands. Poor labourers have often added a string or two of "cash" from their hard-earned savings, whilst Chinese working abroad send regular monthly remittances. Mr. Diósy concludes:—

Two significant facts must still be mentioned. The Revolution has partisans even within the precincts of the Forbidden City, and amongst the officials of the Manchu dynasty a large number are active, though secret, sympathisers. High officials communicate almost daily with the Republican leaders, often over the Government wires. The other fact still to be noted is of the greatest importance, not only for the success of the Revolution, but as an indication of the extraordinary changes taking place in the Chinese social fabric. Many women in China are aiding and abetting the Deliverers, some of them, ladies in high social positions, risking their lives for the cause. Herein lies a powerful element of success. In Old China the power of woman has always been felt, in spite of, perhaps because of, her apparently subjected state; in the New China her influence greater than ever.

## CHARACTER SKETCH.

### Madame Sorgue: "The Most Dangerous Woman in Europe."

THERE is perhaps no single woman living to-day who has played so vital a part in the organisation and inspiration of modern revolutionary movements throughout Europe as the famous Frenchwoman who is the subject of this interview, and who has been described by the public prosecutor at the Court of Assizes at Milan as "the most dangerous woman in Europe."

"Sorgue," as she is known all over the Continent, is not only a distinguished woman herself, but has also a distinguished family history. The daughter of Durand de Gros, the French philosopher, who is chiefly known to fame perhaps for his theory of *polyzoisme* and of *polychisme*, and as one of the precursors of the Schools of psychotherapeutics, Madame Sorgue has inherited the same breadth of vision which characterised her father. She is that anomaly, "a revolutionary-aristocrat," for her grandfather was the Russian General Cripkoff, and her uncle Istomine was the senior Admiral of the Baltic Fleet, and one of the most loyal upholders of the Romanoff dynasty.

Her bust in the Luxembourg, by Denys Pucel, conveys a wonderfully faithful reflection of the psychology of a woman who combines with a brain of exceptional power a certain childlike directness of outlook—a woman who at nineteen sought a channel for her energies on the French stage, and then passed in rapid succession through the *ribs* of journalist, and revolutionary speaker and writer, having

to-day an international reputation in the latter capacities.

She has been a thorn in the side of most European Governments, and in 1898 was the storm-centre of Portuguese politics. It is not difficult, after you have met this extraordinary woman, to believe the story I have heard in various parts of Europe of the part she played in the International Press Congress of that year at Lisbon, which was opened by the late ill-fated King Carlos in person. Every journalist in the Congress rose to receive the King save the irreconcilable Sorgue, who remained seated. When the King passed near her it was as though he had a prescience of the terrible fate which overtook him so short a time ago in the streets of the Portuguese capital, for his face blanched, believing as he did that the terrible Sorgue meant to assassinate him. However that may be, he had her thrown into prison at Oporto, which nearly precipitated the revolution of last year, for the people demonstrated in thousands and compelled the authorities to set her free. The Portuguese Government expelled her from Lisbon, and paid a tribute to her remarkable power over the Portuguese proletariat by sending a gunboat to escort her down the Tagus because the working class of Lisbon had organised a huge demonstration on the river in her honour.

She has also played a prominent part in the Italian class struggle. She was one of the militants of the great Parma Strike, was



Madame Sorgue.

indicted for advocating the assassination of Victor Emmanuel (which, incidentally, she denied), and sat in the prisoners' "cage" at Milan; but the case for the Crown broke down, and she was acquitted, being, however, ultimately condemned to serve a long term of imprisonment for her advocacy of anti-militarism—a propaganda with which she has been prominently identified in France with M. Gustave Hervé, the French anti-militarist.

Once, at Florence, she delivered her revolutionary speeches looking down the barrels of the levelled rifles of the soldiers; and she was the chief figure of the famous "Exode de la Belfort," when a large body of watchmakers and metal-workers out of work declared their intention of either dying or getting bread. The Government sent out two regiments of cavalry to stop the strikers, and the story of how this dauntless woman by her cool forcefulness controlled some thousands of infuriated and desperate men, and prevented bloodshed, reads like a page of fiction.

It was with these and a dozen other tales of adventurous daring in my mind that I set out to interview Madame Sorgue. Naturally, I expected to find something of an Amazon, with a physical envelope as masculine as her exploits. To my astonishment I was greeted by a tall, handsome, and still young woman, of essentially feminine appearance, with the exception that her broad shoulders and small masculine hips conveyed something curiously suggestive of the boy. The only touch of revolution was the thin red line which embroidered her tight-fitting blue serge costume.

I told her frankly that, in view of her unique experience, and as one behind the scenes, I had come to ask her to interpret the writing on the wall of the persistent industrial unrest not only in Great Britain but throughout Europe.

She walked rapidly once or twice up and down the room of the London hotel, wheeled sharply, and proceeded to give her views in short staccato sentences, which crackled like the firing of a Maxim gun.

#### I.—THE CAUSES OF LABOUR UNREST.

"At the time of the Coronation I told one of my Glasgow audiences that the 'big' people of the earth were rejoicing on the edge of a social volcano, which would shortly be in eruption. Events have proved me right; but I go further and I say, emphatically, that the recent outbreaks in Britain of the seamen, the dockers, and the railwaymen, which have just apparently been concluded, are but the thin line of water which, uncoiling its shallow length upon the beach, is the herald of the tidal wave to come."

"But," I asked, "what in your opinion are the reasons for the persistent unrest and for the catastrophes which you foreshadow, supposing it ever arrives?"

"The causes are obvious. In the first place, 'arbitration' has proved itself a signal failure. Not only is this true of the Conciliation Boards established

in 1907 for the railwaymen and the railway companies, it is true all round. The 'agreement' arrived at in the case of the recent railway strike will be another case in point. Ultimately, *colite qui colite*—and here Madame tapped her foot sharply to emphasise her point—"the men will strike again; but next time they will 'make good,' as you English have it.

"The next reason is the utter failure of Parliamentary action. I state with perfect knowledge of what I am saying that the masses of the workers in this country have utterly lost their faith in Parliamentary action, and are, consciously and unconsciously, tending more and more to employ the weapon of 'direct action,' through the General Strike. This I know from the numerous audiences I have addressed in all the great seaports of the United Kingdom, and from my experiences amongst the Trade Unions."

I ventured to ask where the legal enactments had failed.

"You want proof?" And Madame Sorgue looked at me in amazement. "Why, the proof is staring you in the face on every side! Take the case of the miners, for example. The tragic frequency of fatal colliery accidents is unquestionably a proof that the legal regulations for the miners' safety are not enforced—and they are not enforced for the simple reason that the actual mining inspectors are gentlemen who are more anxious to be on good terms with the owners than anxious to do their duty in protecting the lives of the men.

"For the same reason your sanitary inspection is a farce. The Chairman of the Medical Sanitary Congress held last year at Cardiff, speaking of the homes of the Welsh miners, said: 'These men live in hovels of consumption, which ought to be burned down!'"

"But are you quite sure of your facts?" I inquired. "These things are so frequently exaggerated for party purposes."

"Absolutely certain. I have had a thorough grounding in colliery work, which I have acquired through my association both as a journalist and strike propagandist in various European colliery strikes, as that of Montceau les Mines, Decuzeville and Lens (Pas de Calais), and the strike of last year amongst the Welsh miners. The miners know all the facts I am giving you, and there is quite patently growing to-day a consensus of indignation which must find its vent one way or the other.

"But it is when you leave the miners and come to the sailormen that you sense the reasons for the recent seamen's strike, with its international aspects, and for the greater outbreak which is already gathering together its forces. I have mixed freely with the sailors and firemen of the different European countries, but there is nothing worse in existence than the conditions of the forecastles of the British mercantile marine. These holes are simply forcing-beds for the germs of tuberculosis. Last year, in Liverpool, I inspected with Mr. Jackson, an official of the Seamen's

and Firemen's Union, some magnificent liners, the first-class cabins of which were floating palaces, where the rich man finds a maximum of hygiene and of luxury. The firemen's quarters were veritable hells. We interviewed twenty-seven men in one place where the smell was sickening, and where there was not room for more than seven. These men 'lived, moved, and had their being' in this confined space—sleeping, eating, and changing in the one room. The owners did not even provide a table from which they could eat; whilst the floor, owing to the absence of spittoons, was covered with the excretions of the inmates. My medical experience showed me that many of these men were in an advanced state of tuberculosis, the healthier members of the crew all being exposed to the possibility of infection.

"Here again is another case of the failure of Parliamentary enactments. There are legal regulations for the prevention of this condition of affairs, but when the officials come on board they remain in the first-class smoking-rooms, drinking champagne with the officers, instead of inspecting and reporting the condition of the men's quarters. The statement of Mr. Havelock Wilson, the President of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, was quite correct when he said: 'The shipowners can break the sanitary regulations with impunity.'

"I tell you, by persistent agitation we are driving these facts into the consciousness of the seamen, and every forecaster upon the high seas hears these things discussed to-day—and discussed to the accompaniment of threats which the recent strikes have shown are quite capable of being translated into violent and desperate action.

"I pass over the failure of your Labour Exchanges, which have developed into 'scab' agencies for strike-breaking—places which are hardly ever mentioned to-day by the British trade unionist without a curse.

"But, finally, the great and persistent spur of labour unrest is that of poverty. The extreme poverty of the inhabitants of these islands is a never-failing source of wonder to those of us who have studied 'the vice of the poor' in the other countries of Europe. It is particularly bad in the North of England and in 'Bonnie' Scotland. There is something fierce—something hopelessly appalling in the misery of the Scottish cities. No exaggeration is needed to drive the terrific facts into the consciousness of the British people unless they are dead to all feelings of humanity. The children of Leith, of Newcastle, and of Glasgow are pictures of racial degeneracy which should shame 'Bible-loving England' into action. In these cities I have seen boys and girls running barefoot about the streets, where consumptive persons were continually spitting, with bloody expectorations attached to the soles of their naked feet. There is hardly a parallel to that in Europe!

"But it is the horrid hypocrisy of the moneyed classes of this country which is doing as much as any-

thing to spur the workers into action. In Puritanical Glasgow, for instance, where it is considered sinful to visit a picture gallery on a Sunday, I found that there exists vice far more horrible than anything to be found in the cities of France.

"I visited the Glasgow slums at night, and was informed by the detective who accompanied me that in this city seventeen thousand women and girls were forced to sell their honour to keep body and soul together. Girls of ten and even five years have been sent to the hospitals infected with syphilis. This detective told me that all classes of men frequent the haunts of vice—many of them respectable married citizens, who pose as devout members of their churches and chapels. He also informed me that it is a common thing in Scotland for some factory girls to receive a regular 'prostitution wage' of 4s. and 5s. a week."

In vain I had tried to stem the tide of Madame's indignant eloquence, but finally I managed to interpolate a question as to how these conditions affected the strike unrest.

## II.—ENTER THE GENERAL STRIKE.

"It means this, my friend. The consciousness of these horrors is running like wildfire through the mind of the proletariat—the workers see all this misery around them after a century of Trade Unionism on the old lines, and after shoals of labour-legislation measures have been passed, and they are beginning to recognise the utter failure of the old methods of the sectional strike and Parliamentary action.

"That is why to-day the sectional strike—that is, the strike of any single trade—is passing into the limbo of dead things, and why concerted action between the different Trade Unions is taking its place, until the day is fast approaching when Robert Owen's dream of a Universal General Strike will materialise out of the land of shadows and become *un fait accompli*."

Again I ventured to ask for proof of the imminence of the General Strike.

"The writing on the wall is plain to the initiate. During the recent dockers' strike offers of help were received from the American Longshoremen's Union, and from the German and French Transport Workers' Unions. Vessels sent to Antwerp and other ports for unloading by the owners, who could not get them unloaded in London, were treated as though they carried cargoes of lepers. What has happened is this. The fighting policy of the anarchist leaders of the 'C.G.T.' or the French Confédération Générale du Travail, has passed the Channel. It has spread like a beather fire all over Britain, which, it must never be forgotten, was the home of the idea of the General Strike in 1834, when Robert Owen fathered it, and in my opinion and that of others—competent to judge, the honour of being the strike barometer of Europe is rapidly passing from the Latin countries to Conservative England, which will be



ready to realise the General Strike before even their more volcanic brethren of France and Italy. The strike of the Welsh miners, followed in rapid succession by the Shipping, Dockers', and Railwaymen's outbreaks, is proof positive that the temperament of the British people is changing, and that lying enmeshed in the British character of to-day are tremendous revolutionary possibilities."

"But surely, Madame Sorgue, these strikes are only spasmodic affairs, which flicker up and out?"

Sorgue smiled as she said, "You British never believe anything until it hits you. What you have said is true of past strikes, but that day has gone for ever. Nothing can ever again chloroform the British worker. The organisation of the recent strikes showed by their military exactitude and by their tremendous scope that a new force has arisen in Labour politics. I have the warmest admiration for Mr. Havelock Wilson, of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, who is unquestionably an organiser of genius and a splendid fighter, and I say that it is men of this type who in the future are going to be the *entraineurs* of the great strike movements. I was on the Glasgow Strike Committee during the shipping trouble, and had every opportunity of noting the wonderful powers of organisation displayed. A notable fact was that on this committee sat representatives of, I believe, every union in Glasgow. That meant common action, strength, and success.

"But the most symptomatic and the most suggestive of all the recent labour unrest was the battle which was fought and won in Liverpool. Tom Mann is the representative leader of the actual aspirations of the British worker, as Alceste de Ambris was the representative man of the great Parmesan strike. He has completely lost faith in political action, and he will yet prove one of the forces to be reckoned with by the master-class. In my friend Ben Tillett the 'direct actionists' also have a sterling leader of indomitable will and resource. It is these men who are the actual makers of history, not the politicians.

"But there is one point upon which I specially wish to draw the attention of the British public, and that is the bloody repression of strikes by the use of the army. Remember"—and the subject of the interview clenched her hand to drive home her point—"this repression will lead to equally sanguinary reprisals, and to a great wave of anti-militarism, as has already been the case in France and Italy. You already have a strong anti-militarist propaganda in the British Navy, which is becoming permeated with pacifist doctrines; and that this is well known to the authorities is shown by the letters which have recently appeared in the press. Those who live by the sword will die by the sword,

and the recent speech in Trafalgar Square by one of the strike leaders, in which he stated he would urge the arming of the people if the soldiers were employed in future disputes, is no mere frothy cloquence, but is suggestive of terrific possibilities to those of us who have seen the street fights between soldiers and people in various European strikes."

"And what of the immediate future, Madame?"

### III.—"THE CENTURY OF STRIKES."

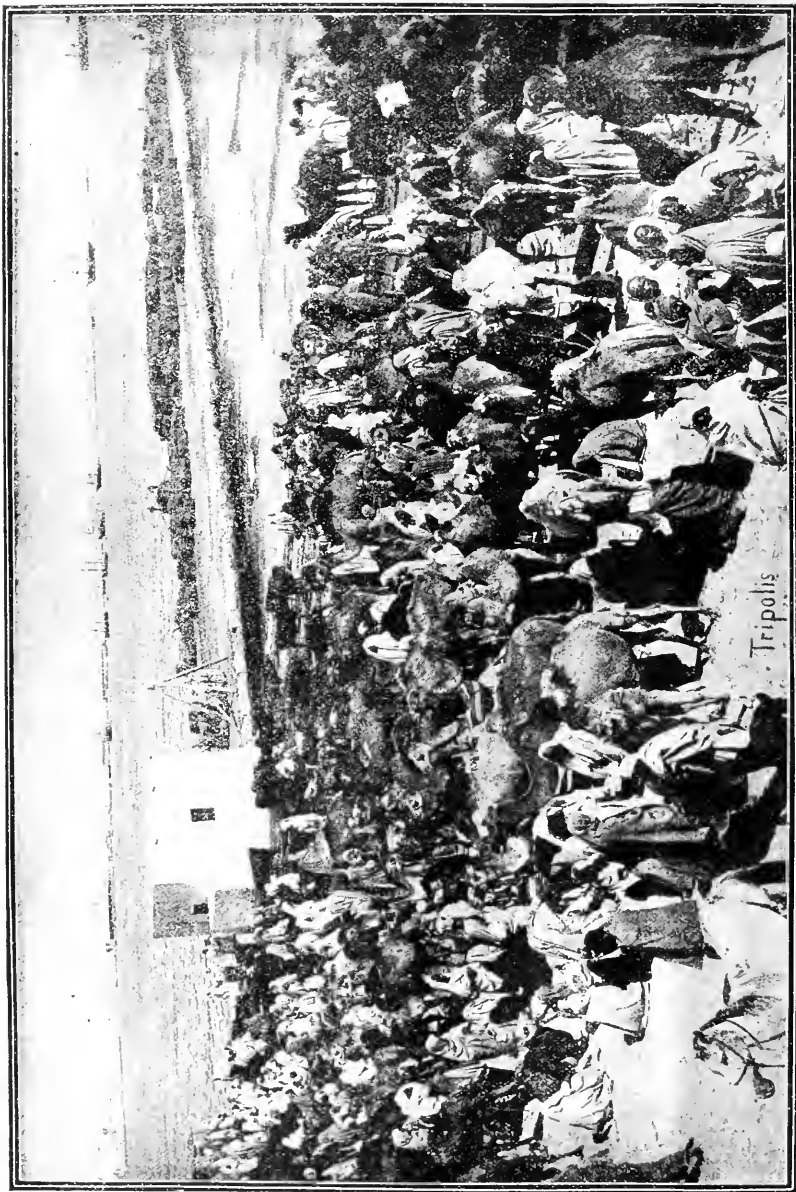
"The future is on the knees of the gods, but so far as one can tear away the veil of destiny one can clearly see that the present strikes are not the end but the beginning of tremendous industrial upheavals. In the International Transport Workers' Federation, with its forty national associations and nearly one million workers from eighteen countries, you have an instrument which some day, if not to-day, will be able to stop the shipping movements of the entire world within twenty-four hours. The arms of this giant organisation will spread themselves over Europe until the master federations will find themselves powerless in face of a power greater than themselves. No military force will find itself able to cope with an organisation of this kind. The 'sympathetic' strike controlled by organisations of this type will be the greatest factor in working-class emancipation—a weapon of limitless power and possibilities.

"The British Transport Workers have leaped into the van of the International Labour Movement—a movement that can neither be stopped nor controlled by the forces of capitalism. It is this International Labour Movement which will be the arbiter of war in the future. It is the millions of the red army throughout Europe who will have to be reckoned with by the statesman, the monarch, and the diplomat.

"I have good reason for my words when I say that even now forces are accumulating throughout Europe which will find their outlet and their expression in strikes of a gigantic and violent character, sometimes sectional, but with a steadily increasing trend towards international action. Great Britain will be the vortex of this strike-whirlpool, and this century will be known to the historians of the future as the century of the General Strike, the century of the proletarian revolution, the century which saw the triumph of Communism—that is to say of Altruism."

As Madame Sorgue gave me her hand and my *congé*, I could not help feeling that, whatever her social views might be, her foreshadowings of a Strike-Armageddon were quite within the possibilities of realisation. *Qui vivez verra.*

SHAW DESMOND.



Photograph by

Leibert and Landrock.

### THE HARBOUR OF TRIPOLI.

A busy scene in time of peace: A Trading Caravan arriving from the South. Hundreds of camels are grouped on the Quay.

# LEADING ARTICLES IN THE REVIEWS

## TRIPOLI:

### ITS ATTRACTIONS AND PROSPECTS.

IN the *American Review of Reviews* Mr. E. A. Powell recalls how in past times the mirage of a colonial empire in Tripoli has drawn in succession Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Spaniards, and Turks, but of them all only Arabs and Turks remain.

### ONCE UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.

Mr. Powell recalls a fact that is little known—that the United States once conquered Tripoli. About the beginning of last century the Pasha of Tripoli, then a pirate stronghold, had actually levied systematic tribute upon every seafaring nation in the world. He demanded an increase in the annual tribute of eighty odd thousand dollars which the United States had been paying. Then the American Consul handed him an ultimatum; an American war fleet backed it up, and a four years' war began. In 1803 the Tripolitans captured the frigate *Philadelphia* and enslaved her crew. But a handful of bluejackets under Decatur recaptured and destroyed the frigate. General William Eaton, soldier of fortune, frontiersman and former Consul at Tunis, recruited at Alexandria a small army of adventurous Americans, forty Greeks, and a few squadrons of Arab mercenaries, less than five hundred men in all, and set out across the desert with the object of placing on the throne of Tripoli the reigning Pasha's exiled elder brother, who had agreed to satisfy all the demands of the United States. He covered the six hundred miles in fifty days, took the city by storm, and raised the American flag over its citadel—the only time it has ever floated over a fortification on this side of the Atlantic.

### WONDERFULLY FRUITFUL SOIL.

The soil by the coast, where it has been irrigated, is amazingly productive. From April to June it yields almonds, apricots, and corn; in July and

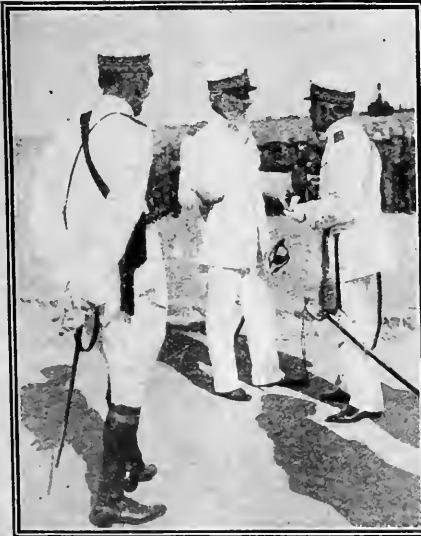
August, peaches; from July to September, vintages of grapes equal to those of Sicily; from July to September dates and olives; November to April, oranges; early spring, Malta potatoes; lemons at almost any season of the year. It was once called the "granary of Europe," and were the underground waters utilised by artesian wells, what it has been it might be again. It may be a new Italy, which the patient toil of Italian agriculturists and many millions of lire may make worth the having. The smells of Tripoli make no one wish to visit it again.

It was once the terminus of the three historic trade routes, but now French and British enterprise to the east and west have diverted the large and important caravan trade.

### ITALY'S REAL REASONS.

The hope of acquiring Tripoli was the legacy of Crispi to his people. There are probably not two thousand native-born Italians in the whole of Tripolitania, but the Jews there have been induced to become Italian subjects. Italy has established her own post offices and numerous Italian schools have been planted:—

To those really conversant with the situation, Italy's pretexts that the activities of her subjects resident in Tripolitania had been interfered with, and their lives and interests seriously endangered, sound somewhat hollow. To tell the truth, Italians have had a freer rein in the regency—and, incidentally, have caused more trouble—than any other people. Italy's real reasons for the seizure of Tripolitania have been two, and only two: first, she wanted it, and second, she could get it.



[Illustration: Borea.]

### The New Italian Governor of Tripoli.

The Governor, Admiral Borea Kieci d'Olimo, is standing in the centre of the picture, which was obtained on the beach at Tripoli.

### NO EASY JOB BEFORE HER.

Mr. Powell does not expect that Italy will have an easy time of it. He says:—

It took France, with all the resources of a trained colonial army at her command, thirty years to pacify the Arabs of Algeria; it took England ten years to conquer the Sudan; in German Africa, annexed more than a quarter of a century, the inland tribes are not pacified yet; our own costly and weary experience in the Philippines needs no recapitulation.

Mr. Powell concludes by saying that the taking of Tripolitania will prove in the end for the country's best good. It is the means that is contemptible, not the end.

## TRIPOLI'S PROSPECTS.

Dr. Adolf Vischer, in the *Geographical Journal* for November, writes on Tripoli and its resources. He thinks Tripoli's prospects depend solely on agriculture, not on mineral wealth, about which the best authorities are far from hopeful. Immense capital would be required to sink artesian wells or irrigate, and Professor Gregory, who is quoted as knowing more of Tripoli than anyone else, thinks the accounts of ancient authors as to the fertility of Tripoli were based more on imagination than on knowledge. Some of Fessan and Cyrenaica is still unknown land. Murzuk, the capital of the former, had a French visitor this spring, but before that had had no European visitor for forty years. The Turks have practically forbidden travel in the interior, as they would not face the friction which must arise with foreign Powers if their subjects were injured or perhaps killed while travelling in Tripoli. There cannot be at all a trustworthy map of the country, as only the coast has been surveyed, and the existing maps are based on the route-sketches of a few travellers.

## DR. DILLON ON THE SITUATION.

IN the *Contemporary Review*, Dr. Dillon's outlook is as pessimistic as usual. He anticipated the outbreak of bitter contests among the great Powers for a redistribution of colonies. War will more than ever be one of the recognised means of carrying on the struggle of life among the nations. He suggests that the latter-day world has become too small for humanity. Humanity should adjust itself to the limited accommodation offered by the world. Of Herr von Kiderlen Waechter's diplomacy, he speaks with very rousing contempt. He has disclosed "a degree of short-sightedness in policy, of clumsiness in methods, and a wanton brusqueness in his dealings" that have blighted him and discredited him in Europe. He has set Germany's two best friends by the ears. Dr. Dillon maintains that Turkey lost Tripoli some ten years ago, when France agreed not to overstep the boundaries of Tripoli, and Italy not to thwart the policy of France in Morocco.

## WHAT ITALY MIGHT HAVE DONE.

Dr. Dillon thinks, however, that Italy in the present instance has grossly blundered. It need not have had war formally declared:—

According to the first clause of the Convention dealing with the opening of hostilities, no signatory Power may go to war with another State without having first presented either a declaration of war, or else an ultimatum with a conditional declaration of war appended. An ultimatum, in this case, followed by the disembarking of Italian troops in Tripoli, would not have connoted war, if there were no communication on the subject to the Powers. What would then have happened is this. Italian soldiers would have hoisted the flag of their country over a few towns in Tripoli, Barka, and Fessan, and negotiations would have forthwith begun between the two States. The occupation would have been treated as an international "misunderstanding," which would be ulti-

mately removed by a diplomatic document ceding the territory either on easy terms or unconditionally. Concrete cases in point are the occupation of Egypt by Great Britain while peace with Turkey was undisturbed, the seizure of Manchuria by Russia, and, at the present moment, the invasion of Persian territory by Turkey.

Between such a state of undeclared warfare and regular hostilities there is a vast difference. In the former case, peace is unbroken, and the rupture can be healed more quickly. The money losses, too, not only of the adversaries, but also of nations that have nothing to do with them or their quarrel, are reduced to a minimum. In the latter case, everybody suffers. The neutral Powers are obliged to proclaim their neutrality, and then the seizure of contraband and of conditional contraband of war begins.

## THE CHAOS IN TURKEY.

Of Hakki Pasha Dr. Dillon speaks in terms of unqualified contempt as an unrivalled bridge-player, with the most tempting vanity. Yet Dr. Dillon declares that Germany is the virtual Protectress of Turkey, and Baron Marschall von Bieberstein the resident appointed by the Suzerain, Kaiser Wilhelm. Dr. Dillon sticks to his prophecy of three years ago, that Constitutionalism in Turkey is an impossible combination. "Turkey is a theocracy, in which the holy will of Allah is revealed to the true believers by unbelieving Jews and infidel Freemasons. The general paralysis in Turkey is to be traced to Islam and all that Islam in the twentieth century involves. It is based on inequality. The true believers are the full-fledged passengers, the unbelievers are mere steerage passengers in the theocratic ship of State.

## A TORY PÆAN ON OUR NAVY.

IN the *Oxford and Cambridge Review* Mr. Alan H. Burgoyne, M.P., Editor of the "Navy League Annual," writes on the Dreadnought controversy, and recites with rapture of our unrivalled position. He says:—

In the spring of this year and of next, hard fact shows that not only have we the Two-Power Standard in its highest sense, but we even meet the wiser and more comprehensible ideal of Two Keels to One of the next strongest Power.

Number of Dreadnought Era Units complete by March 31st, in

	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.
British Empire ... ..	12	20	27	32
Germany .. .. .	5	9	15	19
United States ... ..	4	6	8	10
France ... .. .	Nil	6	6	8
Japan ... .. .	1	3	4	6
Russia ... .. .	Nil	Nil	Nil	4 (?)
Italy ... .. .	Nil	Nil	2	4 (?)
Austria ... .. .	Nil	Nil	1	3 (?)

In this race of Dreadnoughts we are well ahead—ahead in numbers, well ahead in design, leading by an amount past computation in our *personnel*.

For this, at least, I thank Heaven devoutly; the hegemony of the wider seas is vested, as always, in ship-of-the-line, and when I note our position to-day (a greater ratio of superiority as against other nations than ever known before!), and review our position in the future—why, I sleep right soundly in my bed.

Which, for a hardened Tory, an enthusiastic Navy Leagueur, and an ardent (if imperfect) advocate of an all-powerful and ultra-efficient fleet, is a situation of not a little blessedness.

## THE POLITICAL BATTLE OF 1912.

## THE HOME RULE PROBLEM.

MR. FRANCIS MACDERMOT writes in the *Dublin Review* for October on the fiscal powers of an Irish Parliament. As against the devolutionist or the Gladstonian Home Rule, he prefers the Colonial, and he thus summarily disposes of the scare that an Irish Parliament might even tax imports from Great Britain, as when Parnell declared himself in favour of fostering infant industries by shutting out British competition. The writer says that this plea was advanced only as a bit of bluff in bargaining:—

But if Parnell meant what he said when he spoke of taxing British goods, he was wrong; and if he was wrong then, he would be ten times more wrong now. The English market is incomparably more important to Ireland than the Irish market is to England. So long as England was bound hand and foot to Free Trade, it might have been urged more or less plausibly that Ireland could tax her products with impunity. All this has been changed by the fiscal controversies of the last few years, and the development in England of the idea of Retaliation. The logic of the situation is so clear that no Irish Government could fail to realise it.

## LORD DUNRAVEN'S ADVICE TO HIS PARTY.

Lord Dunraven makes, in the *Nineteenth Century* for November, another appeal to Conservatives to consider sympathetically the question of Home Rule and devolution. He says Federal Home Rule will not only preserve the dignity of the Crown, but it will settle the Second Chamber question, reduce the representation of Ireland to its proper limits, and remove the Irish grievance of English control and the English grievance of Irish control. Thus the way will be cleared towards Imperial unity, and a better understanding between all portions of the English-speaking world will be the result. Devolution is absolutely essential for reconstruction of the Constitution.

Lord Dunraven deploras the attitude of the Tory Party towards Home Rule:—

"The non-possimus attitude which Unionists seem disposed to adopt," he writes, "and the strenuous campaign against Home Rule undertaken by Sir Edward Carson and his sub-ordinary war lords, are deeply to be regretted. . . ."

"It cannot be denied that the Conservative Party has—and not for the first time in its history—shown a disposition to negotiate the Home Rule fence. The party may scramble over or be dragged through it, but somehow or other it must land on the other side if it is to be of any future service to the State. Unionists must either modify their conceptions of Unionism, or must abandon the fight for a Constitution, for Constitutional reaction without devolution on Federal lines will be found to be impracticable.

"Let us have done with all the nonsense about reparation, Home Rule the equivalent of Rome rule, the persecution of a minority, and all the contentions derived from imagination, and serving only to obscure sound judgment and inflame the passions of men. Sir Edward Carson preaches open rebellion against all authority. He appeals to arms against the will of the people."

In conclusion, he makes the following suggestion:—

Why cannot moderate men of the great parties meet, and try to see whether, in view of the extreme gravity of the situation, concession and compromise on matters which, however important in themselves, are subsidiary to the vital issue are not

demanded of them in order to save the State? The question focussed to a point is this. Are we to be governed under a Single Chamber or a Double Chamber system? It lies in the lap of moderate men to decide—of men who, differing widely on matters hitherto deemed incapable of adjustment, are united in fierce insistence on a balanced bi-cameral Constitution. By making great concessions, by great self-sacrifice, and by that alone, they can prevail.

If Single Chamber government means in any circumstances "death and damnation," surely the unchecked rule of a House of Commons constituted as is ours at present means double death, and worse than damnation. To save the nation from such a fate is a noble mission. The sacrifice of opinions on smaller matters is both justified and demanded under the pressure of an issue so vital—the *force majeure* of a necessity so overwhelmingly great.

## MR. REDMOND A UNIONIST HOME RULER.

In a little article on Mr. John Redmond, with his nephew, Mr. J. G. Redmond-Howard, has written for the November number of *Nash's Magazine*, the Irish leader is described as a Unionist Home Ruler:—

Redmond is not a "Separatist"; but neither is he a "Unionist." He is merely the Irish embodiment of the most English of principles—government by representative consent. *Unionism* has nothing to do with *unity* (which is an English word). It is an Irish term which is synonymous, not with the solidarity of an Empire, but with the concrete ascendancy of a class and the intolerance of a creed.

Like a second Botha, Mr. Redmond admits his race have been bitter enemies, but he now calls for a cessation of the hundred years' war in English politics. He asks for the same terms as the South African Premier, and he promises the same allegiance.

## THE SPOILT CHILD OF PARLIAMENT.

Writing in the *Nineteenth Century* for November, Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, discussing the problem of Federal Home Rule, maintains that during the last thirty years Ireland has become the spoilt child of the Imperial Parliament. There was reparation to be made, and it has been made in no niggardly spirit. If Home Rule, therefore, has not actually been killed by kindness, the economic grievances which accentuated political discontent have been largely amended. Would Home Rule arrest this progress? With few exceptions the best brains in Ireland believe that it would, he replies. The Loyalists in Ireland, and especially Ulster, are called upon to resist a movement fraught with grave risk to the rising economic prosperity of Ireland and to the political solidarity of the Empire.

A WRITER in the *Balminton Magazine*, at the close of a charmingly illustrated article on "Sea and Water Birds," remarks:

We idly turn the pages of magazines and illustrated newspapers, enjoying the treats of animal and above all bird life there set forth, but do we sufficiently realise the hours, nay, days and weeks of patient toil and quiet endurance that such illustrations have cost? If it be birds, as these are, first there is the finding of the nests, then the waiting till the eggs are laid, the patient discovery of the times when the hen bird is ill, for if too often scared she will desert it; back again to photograph the young, or, most difficult of all, the bird herself sitting.

## UNIONIST ATTACK UPON THE CROWN.

THE *Dublin Review* gives a Unionist view and a Liberal view of the passing of the Parliament Bill. The Liberal says that the Unionist attack would seem to be directed not against Mr. Asquith, but against the Crown. The Unionist writer leaves little doubt on this matter. He says:—

Something happened; some new aspect of the case must have presented itself to the Unionist leaders at the eleventh hour which made them feel constrained to alter their policy, even at the cost of presenting to the country, by their unexplained change of front, a deplorable spectacle of inconsistency and apparent weakness. This view is confirmed by a similar change in other quarters, both in individuals and in the press. Something happened which the leaders had not counted on; something did not happen on which they had counted. But there *was*, at all events, one fresh argument used for the first time publicly, and with the utmost vehemence at the eleventh hour. I allude to the argument drawn from the fact that it would be unpleasant to the King to create the peers, and that it was the duty of Unionists to extricate him from this unpleasant necessity.

This argument may conceivably have been urged on the Unionist leaders before it was pressed with such violence on the House of Lords itself, and it may have had its share in making the leaders change their intentions.

Whether or not it was this new argument that transformed the situation in July, it is almost certain that it determined the actual issue in the narrow and critical division of August 10.

Such a use of the King's name was surely very unfortunate, whether it had the far-reaching effect of changing the leaders' policy or only that of deciding the majority on August 10th. As the Duke of Norfolk so strongly urged in his speech, it is impossible to conceive anything which could place the King in a more undignified position. A constitutional monarch in 1911 considers that he must act on the advice of his ministers. A hundred years ago, no doubt, this would have been otherwise. George III. regarded the King's right to refuse assent to his ministers' advice to be a real one. The parallel right of the President of the American Republic is still so regarded. George V., however, holds that a constitutional monarch must now, in such a matter, simply do what the Government of the day tells him. That is to say, the weight of the King's nominal political power is at the disposal of his ministers for the time being. The King himself does not interfere, the responsibility rests with the ministry. But if, instead of his ceasing to be a power in the political situation, we have the immense weight of his social and moral influence brought to bear in order to disarm the opponents of the Government and make them change the policy they had judged most effective, a very serious situation is created. The use of the King's name in such a matter can be, as we all know, a most powerful weapon without any authority from the King himself.

The situation then—if recent events are to be regarded as a precedent—amounts to this. The majority of the House of Commons can, at any moment, overbear the House of Lords by a threat to create peers, and then relieve themselves of all consequent public odium by calling on their opponents in the King's name to yield rather than force them to do anything so unseemly and ungracious.

From all of which, and much else besides of the same sort elsewhere, it appears that the Constitutional Party, after destroying the unique power of the Peers by jockeying them into rejecting the Budget, is now setting itself against the Crown.

"HOME RULE for Ireland comes nearer: the writing is on the wall, the long struggle is drawing to a climax. Next year will see the conclusion. The policy of the Government will be endorsed by the people."—Editor of October *Forum*.

## THE UNIONIST RECONSTRUCTION.

MR. F. E. SMITH, M.P., writes on Unionist prospects in the *Oxford and Cambridge Review*. He declares the party is passing through a period of self-analysis. Mr. Smith certainly illustrates this tendency. He regrets that after five years of opposition the Unionist Party to-day is by no means full of the spirit of confidence and audacity. After the *débâcle* in 1906 the Government embarked on a series of legislative proposals which left the proletariat absolutely cold. The rejection of the Licensing Bill found the Liberal Party at a lower level than the greatest Conservative optimism would have conceived possible in 1906. Mr. Lloyd George then profited by the lessons of Mr. Chamberlain, and made up his mind to appeal to the spirit of dissatisfaction. Hence thousands of working men who were Tariff Reformers voted for the Budget. They wanted the Budget first and Tariff Reform afterwards. Conservatism has nothing to learn, he thinks, from the Labour members, whom he denounces for stupidity and ineptitude, and declares that with the exception of Mr. Snowden they possess no man of even considerable parliamentary talent. The working classes do not care a brass farthing for Home Rule, they are profoundly indifferent to Welsh Disestablishment, and they are prepared to meet the Licensing Bill with the same hostility which destroyed the last.

## MR. F. E. SMITH'S POSITIVE PROGRAMME.

But mere criticism of the Radicals will not enable the Conservatives to gain office. What is needed is a programme sincerely believed and strenuously prosecuted. With Tariff Reform, Mr. Smith insists, must go social reform:—

There are still to be found in happy England the most revolting slums in Christendom; and hundreds and thousands of our fellow-subjects live under conditions which render civilisation a mockery, and morality a name. At the present moment the most clamant national requirement is undoubtedly a national measure—the crisis has long since exceeded the admirable efforts of the municipalities—in the direction of eradicating dwellings which are grossly unfit for human habitation.

You have no right to expect patriotism towards a country which fails to provide industrious citizens with the means of a decent and tolerable subsistence. Let England afford to Englishmen who are prepared to work a fair share of the humble amenities of life, and the heart of England will be proved in the supreme moment of trial to be as true as that of Canada; but let the proletariat be once convinced that the Unionist Party is the party of the classes and the moultitude of privilege, and it will undoubtedly spue them forth from their moths. And it will be right to do so.

These are vigorous words. Let us hope they will be taken to heart by the Party that already acclaim in Mr. F. E. Smith its future leader.

SIR ISAAC PITMAN AND SONS, London, have published the first number of a new shorthand monthly magazine, *The Phonographic Observer*. Phonographers will understand what is meant when it is said that the shorthand is as close an imitation as possible of the uniquely neat style of the late Mr. E. J. Nankivell, who for so many years was one of the best and most popular exponents of Pitman's Phonography.

## BERGSON AND BALFOUR.

THE October number of the *Hibbert Journal* opens with two papers which are certain to arouse in non-technical circles a profound interest in the latest developments of philosophy. In the first, Mr. Balfour criticises M. Bergson, in the second, M. Bergson states his own position irrespective of Mr. Balfour. We shall therefore take the latter first.

## I.—THE AUTHOR OF CREATIVE EVOLUTION.

M. Henri Bergson treats of "Life and Consciousness." He laments that in the enormous work done in philosophy from antiquity down to the present time, the problems which are for us the vital problems have seldom been squarely faced. He thinks philosophy will now give them their rightful place. There is no absolutely certain principle from which the answers to these questions can be adduced in a mathematical way. But we possess lines of facts; he says, none of which goes far enough, or up to the point that interests us, but each of them, taken apart, will give nothing but a probability, but all together, by converging on the same point, may give an accumulation of probabilities which will gradually approximate scientific certainty.

## CONSCIOUSNESS AND CHOICE.

The first line of fact is consciousness. All consciousness is memory, preservation and accumulation of the past in the present. At the same time all consciousness is an anticipation of the future. Consciousness is above all a hyphen, a tie between past and future. Consciousness is no more limited to creatures possessing a brain than digestion is to creatures possessing a stomach. Digestion exists long before a special stomach has been developed, and consciousness may exist long before the brain has been developed. Through the brain, however, consciousness works with the greatest precision, and we find that in selecting between the respective responses to given stimuli the brain is the organ of choice. It appears therefore as if from the top to the bottom of the animal scale there is present the faculty of choice, and more particularly the choice of action, of combined movements, in response to stimulation arising from without. Yet the function of consciousness has been seen primarily to retain the past and to anticipate the future. That function is natural to choice.

## CONSCIOUSNESS PRESENT IN ALL LIVING MATTER.

Does, then, consciousness cover the whole domain of life? M. Bergson replies:—

It seems probable, therefore, and this is my last word on the point, that consciousness is in principle present in all living matter, but that it is dormant or atrophied wherever such matter renounces spontaneous activity, and on the contrary that it becomes more intense, more complex, more complete, just where living matter trends most in the direction of activity and movement. Consciousness in each of us, then, seems to express the amount of choice, or, if you will, of creation, at our disposal for movements and activity. Analogy authorises us to infer that it is the same in the whole of the organised world.

## LIFE USING CONSCIOUSNESS ON MATTER

Consciousness and matter appear to be antagonistic forces, which nevertheless come to a mutual understanding, and manage somehow to get on together. Matter is theoretically the realm of fatality, while consciousness is essentially that of liberty; and life, which is nothing but consciousness using matter for its purposes, succeeds in reconciling them. The essence of life seems to be to secure that matter, by a process necessarily very slow and difficult, should store up energy ready for life afterwards to expend this energy suddenly in free movements. Sensation is the point at which consciousness touches matter. M. Bergson says:—

That these two forms of existence, matter and consciousness, have indeed a common origin, seems to me probable. I believe that the first is a reversal of the second, that while consciousness is action that continually creates and multiplies, matter is action which continually unmakes itself and wears out; and I believe also that neither the matter constituting a world nor the consciousness which utilises this matter can be explained by themselves, and that there is a common source of both this matter and this consciousness.

## "THE IMPULSE TO CLIMB HIGHER."

M. Bergson then puts the question, Why, if adaptation explains everything in evolution, has life gone on complicating itself more and more delicately and dangerously? He answers:—

Why, if there is not behind life an impulse, an immense impulse to climb higher and higher, to run greater and greater risks in order to arrive at greater and greater efficiency?

It seems as if it were a force that contained in itself, at least potential and interfused, the two forms of consciousness that we call instinct and intelligence. The human brain possesses this remarkable feature, as distinguished from that of a highly developed animal, "that it can oppose to every contracted habit another habit, to every kind of automatism another automatism, so that in man liberty succeeds in freeing itself by setting necessity to fight against necessity."

## VITAL AND SPIRITUAL.

The evolution of life makes obvious that there is a vital impulse towards a higher and higher efficiency to transcend itself, in a word, to create. But such a force is precisely what is called a spiritual force. Matter, by the unique nature of the resistance it opposes, and the unique nature of the docility to which it can be brought, plays at one and the same time the rôle of obstacle and stimulus, causes us to feel our force and to succeed in intensifying it. Nature sets up a signal every time we attain the fullest expansion of life. That signal is joy. True joy is always an emphatic signal of the triumph of life:—

If, then, in every province, the triumph of life is expressed by creation, ought we not to think that the ultimate reason of humankind is a creation which, in distinction from that of the artist or man of science, can be pursued at every moment and by all men alike; I mean the creation of self by self, the

continual enrichment of personality by elements which it does not draw from outside, but causes to spring forth from itself?

POINTING TO A LIFE BEYOND.

M. Bergson advances still farther, and argues that as the whole life of a conscious personality is an indivisible continuity, "are we not led to suppose that the effort continues beyond, and that in this passage of consciousness through matter consciousness is tempered like steel, and tests itself by clearly constituting personalities and preparing them, by the very effort which each of them is called upon to make, for a higher form of existence? We shall have no repugnance in admitting that in man, though perhaps in man alone, consciousness pursues its path beyond this early life."

II.—MR. BALFOUR.

Mr. Balfour begins his criticism of "Creative Evolution" by recalling the time of more than forty years ago, when in the English universities the dominating influences were John Mill and Herbert Spencer—Mill even more than Spencer. The fashionable creed of advanced thinkers was scientific agnosticism. This was a challenge that Mr. Balfour himself took up in his Defence of Philosophic Doubt. He bears glad witness to the reaction that has followed:—

In the last twenty years or so of the nineteenth century came (in England) the great idealist revival. For the first time since Locke the general stream of British philosophy rejoined, for good or evil, the main continental river. And I should suppose that now in 1911 the bulk of philosophers belong to the neo-Kantian or neo-Hegelian school.

FREEDOM 7. DETERMINISM.

Mr. Balfour begins his statement of M. Bergson's position by outlining his own position towards freedom. Being neither idealist nor naturalist, he accepts freedom as reality. The material sequence is there, self and its states are there, and he does not pretend to have arrived at a satisfactory view of their relations. He keeps them both, conscious of their incompatibilities. M. Bergson takes a bolder line. Freedom is the very corner stone of his system. Life is free, life is spontaneous, life is incalculable. Then follows one of those similes for which Mr. Balfour has become famous:—

As we know it upon this earth, organic life resembles some great river system, pouring in many channels across the plain. One stream dies away sluggishly in the sand, another loses itself in some inland lake, while a third, more powerful or more fortunate, drives its tortuous and arbitrary windings further and yet further from the snows that gave it birth.

The metaphor, for which M. Bergson should not be made responsible, may serve to emphasise some leading portions of his theory. What the banks of a stream are to its current, that is matter generally, and the living organism in particular, to terrestrial life. They modify its course; they do not make it flow. So life presses on by its own inherent impulse; not unhampered by the inert mass through which it flows, yet constantly struggling with it, eating patiently into the most recalcitrant rock, breaking through the softer soil in channels the least foreseen, never exactly repeating its past, never running twice the same course.

The metaphor would suggest that life has some

end to which its free endeavours are directed, and M. Bergson objects to teleology only less than to mechanical determinism. M. Bergson thinks, with other great masters of speculation, that consciousness, life-spirit, is the *prius* of all there is, be it physical or mental. In his view the *prius* is no all-inclusive Absolute. Matter is regarded by M. Bergson as a by-product of the evolutionary process. Time is of the essence of primordial activity, space is but the limiting term of those material elements which are no more than its backwash.

WHY? WHY? WHY?

Mr. Balfour then proceeds to criticism. He holds that M. Bergson has not given answer to the following questions, Why should free consciousness first produce, and then, as it were, shed, mechanically determined matter? Why, having done so, should it set to work to permeate the same matter with contingency? Why should it allow itself to be split up by matter into separate individualities? Why should it ever have engaged in that long and doubtful battle between freedom and necessity which we call organic evolution? This leads up to the main question, On what grounds are we asked to accept the metaphysics of M. Bergson? According to his theory of knowledge, M. Bergson's view is that not reason, but instinct, brings us into the closest touch, the directest relation, with what is most real in the universe. Reason is at home, not with life and freedom, but with matter, mechanism, and space, the waste products of the creative impulse. Man is not wholly without instinct, nor does he lack the powers of directly preserving life. But, asks Mr. Balfour, How is it that instinct is greatest where freedom is smallest, and man, the freest animal of them all, should especially delight in the exercise of reason? Again Mr. Balfour asks, if it be granted that life always carries with it a trace of freedom or contingency, and that this grows greater as organisms develop, why should we suppose that life existed before its humble beginnings on this earth? Why should we call in super-consciousness?

"SURELY BETTER TO INVOKE GOD."

For the super-consciousness does not satisfy Mr. Balfour. It already possesses some quasi-aesthetic and quasi-moral qualities. Joy in creative effort, and corresponding alienation from those branches of the evolutionary stem which have remained stationary. But why should he banish teleology:—

Creation, freedom, will—these doubtless are great things; but we cannot lastingly admire them unless we know their drift. We cannot, I submit, rest satisfied with what differs so little from the haphazard; joy is no fitting consequent of efforts which are so nearly aimless. It values are to be taken into account, it is surely better to invoke God with a purpose than supra-consciousness with none.

So again in the interests of religious faith Mr. Balfour concludes his brilliant analysis, of which the foregoing excerpts offer but a slight indication.



## WHY TURKEY DOES NOT PROGRESS.

## THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN ISLAM.

IN the *Correspondant* of October 10th there is a most interesting study by M. G. Reynaud of the position of Women in Islam.

## POLYGAMY AND SLAVERY.

The writer begins by remarking that there was once a time when the different races of Asia Minor and the Balkans must have been in no way inferior in any respect to the civilised nations of the West. Everywhere in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia we come across the ruins of wealthy cities and the remains of important works of public utility attesting the past prosperity of these regions since become desolate, as well as the spirit of enterprise, the artistic genius, and the vitality of the races who peopled them. But in subjecting the Orientals to his laws, Mahomet seems to have arrested their progress, a result due to polygamy, with its inevitable corollary of slavery, which is the leading principle of the civil and religious law of the Koran. To a certain extent Mahomet may have improved the material condition of women, but at the same time he doomed them to intellectual servitude.

## THE IMPERIAL HAREM.

The writer, who was enabled to visit the mysterious Yildiz Kiosk a few days after the fall of Abdul Hamid, says that though the *personnel* of the harem was dispersed, an examination of the cage in which the birds were confined gave interesting indications of the life they led. Shut up in a building resembling a prison as much as anything else, they were there to be sacrificed, body and soul, to the whims of one man. The ex-Sultan possessed no fewer than four thousand women, nearly all of whom were slaves. Polygamy, which prohibits maternity to four thousand women in the Imperial harem and which in Turkish society allows several wives to one man, can only be fatal to the Mussulmans. A rigorous observer of the law of Mahomet, it never occurred to Abdul Hamid to modify this state of things. Instead he periodically practised massacre among the Armenian population, the most prolific of the Oriental races, to restore the balance between the invading Christian and the Mussulman elements. During the last century Turkey lost several European provinces, and now we sometimes hear of the partition of the Empire among the Great Powers. It is not, however, the Great Powers, but the Christian races in the Ottoman Empire—the Bulgarians, the Greeks, the Roumanians, the Serbs—who are a menace to Turkey. Mussulman polygamy and Christian monogamy make any fusion of the races absolutely impossible, and it is among the Christian races that the population is increasing rapidly.

## NO HOME AND FAMILY LIFE.

It is absurd for the Turks to pretend that polygamy in their country is the exception and that monogamy is becoming more and more the rule. That may be

true with regard to legal marriages, but silence is maintained as to concubinage. The servitude of women in Turkey is proved by their dress, by the principle of the separation of the sexes in all the circumstances of public and private life, by the custom which does not leave to women the choice of their husbands, and by the disposition of the laws, civil and religious, which rigorously subject women to their fathers during the first phase of their life, and to their husbands during the second phase. In the "home" the husband and the wife occupy separate apartments, and even meals are not taken together. The writer one day ventured to ask quite an educated Mussulman whom he met daily at a restaurant why it was he did not prefer the society of his wife at table, and learnt from him that there could not possibly be any interchange of ideas between him and his wife as she was so illiterate. Thus, while tradition and custom prevent real home and family life, the ignorance of women creates an additional barrier.

## THE NOVELS OF ZOLA AND PIERRE LOTI.

As a strict observer of the precepts of the Koran, it is astonishing that the Mussulman should ever entrust the early education of his daughters to Christian women. Probably he thinks that the girls when they leave school will be forced to submit to the customs of the country. They will not enjoy any freedom, and it does not matter what they may think. French is said to be the foreign language most used in Turkey, and, we are told, the novels of Zola are largely read by the native women, but that Pierre Loti's "Azyadé" and "The Disenchanted" are strictly proscribed. This is not surprising. Pierre Loti does not show the Turkish husband in a favourable light, and Zola's books cannot give the Turkish women a very attractive notion of home and family life in Christian countries.

## WOMEN TO WORK OUT THEIR OWN SALVATION.

In all their teaching Christianity and Islamism must remain morally opposed. The monstrous example of the Imperial harem is sufficient evidence of the absence of moral rule in the Mussulman religion. In the nineteenth century "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was the beginning of the emancipation of the negroes of the United States, and it may be that Pierre Loti's "The Disenchanted," may play a like rôle in the drama of the emancipation of women in the Mussulman world. In Western civilisation the Woman movement is recognised as that slow and progressive evolution which will transform by degrees the condition of women; in the East nothing less than a complete revolution in the religious ideas, in the family and social institutions, in the customs, and in the laws is required to bring about such a transformation. But the Mussulman holds to his religion, the corner-stone of which is polygamy, and his mind is absolutely closed to Western ideas. The customs of the harem are as humiliating for the men as for the women. The writer looks to the women for the remedy.

## WEAKNESSES OF THE GERMAN ARMY.

In the *London Magazine* for November, Mr. Hilaire Belloc continues his discussion of the German Army, its strength and its weakness. One great drawback is that the Germans have condemned themselves to a military plan which must collapse altogether—and their political system with it—unless the first onset is immediately and overwhelmingly successful.

## A POORLY DEFENDED FRONTIER.

On the German side of the French frontier you have only two great fortified points:—

Upon the German side you have just two great fortified points, Metz and Strasburg, neither of them fortified with the thoroughness or at the expense of the corresponding French points; no system of fortifications holding the line of the Rhine, and behind that line nothing whatsoever that military science need take into account; no rationally disposed system, that is, or line of fortresses, supporting one another and compelling the delay of an advancing army.

On the French side there is the first line of fortifications, four great fortresses; a second line of fortresses runs from Burgundy through Champagne to the southern fortresses of the Belgian frontier; and thirdly there is the capital, better fortified than any other great town in Europe. Consequently the chances of a successful onset at the start are small, and difficulties would be very certain.

## "THE RUSH THROUGH BELGIUM."

But it is continually taken for granted that Germany would rush through Belgium. Well, rejoins Mr. Belloc:—

The German Army possesses for an attack upon the Belgian frontier precisely one main line of railway. There is no strategic co-ordination of the lesser lines in the manufacturing district of Aix-la-Chapelle. To the south and close to the point of attack, crowding that point into a very narrow channel, lies the high, difficult, and deserted country of the Fagne, through which no rapid movement is possible; and even if any considerable force could reach the Meuse in the first few hours after the outbreak of hostilities, in what way does current journalism (or current politics for that matter) imagine that the Meuse would be forced? The journalist and the politician have talked of the thing in general terms; they have not considered it in detail. The Meuse is a serious obstacle, and it is an obstacle fortified absolutely without regard to expense, and in the most thorough manner possible. Its fortification was carried through by the greatest engineer and the greatest authority upon fortification of our time.

On the French side of the Meuse you have a closer network of railways than is to be found in any district of Europe; and though these were not designed for a strategic purpose, industrial accident has made all the main lines lead up to the Meuse from all the principal French military centres upon that frontier.

Mr. Belloc reports that in the mobilisation of all her millions Germany has an advantage over France, but the war would be fought not by all the millions but by the first mobilised two or three hundred thousand. And the French turn out of barracks quicker, and alarm a town more promptly, and a soldier actually with the colours is at his post in a shorter time than the German.

## GERMAN SLOWNESS.

Moreover, Germany has shown great slowness in understanding the significance of new things in

military science. She won her victory over France by means of a better field artillery. But, though France within ten years was possessed of an artillery superior to the German, for a whole series of years Germany was armed with a weapon which would have given France an overwhelming superiority. Even yet Germany has not produced a quick-firer of the perfection of the French. The experience at Port Arthur has shown that the German under-valuation of fortifications was wrong, and that the French were right. Germany was the latest to adopt the submarine, Germany also went in for the rigid rather than the semi-rigid dirigible, but has at last slowly been compelled by experience to follow the precedent of the French.

The near possibility of war over the Morocco question makes Mr. Belloc's paper of very real interest.

## THE WIRELESS NEWSPAPER.

In the *World's Work* Mr. E. A. Taibot describes the development of wireless telegraphy. The whole world seems to be dotted over with wireless outposts. The competition with the submarine cables is not so great as was expected. He says radio-telegrams can now be despatched from Britain and Canada at a uniform rate of 7½d. per word as compared with the charge of 1s. per word levied by the cable companies. The Wanamaker Stores have united their two establishments, one in New York and the other in Philadelphia, by a Marconi service. This is estimated to save about £1,700 in telephone charges alone every year, in addition to securing a quicker service and one free from breakdown. Perhaps the most striking result is the wireless newspaper:—

Another striking display of enterprise is the system whereby a bulletin of news is despatched every night to vessels crossing the Atlantic. The "Wireless Newspaper" published on board ship, which first appeared as a humble single sheet, has attained the proportions of a weekly journal. Every steamship line completes its own arrangements in regard to the manner in which the paper shall be published aboard the vessels flying its flag, and the general features of the paper together with the advertisements are printed on shore. The news of the day, in tabloid form, is sent out at night, collected by the various vessels, translated into Dutch, French, or German as required, printed on board, and the pages are inserted in the stock copies, so that passengers at the breakfast table can post themselves up with the world's happenings during the previous twenty-four hours in a condensed form over the matutinal meal. This development has proved one of the most popular enterprises on the part of the Marconi company, and its increasing appreciation tends towards the fact that a paper similar in character to that on shore will be published daily on board ship within a few years. Some of these publications already have assumed an imposing appearance, are freely illustrated, and handsomely printed. The varied character of the contents, both news and magazine, certainly provides one means of whiling away the tedium of travel, and at the same time enables one to be kept *en courant* with the progress of the world in general when 1,500 miles from shore.

The Germans have their Telefunken system, the French their Rochefort, and the United States the Fessenden and de Forest systems. The Marconi Company is at present the most widely extended.

## DOES ATHLETICISM MAKE WOMEN UNGRACEFUL?

MUCH the most interesting article in the *Strand* for November (rather a light number) deals with the question of the effect of athletics on the gracefulness of women. The writer, Miss Emily Partington, admits that, after many years' experience of feminine sport, she is prepared to confess that the charge against athletics of rendering women ungraceful is not wholly without foundation:—

The danger does exist. But there is an important qualification: it is not the games which tend to make women ungraceful; it is not even constant indulgence in physical sports; it is wholly the manner in which they are played.

That is, athleticism may make a woman ungraceful, but need not do so. Mme. Pavlova, the famous dancer, is quoted as saying that the more she dances, the more graceful she can become, but only because all her movements are upon certain aesthetic lines which experience has shown to be beautiful. She avoids all ugly movements.

"If, for instance," she concluded, "I were to expend all my force upon ungainly, violent postures, I should be worn out in a week."

From this Miss Partington argues that "the best exponents of any particular game or exercise are also the most graceful," and cites various instances of famous sportswomen to prove her contention. One is Madame Esperanza, the well-known continental tennis player (the pictures of whom, however, with one exception, are not very convincing); another is Madame Decugis, the French lawn tennis player; a third is Miss Leitch, the golfer, but even Miss Leitch's poses do not prove that golf is a graceful game for women. Still, there is no doubt much truth in the contention that it is not athletic exercise in itself which renders women ungainly and ungraceful, but these exercises indulged in on wrong principles.

## IN WHAT SPORTS CAN WOMEN EXCEL?

"An Oxford Blue," in *Fry's Magazine*, discusses not whether women are becoming more ungraceful by reason of their greater athleticism, but whether they are approaching men in sport, and incidentally also the question of how far athleticism tends to modify their outward form. After a little well-meaning nonsense of the kind which lady readers are supposed to appreciate, he proceeds to compare women's records with men's. Beginning with golf, he arrives at the general conclusion that women, taken as a whole, "are not quite half as good as men" at it. In "sprinting," naturally, they can hardly be considered at all, nor in jumping either. In cricket and football also he thinks women not worth serious consideration, nor yet in hockey. Not till tennis is reached, indeed a sport which the writer puts fairly low in the scale of athleticism, at all events not at all near the top, will he allow that men and women approach each other in skill near enough for any true comparison to be possible. And even here the writer's conclusion is that, "despite the excellent skill of some of the ladies, there can be little doubt that the best men would give them more than thirty and beat them."

At speed skating ladies have no more chance against men than they would have in the hundred yards sprint race; but at figure skating, which is not quite the same thing, they make a good show. In archery, where the athletic element falls very low, the ladies creep up more closely; at croquet, where it is almost non-existent, they have occasionally won championships in competition against men, and croquet is distinguished for the circumstance that it is the only outdoor sport in which in championship contests the female sex has ever beaten the male.

Women may improve greatly, the writer asserts, but have no chance whatever of becoming athletes comparable to the best men athletes; that is, if they really remain women, as he is wise enough to think they will.

## MEASUREMENTS COMPARED.

He makes the curious remark that "the women who achieve success in games in these days are not generally women of normal female physical proportions." The athletic woman has, of course, notoriously larger hands and feet than what the writer calls "the drawing room or garden party girl"; and she has also bigger shoulders and a larger waist, but apparently narrower hips and a less deep chest. The following measurements of a woman selected by a well known sculptor as conforming to the ideal of a perfectly shaped woman, may be compared with the measurements of a modern athletic girl, "of conspicuous ability and success," whose height was exactly the same as that of the lady selected by the sculptor as perfectly formed. The comparison of the two sets of measurements is instructive:—

	Perfect Woman.	Athletic Woman.
Height ... ..	5-7	5-7
Weight ... ..	10-7	10-3
Waist ... ..	24½ ins.	27 ins.
Hips ... ..	42 "	40 "
Thigh ... ..	22 "	21 "
Calf ... ..	15 "	15 "
Ankle ... ..	8 "	8½ "
Wrist ... ..	6½ "	7 "
Glove ... ..	6½ "	7 "
Shoe ... ..	3½ "	5 "

## THE ART OF THE FRENCH MILLINER.

In a paper in the *World's Work* Mr. J. H. Collins tells how the Frenchman does business. What he says about the twenty thousand girls who enter the Parisian millinery studios and workrooms is especially interesting. He says:—

The *première* milliner looks far and wide for her ideas and at the same time pays little attention to what others are creating, or, indeed, to fashions at all, but searches instead for fresh ideas and materials. These often come from unsuspected sources. Not long ago, for instance, a Parisian *première* visited Montenegro, bringing home a trunkful of the wide felt hats worn there by peasants. This summer her clients will wear creations that echo the picturesque headgear of the Montenegro muleteers, ornamented perhaps with the bright shells sewn on their mules' harness.

Flower-makers work with the *première* to bring out her ideas, developing new things of their own or counterfeiting natural blossoms and plants with the utmost fidelity. Neither of them gives any attention to cost, for their productions are sold only to wealthy customers who come to Paris and buy weeks after the humbler model houses have shipped their goods off to be in season in distant markets. The *première* never makes two hats alike and has no facilities whatever for reproduction of her work.

### THE RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION OF COUNT TOLSTOY. A BATCH OF NEW LETTERS.

IN the *Grande Revue* of September 25 and October 10 we have a number of hitherto unpublished letters by Count Tolstoy.

#### TOLSTOY AT TWENTY.

M. E. Halpérine-Kaminsky, who has edited and translated them, writes an introduction explaining how he has been enabled to publish them. Addressed to a distant relative, Countess Alexandrine Tolstoy, the letters extend over a period of forty years, 1857-1897, but the editor proposes to stop at the year 1877, the time when the moral crisis of Tolstoy had become acute. They are preceded, however, by a few of Tolstoy's letters to his brother, printed here to show what was the moral state of Tolstoy's mind during the earlier part of his life. In 1848, Tolstoy was just nineteen when he wrote the first letter to his brother Sergius. He had quitted his University studies at Kazan, and was at St. Petersburg "seeking happiness" in a more or less irregular existence. He confesses to Sergius that since he had come to the capital he was fit for nothing; he had got into debt and was greatly worried. All the letters to the countess refer to the period preceding his transformation from a novelist into an apostle; in other words, it is the epoch in which his correspondence has all the value of strictly private documents.

#### COUNTESS ALEXANDRINE TOLSTOY.

Countess Alexandrine, whom Tolstoy seems to have first met in Switzerland, was only ten years his senior, but he addresses her as Grand'mère. She was attached to the Court in four reigns, a period of nearly sixty years, and was revered by every member of the Imperial family. She died in 1904. During the forty years of her correspondence with Tolstoy she followed with sympathy his moral and religious evolution, till he began to attack Christianity in the form adopted by the Church. Then they had to avow their irreconcilable confessional differences, and their exchange of letters became less frequent. But the old friendship continued in regard to matters not concerned with religion.

#### INFLUENCE OF SPRING.

In April, 1858, a letter begins:—

Grand'mère, spring! Nature, the air, everything is saturated with hope, with a wonderful future. Spring has such an influence over me that at times I find myself dreaming I am a plant which has developed along with the others, and which will continue to grow simply, quietly, joyously, on God's earth. On such an occasion there takes place within me an internal purification, co-ordination, such as no one can possibly imagine without having experienced it. The conventions of the world, vices, regrets, remorse, are all effaced.

Tell me what I ought to do when my souvenirs and my dreams are mixed up in an ideal of life to which nothing responds.— Everything seems different from what I desire. One is dissatisfied and unable to thank God for all the benefits accorded, and the soul is nothing but sadness and discontent. But it is impossible to abandon this ideal.

There is a reference on June 12th, 1858, to George

Eliot's "Scenes of Clerical Life," and especially "Janet's Repentance." "It is a religious and moral book which has much pleased me, and has produced a strong impression on me. Strong, no; nothing has such an influence over me."

#### CONFESSION OF FAITH IN 1859.

In a letter, dated May 3rd, 1859, Tolstoy writes:—

I will try to make my confession of faith. As a child I believed ardently, sentimentally, and without reflection. Afterwards, at fourteen, I began to reflect on life in general; I came up against religion which did not lend itself to my theories, and it goes without saying, I regarded it as meritorious to destroy it. For ten years I lived very quietly without it. Everything was clear to my eyes, everything was logical, and there was no room for religion. The moment had come when everything was opened to my eyes, when there was no more mystery, while life in itself began to lose its significance for me.

I was living in the Caucasus, alone and unhappy. I began to think, with all the force with which a man can think once in his life. I kept an intimate journal, and in re-reading it, I cannot yet understand how a man could arrive at such a degree of intellectual exaltation as that in which I then found myself. It was both good and painful. What I discovered then will remain my conviction all my life. In these two years of intellectual work I found an old and simple thing which I know as no one else knows it. I found that there is such a thing as immortality, and such a thing as love, and that in order to be happy eternally one must live for others.

#### A PASSION FOR TRUTH.

These discoveries startled me by their resemblance to the Christian religion, and then, instead of finding myself, I began to search in the Gospels, but found little there. I did not find God there, or the Redeemer, or anything of that kind; I searched with all, all, all the strength of my soul. I wept, I suffered, and I desired nothing but truth.... I can say that I have seldom found anyone with such a passion to know the truth as that which animated me at that time.... It is certain that I love and esteem religion. I believe that without it man can neither be happy nor good. I aspire ardently; I still hope; at times, it seems to me that I believe without having religion; at others, it seems to me that I do not believe. Above all, it is life which makes my religion and not religion which makes my life.

#### FINAL RUPTURE WITH HIS FRIEND.

A letter dated 1862 announces that Tolstoy has fallen in love. Later he says, "I have lived to the age of thirty-four without knowing that one could love so much and be so happy. I will write when I am a little calmer, when I am little more accustomed to the new situation." Though the chief subject of the correspondence was religion, it was religion also which separated Tolstoy and the Countess Alexandrine. It was in the winter of 1897 that the Countess had the last opportunity of speaking to Tolstoy himself about his unbelief, but no sooner had she mentioned the subject than he broke out into a fury: "Permit me to say to you, Grand'mère, I know all about that better than you do. I have studied these questions thoroughly, and to my belief I have given my life and my happiness. And you think you can teach me something. Teach it to those who have need of it—those about you!" Tolstoy and the Countess never saw each other again. The correspondence came to an abrupt termination, but Tolstoy deeply regretted the impatience which cost him so sincere a friend.

## KILLING THE RACE WITH KINDNESS.

IS OUR PHILANTHROPY PRACTICALLY MISANTHROPY?

A CHALLENGE to our social and political "progress," fitted to make the most ardent reformers pause and think, is contributed to the *Hibbert Journal* for October by W. C. D. and Catherine Whetham. They write on decadence and civilisation. Nature works out her scheme of advance by the methods of heredity, man by means of adapting his environment. The work done by heredity is work done once for all. It is an actual gain of capital. The other method involves a constant expenditure of income. If we so adapt our environment as to ensure that more of the failures of civilisation reach maturity and parenthood, and fewer competent persons are brought into existence to support them, we are engaged in a policy of over-spending leading to bankruptcy.

## EDUCATION ACTS AND DECLINING BIRTH-RATE.

The writers then call attention to a singular coincidence:—

The years 1870 and 1871 were remarkable for the assumption on the part of the community of the responsibility for the literary training—and ultimately, as it has proved, for the partial maintenance—of the children of the poorer, less competent, possibly less fortunate, sections of the nation. The year 1875 marks the beginning of the decline of the birth-rate among all the able, more intellectual, and more prosperous classes, on whom the chief burden, financial and administrative, of this environmental improvement fell. The decline has now reached a point at which it becomes clear that at least one-half of the children, who would prove the most effective and most valuable citizens and the best worth educating, are annually withheld from us.

## THE MORE DRINK, THE LESS DRUNKENNESS?

Again, drunkenness, once a besetting sin in the nations around the Mediterranean Sea, has been eliminated because the abundance of wine throughout long ages has enabled the victims of the drink curse most frequently to eliminate themselves before the period of reproduction. So the upper classes in England, who have had abundance of alcohol in palatable forms, have become sober. Hence a nation of mixed ancestry where strict prohibition was enforced for many generations would possibly have to be considered as a nation of potential drunkards. So in regard to tubercular disease. Immunity in the past has been secured largely by the removal of the most susceptible subjects before the period of parenthood and child-bearing. Hence "it is conceivable that a wilderness of sanatoria may serve as easily to increase tubercular disease in the future as to diminish it in the present. There is no certainty that it will solve the problem, and it may intensify it for our descendants."

"THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT"—AWAY FROM MOTHERHOOD.

On the progress of feminism, the writers have yet more stern words to say:—

There can be no doubt that woman's essential function on this globe is motherhood. Statistics show that, allowing for those who will not grow up, those who will not marry, and those who, though married, will have no children, four children to every fertile marriage is the very least that will maintain the numbers of the race unaltered, while, if the race is to improve, considerably more must be born and reared in the abler families.

We do not, be it remembered, asorb the feeble-minded and incompetent into these race-destroying occupations. We leave them to propagate their species at will, providing maternity wards and skilled attendance for the purpose. Among the women at the older universities in England, the record is profoundly unsatisfactory, and American sociologists are alarmed at a similar survey in their own country. There is a marriage-rate of less than 25 per cent., and a birth rate that is most disquieting, when we consider the intellectual capacity and high moral tone of the women affected thereby.

## "THE PLAGUE OF EMPTY CRADLES."

As women claimed equal rights in Sparta, the plague of empty cradles fell upon it, and in two generations the Spartan nation had ceased to exist. "A hundred years of better government, brought about by the use of the women for political affairs, may have cost the nation its very existence." Both in Athens and in Rome, the dearth of children in the patrician and upper classes was recognised as a national danger. The long centuries of barbarism and the squalor and the turmoil of dark ages were the price to be paid of failure to solve the problem.

## THE SOURCE OF THE HALF-CASTE PROBLEM.

Then, too, we suffer from a constant drain of men to tropical dependencies, where we refuse to allow our daughters to go. So we lose some of our most valuable young men, and are left with an increasing number of superfluous women. A further by-product is the large half-caste population:—

It is probable that the demand for the equalisation of the political, social, and industrial status of men and women in England, and the difficulties of the English with the half-caste populations in the various parts of our Empire, owe their origin to one and the same cause.

So the writers conclude:—

There is probably no way in which the capital of the human race is more directly attacked and eaten into than by the habitual employment of women in the task of improving environment without regard to the more direct and pressing claims of heredity.

The writers go on to put the somewhat ludicrous inquiry, "How much of the money spent on Old Age Pensions has been saved partly by the suppression of the children who should have been there to bear the burden?" and to indulge in the extraordinary statement that in spite of improved economic conditions "there is no diminution of pauperism."

A WRITER in *La Revue* of October 1 says that at the Paris Théâtre Français there have been, between the years 1680 and 1900, 20,290 representations of Molière's works. The piece played oftenest was "Tartuffe" with 2,058 performances, then came "Le Malade Imaginaire" and "L'Avare."

## A RHAPSODY ON DEATH.

M. MAETERLINCK, in the *Fortnightly*, concludes his study of death, of which the final sentences are as characteristic and as lucid as what goes before :—

It were much more reasonable to persuade ourselves that the catastrophes which we think that we behold are life itself, the joy and one or other of those immense festivals of mind and matter in which death, thrusting aside at last our two enemies, time and space, will soon permit us to take part. Each world dissolving, extinguished, crumbling, burnt, or colliding with another world and pulverised means the commencement of a magnificent experiment, the dawn of a marvellous hope, and



Photo by]

[Dover Street Studios.

Maurice Maeterlinck.

Who has been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature this year.

perhaps an unexpected happiness drawn direct from the inextinguishable unknown. What though they freeze or flame, collect or disperse, pursue or flee one another : mind and matter, no longer united by the same pitiful hazard that joined them in us, must rejoice at all that happens ; for all is but birth and rebirth, a departure into an unknown filled with wonderful promises, and maybe an anticipation of some unutterable advent.

And, should they stand still one day, become fixed and remain motionless, it will not be that they have encountered calamity, nullity or death ; but they will have entered into a thing so fair, so great, so happy, and bathed in such certainties, that they will for ever prefer it to all the prodigious chances of an infinity which nothing can impoverish.

The studies, by the way, have been published in book form by Messrs. Methuen at 3s. 6d. net.

## THE DARK SIDE OF SOUTH AMERICA.

THE discovery of South America was said to be the great event of the second Hague Conference. We have heard much of the wealth, enterprise, resources and commercial progress of the South American States.

“ALMOST UNIVERSAL !”

Another and a very terrible side is given in *Blackwood* for November, in an article on the immigrant in South America. The writer says :—

All men are armed in Brazil. The central government is weak. The Brazilians increase slowly or not at all. Being, with few exceptions, half-breeds, they need to be continually recruited by the unmixed race on either side, or else they tend to die out. Their families are small and unhealthy. It is not easy to explain why. The facts are well known, but they are shameful to name. The reader will allow us to say no more than this—that a certain hereditary disease is not only widely prevalent, but is all but universal in Brazil.

The English, French and German settlers can look after themselves, or are generally protected by the capitalists who employ them. The Italians come in great numbers to help in the coffee harvest, but they return in great numbers. The writer asks, how comes it that the new comers should be so eager to go away again ? He answers :—

The reason is that the Governments of these countries do not protect the settler against the feather-headed, brutal, and corrupt usage at the hands of judicial and police officials.

“WHITE SLAVE” TRAFFIC.

Many immigrants are far from desirable :—

The “White Slave” traffic is horribly active along the South American coast. Companies of high repute are not ashamed to profit by its money. There is no secrecy about the thing. It is obtruded on the notice of the first-class passenger by the flaunting swagger of persons of both sexes who come on go regularly, and whose purpose is notorious. They take first-class cabin for themselves, and perhaps a score of second and third-class berths for those they bring with them. The captain will tell you that they could be stopped, and that he would like to see his fine ship turned into—and he uses a very plain word. But the Companies do not act.

POLICE—ROTTEN.

The immigrant could be easily protected if the police did their duty. But—

The judicial and police establishments of South America are generally maintained for any purpose except the avowed one. They are the political agents of the men in power, and because they are indispensable they must not be punished for their excesses. Their hand is heavy on the poor settler in town or country. If a commissary of police desires the good-looking daughter of a small tradesman, and finds himself denied, he will tax the father to ruin. In Buenos Ayres itself, which boasts profusely of its civilisation, the police, mostly Indians from Salta, have seized women in the streets.

CLERGY—AS BAD.

The spiritual police is not much better :—

From Mexico southwards the disorders of the clergy, secular or regular, are notorious. Decent-behaved clerics can only be obtained by importing them. The men who possess what passes for education in South America are as destitute of all religious belief as of sexual morality.

The only way in which Italy can prevent her helpless sons being exploited and abused is by forbidding the recruiting of labour by the agents of South American employers.

## TRUTH AND SINCERITY IN LITERATURE.

M. ROMAIN ROLLAND AND HIS MESSAGE.

IN the October number of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, a Swiss review, we have what is probably the first article of any importance in French on M. Romain Rolland, the author of "John Christopher," a story of a musical genius, which is to run to twelve volumes, and which has already been described as the greatest novel of the time.

## THE CAHIERS DE LA QUINZAINE.

M. Paul Seppel, the writer, says that he does not know of an author in French literature to-day so true and sincere as M. Rolland. Disgusted by the "intellectual prostitution" of the time, M. Charles Péguy, a friend and a former fellow-student with M. Rolland at the École Normale, founded, with the most modest resources, the *Cahiers de la Quinzaine*, a periodical publication of little volumes, each containing a complete work or an instalment of an important work. M. Péguy was resolved to ignore the system of puffs. There was not even an advertisement to announce the series. Away from the tumult of the boulevards he retired like a hermit to a little obscure shop in the old Rue de la Sorbonne. It was a serious venture, but he has succeeded. Besides being an interesting writer himself, he has discovered during the twelve years of the existence of the *Cahiers* a large number of young talents—the majority of the rising talents of to-day, nearly all those who have since been crowned by the Académie Goncourt, and above all M. Romain Rolland, who has in their first edition, given all his works to the *Cahiers*, first his dramas for the people, then his biographies of heroes, and lastly his masterpiece, "John Christopher."

## WITHOUT HONOUR IN HIS OWN COUNTRY.

The conspiracy of silence of the "merchants of glory," the Press, has not prevented "John Christopher" from making its way slowly but surely. As his work advanced M. Rolland has found himself surrounded by an ever-widening circle of sympathisers. Outside the small and faithful group of French subscribers, it was in England and in French Switzerland that he found his most ardent admirers. Appearing in instalments like the works of Dickens, each new "John Christopher" has been hailed with delight. As M. Rolland says, "it was his unknown friends, scattered here and there in all parts of the world, who gave him courage to continue in an enterprise the success of which seemed almost impossible." But in spite of everything he has triumphed even before the completion of his work. The story is now being translated into other languages, and by way of England and other countries it has found its way back to Paris, and edition after edition is being issued. Mr. Heinemann is publishing the English translation, and the three volumes which have been issued contain seven volumes of the French original.

## REFORM OF FRENCH DRAMA.

Born at Clamecy in 1866, M. Rolland as a child had a passion for music, and desired to adopt it as his profession. But his father preferred him to enter the École Normale. Here the youth and a few of his companions used to read Tolstoy, whose works were then appearing in French, and Tolstoy's influence on M. Rolland has no doubt been very great. Next, he went to Rome, having won the Prix de Rome, and there met Malwida von Meysenbug, a remarkable woman who had been associated with the revolutionaries of 1848, and other great men of the century—Wagner, Liszt, Ibsen, Nietzsche, and many others. A charming friendship grew up between the octogenarian lady and M. Rolland, the attraction for her being not only the musical attainments of the youth, but his gifts in other domains of intellectual life. This lady also introduced him to Bayreuth, and it was about this time that he made up his mind to devote his life to a reform of the French theatre. In spite of Tolstoy, Wagner, and others, Shakespeare was to be his master.

## VENERATION OF BEETHOVEN.

Meanwhile he had specialised in the history of music, and a chair was created for him first at the École Normale, and later (1903) at the Sorbonne. From this teaching he derived the material for several books. At the same time he had risen to the first rank as a musical critic, and some of his essays have since been published in volume form. He belongs to no coterie, he says, and he recognises art in all the old masters as well as in the moderns. In the great musicians, especially Beethoven, he finds the best response to his profound aspirations. Though his own predilections are in favour of the great classics, no one has written more sympathetically of Richard Strauss or Hugo Wolf. All the time he has never lost sight of his projects of dramatic reform. In 1903 he published a book, "The People's Theatre," but up to the present his hopes have not been realised.

## HIS SERIES OF HEROES.

Without being discouraged by the poor success of his theatrical schemes, he has pursued his idealistic crusade in another direction, by writing a series of short biographies of great men, appreciations somewhat after the manner of Carlyle in "Heroes and Hero-Worship." These include Beethoven, Handel, Millet, Michel Angelo, and Tolstoy. Of these "Tolstoy" alone appears to have been translated into English, Mr. Fisher Unwin having just issued the volume.

Finally, in 1904, in the fifth series of the *Cahiers de la Quinzaine*, he gave to the world "Dawn," the first volume of his long novel, and it is hoped that the *Cahiers* will this winter bring out the remaining parts of the book.



## MISS BRADDON AS CENSOR OF FICTION.

In the *Pall Mall Magazine* for November Mr. Clive Holland gives an account of his chat with Miss Braddon at home. Miss Braddon is known in private life as Mrs. John Maxwell, and lives now in Lichfield House, Richmond on Thames, having recently given up her old home in the New Forest. She has been writing novels, it appears, for more than fifty years, and at the present moment no fewer than seventy-two of her novels are before the public. She has also written innumerable essays and articles. She has an occasional contributor to *Punch* and to the *World*. She has published a volume of poems entitled "Garibaldi," and has also written plays. She says that the greatest merit a writer of fiction could have was the ability to tell a good story in an interesting way. She lives with her son and his wife, and is very fond of her grandchildren. It was interesting to know how sternly she reprobrates many of the modern pornographic novels:—

"That many of the books of which I hear—I seldom read any of them myself," she said in parenthesis—"should be published at all is a scandal; that they should be written by women is even worse—it is a disgrace. The only excuse I can myself find for a really 'unpleasant' episode or plot in a book is that it should be the means, as is undoubtedly the case in many of Zola's books, of teaching a salutary lesson. That it should be introduced merely for the purpose of tickling the depraved palate of a certain class of reader, and of selling what may be in other ways a worthless book, is both debasing to our art and to the writers who thus pander to the lower side of human nature. I do not quite see how there could be a public censorship of novels, and I believe on the whole in the sound final judgment of the great reading public. A bad book seldom lives; a really good book seldom dies."

Miss Braddon says that she has no specific time for her literary work, but her favourite hour for story-spinning is the quiet hour between afternoon tea and evening dinner.

## THE RELIGION OF WILLIAM JAMES.

This is the subject of an interesting paper in the *Hibbert Journal* for October by Mr. J. B. Pratt. He says that James gave up the beauty and peace of Monism because he felt it inconsistent with the actual universe. The basis of his religious philosophy was his pluralism. He considered it the view most in harmony with the facts of experience. The God of such a pluralist universe is, as James used repeatedly to call Him, "a God down in the dirt." The writer prepared a questionnaire, which James kindly answered. To the question, "Do you believe in personal immortality; if so, why?" he answered, "Never keenly; but more strongly as I grow older, because I am just getting fit to live." He also said:—

"I believe in God, not because I have experienced His presence, but because I need it so that it 'must' be true. The whole line of testimony on this point [the existence of such an experience] is so strong that I am unable to pool-pool it away. No doubt there is a germ in me of something similar that makes admiring response." This "something" in him which at least corresponded to the mystic's consciousness of God he once described to me in another fashion. "It is," he said, "very

vague and impossible to describe or put into words. In this it is somewhat like another experience that I have constantly—a tune that is always singing in the back of my mind but which I can never identify nor whistle nor get rid of. Something like that is my feeling for God, or a Beyond. Especially at times that of moral crisis it comes to me, as the sense of an unknown something backing me up. It is most indefinite, to be sure, and rather faint. And yet I know that if it should cease there would be a great hush, a great void in my life."

"My personal position is simple. I have no living sense of commerce with a God. I envy those who have, for I know that the addition of such a sense would help me greatly. The Divine, for my active life, is limited to impersonal and abstract concepts which, as ideals, interest and determine me, but do so but faintly in comparison with what a feeling of God might effect if I had one. This, to be sure, is largely a matter of intensity; but a shade of intensity may make one's whole centre of moral energy shift."

## LAVENDER-GROWING IN ENGLAND.

AMONG the topics dealt with in the latest *Journal of the Board of Agriculture* is lavender-growing in England. It may not be generally known that the principal lavender plantations are to be found in the neighbourhood of Mitcham, Carshalton, and Beckington, in Surrey, and at Hitchin and Canterbury. At each of these places the industry has been carried on for many years, and a local reputation for their lavender production has been established, which is no doubt a valuable asset. Recently its cultivation has been extended to Dorsetshire, where a somewhat large area at Broadstone has been devoted to it in conjunction with some other similar plants.

## SOIL AND CLIMATE.

The lavender plant, we are informed, is probably more dependent on climate than soil. It is successfully grown at Hitchin on a light gravelly sub-soil. Lavender is indigenous on the hills bordering on the Mediterranean, and conditions which closely reproduce those of its native habitat are necessary for its successful cultivation. As regards soil, good natural drainage, a light, fairly rich soil, and a warm position are essential, while a mild winter, with a low rainfall, followed by a warm, dry summer, favours a good crop and, what is equally important, a high-quality oil.

## HARVESTING.

The time of harvesting the lavender is usually early in August. A writer on the subject—Mr. F. Ransom—estimates the average yield of oil at 12lb. per acre if the whole area under cultivation, including that devoted to cuttings and to the first year's growth, is taken into consideration. But from 15lb. up to as much as 30lb. of oil may be obtained in a favourable season when the plants are in their prime. The value of the oil varies according to quality, demand, and other seasonable conditions. From 100s. per pound thirty years ago it fell to from 20s. to 30s. per pound; but during the present year the price has risen, and 40s. per pound is given as the current wholesale price. Apart from growing for oil, there is a limited sale for the dried flowers of the lavender at Coven Garden.



## OBITER DICTA BY WALT WHITMAN.

To the October *Ferum* Horace Traubel contributes a diary of his time with Walt Whitman in Camden in 1888. Much of it deals with current American politics, and Whitman deplures Cleveland's giving the British Minister West his passports. It was little instead of big. He records Walt Whitman as saying:—

"I am troubled by the merely mercenary influences that seem to be let loose in current legislation: the hog let loose, the grabber, the stealer, the arrogant honourable so and so; but I still have my faith—in the end my faith prevails. It has been my ambition for America that she should permit, excite, high ideals—enlarged views."

"As for free trade—it is greatly to be desired, not because it is good for America, but because it is good for the world."

"I have a great emotional respect for the background people—for the folks who are not generally included—for the absentees, the forgotten; the shy nobodies who in the end are best of all."

"I find myself always coming back to my own part of view." "Which is that?" "Oh! haven't I spoken of it often, vehemently enough! Of the common man and the common ways?—that they too must be included and made much of?"

"I hate anything which looks like a surrender to debased appetites: for instance, now, to-day—the haste of politicians all around to pander to the Irish vote. It is contemptible—all such hypocrisies are contemptible—to the last degree."

"I say to the Radicals—the impatient young fellows: wait, don't be in too great a hurry. Your day is near: in the meantime hold your own ground—defend what you have already won—look, listen, for the summons. It will come, sure; it can't come too soon."

"What do you think of the Press, any way? To me it gets worse and worse; of all the political horrors it is the most horrible horror."

"Longfellow was the express of the common themes—of the little songs of the masses—perhaps will always have some vogue among average readers of English. Such a man is always in order—could not be dispensed with—maintains a popular conventional pertinency."

"My heart turns to Sand; I regard her as the brightest woman ever born."

"Shakespeare shows undoubted defects: he often uses a hundred words where a dozen would do. It is true that there are many pithy terse sentences everywhere; but there are countless prolixities; as for the over-abundance of words more might be said—as, for instance, that he was not ignorantly prolific; that he was like Nature herself—Nature, with her trees, the oceans; Nature, saying, 'There's lots of this, infinitudes of it—therefore, why spare it? If you ask for ten I give you a hundred, for a hundred I give you a thousand, for a thousand I give you ten thousand.' It may be that we should look at it in that way; not complain of it; rather understand its amazing intimations."

"Goite was first-class in that he was among the noblest of men—scholarly, democratic; democratic—not exactly as we are wont to play on that term to-day, but in the sense of the Elizabethans: defiant of the high-toned flumpishness of the rich titled superior classes—perhaps even intemperate of it."

"I like to be simply a man—taken so; one of them; not singled out as a professional."

IN the heart of rubber-land goes the expedition of which Caspar Whitney gives a very interesting account in *Harper's* for October, under the title of "Tracking up the Rio Negro." He shows the rubber headquarters of Brazil.

## THE NOVELS OF MARCELLE TINAYRE.

MISS WINIFRED STEPHENS contributes to the *Bookman* for October an article on the novels of Madame Marcelle Tinayre, several of which have been translated into English.

## "A NEW VOICE IN FRENCH FICTION."

Marcelle Tinayre's first novel was written when she was eighteen. Though Parisian life, especially life in the Quartier Latin, finds a place in her books, she is at her best when relating quiet existence at Tulle, her birthplace, and in the surrounding villages. It was in the *Nouvelle Revue* that her first novel, "Avant l'Amour," was published in 1897. Before accepting it, Madame Juliette Adam, the editor, sent the manuscript, signed with a masculine pseudonym, to Alphonse Daudet. On returning it, he wrote, "The story reveals inexperience, but you must publish it, for this young man will be someone." This novel was followed in 1898 by "La Raçon," and in 1899 by "Hellé." In 1900 "L'Oiseau d'Orange" brought her high praise from Edmond Rod. But the novel which constitutes her greatest title to fame is considered to be "La Maison du Péché," which appeared in 1902. Since then she has produced "La Vie Amoureuse de François de Barbazanges," "La Rebelle," "L'Amour Qui Pleure," "Notes d'une Voyageuse en Turquie," "L'Ombre de l'Amour," and recently "La Douceur de Vivre."

## LOVE IN ITSELF.

The chief theme of Madame Tinayre's novels is stated to be love—love apart from marriage; and, in her early works, love isolated from duty. This French method of treating love apart from marriage and from duty, according to Miss Stephens, has always been a stumbling-block in the way of the Anglo-Saxon who would observe French life and read French novels. French novelists plead that matrimonial love has no story. But in "La Maison du Péché" Madame Tinayre ceases to isolate love and reverts to the classical method of opposing love to duty. In "La Rebelle" she preaches the gospel of the higher development of woman by the unloosing of the bonds economic, social and religious, which have so long fettered her. Her heroines, while bountifully endowed with feminine charm, are described as strong, virile creatures, pure of heart and sincere, both to others and to themselves. Her book on Turkey describes the early days of the new régime, and the life of women in the harem; and in her last book she interweaves into the plot her impressions of Italian life. Her next book, it is expected, will record her impressions of England.

*Fry's Magazine* contains a very sensible article on "How to Judge a Horse," illustrated by diagrams showing the points of horses, good and bad. There is also an article by Montague Holbein, which many will read with interest, though it is scarcely topical now, on Burgess's swim of the channel.

## MRS. THURSTON.

THE *Author* for October has a note by M. B. L. on Mrs. Thurston. The writer of "John Chilcot, M.P.," possessed a singularly agreeable and gentle personality. She had none of the exuberance, or



Photograph by

[Svovaine, Southsea.]

The late Mrs. Thurston.

the very natural desire to discuss herself and her work, which is so typical of the literary temperament. Even to her intimates she seldom spoke of her books, and yet it is clear that her work must have meant a great deal to her. Each of her stories shows conscientious care; and when she was engaged on a new one it would absorb her to the exclusion of every-

thing else. As so often happens the novel which most closely reflected the life she knew, namely "The Fly on the Wheel," was that which her readers liked the least. Her first long novel, "The Circle," was founded on a short story which was an early imaginative effort, not written with a view to publication.

## THE WOMAN THAT IS TO BE?

In the October *Forum* Miss H. A. Larsen writes on Ellen Key, the Swedish authoress, as an apostle of life. She says that her untranslated essay, "The Woman of the Future," is like a whirl of white wings. Ellen Key writes:—

She is chaste, not because she is cold, but because she is passionate. She is noble, not because she is pale, but because she is full-blooded. She is soulful, and therefore sensuous; she is proud, and therefore true. She demands a great love, because she can give an even greater. Her refined idealism will make the erotic problem very difficult of solution and sometimes insoluble. But, on the other hand, she will be able to feel and give a happiness that is much deeper, richer, and more lasting than anything we have hitherto called happiness. Many qualities of the present wife and mother will probably be lacking in the woman of the future. She will always remain a mistress, and only so will she become a mother. She will dedicate her best strength to the difficult art of being at once a mistress and a mother. To create the felicity of life will be her religious cult. She will understand and reverence the physical and psychological conditions of health and happiness, and therefore she will bring a clearer vision and a deeper sense of responsibility to the choice of her children's father. She will bear and foster healthy and beautiful human beings, and she herself

will possess a finer beauty and a longer youth than the woman of the present. . . . Her nature gushes forth, fresh and free like the swell of the waterfall, but, like the waterfall, bound in a firm inner rhythm. However far she may go—in the intoxication of joy, the passion of tenderness, or the vehemence of pain—she never loses herself. She is many women and yet always one.

## THE RELIGION OF LIFE.

Of Ellen Key's general mission the writer says:—

She preaches the religion of joy instead of the religion of duty, and joy she sees in the most intense activity of all our powers, whether of work or love, of sacrifice or merely of sensuous delight in colour and motion. As the athlete must renounce the lesser pleasures for the supreme pleasure of knowing that every fibre in his body is obedient to his will, so the believer in life must often renounce its slighter impulses to satisfy the greater, and this is the only moral self-renunciation. Our petty worries and amusements leave us no time for great emotions, not even for our griefs. We should make a silence, where they can meet us "in sable-clothed majesty" and teach us their lesson from the depths of life. Sometimes an individual may find the truest enhancement of his own life in a sacrifice for another. The widened sympathy gained by living in another's life may give him at last a deeper joy than that which he gave up. But where it is a question of little soul-stunting conventions and compromises, there sacrifice is the sin of sins. There the individual must assert his right to live the life of his own soul, even if he must live it by dying for it.

## CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING FOR EDUCATED WOMEN WORKERS.

THE response made to an appeal published in the March number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for money in support of a scheme to establish a Co-operative Residence for ladies has been very helpful, and the society has been put on a sound footing in spite of much unlooked-for opposition, and a company registered with shares at £1 each and dividends limited to five per cent. A small house has been leased to begin with, and its few rooms are already practically filled by permanent residents.

The Directors and their friends feel quite satisfied that this encouragement justifies their having attempted a solution, in this manner, to such an old-standing difficulty as is presented by the housing of working ladies, whose need of homelike and refined surroundings is so distressingly great, and whose lack of capital puts it entirely out of their power to co-operate for their own well-being without outside assistance. If the full number for whom the estimate was made, viz., forty to fifty ladies, are to be accommodated this winter it is absolutely imperative that adjoining premises should immediately be leased, and for this purpose, with furniture and fittings, etc., £500 must be provided at a very early date.

The management therefore urgently begs those ladies and gentlemen to whose notice the helpless position of lady workers has in this respect been brought home, immediately to apply for shares.

When a sufficient number of residents can be housed a committee will be formed from among their number, with one as secretary, to deal with their difficulties and desires. Please note the new address is No. 7, Millman Street, Great Ormond Street, W.C.

## THE IRRITABLE MAN OF IRON.

PRINCE BISMARCK AND HIS SUBORDINATES.

THE *Deutsche Rundschau* for October continues the publication of the posthumous papers of Dr. Busch, under the editorship of Herr L. Raschdau.

DR. BUSCH'S POSTHUMOUS PAPERS.

In addition to the regular journals relating to his work abroad and at Berlin kept by Dr. Busch, there are amongst his papers a number of detached essays, apparently intended to take a place in a more extended and connected account of his life. One of these, relating to his work connected with foreign affairs, has a special interest, as it gives us a picture, by an intimate collaborator, of the method of work organised by Prince Bismarck as the head of what was then an important political department. The essay is evidently a fragment, for it ends rather abruptly.

BISMARCK WITH AN ATTACK OF VIGOUR.

Everyone who worked in the department and attempted in any way to maintain his independence was bound to come into collision with the Chancellor, and even Dr. Busch did not escape the experience. In the summer of 1874, Dr. Busch was recalled from St. Petersburg to fill a post in the political department as special adviser, particularly in Oriental questions. At the time the Chancellor was resting at Varzin, and he was not to be troubled too much with state business. Reports briefly summarised were submitted to him, and he would write his observations in the margin for the guidance of the staff. In the late autumn he returned to Berlin and resumed his tremendous activity. He had never been a man to pass over details, and now everything assumed an exaggerated importance.

HOW A MINOR OFFICIAL MIGHT OFFEND.

An agent in his report had only to use an expression which the Chancellor considered not quite suitable, and such a mistake in form, or such trivial matters as the quality of the ink or the paper used, or perhaps the use of Latin characters, which was strictly prohibited, was sufficient to arouse the wrath of the man of iron, and in his excitement the Chancellor would lay down new laws and regulations to prevent the recurrence of these faults, but having such far-reaching consequences that they could not be put into force. It was no use to endeavour to compromise, for Bismarck could not bear to have his contradictory orders pointed out, but in his calmer moments he would admit that the condition of his health was such that it was impossible to dispute about the matter. It might be that he was often in the wrong, and that the measures he took told against himself, but he was too tired to enter into the question. Nevertheless this tendency to yield to the impulse of the moment caused the staff no end of trouble. No one was more sensitive to the attacks of the press than Prince Bismarck, and they were a

continual source of irritation to him. The view of other statesmen that it was best to ignore them he attributed to sentimental weakness, the disease of the age. Every attack, he said, should be slain, and every insult met.

## THE NEW SCHOLARSHIP.

IN his article on the Heart of Things in *Chambers's Journal* for November, Mr. Henry Leach takes for his subject the New Scholarship.

STUDY OF THE PRESENT OR THE PAST.

The present system of examinations, especially in secondary schools, has long been under suspicion, he says. Candidates are crammed with books of facts which are not understood, and the examinations are mere memory-tests. Mediocrity is encouraged and individuality suppressed. History books often end at the accession of Queen Victoria, exactly where they ought more properly to begin. It is the events of the modern time that have an immediate bearing on all that we have to do to-day. Students know all about the Reformation, but nothing about the Reform and the Education measures of the most tremendous consequence. While they know, or at least once did know, all about the old-time trouble with the barons, they know nothing of the causes which led up to the Parliament Act of 1911. How serviceable it would be to be equipped with a knowledge of the rise of labour and the history of the Trade Union movement! The knowledge of many of our early wars with France could well be spared to make room for some concerning the progress of Germany in recent years, and knowledge of the Continental alliances of long-gone times, very soon forgotten again, is infinitely less important than knowledge about the Triple Alliance of to-day. What do students learn about the British Empire? Can they read with any understanding the money-columns of the daily papers? What do they know of the Morocco of to-day?

EXAMINATIONS BASED UPON THE NEWSPAPER.

If only there was such a thing as a school at which those destined for commercial careers could be taught only the things of to-day, beginning English history with the nineteenth century, considering geography only from the point of view of the political and commercial problems of the recent past and the future, being made to speak and read both French and German, and being taught something of the simpler laws of the country as they affect the ordinary doings of the individual in private and commercial life—in short, being made so efficient in knowledge of subjects and matters of current interest and importance, that they could pass an examination based upon the morning's newspaper, surely such a school would succeed amazingly. How a little of such practical knowledge would add to the interest and pleasure and profit of reading the daily paper!

## GREAT MEN'S CHOICE OF WIVES.

THE perennial question why brilliant men so often choose wives that are reputed to be dull comes up in an *Edinburgh Review* of famous autobiographies. The biographies selected are those of Rousseau, Gibbon, Goethe, J. S. Mill and Spencer. In the October number the writer says:—

We are immediately struck by the very remarkable circumstance that not one of these writers of great autobiographies stood in absolutely normal relations with their women. Spencer never married, and never even fell in love. Cellini, Rousseau, and Goethe all married women from the lower classes, by whom they had already had children. Mill's pre-marital relations with his wife were such as to cause much scandal. In all these cases (except Cellini's, of which there is no record) the marriage was looked upon as a disaster, and the wife was for long not received in society, in spite of the extreme distinction of the husbands. The women had not in any of these cases unusual qualities, either physical or mental, that were apparent to outsiders. On the contrary, in the cases of Goethe and Rousseau she had had only a rudimentary education, and sprang from the very lowest classes. Rousseau selected as his partner for life a wholly illiterate general servant, worked to death in a low tavern. Described by Lord Morley as of "brutish understanding," she could neither read nor write nor add up figures. She never even could attain to the mastery of the order in which the months follow one another. Goethe selected a young woman who maintained herself by making artificial flowers; having escaped from her father, who had been brought by drunkenness to absolute ruin and degradation. Yet both Rousseau and Goethe had had much previous association with cultivated women of high station and great attraction, whom they deliberately abandoned. Mme. de Warens and the Frau von Stein were thrown over in favour of Thérèse Le Vasseur and Christiane Vulpius, with their unamiable mothers thrown in. Here surely is material for the philosopher of biography to work upon.

The writer chivalrously challenges the judgment generally pronounced upon these wives of famous men. He says:—

It is tolerably plain that the verdict of contemporaries must have been wrong. It is absurd to present these women as utterly useless, hanging like millstones round their husbands' necks. They must in some way have been powerful aids and even essential elements in the fame of which they appeared to share so little. Perhaps the explanation is not after all so very difficult to understand. Goethe and Rousseau both exhibit an intensely individualistic character in their writings. Not only were they the greatest writers of their time unsurpassed by any writers of any time, but they each have a distinctive characteristic note, which is not to be found in any other writings but their own. This note emanates from a personality that has been developed to an extreme degree along its own lines; and it seems probable that any close literary influence might have diverted that development from its own into some more commonplace channel. It is clear that not so much individuality is likely to be found in a work collaborated by two people, as in a work that is the product of a single mind. It is a well-established statistical law that the average of two characters will always diverge less from the commonplace than a single character. It may therefore be inferred that Rousseau and Goethe were more distinctly Rousseauite and Goetheian than they would have been had they been less free from outer influence. But in addition to this negative advantage, they probably gathered high positive benefits from their association with these women. All the knowledge we possess of the women goes to show that they were overflowing with vitality and mental robustness. Constant association with a vigorous personality cannot but have an invigorating effect. No one alive could have rendered to such great authors any assistance in the formation or expression of

their ideas. The only help possible to them was just that environment of healthy, robust-minded persons, whose outlook on life was free from trepidation or the vacillation that comes from unrealised ambitions and hopes. This conscious efficiency and success in dealing with life must have, by its infective character, far outweighed the deficiencies which are so much discussed. And we may be sure these deficiencies have been greatly exaggerated.

The writer proceeds to point out that high education too often has an emasculating effect upon moderately endowed minds, especially among women. Therefore Goethe and Rousseau were far better with women who had no ambitions of their own to be fed at the expense of their husbands, whose outlook on life was simple, robust, and confident, than with women who would have had pretensions to intellectual interests alongside of their husbands. The writer finds John Stuart Mill's an instance in point:—

Mrs. Taylor and thereafter Miss Helen Taylor had intellectual pretensions and did exercise an influence upon Mill which can only be considered as deleterious. The nature of this influence will be perceived by anyone who closely compares those of Mill's published letters which were written independently of Taylor influence and those which were under the influence. That Mill never wrote any great work after the "Political Economy," published when he was thirty-nine, is perhaps attributable to the same cause. His fame was made long before he married, and he never afterwards greatly increased it.

These extracts will be read with great satisfaction by all the "dull" wives of clever husbands, and clever husbands of "dull" wives.

## WOMAN IN THE TRAGEDY OF TRANSITION.

THE Italian historian Guglielmo Ferrero, writing in the October *Century* on Agrippina, the mother of Nero, and her terrible end, dwells on the fact that "the progress of the world is one of the most tragic of its phenomena. When an old world is disappearing and a new one making its way, men are then called upon to solve insoluble problems and to attempt enterprises which are both necessary and impossible":—

At such times women generally suffer more than men, for every change which occurs in their situation seems more dangerous, and it is right that it should be so. For woman is by nature the vestal of our species, and for that reason she must be more conservative, more circumspect, and more virtuous than man. There is no state or civilisation which has comprehended the highest things in life which has not been forced to instil into its women rather than into its men the sense for all those virtues upon which depend the stability of the family and the future of the race. And for every era this is a question of life and death. In such periods when one world is dying and another coming to birth, all conceptions become confused, and all attempts bring forth bizarre results. He who wishes to preserve, often destroys, so that virtue seems vice, and vice seems virtue. Precisely for this reason it is more difficult for a woman than for a man to succeed in fulfilling her proper mission, for she is more exposed to the danger of losing her way and of missing her particular function; and since she is more likely to fail in realising her natural destiny, she is more likely to be doomed to a life of misfortune.

THE *Journal of the Folk-Lore Society* for October contains in full the very interesting paper on Hampshire Folk-Lore, read before the Society by Mr. D. H. Montray Read.

## LEARNED LADIES IN TUDOR TIMES.

In *Harper's* for October Miss Helen Hay Wilson writes on the education of daughters, and calls to mind that the higher education for women was realised to a much greater extent than is often supposed in the time of the Tudors. She says:—

The etiquette and service of the age were very elaborate, the books of courtesy, of carving, and the numerous works on matters that fill the period seem to contain directions to occupy a lifetime. And though the state of society and manners was crude in many ways and the standard of household comfort and cleanliness very low (as witness the household books of Henry VIII.), till the conditions of life do not seem to have been actually much harder on women than on men. The education of women was in proportion as good as that of men, and carried on in much the same way. And as men improved, women improved with them. When the moral force came, the standard of women's education was raised at once. The Princess Elizabeth was well skilled in Greek and Latin, and Lady Jane Grey a devoted student of Plato. This is Harrison's description of Elizabeth's Court; and Harrison, let me remember, was a contemporary of Knex. "There are very few," he says, "of our courtiers (of both sexes) who have not the use and skill of sundry speeches, besides an excellent vein of writing beforetime not regarded. . . . Truly it is a rare thing with us now to hear of a courtier which hath but his own language. . . . Many gentlewomen and ladies there are that besides sound knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues are thereto no less skilful in the Spanish, Italian and French. I am persuaded that as the noblemen and gentlemen do surmount in this behalf, so these come very little or nothing behind them for their parts: which industry," adds the worthy parson, "God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting."

## ARE THE JEWS WORTH PRESERVING?

In the October *Eugenics* Dr. R. N. Salaman, writing on heredity and the Jew, explodes a common impression of the persistence of the Jewish type. We have seen it stated, for example, that the inter-marriage of a single Jewess with a Gentile stock will cause the reappearance of the Jewish type generation after generation. The writer has, however, got together a large number of facts from people whose bias was as stated above. They find, to their great surprise:—

In fifty families, where the father was Gentile and the mother a Jewess, there were eighty-eight Gentile-looking children, fifteen Jewish, and four intermediate in type. In eighty-six families where the father was Jewish and the mother Gentile, there were 240 Gentile-looking children, eleven Jewish, and four intermediate. In both cases the intermediates are, practically Gentile-looking. Adding the two classes together we find that there are 336 Gentile children to twenty-six Jewish, i.e., thirteen Gentile to one Jewish. The result is a surprise to both the anthropologist and to the Mendelian. To the former, who looks for blending, we have the fact that, so far from blending, we have no less than 93 per cent of the mixed breed offspring resembling one parental type only. To the Mendelian some surprise must occur that the dominance is not absolute.

From these and other investigations he concludes that the absorption of the Jew into the general population would make very little difference to the general population, but to the Jews themselves "assimilation must spell elimination." Taken for granted that the Jewish people as a whole possess some qualities which it is desirable should be preserved, the writer concludes it is absolutely essential that a pure stock possessing such qualities should be kept in existence.

## SCOTTISH CURLING AND SWISS.

In the *Winter Sports Review* for October Bertram Smith discusses Alpine curling from the Scotch point of view. He says that golf and curling stand as a lasting monument to the inventive faculty of the Scot. But while Scotland is still the undisputed headquarters of golf, Scotland has been surpassed in curling by other lands, notably Canada:—

There is, I think, something rather tragic in this course of events. For Scotland is still by far the greatest curling country in the world, if one is to judge by the number of curlers in proportion to the population, and the fact that it is being left behind in the race is due to no lack of enthusiasm and native skill. It is to be ascribed solely to the behaviour of an incorrigible climate, which has only admitted of some thirty or forty days' curling on deep water in the course of the last ten years. By dint of "Tarmac" rinks—which can turn the lightest of frosts to account—by taking full advantage of the artificial ice-rink in Glasgow, and by frequent visits to Switzerland, Scotchmen are still able to hold their own against all comers—except the victorious Canadians—but in the heart of the true Scot artificial rinks and Tarmac ponds are, at best, but a makeshift and a substitute. The real Scotch curling, which has counted for so much in the social life of the land, and which claims adherents in almost every village, is the game as played on the "floating" ice of an open loch. It is seen at its best only in a lasting frost, when parish spiels, province matches and the great bonspiels, sometimes numbering their players by the thousand, are brought to an issue.

Mr. Smith objects to the luxurious, not to say finicking developments of curling in Switzerland.

## "NOTHING THAT MORGAN CANNOT BUY."

THE following extract from Mr. William Salisbury's interview with Madame Michaelis, whom he describes as a new Northern literary star, in the *Twentieth Century Magazine* for October, shows how deeply the belief, at any rate, has sunk into the heart of the American people that the best intellect of the nation is enmeshed in the toils of the multi-millionaire octopus. Mr. Salisbury says of Mr. William Dean Howells, whose earlier work and youthful courage gave promise of better things:—

"Now he is on Mr. Morgan's pay-roll, and, like others who are there, or who are ambitious to be put there, he remains silent on the vital questions of the day."

"How is he on Mr. Morgan's pay-roll?"

"He is under contract to write only for the Harper company, and Mr. Morgan holds the bonds of that concern. By controlling that and other publishing houses which print the leading magazines and books by our best-known authors, Mr. Morgan is in possession of the strategic centre of current literature. Frequently, too, he or his allies reach out and seize upon a reform magazine. He is also believed to have his grip on the strategic centre of journalism, which to him is just an industry to be used to aid his other industries, such as steel, railways, banks, coal, telegraphs, telephones, insurance companies, political machines, and so on. There seems to be nothing in America that he cannot buy."

In *East and West* of October, "Bacillus," makes the suggestion that a newspaper should be founded in London in order to maintain and commend the prestige of the Government in India in dealing with those problems which, originally purely Indian, have now become inextricably woven into larger Imperial issues.

### WHY NOT REVISE THE BIBLE EVERY THIRTY YEARS?

In the October *Quarterly* Mr. G. C. Macaulay concludes an interesting article on the English Bible by declaring that it may safely be predicted that nothing can now supplant the Authorised Version in the hearts of the English-speaking people:—

We must make up our minds, then, that the two shall continue to exist side by side, the A.V. for popular use, and the R.V. for the use of students, as an indispensable commentary. On the one hand, it is clear that there can be no serious objection to new editions of the R.V., at intervals of twenty or thirty years, as biblical scholarship advances; on the other hand, it becomes desirable that the more serious mistakes which occur in the A.V. should be cautiously corrected. This would not amount to a new revision; it would, in fact, be merely the continuation of a process already begun. The Cambridge Press, in the editions of 1629 and 1638, made about two hundred material corrections which have been generally accepted; again an appreciable number of mistakes were corrected in the Cambridge edition of 1762, and a few in later editions.

What objection is there to a revival of this practice under proper precautions?

### "THE MOST EXPERT LAY PREACHER."

In the October *American Magazine* there is a portrait and sketch of Mr. Fred B. Smith, who is described with American crispness by Mr. P. C. Macfarlane:—

Fred B. Smith is the most expert lay preacher to men in the English-speaking world. He has belted the globe. He has talked to men in fourteen different countries. His name on the windows and his presence on the platform will bring more men together in more different cities of the United States on Sunday afternoon regularly, year in and year out, than any other name and presence in the United States. For twenty-one years Smith has been doing this sort of thing. He is known from Coast to Coast. Young Men's Christian Association workers put up the sign "Smith is Coming;" they name the place and date, and then prepare to take care of the results. The largest meeting place will be filled to overflowing.

Smith doesn't coddle his auditors. He talks to them straight of right living. As a preacher he doesn't rant. His methods are quiet ones. He waits upon God. And while he waits, men, and mostly young men, by the hundreds will rise and ask to be prayed for, or stand and confess a new born faith in Jesus Christ. Somehow, when he takes hold of your hand you feel that he is just the squarest, keenest, sanest man you've ever come in contact with.

As for organising genius, it is Smith who has conceived and pushed the Men and Religion Forward Movement, the most complete and varied program of religious activities with reformative connotations ever assembled. And he has been genius enough not only to conceive the plan, but to get it going.

### HIS MOVEMENT.

The ninety chief cities of the United States are to be fired with plans of the movement. Each of these cities has pledged itself to repeat the campaign in from twenty to thirty tributary cities. Each of these cities will repeat it in surrounding towns, and those towns again to the last village, hamlet, and farmhouse in the United States:—

### HIS MESSAGE.

The purposes of the movement are the preaching of righteousness, the inculcation of a more modern and more Christian ethical standard, the presentation of Jesus Christ as a salvatory

force in the personal lives of men, the reviving of the churches and readjustment of their working methods to the needs of the day, a special appeal to boys, and instruction to all churches and church workers in the best ways of organising for the permanent carrying on of work among boys, training methods for special work for Bible School and for social service, even to the point of the making of a survey under the direction of experts with the inevitable political and civic reconstructions which would follow.

The movement is approved by Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, Charles Stelzle, and others.

### ARE ALL CHURCHES "ESTABLISHED"?

SOME time ago I brought out a pamphlet, "Are there any Free Churches?" Dr. A. C. Headlam, in the October *Church Quarterly*, seems prepared to answer in the negative. As the nation is plunging into the Disestablishment controversy afresh, his statement may be of interest:—

Some degree of Establishment is indeed necessary for every religious body which holds property. So soon as it possesses property its internal affairs may come under the regulation of the State. Laws are necessary to recognise the conditions under which it can hold that property, and if it makes internal changes in its own constitution these changes may have to be approved by the State. Instances of this have occurred in the case of Nonconformist bodies from time to time. A well known case was the Act which relieved the whole Independent communities from their original trust deeds when they had passed from Tripitarianism to Unitarianism. Another instance occurred lately when three of the Methodist bodies wished to unite, and had to obtain an Act of Parliament to enable them to do so. Still more conspicuous was the case of the Free Church of Scotland, which, having drawn up its trust deeds so carefully as to prohibit any change in its doctrine, desired to unite with the United Presbyterians, and attempted to do so without obtaining legal sanction. In that case the Church was found by the House of Lords to have violated its trust deeds, and a Royal Commission became necessary in order to deal with the new condition of things.

These instances are sufficient to show that all religious bodies must within certain limits be Established. Further, all religious bodies receive certain privileges and endowments from the State. For many years, until they gave it up, the Nonconformist bodies received the *Regium Donum*. Nonconformist places of worship are at the present time rate free, which is in the nature of State endowment. When the Irish Church was disestablished, a large grant was given to Maynooth and also to the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. The real fact is that although, when religious bodies are small and insignificant, it may be possible for the State to ignore their existence, so soon as they become corporations of any strength, direct relations with the State become inevitable. They demand conditions under which they can work, which have to be guaranteed by the State, and, on the other hand, the State cannot allow with impunity powerful corporations to grow up in its midst over which it exercises no control.

Why, then, the innocent Nonconformist may ask, should one Established Church assume such airs of superiority towards all the other Established Churches in the same realm? Must we conclude that because one established Church has more property than other Established Churches it has a prescriptive right to look down upon the other Churches? If so, the relation is rather mammonite than Christian.

In the same number the question of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Welsh Church is gone into at length.

**BISHOP GORE ON THE THREE ELEMENTS OF RELIGION.**

IN the October *Church Quarterly* Bishop Gore reviews von Hügel's "Mystical Element of Religion as studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and her Friends." The Bishop endorses von Hügel's analysis of the three main elements of religion. The religion of childhood is institutional, the religion of youth must be intellectual, the religion of full age is the religion of spiritual experience, or mysticism. These three elements, says the Bishop, are straining apart in various forms in different parts of the world. In the Roman Communion of to-day the strain is chiefly felt in relation to the demand of the contemporary intellect. Rome has not merely condemned Loisy:—

It has used the opportunity of the extreme and destructive utterances of one man or a very few men, with what looks like almost Satanic, if short-sighted, ingenuity, to overwhelm in a common condemnation all really free and reasonable criticism applied to sacred subjects, and to produce something approaching an intellectual reign of terror.

Protestantism, on the other hand, appears increasingly incapable of building or maintaining a religious social order. Of the Anglican Communion, the Bishop says:—

At our best, there is no truer and deeper harmony of the corporate or institutional and traditional element in religion with the freedom of intellectual development and personal spiritual life than is to be found among us. But the times are very anxious.

**THE EFFECT OF FRENCH DISESTABLISHMENT.**

BOTH friends and foes of Disestablishment in this country should read with interest the article by Georges Goyau in the *Oxford and Cambridge Review* for October on the evangelisation of Paris since the separation between Church and State. One naturally expects a wail over the awful havoc wrought by the spoliation of the Church. On the contrary, the writer declares:—

The separation of Church and State marked the beginning of a period of new vitality for the diocese. The Church of Paris, maintained solely by the generosity of its adherents, has for the last six years shown itself more enterprising, creative, and victorious than it had been even under the Concordat, when it had the power of the State to support it.

Spontaneous centres of social service and of worship are springing up in different parts of Paris. "Church steeples are rising everywhere." The laity are active. The desire is expressed that each parish should have its active lay committee. There are at present sixty-seven parishes with lay committees, and out of these forty are doing serious work:—

Among the results of their initiative are noted: The establishment of continuation classes; the opening of workshops for technical instruction; the creation of working men's gardens; research into practical means for the abolition of night work in bakeries; the posting, in hotels patronised by foreigners, of notices in different languages explaining the principles of religious observance.

But while the number of laymen taking part in the work is increasing, the number of men offering for priests is diminishing.

**"REFORMERS" DESTROYING LIBRARIES.**

IN the *Church Quarterly Review* for October, Canon Vaughan traces the history of Winchester Cathedral Library from the Reformation to the Commonwealth. It certainly passed through several terrible ordeals. The writer says:—

That at the Reformation the monastic libraries were, in many cases, wantonly destroyed is abundantly proved by overwhelming evidence. Indeed, the wholesale destruction of manuscripts is one of the saddest and most heart-breaking features of the English Reformation. "The English monks," says Thomas Fuller, "were bookish of themselves, and much inclined to hoard up monuments of learning"; and he goes on to tell us how John Bale, "a man sufficiently averse from the least shadow of popery, hating all monkery with a perfect hatred," had left on record his experience as to the scandalous way in which manuscripts were treated. They were put to every vile and common use. Some were "sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some were sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small number, but at times whole ships full." "I know a merchant-man," says John Bale, "who shall be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings-price; this stuff he hath occupied instead of gray paper, by the space of more than these ten years; and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come."

Even after the Library had been restored and developed, a worse visitation came with the arrival of the Parliamentary soldiers under Sir William Waller in 1642. The soldiers violently broke open the great western doors of the Cathedral and marched in with colours flying, their drums beating, their matches fired. They destroyed most of the beautiful painted glass, seized upon the Communion plate, Bibles, service books, rich hangings, pulpit vestments, and broke up the muniment house, tearing the evidences of lands and cancelling the charter. Four years later, under Oliver Cromwell, another pillage took place even more calamitous than the previous one. Charters were burned or thrown into the river, "divers large parchments being made Kytes withall to flie in the aire, and many other old books lost, to the utter spoyling and destruction of the muniment and chapter house."

**WHAT ARCHÆOLOGY HAS DONE.**

MR. A. L. FROTHINGHAM, in the *North American Review* for October, writing on "Where Archeology Comes In," gives this summary of what the science has done:—

Since 1840 or 1850 archeology has practically created for us four thousand years of history: a new heaven as well as a new earth for the pre-Hellenic world. Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, the Hittites, have emerged from an almost Cimærian darkness. We can now decipher their writings, read their literature, reconstruct their annals, religion, and life, while looking into the faces of the men and women of their race. The Northern races that entered so much later into the arena and yet were even more intangible than these Eastern nations are being unveiled by archeology: Goths, Scandinavians, Celts, Gauls, Slavs, and Germans, from the mountains of Armenia and the Caucasus to Brittany, are being shown by their archeological remains as either half yielding to the influence of Greece and Rome or maintaining their primitive integrity. Our science is helped at times by literature, but often it is obliged to seek unaided for an answer in these fields of the primitive and undeveloped races. This illustrates how much broader, as well as more faithful, it is than literature.

## THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS EXPLAINED

BY A CANADIAN JOURNALIST.

MR. J. A. MACDONALD, editor of the *Toronto Globe*, writes in the *Contemporary Review* for November on the Canadian elections and afterwards. He frankly confesses that the defeat of the Liberal Government in Canada is quite the most surprising of the year's surprises in the life of the oversea Dominions. Any unprejudiced onlooker would have said that the Government could not but be returned, and probably with an increased majority. The economic argument was all on the Liberal side. But:—

## THE TRUE INWARDNESS.

The truth is, the most potent factor in the election was not the economic argument, or the commercial advantage which reciprocity in natural products would have brought, but the vague prejudice against the United States, the distrust of the sincerity of American politicians, and the uneasy fear that freer trade relations might in some way lead to closer political connection. It was sentiment and not reason, fear and not argument, that tipped the scale against reciprocity. For many years there has been in the sub-consciousness of Canada a resentment at the open disregard of Canadian interests manifested by the United States in every amendment of the American tariff. Prohibitive tariffs on the natural products of Canada destroyed Canadian trade and greatly hampered Canadian development. The McKinley tariff of 1890 was thoroughly bad. The Dingley tariff of 1897 was still worse. The Payne-Aldrich tariff of 1909, which affected to be moderate, proved as disappointing to Canadians as to the Insurgents in the United States.

Back of all this was the unforbidden grievance of Canada against the United States, in which Britain also was involved, because of the settlement of international boundary disputes. The last of these was the Alaska boundary question, with which the name of Lord Alverstone is associated, in the unsatisfactory recollections of the Canadian people. That old sense of having been given the worst of every bargain was revived and made

acute when a new bargain was proposed. At hundreds of popular summer resorts in Canada, where Americans congregate in large numbers, the flaunting of the Stars and Stripes, in disregard of the etiquette of flags, has made much more widespread the dislike of American ways.

## Consequently:—

The economic argument was almost wholly abandoned by the Opposition campaigners. Appeal was made—sometimes made in dangerous terms—to the smoldering anti-American prejudices. The Union Jack was waved as against the fear of the Stars and Stripes. To argue against such an appeal, or to try to reason with the emotion it aroused, was as vain and futile as to rebuke a London fog. Especially true was this of thousands of recent arrivals from Britain, who were registered as manhood franchise voters, and were stampeded into "voting for the old flag."

Mr. Macdonald declares that the appeal was irrelevant, and the fear of annexation absurd. But they were used by protected manufacturers who were afraid that Free Trade in some directions would lead to demands for freer trade in all commodities.

## CANADA MUST FIND MARKETS IN AMERICA.

Mr. Macdonald has some very straight words to utter on the fancy that the United States is not the best market for the surplus products of Canada. For, he says, the surplus products of Canada, for which a market must be found, will very soon exceed the demands of Britain:—

In less than five years Canada will have more wheat for export than the entire British market will require. Sir William Whyte, the well-informed and thoroughly reliable vice-president of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, is authority for the statement that in less than ten years the province of Saskatchewan alone—only one of the three wheat-growing provinces of Western Canada—will produce more wheat than the entire United States.

Other markets than Canada and Britain must be found for the output of Canada's wheatlands, and the best other market is the United States. On the question of British preference Mr. Macdonald says the Canadian farmers, whose skill and toil produce the excess of products for which markets are sought, ask for no preference. All they desire is improved transportation facilities and equal markets with all the world. To the suggestion that the new Government of Canada should join hands with the Chamberlain propaganda in Britain and make Imperial tariffs and preferences a real issue in British politics, Mr. Macdonald pertinently answers:—

It does not require much discernment to forecast the answer to such a proposal. No trade Imperialist has yet made clear how Britain can carry on an export trade without an import cargo; or how Britain can shift her import trade from foreign countries to Canada without also shifting her export trade; or how Britain can profit by obstructing her trade with foreign countries and keeping open markets for Canada's exports unless Canada in turn keeps open markets for Britain's exports; or how Britain can justify free imports of Canadian farm products—the things Canada wants to export—to the injury of the interests of the landowners and farmers of Britain, unless Canada opens her doors to the free imports of Britain's factory products—the things Britain wants to export—in open competition with the now protected manufacturers of Canada; or how there can be a binding of the empire by tariffs and preferences without selfish bargainings among the interests involved unless there is as a basis complete freedom of trade within the Empire.



"Mortgaging the Homestead."

A typical cartoon (from the *Toronto Evening Telegram*) showing the appeal to Anti-American prejudices.



## THE TESTING TIME.

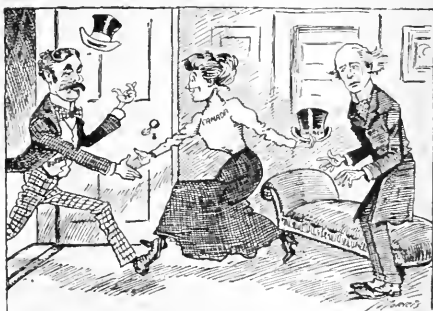
The Nationalist movement, headed by Mr. Bourassa, is only dangerous in that it perpetuates the racial and religious differences and animosities which were beginning to die out. The testing time for the new combination, Nationalist and Conservative, will come when the plans already prepared by Liberal statesmen and approved by the Admiralty for a Canadian fleet under Canadian control will have to be adopted or postponed.

Canada's refusal of reciprocity with the United States will not lead to a rupture with the United States, or to any permanent misunderstanding amongst the English-speaking peoples. The Canadian resentments are readily understood by intelligent Americans. Canada has nothing to lose and everything to gain by strengthening the ties that bind Britain and the United States as friends and allies. Secretary of State Knox said, "The strength of America to-day is the strength of the United States and the strength of Canada plus Britain." President Taft said, "The Pacific is a very much simpler and safer situation because two flags and not one, representing English-speaking civilisation, float on its shores." Canada, Mr. Macdonald concludes, will not lose prestige on the American continent. There is too much in common and too much in prospect for these two nations to feel a twinge of estrangement.

## MR. BORDEN AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

In the *American Review of Reviews* for November Mr. Robert L. Borden, in the course of an interview on the October 16th, defined for the *Review of Reviews* the attitude of his administration towards the United States:—

In 1870 Canada placed upon her statute book a standing offer of reciprocity, which remained open to the United States for eighteen years, or until 1887, when it was repealed by the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The United States always declined to entertain this standing offer and we never questioned their perfect and absolute right to take that course. In the meantime Canada had entered upon a policy which involved the development of her natural resources, the growth of her industries, and the preservation of her home market. Eight years ago I declared in the House of Commons that a factory in Canada was worth as much to our Empire as a factory in Yorkshire. Our fiscal autonomy, involving the complete control of our tariff, had been finally completed and secured in 1870, and it will never be relinquished. The reciprocity compact proposed by the late government would have interfered with Canada's complete control of its own fiscal system, and in many important respects it would have constituted a reversal of the policy which this country has pursued for many years. Moreover, the interlocking of our tariff with that of any other country is undesirable from the standpoint of our fiscal autonomy. It should not be forgotten that similar arrangements made between the British Colonies in South Africa have proved unsatisfactory and irritating, and in the end they had to be abandoned. During the re-elections the opinion prevailed in Canada that in the interest of friendly relations it would be far better that each country should be absolutely free to frame and modify its own tariff in what it conceived to be the best interests of its people. We also consider that a tariff which must be accepted or rejected as a whole and which cannot be amended in any respect to meet the most obvious injustice, is an unliberal and undesirable form of



[Spokesman Review.]

"Good-bye, Mr. Laurier. Good morning, Mr. Borden!"

legislation; and we believe that experience has proved this beyond question.

Thus, the recent decision of the Canadian people was not in any respect induced by any spirit of unfriendliness to the United States.

Canada is an autonomous nation within the British Empire, and is closely and inseparably united to that empire by ties of kinship, of sentiment, and of fealty, by historic association and tradition, by the character of its institutions and by the free will of its people. By the tight ties of kinship, by constant social and commercial intercourse, by proximity, and by mutual respect and good will this country is closely associated with the United States. Canada's voice and influence should always be for harmony and not discord between our empire and the great republic; and I believe that she will always be a bond of binding friendship between them. I trust that the anniversary of one hundred years of peace will be cemented in the two countries with a deep and solemn sense of national responsibility and that each will accomplish its destiny under the splendid inspiration of enduring and increasing friendship and good will.

## THE AMERICAN SENATE AND ARBITRATION.

In the October *Forum* the editor draws attention to the spectacle of the President of the United States negotiating treaties which he is powerless to ratify. He says:—

It is not too late to learn from the experience of other countries and to revise a Constitution which in its inception showed a distinct and memorable improvement: upon the monarchist institutions of the time, but which is now too rigid and cumbersome for effective action in the foremost Republic in the world.

The action of the Senate with regard to the arbitration agreements is incomprehensible and incalculable. It is a blunder and a crime. It is difficult to believe that the reasons ostensibly given were intended to be taken seriously. The greatest forward movement for a hundred years was almost accomplished. It has been arrested by the nation which claims to be the pioneer in all progress; or rather, not by the nation, but by those who misrepresent the nation.

THE mid-October number of the *Neutrale Revue* publishes a French condensed version of two acts, by Mario Prax, of Byron's biblical drama "Cain." Written in 1821, this "Mystery," as it is entitled, was inscribed to Sir Walter Scott, the obliged friend and faithful servant of the author.

### THE BRITISH HERRING FISHERY.

JUST now, as an article by Mr. W. A. Dutt, in *Cassell's Magazine* for November, reminds us, it is the herring season on the east coast, when "Yarmouth bloaters" and kippers are being prepared. Herring-fishing is a very old industry. So long ago as Richard II.'s time it was so well established as to win exemption from feudal service for those engaged in it. With the opening of railways and the adoption of steam navigation it entered on a new phase, for much more fish could be delivered to markets before it had time to become tainted. Moreover, the picturesque wooden sailing vessels of the fishermen began to be superseded by far less picturesque but more serviceable steamers, more serviceable because independent of tide and weather. A Yarmouth or Lowestoft fishing steamer costs from £2,500 to £3,500, and the fishing gear another £1,000. There is a curious system of apportioning the profits of the Lowestoft fishing season. They are divided into  $23\frac{1}{2}$  shares, the owner of the boat receiving  $14\frac{1}{2}$  and the crew the rest, in certain fixed proportions, from  $1\frac{1}{4}$  for the master to one-half for the cook. The Yarmouth and Lowestoft fishing season begin in October and ends about the middle of December, about ten weeks' fishing, during which a boat has been known to earn as much as £2,300.

Herrings, of course, are caught not only off these two ports, but also off the Shetlands, and the north-east coast of Scotland in spring and summer, and later on at Scarborough and Grimsby; but most are taken during the "home fishing" off the east coast of England. Off Inverness, Fraserburgh, Kirkcaldy, and other Scotch ports herrings are also caught. At a busy fishing port during the herring season there is no talk of working only an eight hours day. Kipper-girls, gutters, and others often work till midnight. The fish are measured by the "cran," which dispenses with the men who used to be known as "tellers" or counters. Quarter-cran baskets are generally used, each containing from 250 to 300 fair-sized herrings. Thousands of girls are employed, both in Scotland and England, to "rive" the fish for making bloaters, split them for kipping, and gut and prepare them for export. These girls become very quick and expert at their work, and with their sharp little gutting-knives can gill and draw a fish at one stroke. Until a few years ago the Scottish girls, both at Yarmouth and Lowestoft, did nearly all their work in the open air, no matter how bad the weather, but lately wooden shelters have been provided for them to work in while riving the herrings. Refreshment rooms are also specially provided for them, and trained nurses are in attendance to dress the severe cuts which are often inflicted by the sharp gutting-knives.

It never happens now that an immense catch of herrings can be sold only for manuring land, for the foreign buyer is present at the Yarmouth and Lowes-

toft markets during the season, as well as the British buyer, and what the latter leaves the former generally takes. As recently as 1907, however, when more than 80,000 crans (about 106,986,000 herrings) were landed in one day at the two east coast ports, a good many could not be sold, but had to be thrown back into the sea. Comparatively few of the herrings caught, however, are sold while fresh, the majority being pickled for export, preserved or "cured" in one way or another for home use.

### THE BEST TIME TO BECOME A PARENT.

IN the *Eugenics Review* for October Dr. R. J. Ewart gives a summary of his investigations into the vital statistics of the population of Middlesbrough, made to ascertain the influence of parental age on offspring. He devotes his attention to the children of the working classes only, and bases his conclusions on their respective measurements, taking it as a rule that the taller class is a better human specimen than the less tall.

He finds that the mother produces her best girl before her twenty-fifth year, and her best boy in the twenty-six to thirty age period; the average being a little over half an inch above the mean height for boys, and a little under that figure for girls. The father has the best sons during the thirty to thirty-five age period, and not in the twenty-five to thirty period, as with the mother. In respect to girls, the results are not so uniform, though the same trend can be seen. With a father between thirty-one and thirty-five, and a mother between twenty-five and thirty, we get a boy 41.87 inches in height, an excess of nearly two inches over the mean of those born before the twentieth year.

Among the very poor, in the middle and the most fertile of the reproductive period, the children tend to fall below the average. The reason he finds in the fact that the birth interval is shortest at the time of greatest fertility. He mentions that under proper conditions of rest, etc., "the majority of women, barring accidents, are in every way improved by childbirth. It appears as though the exuberant vitality of the growing offspring pervades through the tissues of the mother herself and makes for her wellbeing." He says that the expectancy of life of those born at maturity of parents is about fifty years, and at the extremes is about half that figure.

In a natural state, the season of the year most favourable for conception seems to have been the spring, with the birth occurring in the following January, February, or March, and the writer thinks that much benefit would accrue if the habit could be re-established through the agency of the will. A child so born has two summers to one winter, and has a better chance of life.

A MOST interesting feature in the *United Empire* for October is the sketch of the history of British diplomacy in Canada, in connection with the Ashburton Treaty. There are most striking reproductions of the maps used at the time.

## GARDENING AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT.

In the *Parents' Review* for October Miss Cracknell, of the West Moors School of Nature Study and Gardening, writes on the advantages of teaching gardening to children. With Nature-study as it is often taught, the children, she says, are taken for walks, and may thus learn much of interest about the country-side. They may even rear plants in their schoolroom. But from a plant in a pot or seeds reared in a schoolroom they cannot learn the work of rain and sunshine, insects and flowers, light and darkness, soil and air, as they could in the real surroundings of a garden. In a garden the child can see the insects at work, and learn to recognise garden friends and foes. Nature-study and gardening should go hand in hand. In teaching gardening one's first aim should be to help the children to take an interest in making a beautiful garden. Then there should be cultivated observation and a spirit of inquiry as to the meaning of familiar facts, such as the winter sleep of plants and insects, the work of the frost, the spring awakening, etc. Forethought can be fostered, for practical gardeners have to think ahead. Plants already blooming should not be bought; the children should sow their own seeds and watch the development of the plants. Accuracy, order, and neatness must be insisted on; also the cleaning and proper care of tools. There is even a science in watering and an art in the cutting of flowers, while on the æsthetic side harmonious schemes of colour may be thought out.

## LEONARDO DA VINCI'S TEN PICTURES.

A WRITER in the *Connoisseur* for October reminds us that the pictures by Leonardo da Vinci which have come down to us are so rare that the authentic examples from his brush may be numbered on one's fingers. Not taking into account Leonardo's drawings, which are fairly numerous, there are two works by him in England, five in France, and three in Italy. The solitary example beyond suspicion in England is the large cartoon in chalk of "The Virgin and Child, with St. Anne and St. John," which hangs in the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy. The picture in the National Gallery, "The Virgin of the Rocks," is by many supposed to be a copy of the similar work in the Louvre, and to have been executed by Ambrogio da Predis under Leonardo's supervision. That this artist painted on it is not improbable, but the bulk of the work, says the writer, must be ascribed to the master. Leonardo's known paintings in Italy comprise the mutilated ghost of "The Last Supper" at Milan, a cartoon of "The Adoration of the Magi" at Florence, and a panel of "St. Jerome." His other pictures, "The Virgin and Child, with St. Anne and St. John," "The Virgin of the Rocks," "The Annunciation," and "St. John the Baptist," are in the Louvre. Finally, there is the "Mona Lisa," the only known picture

portrait by him, which was in the Louvre. This, however, had a more perfect pedigree than any of the others, for its history can be traced since its inception. Vasari relates that while Leonardo was painting the portrait he took the precaution of keeping someone constantly near his subject to sing or play on instruments, or to jest or otherwise amuse her, to the end that she might continue cheerful, and so that her face might not exhibit the melancholy expression often imparted by painters to their portraits. The result is the haunting smile on the face of the subject which has been the theme of countless writers.

## A MASTERPIECE OF SACRED SONG.

## THE DIES IRÆ AND ITS HISTORY.

THE *Open Court* for October opens with an interesting study, by Mr. Bernhard Pick, of the Dies Iræ: the different texts and forms, and the various translations of the great hymn.

## THIRTEEN "ORIGINAL" VERSIONS.

There are no fewer than thirteen "original" versions. The text, according to the edition of Nathan Chytraeus (1594), for instance, includes several introductory stanzas, supposed to have been one of the inscriptions he found near a crucifix at Mantua, in the Church of St. Peter. These stanzas give the poem the aspect of a solitary devotional meditation. Also in this text the seventeenth stanza of the Dies Iræ is omitted, and a new concluding one is substituted for it. The authorship has been ascribed to nine persons, but is generally attributed to Thomas of Celano, the friend and biographer of St. Francis of Assisi.

## ITS HOLD ON THE MINDS OF MEN.

In his article the writer also refers to the fine uses made of the poem, or of parts of it, by various authors—Goethe in "Faust," Scott in "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," etc. Kerner, a Suabian poet and mystic, makes use of it in a poem about four impious brothers who enter a church to ridicule religion, but are suddenly brought to repent by hearing this Judgment hymn. Not only has the Dies Iræ been translated into many languages by many translators, but one English translator is the author of thirteen distinct translations. Dr. Neale's rendering of the hymn appeared in the *Christian Remembrancer* of October, 1861. The hymn has also given rise to a number of musical compositions. Finally, a Latin parody by a Roman priest is to be numbered among the curiosities of literature. About the year 1700 this priest sought to gratify his hatred of Protestantism by perverting the hymn into a prophecy of the downfall of the reformed religion in Holland and England, which he hoped would be brought about from the restoration of the Stuarts and the union of the French and Spanish crowns.

## WHITE AND BLACK IN SOUTH AFRICA.

In the *Colonial Office Journal* for October there is a paper on the report of the Native Affairs Committee of Enquiry in Southern Rhodesia in which the natives are defended from a common charge of idleness. "That most of the male natives of Southern Rhodesia do no work at all, and if left to their own inclinations, lead a lotus-eating existence at their village, while their womenkind perform the manual drudgery required to keep them supplied with the necessities of life" is denounced as a fallacy. The native in his natural state is an agriculturist and stockbreeder. If they were compelled to work for Europeans, they would be withdrawn from their agricultural and pastoral industries. Nevertheless, the waning of the tribal system produces serious mischiefs. The tribal control is weakened, and marital and parental authority also. There is a considerable amount of surplus labour left unabsorbed by native agricultural work. The native youth is reared at his kraal in conditions far from healthy, moral, mental, or physical. Officials are requested to encourage parents to apprentice their boys at a rate of pay fixed by the State, a portion of the wages to be paid to the parent and the balance to the boy. Improved dwellings with garden plots are suggested, and strict regulation of the sale of beer.

At present it is painful to read of the result of European rule:—

The immorality of women, both married and single, in the vicinity of mines and other industrial centres, is a growing danger to the future welfare, both moral and physical, of the native races. It is alleged that husbands allow their women to take beer for sale to natives employed at these centres, that this leads to prostitution, and that the former share the proceeds of money so earned. It may be mentioned that prior to our rule prostitution was practically unknown amongst natives, as the punishment for the offence was so severe. The sale of beer is contrary to all native traditions, and is largely the cause of moral decline. Earnest representations were submitted on the subject of the irregular sexual relations which it is alleged frequently exist between white men and black women. The question is an extremely important one. Apart from the moral aspect of the matter (a grave enough one of itself) the prestige and influence of Europeans are seriously affected by such incidents. On the other hand, the natives evidently object to relationships of such a nature. Besides European evidence to that effect, native witnesses gave emphatic testimony on the subject: "It is very bad; whites ought to take whites, and blacks ought to take blacks"; "It is very evil, and a thing we resent very much in our hearts"; "It is a very evil thing"; were expressions of view of different native witnesses; and an instance was mentioned by a minister of religion in which a native resisted the taking of his sister by a white man.

The Committee as a whole feel that both concubinage and marriage between white men and native women should be prohibited:—

With regard to the question generally, the evil is one which can, to a great extent, be dealt with by the force of public opinion and by active measures of discouragement, official and private. The Committee learn that illicit relationship with native women of persons in public employ is viewed in the gravest light by the Government, who have imposed in the past, and would impose in the future, extreme penalties for an offence of such a nature. If private employers of Europeans would follow the policy observed by the Government the evil would, the Committee think, be considerably abated.

## WHY THE HARE'S NOSE IS SLIT.

A CHARMING feature in *The State* for October is a pair of stories out of South African folklore. The first is a Hottentot legend to explain why the hare's nose is slit. This is how the Hottentot tells it:—

Long, long ago, when the world was quite young, the Lady Moon wanted someone to take a message to Men. She tried first one creature and then another, but no! they were all too busy, they couldn't go. At last she called the Crocodile. He is very slow and not much good, but the Lady Moon thought she would pinch his tail and make him go quickly. So she said to him: "Go down to Men at once and give them this message: 'As I die and, dying, live, so also shall you die and, dying, live.'" "

As the Crocodile went on its way, quickly while the Moon watched him, slowly when he was out of her sight, the Little Hare arrived, and asked, "Where are you going in such a hurry, Oom Crocodile?" "The Lady Moon has sent me with a message to men, 'As I die, and, dying, live, so also shall you die, and, dying, live.'" The Hare replied, "You are so slow. Give me the message, and I will take it." "Very well," said the lazy Crocodile. So the Hare went off like the wind:—

At last he came to Men, and he called them together and said, "Listen, Sons of the Baboon, a wise man comes with a message. By the Lady Moon am I sent to tell you: 'As I die and, dying, perish, so shall you also die and come wholly to an end.'" "

Then Men looked at each other and shivered. All of a sudden the flesh on their arms was like goose-flesh.

And while the poor human race was in this state of abject terror, the Hare returned to the Moon and told her the message he had given, and laughed with glee to think that men were all stiff with fright. Whereupon the Lady Moon was very angry and took a big stick and struck at him. But he ducked and slipped away, and it caught him only on the nose. Then the Hare "forgot that the Moon was a lady, and scratch, scratch, scratch, he was kicking, and hitting, and clawing the Moon's face till the pieces flew":—

And that is why to-day he goes about with a split nose, and golden fane of the Lady Moon has long dark scars.

THE New York Budget Exhibit, as described in the *American Review of Reviews* by H. T. Wade, is an interesting way of instructing the citizens of the Empire City in the way in which their civic revenues are raised and expended and made liable.

OF *Scribner's Magazine* for November it may truthfully be said that its articles are mostly of purely American interest. There is a belated, though interesting description of the Coronation and its functions, by Mary King Waddington. The opening paper is an account of fox and drag hunting in the United States, and another paper, well illustrated, as is usual with *Scribner's*, describes the River Thames, not the upper reaches, but the lower, beginning at London Bridge and extending past the great wharves and docks to the open sea. It is a well written, interesting article.

## FRAUDS IN FOOD.

*Pearson's Magazine* for November contains an article on food adulteration, with suggestions as to how the law could be amended in such a way that food fakers might be much more severely dealt with than is now possible. "Last year there were in Great Britain (so I take it) 7,633 offences in the matter of food faking, 3,235 prosecutions, and 2,408 convictions." The fines inflicted, the writer contends, are ridiculously small, so small that the food faker is soon faking away again as merrily as ever. It is alarming to read that 27 per cent. of the samples of potted fish examined by the inspectors were condemned, and 40 per cent. of fruits in syrup. One sample of cocoa analysed contained only 3 per cent. of the cocoa-nib, i.e., 1lb. of the mixture contained only half an ounce of pure cocoa. Modern technique and the public demand for brown bread "enable the baker to use up any kind of flour whatsoever." Even margarine and cream are faked, while the faking of butter is notorious. One method is to take a block of margarine, coat it with butter at either end, in case the customer wants to taste it, and then sell it as "pure butter." It is, apparently, in the small shops that the risk of buying unwholesomely adulterated food is so great. These small shops often do not keep standard makes, for instance, of potted fish, but offer somebody else's, "which is just as good, if not better." These less known makes of potted fish are either manufactured under highly insanitary conditions or are made of material in which the process of decay has already begun, and merely been arrested by preservatives. Jam is perhaps the most wickedly faked of all common articles of food. As for milk, the inspection of it has decreased the adulteration in many towns and counties by one half, but a tenth of the country's milk is still not up to standard.

It is often impossible to tell by the eye which is the adulterated and which the pure food. For example, of two samples of coffee examined, one, sold as pure, contained 36 per cent. of chicory; the other, *looking* less good, was pure. A simple method of testing whether the colour of jam is due to fruit juice or to aniline dye is to put a piece of white wool in it; if the stain washes out in water the colour is as it should be; if it will not wash out, it is due to aniline dye.

The food adulteration of the present day, in fact, constantly defrauding people of something for which they have paid, and which they think they have bought, amounts to a tax of 1d. to 1½d. in the 1s. on all our food. This tax goes not to the Treasury but to the food-faker.

We all know what endless misdescription of goods goes on, how Wiltshire bacon comes perhaps from Germany, and Cheshire cheese from Holland. During the dock strike many butchers were very hard put to it to know how to supply their customers with the "good old English beef," which was the only kind

they would think of selling. The good old English beef, and doubtless the Southdown mutton too, was all in the docks, and could not be unloaded.

The writer suggests much more strict definition of what adulteration or misdescription means, and that the administration of the law relating to food adulteration should not, as is now the case, be chiefly in the hands of the men against whom it is directed. One London official actually secured convictions on charges of food faking against eight shining lights of his own council!

## AN ARABIAN NIGHTS PRINCE.

*Pearson's Magazine* for November contains a fully illustrated article on a person who might have walked out of the Arabian Nights, the Maharajah of Baroda, His Highness Sayaji Rao III. His wealth may not be fabulous, though it is considerable; but his jewels and gorgeous apparel are certainly so. The howdahs of his elephants, fifty in number, when he began to reign, with 500 attendants, are of gold and silver set with jewels, and the saddles and trappings of cloth of gold. Witnessing elephant fights is one of his favourite amusements, the animals being drugged beforehand to make them intoxicated. When holding durbars, the Maharajah wears a famous diamond necklace, worth a quarter of a million sterling, and containing a diamond weighing 125 carats, which once belonged to Napoleon. He has a silver gun valued at £100,000, and his precious stones are worth almost £2,000,000. In spite of the magnificence of his gold and jewelled robes, the splendour of his precious stones, and the exquisiteness of the treasures his fairy-like palace possesses, the Maharajah of Baroda contrives to run his princely establishment on only £135,000 a year, though his annual revenue is considerably more than a million. He does a great deal besides watching mad elephants fight, for his State is famous for the wisdom with which it is governed, and for the educational advantages offered to its inhabitants, which are greater than anywhere else in Hindustan.

The account of the Maharajah's days shows that he lives quite simply for a person of high rank, and does a great deal of hard work before he retires to rest on his huge gold bed. Several rooms are required to house all his jewels and regalia and the famous pearl carpets, originally intended as a covering for the tomb of Mahomet. The Maharani of Baroda was absolutely illiterate when she was first married, but her husband has seen to her being well educated, providing tutors for her at home and giving her the opportunity of much foreign travel with him. She has three sons, one of whom is at Harvard and another being educated in England, and one daughter, now the second wife of the ruler of Gwalior. Both she and her mother are great readers, reading books and periodicals being the chief occupation of their lives.

## POETRY IN THE MAGAZINES.

MR. FRANCIS MEYNELL contributes two poems to the October *English Review*. The first is to Ireland, of which one stanza may be quoted here:—

O love loss-manifest! I prize  
The beating heart of your sunset skies;  
Your patch-work fields; the low-winged cloud;  
The voices, rich and not too loud,  
That take some sweetness from the birds,  
And music make of our Saxon words;  
The valley-cup, brimful of mist;  
A moon that's tender to be kissed;  
A wind-bent tree—ah, these and these  
Are the things that move, and the things that please!

In the October *Forum* Louis V. Ledoux writes two stanzas on Socialism, the second of which we quote here:—

Not laws; but virtue in the soul we need,  
The old Socratic justice in the heart,  
The golden rule become the people's creed  
When years of training have performed their part;  
For thus alone in home and church and mart  
Can evil perish and the race be freed.

## "BETWIXT HEAVEN AND CHARING CROSS."

Mr. Albert A. Cock contributes to the *Dublin Review* an interesting study on the poetry and life of Francis Thompson, in which he declares that Francis Thompson is in some respects the greatest achievement of Catholicism in the nineteenth century. He pronounces "The Hound of Heaven" as the most synthetical representation of the movement of English, and perhaps European, thought in the nineteenth century that we have. He concludes by quoting the following stanzas from Thompson's "In No Strange Land":—

Not where the wheeling systems darken,  
And our benumbed conceiving soars—  
The drift of pinions, would we hearken,  
Beats at our own clay-shattered doors.  
The angels keep their shuntered places;  
Turn but a stone, and start a wing!  
'Tis ye, 'tis your estranged faces,  
That miss the many-splendoured thing,  
But (when so sad thou canst not sadder)  
Cry:—and upon thy so sore loss  
Shall shine the traffic of Jacob's ladder  
Pitched betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross.  
Yea, in the night, my Soul, my daughter,  
Cry,—clinging Heaven by the hem;  
And lo, Christ walking on the water  
Not of Genesareth, but Thames!

## A POETIC TRIBUTE FROM JAPAN.

In the *Taiyo* (Tokio) Yone Noguchi published a poem on King George V.'s Coronation. I extract the following invocation to England:—

O England vast as are the suns vast,  
O England with the widest breath of widest love,  
Would I salute thee from the seas red with the rising sun,  
(Thou upon the Western seas burning by the sunset fire,)  
Not for thy wealth which runs through thy veins like wine,  
Not for thy strength like that of the days and sun,  
But seeing thee with all thy children true and hard,  
Who deal not pale death but life,—  
The single-souled worker of the glory of Heaven's plan,  
The builder of Truth upon the peaks of stars and song,  
The builder of song amid liberty's pines of echoing heart;  
Thou scornest luxury, thou scornest sham and cheat,  
Thou art the true friend of humanity deathless and plain.

## WAS GAMBETTA A CREATURE OF BISMARCK?

ABBÉ DIMNET writes in the *Quarterly Review* on the real Gambetta, and supplies admirers of that French orator with much unpleasant reading. The Abbé reviews the appendix to Bismarck's "Recollections," from which it appears that Count Henckel von Donnersmarck, who had married a wealthy courtesan, was in close touch both with Bismarck and with Gambetta. There is no proof, says the Abbé, but there is every likelihood that Gambetta would have been less anxious to haunt the Donnersmarck establishment if the presiding deity had been a Diana. The Abbé resumes:—

The chief points made apparent in the correspondence between Donnersmarck and Bismarck are the following. Gambetta had had confidential dealings with an emissary of Bismarck's; he had very early admitted the possibility of a personal interview with the Chancellor; he had, in order to please him, been instrumental in removing an ambassador who was not *persona grata*, and in appointing a Foreign Minister of whom Bismarck would approve as a Protestant and an anti-clerical; he had been anxious to get some mark of sympathy from the Germans on the occasion of the Exhibition; finally, according to Donnersmarck, he was willing to come to an agreement concerning the War Budget and entailing a common action of France and Germany against Rome. The limitation of the War Budget was especially serious. If Gambetta admitted the possibility of coming to an arrangement with Bismarck on this vital point, it amounted to confessing that, hardly seven years after the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, he had given up all intention of recovering these provinces by force. Yet, all the time, he went on repeating privately to his friends and publicly in his addresses—the Cherbourg speech in August 1880 is famous—that "La Kevanche was a duty and a certainty.

The Abbé declares that history shows Gambetta more the dupe than the ally of Bismarck:—

While trying to deceive Bismarck, he did all the time unsuspectingly what the Chancellor wanted him to do. Gambetta contributed to establish the colonial, anti-clerical, ultra-pacific but internally divided Republic which Bismarck longed to see strike roots in France; and he did so with the happy light-headedness of perfect innocence.

If you want practical advice how to avoid disease, and to get case if you are already ailing, read Eustace Miles' "Prevention and Cure" (Methuen, 3s. 6d. net), but do not stop there: take the advice and carry out his interesting suggestions.

THOSE who care for accounts of seldom done journeys may be interested in Mrs. Roby's story of how she travelled 2,000 miles in the Congo in five months, through country not before traversed by a white woman. This is the chief feature of the November number of the *Wide World Magazine*. Another article is on a modern treasure-hunt—the account of the excavations undertaken in Jerusalem by Captain Montagu Parker and his party, who thought they were on the trail of the sacred articles in the ancient temples and of the buried riches of the old Jewish Kings. In their search they began digging in the Mosque of Omar, thereby outraging Mohammedan religious feeling, so that they had to fly hastily from the Holy City, some of them being detained for a time in prison.

## MUSIC AND ART IN THE MAGAZINES.

## THE ART OF RICHARD STRAUSS.

MR. ARCHIBALD HENDERSON in the October *Forum* writes on Richard Strauss in the light of "Der Rosenkavalier." The writer says:—

"That the author of "Salomé" and of "Elektra," the musical interpreter par excellence of morbidity and monomania, should turn to the lightness of Viennese frivolity, should respond to the blandishments of the vase, is the most unexpected and incredible surprise in the history of contemporary music.

Strauss, he says, is the impersonation of disciplined controlled passion. He has wrought the miracle of writing opera which is its own commentary. In music, his is the genius of the short story. He is a genius of monomania. "After the splendid world-spirit which animates and fires the deed of Elektra, the petty intrigues and bestial sexualities of 'Der Rosenkavalier' seem to cheapen and degrade the art of Strauss."

## THE ROYAL SCOTTISH ACADEMY.

Both the *Art Journal* and the *Connoisseur* for October refer to the Royal Scottish Academy at Edinburgh, which this year has moved to the beautiful galleries newly constructed for it within the old Royal Institution building in Princes Street. The eighty-fifth exhibition which is being held is in many respects quite a memorable one. The department of sculpture in particular is most interesting, says the *Connoisseur*. There are good examples of Rodin and Nicolini; yet even these must yield the palm to M. Landowski, the exhibitor of two bronze heads. M. Bourdelle's "Fête Beethoven" is said to give successfully a plastic form to much of the pathos in the composer's life-story. Among Scottish sculptors is Mr. P. MacGillivray, who is represented by a bust, "Cleopatra," and by "Die Lorelei," a nude female figure. While the former charms by reason of its simplicity and dignity, the latter owes its beauty chiefly to the rhythmic flow of the lines. The same sculptor has been engaged for some time past on a colossal monument to Gladstone to be set up in a public square in Edinburgh, and he has been commissioned to execute a statue of Byron for Aberdeen.

## THE LISZT CENTENARY.

As the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Liszt occurred on October 22, the October number of the *Musical Times* publishes the first part of an article on Liszt by Mr. Ernest Newman. Few people in this country, writes Mr. Newman, have any idea of the great range of Liszt's activities, or of the extent of his influence upon modern music. At Weimar he laboured incessantly for Wagner and other composers, and gradually made himself the centre of what came to be known as the "New German School." With an unflinching eye for genius, he saw at a glance that Wagner was to be the creator of a new dynasty in music, and every idea for which Liszt fought has now won its way into the art and is accepted as the merest matter of course. But in his lifetime the struggle against conservatism was long and severe, and Liszt

had the bitterness to see many ranged against him whose admirer or benefactor he had been. Among the opponents of the "Music of the Future" were Brahms, Joachim, and Clara Schumann, and in the Schumann-Brahms circle the horror of Liszt is not yet quite extinguished. Writing in *Scribner* for October, Mr. James Huneker shows how much Wagner was indebted to Liszt. But while we call Liszt and Wagner the leaders of the moderns, their aims and methods were radically different. Wagner asserted the supremacy of the drama over tone, and then inconsistently set himself down to write the most emotionally eloquent music that was ever conceived. Liszt always harped on the dramatic, on the poetic, and seldom employed words, believing that the function of instrumental music is to convey in an ideal manner a poetic impression. In the orchestral domain Liszt was as thoroughly-going a poetic composer as Chopin in his piano compositions.

## A MODERN DUTCH MASTER.

The *Art Journal* for October contains an article by Mr. Rudolf Dircks on Josef Israels, who died a month or two ago. Though he lived to the age of seventy-seven, he had not outlived his reputation. With advancing years, indeed, his following increased and his fame did not diminish. As Millet found his Barbizon, Israels found his little fishing village at Zandvoort, near Haarlem. A Jew, born in Holland, Israels, save for a couple of student years in Paris, spent practically all his life in his native country. In his portrayal of types he is never more convincing than when depicting the people of his own race, such as in the pictures "A Son of the Old People" and "The Scribe." It was no new thing for a Dutch painter to find his subjects among the fisher-folk; but Israels carried it a little further by introducing a dramatic interest, for his pathos is usually presented after some dramatic fashion. In his work there is the expression of two states of mind—one in which he makes an obvious appeal to the emotions in such scenes as a shipwreck, or a sick-bed associated with death; the other in which a more abstract feeling prevails. A writer in the *Connoisseur* observes that Israels retained his cunning of hand to the end. In 1862 he exhibited in London "The Cradle" and "The Shipwrecked Man," which ensured his reputation in England, and where subsequently he found the chief market for his work. In 1869 he moved to The Hague, and since then has been the recognised leader of modern Dutch art. In latter years his subjects centred about peasant life. He could realise the joyousness of childhood and the sorrows of old age with equal truth, and could render the beauty of womanhood as few artists have been able to do.

AUSTRALIA'S attractions for immigrants are stated in a glowing rhapsody by Mr. Henry Button in the *Colonial Office Journal*. He ends by adjuring the Commonwealth to "Rise, crowned with light, Imperial Salem, rise!" etc.

# THE REVIEWS REVIEWED.

## THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE October number is a reminder of the distance that the mild Conservatism of to-day has travelled from the rigid Toryism for which the Review was once famous. The paper on the recent strikes, for example, expresses much sympathy with the men, and even finds there is some excuse for the uneducated men who act as pickets. All must desire that wages, which are in many cases too low, should rise. The writer does not approve of nationalisation of railways, but hopes much from the recent rapid advance of profit-sharing. He has no drastic measures to suggest—only the formation of an efficient volunteer service which would destroy the possibility of the success of a general strike.

## THE TWO CHIEF FORCES IN AUSTRALIA.

A writer on ten years of the Australian Commonwealth devotes his attention chiefly to the two forces, Mr. Deakin and the Labour Party, which have had most to do with the moulding of Australia during its first ten years as a nation. He predicts that Labour is the force which will have most to do with the moulding of the nation during the next ten years. The writer warmly eulogises Mr. Deakin, and declares that the Australian people have grown into a sober and determined manhood mainly through the wisdom and forethought of Alfred Deakin's administration, and have accepted in all essentials the national policy he framed, though rejecting finally, to all appearances, the self-sacrificing framer. The policy of the Labour Party is, the writer maintains, the choice of the nation as a whole. He even speaks with favour of the caucus rule of the Labour Party.

## ENGLISH CHURCH LAW ON DIVORCE.

That the Divorce Commission of 1853 was wrong in holding that marriage was not considered indissoluble is the contention of a writer who concludes thus uncompromisingly:—

The Canons of 1604, while they lay down no new law with regard to divorce, afford important evidence that the old law, as it stood before and immediately after the Reformation, was still maintained in its integrity. In other words, marriage was still treated as indissoluble, and divorce a *vinculo* of a valid marriage was unknown. As Church Law stood before the Reformation, so it stood notwithstanding the "Reformatio Legum," so it stood under the Canons of 1604, so it stood after the Divorce Act of 1857, and so it stands to-day.

## THE NATIONAL INSURANCE BILL.

Mr. A. W. West thinks it impossible for the Bill to be thrust through before Christmas satisfactorily. He thinks the Government should, if they wish to make a good workable scheme and to please all who take a real interest in it, withdraw the Bill after the Committee stage and recast it with fresh actuarial calculations based on the new census. He adds, "the unanimous apprehension of hospital managers that the voluntary system, as we have known it in the

past, is doomed if the State Insurance Bill becomes law, is, in my opinion, founded on solid grounds."

## OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Morton Fullerton indulges in a warm eulogy of "Gil Blas," which he describes as an encyclopædia of human types, including virtually every form of human character, as one of the most perfect examples of narrative prose in the world, a book of world-wide popularity and an inexhaustible source of energy. Its author is as a moralist in the sanest Latin and French tradition. Mr. Percy Lubbock pronounces a panegyric on the poetry of William Morris, the man who believed that life may be turned to immeasurable beauty by every hand that works and every heart that feels, though Mr. Lubbock feels that the form of prose romance which Morris invented for himself lost some strengthening influence with the abandonment of verse, for "the cup of their amorosity is too lavishly, too perpetually rimmed." A study of the history of submarines is given. M. Salomon Reinach contrives to give in some nineteen pages a delightful summary of the history of mythological study in its genesis, and of the character of the chief schools. Other articles have been separately mentioned.

## THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

THERE is singularly little in the *Edinburgh Review* of eminent interest. One of the most attractive papers on famous autobiographies has been elsewhere noticed.

The Government is adversely criticised for contenting itself with a Parliament Act instead of advancing a proper scheme for the reform of the House of Lords. The reviewer declares that the salary paid to M.P.'s will almost certainly find its way into the hands of the central or local caucus. He demands a redistribution of seats, along with the abolition of the plural vote. He believes that the Parnellite-Gladstonian Home Rule cannot be revived, and asks, What does the Government mean by Home Rule?

The crisis in the history of the Republican party is discussed in another article. When President Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich Bill on August 5th, 1909, he thereby signed away the majority in both House and Senate which was behind him. Not half a dozen American industries would have been jeopardised had the duties been reduced all through the schedules to 20 per cent. The writer regrets the defeat of reciprocity in Canada.

The Camorra in modern Italy is fully sketched and discussed by a writer who thinks that with the Viterbo trial the knell of the Camorra has begun to sound. What is needed is a great change in the intellectual, economic, and moral conditions of the people, in order to render the Camorra impossible.

Most of the other papers are historical. The Duke



of Devonshire's Life is noticed elsewhere. Gambetta's War Office in 1870-1 is described at length, and whatever were its technical difficulties, it breathed into France the determination to "do the impossible." The effort was "magnificent." A sketch is given of the collapse of the first coalition against France in 1793-4. The history of the Inns of Court is told by one who considers that they held a unique position of honour, not only in this country, but throughout the world. Fogazzaro and Modernism form the subject of another paper, in which surprise is expressed that a man like Fogazzaro, styled "an excellent father, a convinced believer, a perfect gentleman," whose lifework was to "translate truth and goodness into beauty," was censured, silenced, and almost put to the ban by the Church.

### THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

BESIDES the articles on the "Canadian Elections and After," "The Chinese Revolution," and Dr. Dillon's on the "Political Situation," referred to elsewhere, the *Contemporary Review* for November contains a long review, by Mr. G. W. E. Russell, of the late Duke of Devonshire's Life, and another literary article commemorating the centenary of Mrs. Gaskell.

#### ENGLAND AND GERMANY.

Mr. Noel Buxton, M.P., reviews the present relations between England and Germany, with special reference to the situation created by the Moroccan question. Dealing with the obstacles to an Anglo-German rapprochement, he says that it is becoming increasingly clear that German competition would not be stopped by defeat, and that if we hit German industry by the destruction of her property or credit we should be among the chief sufferers, Germany being one of our greatest customers—some of the contentions in concrete form of the Carnegie Peace Foundation Congress members. As to Germany's colonial ambitions, he says that it is hardly realised in London that they are stoutly opposed in Germany. The great German newspapers denounce the maintenance of colonies quite in the style of Disraeli, chiefly on account of their cost. There has probably never been a British anti-colonial feeling at all approaching in intensity German anti-colonial feeling to-day. It is nevertheless unwise to assume that Germany's policy will be dominated by the anti-colonial party. Far better is it to consider it a problem for the world to satisfy "the just demands of the great new Power" as regards expansion. As Mr. Buxton says, the countrymen of Mr. Kipling cannot well condemn colonial ambition, and to hennet Germany in, if she wants colonies, is worthy neither of British fair play nor of practical expediency.

#### THE EIGHTY CLUB IN IRELAND.

Mr. Harold Spender's account of his journey about Ireland with the Eighty Club, in order to study the Home Rule movement, occupies a good many pages. He seems to have been greatly impressed by the

islanders of Arran, who assured him that they would be so loyal to England, if England would but trust them.

#### FEMINISM AND POLITICS.

Mrs. Billington-Greig asserts that there is no true feminist organisation or feminist programme in England at present; feminism being defined by her as "a movement seeking the reorganisation of the world upon a basis of sex-equality in all human relations," rejecting every differentiation between individuals on the ground of sex alone. Feminism has been narrowed down into a mere struggle for the political vote. But, says the writer, the real work of feminism lies outside politics. There are arguments, of course, in favour of the concentration of women's energies into the attainment of political influence through the vote, but Mrs. Billington-Greig thinks, as others think who have watched women's suffrage at work in British colonies, that many young suffragists vastly over-estimate what the vote can do for them. "So far has the political aspect of reform obsessed the modern woman's imagination that it is necessary to emphasise the work that waits for the workers in other spheres,"—such, for instance, as "equal pay for equal work," the right of married women to economic independence, the right of women to apprenticeship and training, and numerous questions of criminal law amendment, divorce, etc. The writer pleads, therefore, for a reconsideration of the whole feminist position.

#### THE LOST BEAUTY IN DAILY LIFE.

Mr. Henry Holiday says the world has loved and possessed beauty in its life and work for full six thousand years—throughout history, so far as we know, but not in the last century. This ousting of beauty is all due to commercialism, to industrialism, to buying cheap and selling dear, to middlemen, to turning crafts into trades. Could we not, he suggests, recapture a little of the lost beauty in daily life? Could we not manage so that there should be people picturesque enough to figure in a royal procession who are not soldiers? Could not the professions, crafts and trades, also have their own picturesque garb? The women's procession on the Saturday before Coronation week was so admirably designed and organised as to be a step, if but a small step, towards the beautifying of our hopelessly ugly life.

#### OTHER ARTICLES.

The Bishop of Carlisle (Dr. Diggle) writes upon the Training of the Clergy, outlining what he considers their ideal physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual training:—

"For long centuries," he concludes, "the Church has kept far away from the world, has dwelt in a world, sometimes a very worldly world, of its own; and now, in turn, the world keeps far away from the Church. Can they ever be brought into touch? Will the world ever look for inspiration and guidance to the Church? Will the Church ever become a trusted teacher to the world? The answers to these questions largely depend on the character and power of the Church's ministers."

## THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

FOREIGN affairs bulk largely in the November number. Mr. J. Ellis Barker's article on Dr. Sun Yat-Sen does not add much to our knowledge given elsewhere of the Chinese patriot.

## GENERALS' SALARIES AND ARMY EQUIPMENT.

Captain Battine's discussion of Britain, the Triple Alliance, and the Peace of Europe, has as its moral reform of our English army system. He says:—

Italian administrative methods and ethics are not regarded in England with much respect. But in return for this Budget the Italian War Office can mobilise twelve complete army corps, and can, besides, dispatch a thirteenth to conquer the Turks in Tripoli. The British Parliament annually provides twenty-eight millions sterling for Lord Haldane to spend. In return for double the Italian War Budget our War Minister cannot guarantee the rapid mobilisation of even two army corps. Some patriots imagine that conscription, which they prefer to call by some other name, would mend this state of things, but while the little army is starved in essential equipment such as horses and motor transport which are needed for contemporary warfare, a great deal of waste goes on in providing large incomes for generals—to the extent, it is alleged, of £20,000 a year. A remount costs £40; consequently, £20,000 a year buys five hundred young horses, an increase to our military strength which would give us incalculable advantage in the opening stage of a European war.

## DID THE POWERS SANCTION ITALY'S RAID?

A writer concealing himself under the letter "Y" complains in the Italian war in Tripoli the knell of the Triple Alliance. He quite confidently declares that among the papers in the Italian Office were the protocols of France and England acceding to her occupation of Tripoli. Germany could not reproach Italy, because "she would be confronted with unpleasant disclosures which would not read well in Constantinople." But the two German Foreign Offices knew very well that Italy was not merely within her rights, but that she had proof of prior sanction. He makes bold to declare that in the days of Armageddon Italy will be with France and England.

## EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY EXPOSED.

Mr. R. C. Long writes with characteristic and mordant ability on Germany's Mediterranean League. After very keen discussion of the recent windings of the diplomatic skein, he concludes with this comprehensive indictment:—

The diplomacy of all countries has shown up equally ill, whether we take Wilhelmstrasse, which held war impossible after it had practically begun, or Sir Edward Grey, who frivolously absented himself on the ultimatum day—or retired, moved by the higher patriotism of self-effacement; or Itakki, who was playing poker with Madame Nobilant; or Herr von Jagow's whole battery of counts and princes who did not know what was happening in Rome; or Hussein, who knew still less, and whom the Turks—resolved for once to lead Europe's civilisation—threaten inconspicuously to shoot. The failings of the aristocratic German service have been repeatedly exposed before the Reichstag, but without remedy; and the representatives abroad continue to rise from the same class of illiterate, drawing, monocled young men who staff Great Britain's embassies, and represent Imperial statecraft to titting foreigners. The difference is that the Germans can talk some languages; and instead of the British mixture of effeminacy and

loathsome rudeness, rather pride themselves on tempering with decent civility a certain *Burschen*-toughness of mien.

## POSSIBLE AMERICAN PRESIDENTS.

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe thinks the election of Mr. Woodrow Wilson extremely probable if he were put forward as a candidate. But as he has alienated the bosses of his Party, the question is whether they will allow him to be nominated. "Unless the American ship of state should unexpectedly glide into calm waters, Theodore Roosevelt will be found again at her helm." Taft will be nominated, but few think he will win. Failing Mr. Woodrow Wilson, Mr. Harman would be a good ordinary kind of President of the McKinley type; or Mr. Gaynor, the Mayor of New York, who owes his notoriety to the fact that an attempt was made on his life. There is something of royal magnanimity told in this incident:—

During his campaign the New York newspapers were almost all against him. Daily he used to receive from sympathisers information reflecting upon the private characters and public records of the editors who attacked him. He made no use of these, except to sort them out and send them, after he had been elected, to those whom they chiefly concerned. Even in small matters his fairness is phenomenal.

## A "CLAIM FOR THE NOVEL," INDEED.

Mr. H. G. Wells, evidently burning under the disapproval of provincial librarians, the hostility of a few influential people in London, the scurrility of the *Spectator*, and the deep and obstinate silences of the *Westminster Gazette*, lets himself go on the contemporary novel. This is the scope of the claim he is making for it:—

It is to be the social mediator, the vehicle of understanding, the instrument of self-examination, the parade of morals and the exchange of manners, the factory of customs, the criticism of laws and institutions and of social dogmas and ideas. It is to be the home confessional, the initiator of knowledge, the seed of fruitful self-questioning. We are going to write of wasted opportunities and latent beauties until a thousand new ways of living open to men and women. Before we have done, we will have all life within the scope of the novel.

## POINTS ABOUT HOME RULE.

Mr. Sydney Brooks discusses somewhat discursively several aspects of the Irish question. A Home Ruler himself, he is doubtful as to how far the Irish people really care for Home Rule. The Irish peasant is a Tory and a materialist. Having got the land, he cares for little else. The Church does not want Home Rule; for he is convinced that Home Rule, so far from spelling Rome rule, would eventually spell Rome ruin. But without Home Rule there seems no chance whatever of the Irish character becoming strong and responsible.

## OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Edward Spencer inveighs against the abuse of machinery, which is steadily turning the creative intellect of man into a mere machine-tender. We have given up standard for the sake of cheapness, and power for the sake of comfort. Mr. W. S. Lilly reiterates his frequent contention that the doctrine of Rousseau is irreconcilable with the doctrine of

Catholicism, and that this is sufficient explanation of the rooted hatred of Catholicism which animates the children of the Revolution. Ethel M. de Fonblanque traces the Italian sources of "Othello." Mr. Bellotti Bax screams wildly against woman as "the creature of privilege," and after arguing that already the law and the Courts give woman an unfair advantage, declares that the Suffragists' aim is "the conversion of the female sex into a dominant *sex-noblesse*." Mr. Charles McEvoy argues that the intellectual modern drama is a business proposition in London, as it has proved itself elsewhere, in spite of shallow conventional criticisms to the contrary. The number opens with a ballad by Thomas Hardy entitled "The Sacrilege," which sheds strange light on the ethics of the caravan-dwellers. Mr. Herbert Trench also contributes "A Bitter Serenade."

### THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND GERMANY.

MR. E. D. MOREL, writing on the Franco-German Dispute, argues that it will never do to interpret the Franco-British *entente* as a shield under which French ambitions can move to attain an end which may not work out ultimately to Great Britain's interests. We must realise that what Germany wants is not colonies of German peoples oversea, but markets, for which she is bound to fight, even as England used to do; and she will be right in fighting for them if they are denied her, even as England was right.

MR. J. H. WHITEHOUSE, M.P., makes various proposals for bringing about better relations between Britain and Germany, among them that Parliament should have much more voice in the discussion of the broad principles of our foreign policy, and that we should be no longer brought to the verge of war without any influence having had play outside a small circle of diplomatists. He also advocates an exchange of visits between the members of the British Parliament and the German Reichstag. Worse relations existed not long ago between Great Britain and Russia and also France than the relations between her and Germany to-day.

#### THE FUTURE HOUSE OF LORDS.

MR. CHARLES E. MALLETT, writing of "Liberals and the House of Lords Reform," argues that an elective House of Lords may not be the best, for a House is wanted different in origin and characteristics from the House of Commons. Now that the powers of the House of Lords are definitely limited, Liberals, he thinks, might well agree to a larger proportion of hereditary Peers and fewer life Peers, which would give a House of Lords of undiminished prestige and enhanced character, but with fewer weaknesses and encumbrances.

#### INDIA AND CHINA.

SIR BAMPFYLDE FULLER, in his paper "East and West," lays stress on the fact that in the East service must be left to servants, so that the charge of helplessness levelled against the Anglo-Indian has many

excuses. On the other hand, the desire for increased comfort and more possessions is not as powerful in the East as in the West. A man with a surplus income either hoards it or spends it on others. This state of affairs, however, is now changing. The Oriental has a care for his personal dignity which to the Westerner is inexplicable, and on ceremonial occasions, such as marriages, he spends an amount out of all proportion to his income. Of course Western ideas are penetrating the East, but the writer seems to think that only very slowly will they reach below the surface and really affect the mass of the people.

SIR FRANCIS PIGGOTT, Chief Justice of Hong Kong, writes an interesting article, topical just now, describing a journey up the West River, China. It is difficult to summarise, however. Professor Norman Pearson writes a distressing paper on "The Idle Poor," the unnumbered and hopelessly lazy and demoralised paupers of England, who, he says, are the real burden on the industrious poor and the community in general, and not the abused "idle rich," who at least support themselves, and are often not idle at all.

#### A WONDERFUL CENTURY.

SIR WALTER GILBEY gives his "Recollections of Seventy Years." The greatest booms to the multitude, among recent inventions, he considers to be motors and bicycles. He can recall the use of dogs for draught-work, prohibited in London in 1839, but remaining legal in the country for another fifteen years. He well remembers the numbers of dog-carriages and carts on the Essex lanes and high roads. All sorts and conditions of men used dog-carriages, from small tradesmen to poorer people who could not afford a pony. Dog-draught was abolished because certain people agitated against it as cruel, but the writer thinks that as a rule the dogs were not ill-treated nor overworked. Sir Walter Gilbey remembers the dying-out of coaches and the antipathy to railways, which was not so unreasonable, perhaps, since the third-class "carriages" were cattle-pens, the permanent way ill laid, and the trains wretchedly lit. Every action of his life, he says, now suggests a change from the days of his youth. Truly last century was, he thinks, a "wonderful century."

MISS EDITH SELLERS writes of the feeling of patriotism as manifested in this country and elsewhere, her point being that the sentiment in many ways is weak in us. She specially refers to the pride taken by the Swiss, Roumanians, and other nations in being in the army and fit for military service. The Swiss do most of the drilling, and also most of the rifle practice, on Sunday, for they see no reason why young men should loaf on that day. There are several other articles worth reading in the magazine.

THE *Windsor Magazine* contains an article on the life and work of the sculptor John Tweed, with illustrations of his chief works.

## THE WORLD'S WORK.

WILL LLOYD-GEORGE DROP HOME RULE?

AN "Indiscreet Unionist" indulges in a character sketch of Mr. Lloyd-George, whom he describes as a scoundrel—a scoundrel meaning one who uses language by which others are shocked. Mr. Lloyd-George is declared to be brave, independent, resourceful, impatient and inconsistent. The Unionist has the courage to predict that Mr. Lloyd-George will not wreck his prospective Premiership by "riding the Irish horse to the precipice":—

Mr. Lloyd-George will not allow the Irish to drag the Liberals into ruin. He will prefer the loss of office, the temporary rule of a minority, and the sure hope that his own qualities will soon win for him what Mr. Balfour's defects gave to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in January 1906.

THE FRENCHMAN RICH IN IDEAS.

Mr. J. H. Collins tells how the Frenchman does business, and declares that the first word is Ideas, and the second is Certainties. It is a charming paper. His contention is:—

France is a land of exquisite handicraft and unerring taste. The Frenchman is not always practical in his products and does not love factory production. His ideal is to make a few highly individual things for a few discriminating customers. Any one of them might be the basis of an industry in another country, but when it is suggested that he could make money turning them out cheaply in quantities, he says, "Oh, let the Germans do that!" and goes on to create something else.

WHY NOT A STATE GARDEN CITY?

Mr. Percy B. Tanner suggests that a huge department of the General Post Office, the savings bank, should be transferred to a garden city site some fifty miles out. The staff, now numbering 3,300, would give the new city a population of at least 10,000 at the outset. He expects that there would be a magnificent surplus to the State after the cost of town planning had been borne, and a generous reserve of public parkland.

WANTED—A NATIONAL POULTRY INSTITUTE.

"Home Counties" describes the increasing importance of the hen, with a characteristic profusion of facts and figures. He says that in seven years the import of eggs from British possessions has dropped from eight and a quarter millions to not quite a quarter of a million. From other countries in seven years the import has dropped from 2,300 millions to 2,200 millions. He supports the proposal of Mr. Edward Brown, secretary of the National Poultry Organisation Society, that the Treasury should give £8,500 towards the establishment and equipment of a National Institute for eggs and poultry, and that £2,000 a year for maintenance should come from the Development Fund.

OTHER ARTICLES.

A portrait is given, along with a review of a novel by Alfred Tennyson, grandson and namesake of the last great Laureate, who was christened with a poem from his pen, and is now a stepson of Mr. Birrell. Mr. Arthur James points out that Germany, the hungry soldier, the malcontent, is the uncertain quantity on whose decision depends peace and war.

## THE ENGLISHWOMAN.

THE most important article in the *Englishwoman* is that by Mrs. Beer on the question of "Sick Insurance for Women." The writer says that sick insurance for women is not at all new; it can be proved to have been well known in 1797, when at least seventeen societies for women only existed. The 1905 report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies gave the number of women registered as 600,000, nearly all of them being in general friendly societies, and not in the 312 societies composed exclusively of women. The I.O.O.F. (Manchester Unity) has admitted women since 1900, and has now 7,352 women members, who must form separate lodges. The Foresters have more than 11,000 women members, as compared with more than 702,000 men, and these two great societies are not the only ones admitting women to sick benefit. The secretaries of the Friendly Societies seemed surprised that any distinction should be drawn between married and unmarried women. All but one agreed in stating that their experience had shown that married women were not a greater burden on a Society than unmarried. The writer argues, therefore, that the experience of Friendly Societies goes to prove that there is no insuperable difficulty in admitting married as well as unmarried women into a sick insurance scheme.

THE ROTHSCHILD TENEMENT HOUSES.

Mrs. Austin writes interestingly upon some tenement houses in Paris, built by the Rothschilds with a capital of £40,000, on which interest is expected to be paid at the rate of 3½ or 4 per cent. The Rothschild tenement houses are in a densely crowded district. The building contains three hundred and twenty-one flats, at rentals of from £7 to £22 a year, according to accommodation. Each flat is very light and gets plenty of sunshine. Each has a good kitchen and sitting-room combined, and from one to four bedrooms, with gas, water, electricity, and every convenience. One wing of the building is entirely given up to working women; two-room and one-room flats, all with water and electricity. There is a large kitchen attached to the flats, where good food can be bought cheaply by women who have little time to cook for themselves. There is a wash-house, and in the basement are the bathrooms. A crèche has even been provided for the small children, as well as rooms for medical and surgical consultations. Rents are collected weekly, fortnightly, or monthly, according to the profession of the breadwinner, and not quarterly, as is the custom in France. This the writer thinks much better, since the tenants are much more likely to be able to meet their rent when rent day comes frequently.

An article on "Life in British East Africa" gives an account of the colony which is, on the whole, pleasant and attractive.

## THE FORUM.

THE October issue is a good number. Most of the articles have been separately noticed.

Mr. Sydney Brooks gives an English view of Cuba. He says that few countries have an external aspect of greater health and cleanliness. The Americans have put the fear of dirt into the Cuban people. Yellow fever has become not merely obsolete, but virtually impossible. The island is one of the most accessible spots on earth, and yet one of the most neglected. Its material future, however, may be taken as a thing assured. Cuban government is expensive, politics is a struggle of the ins and outs, an affair of deals and accommodations on a basis of a division of the offices and spoils. There is nothing the Cubans so heartily dread and detest as another occupation and government of their island by the Americans, and the fear of it acts as an abiding restraint on their domestic factions.

Mr. J. S. H. Umsted anticipates from the reform of Chinese currency a brisk demand for American silver. He is afraid of the British introducing the gold standard.

## THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN the October number there are not many articles claiming special attention.

## AMERICAN SECURITIES IN EUROPE.

Mr. J. E. Dunning gives some notable facts in this connection. He finds in it "reciprocity in the most noteworthy form":—

It is a noble tribute to the financial genius of the age that there has been found a way to so increase the neighbourliness of nations, their knowledge of and confidence in one another, and their means for maintaining constant and mutual touch, that the needs of one can be made to feed and sustain the requirements of another under orderly systems and easily workable regulations, and with the nearly complete disappearance of that feeling of suspicion and distrust which in former days was sometimes encountered in international enterprises. Some of the strong peoples have grown, under this new impulse, to an intimacy of interest which stands far over average "alliances" in potency for general harmony and peace.

The annual savings of France are put down at 400 million dollars. Italy is a famous saver, but an extremely liberal spender. German national savings are stated to be slightly over 900 million dollars a year.

## IN PRAISE OF CLARENDON.

Mr. G. Bradford, Jun., writes on Clarendon as a great English portrait painter. He quotes Warburton, Clarendon's earliest commentator:—

"In the knowledge of human nature (the noblest qualification of the historian) this great author excels all the Greek and Latin historians put together." This is strong language, but the "History" and "Life" go far to justify it.

## BRIGHTON HOTELS AND PIERROTS.

Mr. W. D. Howells writes entertainingly about his visit to Brighton. He speaks of "that winning note of personal consideration which welcomes the guest

to the English hotel." He confesses to a passion for pierrots, ever since he saw them at Llandudno six years ago. All the English love those engaging creatures and have them everywhere. He likes Brighton.

Mr. S. P. Orth inquires, "What of the individual?" and insists that every function of society will ultimately bring its influence to the adjustment of the balance between the individual and the group. Mr. P. S. Peirce discusses a number of industrial diseases. Mr. Sydney Brooks continues his study of aspects of public ownership. J. E. Hoare writes up the Irish national drama.

## THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE.

Now and then we have a magazine or a review celebrating its jubilee, but centenaries are as yet indeed rare. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, which was founded in 1731, is probably our only English example, and the only other magazine to have achieved a similar distinction is, we believe, the *Bibliothèque Universelle*.

The *Bibliothèque Universelle* for October opens with a long obituary notice of Edouard Tallichet, its editor, 1866-1909. The original review was founded at Geneva in 1796, and a few years before M. Tallichet took it over and transplanted it in Lausanne the *Revue Suisse* was amalgamated with it. From three hundred subscribers it soon numbered over three thousand. A difficulty then, as now, was to find suitable novels, for the editor desired his review to be read by all, and the choice was somewhat limited.

The centenary year of 1896 was a triumph. Then came bad days. M. Tallichet had what he called "his ideas," and he was unable to make concessions to the spirit of the new epoch. Many of his early contributors were dead; others, discouraged, alienated themselves. Numa Droz remained faithful, but somehow or other the review ceased to be the result of the live forces of French Switzerland. Also competition, which at the beginning was very small, began to assume redoubtable proportions; other reviews were founded to suit the tastes of the new public, and the magazines of France flooded the Swiss market. Nevertheless, M. Tallichet was not discouraged. He regarded the alienation of his readers as merely an abnormal and passing phenomenon, and always he awaited the event which would respond to his appeals and restore to him honour and prosperity. There was something tragic in this obstinate struggle of an old man for what he believed to be truth and right. Eventually the day arrived when he had to give in. The resources of the review were almost exhausted, and it was a wrench when he had to place it in other hands. But to the last he continued to take a deep and active interest in it, and it may with truth be said that he died at his post, for on the last day of his life he had been busy at the office only a couple of hours before his death.

**HIBBERT JOURNAL: DECENNIAL NUMBER.**

CONGRATULATIONS to the Editor of the *Hibbert Journal* on issuing his decennial number this October are superfluous. The array of writers contributing to this one number is more than any felicitation. Mr. Balfour, M. Bergson, M. Loisy, Professor Harnack, are of themselves sufficient proof of the eminent standing which the *Hibbert* has secured, as well as of its catholicity of scope. Several of the principal articles demand separate notice.

M. Loisy's paper on "The Christian Mystery" is disappointing, except for its audacity. He says the Gospel of Jesus was not a religion; but less than thirty years after His death, a religion had issued from the Gospel. It was a mystery on the lines of those associated with the cults of Demeter, Osiris and Mithra. The Christian mystery borrowed much from pagan mysteries and supplanted them, because it had a firmer doctrine of God and of immortality, and of a Divine Saviour.

Dr. Harnack compares Greek and Christian piety at the end of the third century by giving copious excerpts from the letter of Porphyry to his wife Marcella. Porphyry was the great foe of Christianity, yet his piety accords with that of the Christians of his day, just in its deepest elements. The two opponents, Greek and Christian philosophy, approach each other not only in the sphere of doctrine and organised worship and of discipline, but in the innermost life, the domain of piety. What still parted them was "the myth" alone. But it was a Hellenic philosophical Christianity that conquered heathendom. The Christian piety of the times was apparently too Hellenic.

Professor Sanday discusses the apocalyptic element in the Gospels as one main starting-point for the teaching of our Lord and for His own conception of His mission. Yet the writer emphasises no less the new turn and new significance that He gave to it. The idea of the apocalyptic kingdom was subsumed under the larger idea—of a kingdom already in process of realisation.

Professor Arthur Thomson shows that from the biological point of view he does not believe that there is one science of Nature. The physico-chemical descriptions of vital processes are insufficient to explain either the everyday functions within the organism, or the still more difficult and complicated animal behaviour. He cites the case of the eels which are born on the edge of the great Atlantic abyss off the west coast of Ireland, and after spending some time there make their way to the east of the Baltic, pass up the rivers, feed, and then return to their native submarine cliff to propagate their species and die.

Professor Henry Jones inveighs against the Labour Party for corrupting the citizenship of the working

man by allowing the pre-suppositions of commercialism and industrialism to determine their attitude towards the State. The Labour Party, he says, is the victim of the pre-suppositions of Trade Unionism and is "corrupt in its very conception." With a strange ignorance of the facts, the Professor declares that "the Labour Party has everything at its back except the power of a generous idealism." He prophesies that when the true leader of the working man appears, he will come armed with a nobler ideal for the State.

Dr. P. T. Forsyth, writing on Revelation and the Bible, declares that Christian revelation is really redemption; that it is the Gospel in the Bible. The Bible is one monument of the two-fold revelation, God's pure fact in act in Christ crucified, and His true, but not pure, word of revelation in the Apostles.

Dr. Estlin Carpenter describes the Sikh religion.

The feature of social service is introduced by an appeal to English gentlemen by the Bishop of London, who thinks that we shall come to universal military service, but urges meanwhile that the voluntary Territorial Army should be made an unqualified success. He urges English gentlemen to train the boys, in Boy Scouts and Boys' Brigades, and to bear witness against the point on which the public opinion of English gentlemen is still in the most rotten condition—namely, on the moral question, and declare that vice is destructive. Let English gentlemen work clubs and act as treasurers for religious institutions.

**OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE REVIEW.**

THE October number shows that not merely has this review become a partisan organ of the Unionists, but that it is also an organ of the Roman Catholic Unionists. Mr. F. E. Smith's discussion of Unionist prospects has been separately noticed, as also has Mr. Burgoyne's jubilant account of our supremacy in Dreadnoughts. But the Roman Catholic interest appears in a paper by A. Delle Rive on "The Two Romes of To-day," in which the claims of the Pope are set forth, and the hope expressed that some reconciliation will be accomplished through an international law which will guarantee the freedom and spiritual independence of the head of Catholicism. Similarly in the article, which is noticed elsewhere, by Georges Goyau. Sir Clement Kinloch Cooke, M.P., advances his scheme for joint action between the Home and Dominion Governments in promoting emigration from the Home Country. Mr. Arthur Ransome defines poetry as a combination of kinetic with potential speech. Purely kinetic speech is prose, purely potential speech is music; poetry combines the two, its kinetic quality preserving it from nonsense, its potential quality separating it from bad prose. An anonymous writer laments "the virtual disappearance from the effective English life of anything that can properly be called a scholarly class." It pleads for the education of study.

## THE DUTCH REVIEWS.

THE description of a journey to "The Land of the White Elephant," which appears in *Vragen des Tijds* provides some entertaining reading. The writer went from Singapore by steamer, and he made good use of his powers of perception. At the only possible hotel in Bangkok he had to pay about 18s. a day. He speaks of the railway from Bangkok to meet the line which will connect with the Straits line, the people, the dwellings, and so forth. Trade is almost entirely in the hands of Chinese. The gaming table is a source of revenue, and the King cannot afford to put down the gambling houses until the tribute to be paid to foreign countries is a thing of the past. Dutch engineers are doing good work in the country; but the influence upon artistic handwork caused by the demand for labour in the British saw mills and other concerns is unfavourable.

Among the many good things to be found in *De Gids* the contribution entitled "Slavery as an Industrial System," will probably attract most attention. It is a review of a book of Ethnological Researches, and there are two reasons for the interest that may be aroused; firstly, the subject itself; secondly, the fact that the book is written in English by a Dutchman and published at the Hague. As the reviewer says, the book has been written in English so that it shall reach a wider circle of readers. That is the most plausible explanation, at any rate.

"The Army" is the title of a serious contribution to *De Tijdspiegel*. It opens with a quotation from the utterances of a French officer concerning the French army, "the army is disorganised," and the writer asks if those words could not be applied with truth to the Dutch army. Another French quotation, to the effect that a wave of madness seems to have passed over the military, is also applied to the army of Holland. The writer then sets forth the conditions existing at present, the attempts at military evolution and so forth, and concludes with an expression of belief that those who are endeavouring to bring about true improvement real evolution will finally prevail.

In order to convey a proper idea of *Elsevier* it would be necessary to reproduce many of the illustrations from the current issue. There are two "art" articles, one being a continuation of the description of the Exhibition of Dutch Painters in Paris, and the other a biographical sketch of the recently-deceased painter, Jozef Israëls. Both contain several reproductions, and both are distinctly interesting. Jozef Israëls was ill and stayed at Zandvoort, a fishing village, for some time in 1855, his sojourn and the reading of Goethe's works creating within him a predilection for nature studies and landscape painting. Prior to that time he had gained fame as a painter of what may be termed the historical branch of art. The article on the French rule in Holland a century ago is well deserving of mention. It contains portraits and other illustrations. Napoleon's bad handwriting and equally bad spelling are recorded.

It is said that he often had great difficulty in reading what he had set down on paper, and it is also a tradition that he wrote his name Bonaparte, instead of Buonaparte, because he did not know how to spell it accurately.

## THE SPANISH REVIEWS.

*Nuestro Tiempo* opens with a long article on Morocco and the interests which Spain has in that country. The writer points out the economic disadvantages to Spain of having a commercial competitor like France, and gives details in support of the contention that Spain should have the main hold on Morocco. Another very readable article is that on what happened in and to Avila from 1808 to 1814. Avila is an ancient city about seventy-one miles from Madrid, with a record of bravery forgotten by most people.

Professor Adolfo Posada, the well-known writer on sociology, has paid a visit to the Argentine Republic, resulting in articles in various Spanish reviews. In the present issue of *España Moderna* he has a paper on Socialism in Argentina, in which he gives many interesting details. Professor Ferri, the friend of Lombroso, stated, during a journey in Argentina three years ago, that Socialism was an artificial flower in that country; there was no reason for its existence, for Argentina did not suffer from the industrial and other troubles that engendered Socialism in other lands. This statement raised a storm of protest among Socialists and those who fancied they were Socialists, while it soothed the middle class. Nevertheless, Socialism does exist in Argentina. The second contribution to this review is an account of the arsenal at Seville.

*Ciudad de Dios* has several contributions of the usual thoughtful and thorough character. "The Philosophy of Life and of Intellectualism" dissects modern philosophical notions and shows how they differ from the ancient and how they fail to satisfy the needs of life. Teodoro Rodriguez, who has shown such a grasp of social and economic problems, continues his articles on State Intervention in Economic Questions, its effects, advantages, disadvantages, and limits.

A writer in *La Lectura* discusses the question of the ideal in politics and education. Man is a reasoning creature, always having an ideal and always trying to realise it; as he realises one ideal he forms a higher one, so he is always striving. Education and politics should therefore go together, assuming that politics do not consist entirely in getting the better of the opposite party, but in constant endeavour to do what is best for all. The centenary of the birth of Theophile Gautier is the subject of another contribution, in which the great French writer's life is sketched and his work discussed. There is a continuation of the analytical biography of Walt Whitman.

## THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

THE Italian magazines are naturally full of articles dealing with Tripoli and Turkey, written before the Italian ultimatum, and of notes on the military situation that has developed since. They all go to prove the very deep national feeling that has grown up against Turkey, and the strength of the conviction that, in the international situation as it is developing in the Mediterranean, Tripoli is Italy's due. Thus, the *Rassegna Contemporanea* declares that hitherto United Italy has been in its infancy and has followed a feeble and impulsive policy, but that to-day there is an awakening of virile national sentiment in favour of decisive and immediate action in Tripoli, which has saved Italy from a suicidal policy of inertia. The *Civiltà Cattolica* is reserved but sympathetic and rejoices that the Government has sent out chaplains with the troops. The *Rassegna Nazionale* dwells on the "miserable and grotesque spectacle" of the Socialists in calling a national strike against the war. The *Nuova Antologia* asserts that no country welcomed the advent to power of the Young Turk more cordially than did Italy. But the illusion was brief. The Constitutional army, a weak instrument in the hands of the army, showed itself quite incompetent to initiate the task of national regeneration. Hence fresh dangers from which Italy could only protect herself by the annexation of Tripoli. The expedition was imposed on the Government by the national will; to have seen any other Power in possession of the coveted land would have been a heavy moral blow to the prestige of Italy. Thus it appears that outside the Socialist ranks all shades of opinion are in favour of a policy of aggression.

Two articles in the *Nuova Antologia* deal with English authors, Oscar Wilde and G. Bernard Shaw. The former is mainly devoted to a discussion of his moral weaknesses and of the events that landed him in Reading Gaol; the latter gives a short *résumé* of the author's various plays, but does not contain much original criticism. G. Buonaniti contributes some pleasantly-written and wholly favourable impressions of Ireland, more especially of the piety of the people. The author is led to realise that the influence of Celtic Christianity on Catholic devotion and liturgy has often been overlooked.

*Emporium* for October is full of artistic interest. Visitors to the remarkable exhibition of historical portraiture held in Florence this summer will find the number an excellent souvenir, as it contains over thirty admirable reproductions of the most noteworthy exhibits. Another article by L. Ozola is inspired by the English Art pavilion in the Rome Exhibition, which excited much admiration in artistic circles. Sargent and Lavery are taken as our two most representative portrait-painters, and many of their works are reproduced, the author declaring that "the spontaneous grace and the elegant simplicity of the figures reproduced in those portraits are not

wholly due to the talents of the painter, but partly to the models themselves, to their good taste, and to the aesthetic atmosphere in which they live."

A personal sketch, full of intimate touches, of the late Queen Maria Pia of Portugal is contributed to the *Rassegna Nazionale* by A. Ragghianti, who evidently had frequent access to Court circles in Lisbon. It is a pathetic story, and will appeal to all who like to see the veil lifted in which royal lives are usually shrouded.

## The Dublin Review.

THE October number has more than usual to say upon passing political topics. The veiled attack of the Unionists upon the Crown, as well as Mr. Francis MacDermot's "Fiscal Powers of an Irish Parliament," have been separately noticed. Mr. Lancelot Lawton treats of the foreign politics of the day, and heartily applauds the action of the Government, dwelling with especial satisfaction upon the proof that the Triple *Entente* has given, over the Morocco incident, of its vitality and power. Mr. W. S. Lilly recalls some modern martyrs of the Catholic faith, who suffered death at the hands of the French Revolutionists, and he declares that the same hatred exists to-day in the breasts of the men in power in France. The *Comtesse de Franqueville* extols as a great French Bishop the late Mgr. Dadolle, Bishop of Dijon, who maintained that the social question "came from the lips and heart of Jesus Christ in a world of which two-thirds of the population were slaves."

## Baily's Magazine.

*Baily's Magazine* of Sports and Pastimes for November contains a review of the Yachting Season of 1911, notable for the first properly organised international regatta, that held at Spithead. In the large yacht classes, the writer says, British boats were beaten all along the line, but in small yachts, steered by amateurs, British boats easily came first. Another article in a magazine which, though excellent in its way, is somewhat technical for the general reader, is upon "The Passing of the Big-horn," the *Ovis Montana* of North America, which, however, the writer thinks not in imminent danger of extinction. It is one of the most difficult of all animals to hunt, because of its scarcity and the rough country which it inhabits, to roam about which makes immense demands on the endurance of the hunter. It is very difficult to say how many big-horn sheep still exist, but in Colorado, where they are protected, they are estimated to number between 3,000 and 5,000 head, scattered over the mountain ranges in bands of from forty to fifty. Another article is on Rowland Egerton-Warburton, whom the writer calls a "great hunting poet," but anyone with even a moderately fine ear will find much fault with some of the specimens of his verses quoted.



# BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

## MORE ABOUT GENERAL GORDON AND THE MEN WHO SENT HIM OUT.\*

**I** BRACKET these two books together because their only abiding interest is the slight additional light they throw upon the character of the most heroic incarnation of the English ideal of chivalry whom our race produced in our time. It may no doubt appear hyperbolic to say that the chief importance of the Duke of Devonshire in history will be found in the fact that he was the Minister most responsible for the sending of Gordon to Khartoum. But no one can read Mr. Holland's bulky volumes without feeling that most of their contents are already losing their living interest.

### 1.—THE TWO BOOKS.

It might indeed be maliciously described as a dull book by a dull writer dealing with a dull man's dealing with dead issues. For the Duke of Devonshire, although one of the most upright, serious, responsible of men, was as unmistakably dull as he frankly confessed he found one of his own speeches. If he yawned at himself, posterity will yawn over Mr. Holland's biography. To those who took an active interest in the questions which the Duke had to handle, there is much matter that they will like to read in these volumes. But on the one point of permanent interest to the world, in that it concerns a hero, Mr. Holland's narrative is singularly disappointing. Neither the author nor his subject seems to have grasped the situation. As the Duke fumbled in well-meaning but ineffective fashion, so Mr. Holland fumbles confusedly over the narrative of that great tragedy.

Mr. Wilfrid Blunt's book is much more lively, much more readable, but it is a scandalous production

—the mirror of a more or less disordered mind in which is reflected the idle and malicious gossip of London society thirty years ago. Nevertheless, it is redeemed from oblivion that it does afford us here and there glimpses of the real Gordon, although they are distorted, and stained by their passage through the medium of Mr. Blunt's diaries. Much, however, may be forgiven a man who contributes even a single item to the overwhelming indictment on which Lord Cromer stands condemned for his attack upon the memory of the man for whose sacrifice Lord Cromer, more than any living man, is responsible.

### THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LORD CROMER.

The chief value of Mr. Blunt's work lies in the clear relief into which he brings the fact that Lord Cromer was the very first man to suggest the despatch of an *English* officer to Khartoum, and that, writing before Gordon was thought of, he defined as the necessary duties of such an officer the very task which he afterwards blamed Gordon for attempting to discharge. He also brings out more clearly than before the significant

fact that the firm appointing General Gordon as Governor General, approved, if not actually drafted by Lord Cromer, expressly commanded him to do those things which Lord Cromer censured him for exceeding his instructions in attempting to do! These two are the only additional items which should be added to the impeachment of Lord Cromer, which I published in this REVIEW when "Modern Egypt" first appeared.

### A PARALLEL AND A CONTRAST.

The contrast between Mr. Blunt and the Duke of Devonshire is about as great as that between a skittish young Arab stallion from the Crabbet stud and one of those stately, solemn, powerful oxen



The Marquess of Hartington in the year 1888.

(From the painting by the Lady Alvergenny.)

\* \* Gordon at Khartoum," being a personal narrative of events in a continuation of "A Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt" by Wilfrid Blunt. Swift and Co., 1897, net.

\* "The Life of the Duke of Devonshire," By Bertha H. and 2 vols. Longman. 3s. 6d.

which with slow impatience drag the plough through the stubborn soil of the fields in Eastern Europe. The one is a fliberty-gibbet, a kind of Puck, with the mission of a Messiah; the other the very incarnation of English stolidity and solidity, a Duke who became an oracle, whose respectability was so unimpeachable as to enable him to wear so shocking a hat that twenty-four ladies on one occasion each on the same day felt constrained by their mischievous charity to send him a new one. Of Mr. Blunt Mr. Gladstone said he was a very charming personality, but on politics quite mad.

The verdict is hardly too severe of a man who, when he set out to gain a seat in the House of Commons, made the following entry in his diary:—

I look forward to Parliament as the beginning of a new phase. I shall be Cabinet Minister in five years' time, head of my party perhaps in ten. I think it is in my fate.

He did not get in, and he remarks in passing, "My defeat left Churchill without any adviser in the ways of political virtue." A strange adviser indeed!

Contrast with this the habitual pose of the Duke who thrice refused the Premiership, who reluctantly accepted the leadership of his party as a bore, and whom Lord Salisbury described as one of the most disinterested men who ever lived.

But a truce to these parallels and contrasts between the restless impishness of the erratic genius who has spent his life between the breeding of Arab horses and the championship of Arabi, and the sedate embodiment of the English noble at his best, and let us see what each of them has to say about General Gordon.

## II.—MR. BLUNT'S "LORD HARTINGTON."

Mr. Blunt, as his custom is, has been carried away by a mad theory which leads him wrong. His idea is that the Duke (then Lord Hartington), with Lord Granville and a few more, had formed an infernal secret plot to seize Egypt and the Soudan; that they had from the first conceived that General Gordon would be their most efficient instrument in securing this nefarious end, and that in order to get Gordon to Khartoum they used Mr. Stead—the writer of this review—as their tool for the achievement of their designs. A more cock-eyed inversion of facts can hardly be conceived. Mr. Holland's unilluminating narrative, however unsatisfactory it may be, does at least compel the conviction that Lord Hartington was the last man in the world to play the *rôle* imputed to him by Mr. Blunt. In his lazytongs way the Duke saw clearly enough that Mr. Gladstone's attempt to shuffle off responsibility would not do, but if only he had been keen enough to exert himself actively, even in Mr. Blunt's sense, the disaster would have been averted.

### LORD HARTINGTON AND GORDON.

But although Lord Hartington no doubt recognised with his sure instinct that General Gordon was the right man to send out, he did not insist on sending

him out, and although he was equally clear as to the duty of supporting him when he was sent out, he did not feel strongly enough about it to insist. Of course it must not be forgotten that he was overcome, like everybody else, by the masterful character of Mr. Gladstone. The Duke was not keen enough to stand up against him. To impute to him, as Mr. Blunt does, the responsibility of an intrigue to get Gordon appointed is the very height of midsummer madness. The Duke was inertia itself. His "don't-care-a-damn" frame of mind made him incapable of acting until fully roused, and then it usually took the shape of a veto upon the action of others. He vetoed the sending of Zebehr; he defended, if he did not personally veto, the refusal to send the Hussars across the desert to hold Berber, just as in after years he vetoed Home Rule and vetoed Tariff Reform. His strength was to sit still.

### MIR. STEAD'S REPLY.

Mr. Blunt's theory as to the despatch of Gordon is built up on the presentation of facts which I am in a position to destroy in a single sentence. For Mr. Blunt's theory of the subtle intrigues of Lord Hartington for the annexation of Egypt, carried out by the despatch of General Gordon, it is necessary to prove that I, W. T. Stead, then editing the *Pall Mall Gazette*, was his active agent. The whole superstructure rests on the assumption that Lord Hartington, from the defeat of General Hicks to the despatch of General Gordon, employed me to advocate the policy which he was determined at all costs to force upon the Government.

To this my answer is that Mr. Stead never had any communication either directly or indirectly with Lord Hartington during the whole of that period. As a matter of fact I never met Lord Hartington in my life. When editing the *Northern Echo* I used to make his life a bit of a burden to him, so he said in after years, by sending him letters pointing out where he had blundered in his speeches on the Eastern Question; but after I came to London even this slender channel of communication was dried up. I had nothing to do with Lord Hartington and he had nothing to do with me. He certainly never took the least trouble to inspire the articles I wrote in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

But Mr. Blunt will no doubt reply that although Lord Hartington had no communication with Mr. Stead, Lord Esher (then the Hon. Reginald Brett), Lord Hartington's private secretary, was the medium through whom the communications passed. To which the answer is that I never met Mr. Brett, nor had any communications with him orally, directly or indirectly, or through any intermediary until after General Gordon had left Cairo.

### THE SUPERSTITION OF THE PORTFOLIO.

The fact is Mr. Blunt suffers from the superstition of the Portfolio. If a man has a portfolio and a seat in the Cabinet he becomes at once a statesman who

governs and directs. If a man has a newspaper and occupies an editorial chair he is of necessity of his position only the puppet of the portfolio holder. That the statesman may be in the editorial sanctum and the puppet in Downing Street does not seem to have dawned upon Mr. Blunt. But it was a tradition that Northumberland Street had jealously preserved from the time when the Suez Canal shares were bought at Mr. Greenwood's suggestion.

#### THE POLICY OF THE "P.M.G."

Mr. Blunt calls attention to the fact that whereas the *Pull Mall Gazette* had strongly advocated the Gladstonian policy in Egypt and the Soudan, it did, after the defeat of General Hicks and the appearance of Osman Digna at Suakin, demand a change of policy based on the recognition of the actual facts. He suggests that I yielded to "the same influence"—that of "capitalists and city financiers"—which he declares "set the press in motion on the question." That is all stuff and nonsense. I yielded to the overwhelming influence of the facts of the situation. Such "new facts" as the destruction of Hicks' Army and the revolt of the Eastern Soudan convinced me that a change of policy was necessary, and, as is my wont, I said so emphatically without beating about the bush. But that this could be the result of an independent judgment dealing with the actual facts of the situation is beyond the capacity of Mr. Blunt to conceive. He says:—

No one, I think, with any knowledge of journalism can doubt that a conversion so sudden and so violent can have been due to anything less than a Ministerial hint of the very directest kind.

#### WHEN LORD ESHER WAS MR. BRETT.

He further says that it must have been the— result of private information from within the Cabinet, probably from the War Office and communicated by Brett, who was Harrington's private secretary and his usual intermediary with the press, besides being an old member of the *Pull Mall* staff. — P. 104.

As I have said, I had no communication whatever with Mr. Brett at that time, nor could he ever be described as a member of the *Pull Mall* staff. Mr. Blunt goes on:—

For these reasons, too, I refuse to accept as entirely reliable Mr. Stead's claim to absolute independence of official inspiration in the matter of his celebrated interview with Gordon at Southampton, which took place on the day following the General's arrival there. Mr. Stead's genius may very well have

conceived the idea of the visit as the particular form in which Gordon was to be advertised; but in view of the series of articles, all alluded to, and knowing as I do the ways of journalism and the close connection there was that year between the *Pull Mall Gazette* and the War Office through Lord Esher, and having, moreover, been myself more than once interviewed by Mr. Stead, I find it impossible not to recognise in the sudden entrance of Gordon into the intrigue one of those manoeuvres worked from time to time in the *Pull Mall* columns through Lord Esher's agency.

We know Lord Esher's position at the War Office, and we know his connection with the *Pull Mall Gazette*. Lord Esher was Gordon's friend. Mr. Stead at the time was not. Lord Esher was conversant with his movements, with his application for leave to serve King Leopold, with the refusal of his leave, and I decline to believe that there was no hint given on which Mr. Stead acted. In every newspaper office there are scores of such journalistic secrets never divulged and easily forgotten, and it seems to me vastly more probable that the Gordon "boom" was one of them.

Mr. Blunt may decline to believe the truth. He has often done so before, and he may do so again. The right to be a mortal fool, says the American humourist, belongs to every creature human. But Mr. Blunt sometimes presumes too much upon the exercise of this inalienable right.

#### WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

The question is not one of probability, vast or otherwise. It is one of fact. Both the persons implicated are alive. Neither Lord Esher nor Mr. Stead can be accused of having any motive to conceal the truth. There would have been nothing dishonourable in Mr. Stead receiving a hint from Mr. Brett. Every newspaper editor must, as a matter of

duty, seek information from all reliable sources. But, as a simple fact, Mr. Stead did not receive any hint, suggestion, or communication from Mr. Brett, for the simple and sufficient reason that he was first brought into communication with Mr. Brett two weeks after the Gordon interview took place. The fact is only of importance as showing the utter untrustworthiness of Mr. Blunt's judgment. If he ventures to construct a mare's-nest like this out of such flimsy materials which people on the spot can demolish in a moment, who can place any limits upon the Arabian Night's romances which his ingenious but perverse imagination is capable of weaving out of what his squint-eyed vision imagines to be facts when they relate to dead men in distant lands?

That Mr. Stead invented the idea of sending Gordon to Khartoum no one ever claimed, least of all Mr. Stead himself. Mr. Stead's claim is that while



General Charles George Gordon.

(This pencil sketch of the General, made just before he left for Egypt on December 21st, 1882, is reproduced from the frontispiece to Mr. Wilfrid Blunt's work.)

all the best authorities recognised that General Gordon was the best man to be sent to Khartoum, everybody from Lord Hartington downwards was paralysed by the refusal of Lord Cromer to allow him to be sent. Mr. Stead then intervened. By his interview with General Gordon at Southampton, and by the use he made of it, he roused the nation, supplied force to the intelligent but inert judgment of Lord Hartington, and so overbore Lord Cromer's opposition. Mr. Blunt suggests that Mr. Stead's intervention was due to an intrigue, and that he acted on information received. That is simply and absolutely false.

### III.—THE GENESIS OF THE GORDON MISSION.

It is now possible, with the aid of these two books, to trace the exact genesis of the Gordon idea from start to finish.

#### ITS ORIGINAL AUTHOR.

The first mention of Colonel Gordon as a man likely to be of use in the Soudan occurs in a despatch from Lord Dufferin. Sir Charles Wilson had reported to Lord Dufferin as to the future of the Soudan:—"The result was a despatch, dated 18th November, 1882, in which, after repeating Wilson's opinion . . ." Lord Dufferin referred to the objection to the abandonment of the Soudan, and went on to say:—"If only some person like Colonel Gordon could be found to undertake its administration, fairly good government might be maintained there without drawing upon Egypt either for men or money."

He added that the same energy and ability which has gone so near to breaking up the slave trade "ought to be sufficient to keep the country in order." Nothing came of that wise suggestion.

#### FIRST PROPOSED BY LORD GRANVILLE.

Twelve months passed. General Hicks was sent to his doom by the Government of Cherif Pasha, who regarded Gordon as his deadly enemy. On November 27 Lord Granville wrote to Gladstone:—"Do you see any objection to using Gordon in some way? He has an immense name in Egypt, he is popular at home, he is a strong but very sensible opponent of slavery, he has a small bee in his bonnet. If you do not object I could consult Baring by telegraph."

To this Gladstone consented, and the telegram, which appears in the Blue Books, was dispatched to Cromer, December 1st:—"If General Charles Gordon were willing to go to Egypt would he be of any use to you or to the Egyptian Government, and if so in what capacity?"

#### VETOED BY LORD CROMER.

Lord Cromer in "Modern Egypt" says, "I did not at that time know General Gordon well, but I had seen a little of him. I had of course heard much of him." They had met in 1880 when Gordon was employed by Ismail Pasha in a last desperate

attempt to try and settle his financial affairs, when, on leaving the Palace, General Gordon described the incident as follows:—

I found Baring. Now Baring is in the Royal Artillery while I am in the Royal Engineers. Baring was in the nursery while I was in the Crimea. He has a pretentious grand patronising way about him. We had a few words together. I said I would do what His Highness asked me. He said it was unfair to the creditors, and in a few moments all was over. When oil mixes with water we will mix together! I went upstairs."

#### A TELEGRAPHIC MISTAKE OF DESTINY.

There was a curious complication about Gordon's employment in the Army, which had probably more to do with Lord Hartington's anxiety to get Gordon sent to the Soudan than any notion as to the effect which his mission would have on the future of Egypt. When Gordon was asked by the King of the Belgians to go to the Congo he asked permission from the War Office to accept the post. Lord Hartington, on the advice of Lord Wolsley supported by Lord Granville, telegraphed, "Secretary of State declines to allow you," etc. By an unexplained error in transmission the telegram reached Gordon in Jerusalem, "Secretary decides to allow you." The blunder made by a telegraphic operator probably decided the destiny of the Soudan. Gordon, having received leave, as he thought, promised the King of the Belgians to go to the Congo. When he arrived in Europe he found that permission had been refused him. He was in high dudgeon and demanded to be permitted to resign from the Army in order to keep his promise to King Leopold.

#### WHY LORD HARTINGTON WANTED TO EMPLOY GORDON.

This put Lord Hartington in a position of some difficulty, and we find him trying to get out of it by renewing the proposition to Lord Cromer that Gordon should be employed in Egypt. Mr. Holford publishes the following letter dated January 8th, the day on which I interviewed Gordon at Southampton. The day before I demanded that Gordon should be sent to the Soudan Lord Hartington wrote to Lord Granville:—

You know that Gordon has accepted employment in the Congo. We, on your advice in the autumn, told him that we declined to allow him to accept this. He will be privately told that he ought under these circumstances to resign his commission in the Army, but under our admirable regulations he will retire on nothing. If he declines to retire we ought to remove him, but this may be awkward. What do you say?

Note that there is not a word here of sending Gordon to Egypt. To Lord Hartington Gordon was then merely a British officer who, by the error of a telegraph clerk, was placed under the disagreeable necessity of having to resign his commission and retire on nothing, and thus, so far as Lord Hartington was concerned, the matter began and ended.

#### SIR SAMUEL BAKER'S QUESTION.

On the day before Lord Hartington wrote that letter to Lord Granville General Gordon arrived in London and went straight through to Southampton.

I saw the fact mentioned in the *Times*, and at once decided, if possible, to interview Gordon on the subject of the future of the Soudan. On January 1 the *Times* had published a letter from Sir Samuel Baker protesting against the abandonment of the Soudan, which concluded with the question, Why should not General Gordon Pasha be invited to assist the Government. I had in an occasional note, written a day or two later, expressed a regret that Chinese Gordon should go to the Congo while so much other work needed urgently to be done in Egypt.

#### BEFORE THE SOUTHAMPTON INTERVIEW.

But at the time when I telegraphed to Southampton asking General Gordon to see me, I had not the faintest notion that the Government had ever suggested his employment in Egypt, and certainly had no idea in my own mind of sending him to the Soudan. I assumed that the Soudan was to be abandoned. I had no thought of reversing that policy. Certainly I had received no hint from any ministerial circles that the Government wished to employ Gordon in any capacity or even to ask his advice. I thought he might be useful in organising the Egyptian army, and I felt it my duty as an editor to obtain his views on the above question.

#### HOW THE INTERVIEW CAME ABOUT.

When I telegraphed to Gordon, asking for an interview, he replied by wire, "I have nothing to say." I wired back, "I am coming to Southampton by the last train." General Gordon had with him at Southampton his great friend General Brocklehurst, with whom he debated all the afternoon whether or not he should receive me. Gordon, as Mr. Blunt reminds us, had a very tender conscience on the subject of appearing to seek newspaper publicity:—

"Newspapers," he once wrote in answer to his sister, "feed a passion I have for giving my opinion . . . You drew at a venture with your full strength and you have done for your brother; the arrow has gone in up to its feathers! He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory! Why, you have knocked down the work of years; what have I ever been doing of but self? I have a sort of wish that I could get rid of Colonel Gordon." He called this craving for publicity "Arag; a cateting for notice and praise; hailing the tram."

It is easy to see what difficulty General Brocklehurst had in persuading him to be interviewed. General Brocklehurst succeeded at last in overcoming his scruples by representing quite mistakenly, but quite sincerely on his part, that I must be coming down, because the Government wanted to know his views without directly asking for them. Alas! the Government at that time, preoccupied about other matters, had not even the faintest curiosity to ascertain what the ablest and most experienced of all living Englishmen had to say about the Soudan. I went down "all out of my own head." I knew nothing of the arguments that induced General Gordon to receive me. General Gordon opened the door when I arrived at

Rockstone Place. He was helping me off with my overcoat when I, mistaking him for a servant, asked "if I could see General Gordon?" "I am General Gordon," he replied. So the interview began which sent Gordon to Khartoum and incidentally added the Soudan to the British Empire.

#### MY REASON FOR SENDING GORDON TO KHARTOUM.

General Gordon's emphatic statement as to the impossibility of allowing the Soudan to be evacuated by adopting the formula "let the garrisons be speared!" led me to the conclusion that he ought to be sent out to secure their extrication from the wreck of the Soudan. It was solely for that purpose that I insisted upon his despatch to Khartoum. I not only said so, but I was obeyed. My article with the interview appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of January 9. The very next day Lord Hartington consulted with Lord Wolsley, who approved of my suggestion. He then wrote to Lord Granville, saying that as Nubar Pasha, the new Prime Minister, was a friend of Gordon's, whereas Cherif Pasha had been so great an enemy as to have issued orders against his setting foot on Egyptian soil, it might be worth asking Baring again as to his employment on the Nile. He wrote:—"I understand that Gordon would probably postpone his Congo employment if asked to go to the Soudan. I believe that some people think highly of the value he would be there," which is a mild Hartingtonian reflex of the *Pall Mall Gazette* article. But even in this letter it is evident that the one paramount thought in Hartington's mind was not Egypt at all, but his desire to avert the painful necessity of accepting Gordon's resignation. It is difficult to imagine a more conclusive demonstration from contemporary documents of the absolute baselessness of Mr. Blunt's theory.

#### LORD GRANVILLE'S SECOND PROPOSAL AGAIN REJECTED.

Lord Granville telegraphed on the same day to Baring, asking whether under the altered circumstances he thought General Gordon or Sir Charles Wilson would be of any assistance. Baring also had changed his mind, since on December 22 he had demanded that an English officer should be sent to Khartoum, and telegraphed on January 11 that he did not think that the services of either can be utilised at present.

#### WHY BARING GAVE WAY.

Meanwhile I kept up the pressure on the Government at home. The whole press followed my lead. Lord Granville, on January 14, wrote to Mr. Gladstone suggesting a little pressure should be applied to Baring. Mr. Gladstone agreed, and on January 15 Lord Granville applied the necessary pressure, and Baring reluctantly gave way on condition that Gordon was to be under his orders. On January 16 Lord Granville announced that Gordon was to start, and added "the appointment will be popular with many classes in this country." That is the plain unvarnished truth. There is not a syllable in the correspondence or in

my narrative of my share in the affair to justify Mr. Blunt's strenuous argument that the motive force which overbore Baring's reluctance was generated not by his own initiative, but by a cunning scheme on the part of Hartington and Granville to circumvent Mr. Gladstone by rendering the evacuation of Egypt impossible.

#### MR. BLUNT'S INCREDULITY.

Mr. Blunt's "arguments" are very amusing in the light of these facts. He says:—

I think it cannot be pretended that Stead's recommendation of Gordon for the post was so potent and instantaneous an influence at the Foreign Office as to have forced Granville's hand unless Granville had been already willing. It is far more likely that those in the Cabinet who wanted to send Gordon should have made use of Stead to popularise their plan than that Stead should have been able by his few words, however powerful, so suddenly to force it on them.

The pressure of public opinion was put upon Gladstone by Hartington through Stead and the magic of Gordon's name. The *Pall Mall Gazette* had more than once been used to coerce Gladstone. It was the paper that he chiefly read. The Whigs were using the *Pall Mall Gazette* under Stead now that they wanted his consent to the sending of an "English Officer" to Sarawak the Soudan. . . . Morley would have one believe that Granville, and Hartington, and Dilke, and Northbrook, at least as much rogues, politically, as fools, went suddenly mad on Stead's persuading them that Gordon was a miracle man. Cabinet Ministers do not go mad in that way. Nor are they thus carried off their legs in twenty-four hours by a newspaper interview. It is they that inspire the newspapers, not the newspapers them; and, though Heaven knows they are guided at times by little enough wisdom, it is seldom to the press they go for their folly, especially at the Foreign Office.

The notion that ministers inspire newspapers, not the newspapers ministers, is deliciously naive. We did not so understand the law of the universe in my time at Northumberland Street.

#### GORDON'S ORIGINAL IDEA.

Gordon went off "to cut off the dog's tail," to use his own phrase, amid a universal chorus of approval. Gordon's idea was to go off on his dromedary into the camp of the Mahdi, to tell him that the British Government was willing to surrender the Soudan into his hands if he would permit the retirement of the

garrisons, and set up some kind of an orderly government. It was a magnificent inspiration. Mr. Blunt reproaches him for abandoning the notion—of going straight on a peaceful errand to the Mahdi at El Obeid, and treating with him personally for the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons. I have always been of opinion that that would have been his wisest course; and it certainly was in his mind when he started from London, for passing through Paris the next morning he saw Sheffield at the Embassy and told him of his intention so to do. There is good reason to believe that he would have been courteously received at El Obeid, and that if he had negotiated on the basis of withdrawing the garrisons peaceably and handing them over to the Mahdi, the Mahdi would have provided the necessary escorts. At any rate it was his best chance.

#### VECTOED BY LORD CROMER.

Mr. Blunt forgets that General Gordon was under Baring's orders, and that Baring forbade him to act on the inspiration of his genius. Baring telegraphed, "I hope you will give me a positive assurance that you will on no account put yourself voluntarily in the power of the Mahdi." Gordon telegraphed back: "I will fulfil your orders." Thus the best chance was wrecked by Lord Cromer, who could see in it nothing but a "harebrained enterprise."

There is little more to add, save that the moment I heard of Baring's interference with Gordon, I wrote a passionate leader in the *Pall Mall Gazette* imploring the Government to recall Gordon at once if they were not prepared to give him a free hand. "You are sending a hero with a walking-stick," I said, "to do the work of an army corps. If you do not allow him to do his work in his own way you had better bring him back at once, or you will have to send an army to the Soudan after all." An observation which proved prophetic. I mention this because it was this episode which occurred after Gordon had left Cairo which first brought me into personal relations with Lord Esher. He entirely agreed with me, and from that agreement sprang up a friendship which has been and is one of the treasures of my life.

There is much to say about Mr. Blunt and his gossip Mr. Button and Lady C., who seem to have taken a pleasure in telling him absurd *canards* which he seems to have swallowed with innocent credulity. But my space is exhausted.

## INSURANCE NOTES.

The annual excursion of the insurance companies of Melbourne took place on Saturday last to Sorrento. For the first time on record the number of excursionists exceeded the complement of the "Hygeia," and at the last moment the old and favourite steamer "Edina" was requisitioned to accommodate the overflow. The weather was all that could be desired, and the trip was a most enjoyable one, the assistance of Di Gilio's string band and the famous Prahran City Band contributing greatly to the success of the outing. The arrangements for the comfort and enjoyment of the "trippers" were all that could be desired, and the Committee are to be congratulated on the success of this very popular excursion.

During the debate in the House of Commons on the third reading of the National Insurance Bill, Mr. H. W. Forster, Unionist, moved as an amendment:—"While approving of the objects of the National Insurance Bill, this House is of opinion that under Part I., dealing with insurance against sickness, the public funds and individual contributions will not be used to the best advantage. The bill is unequal in its operation, and steps should be taken to enable further consideration of Part I. in 1912, draft regulations to be published in the meantime." Mr. Forster declared that although those who supported him approved of a National Insurance scheme, it was clear, from the fact that eighteen new clauses had been passed in a single night, that the measure had not been adequately discussed. Mr. Lloyd George denounced the amendment as a shifty method of destroying the measure. Any mistakes could be remedied when the Bill was reconsidered, but the amendment implied a sacrifice of eight months' labour. Matters had been arranged with the Friendly Societies, and although he could not say that the medical profession were satisfied, he contended that it would be impossible to meet the demands otherwise than as the Bill provided. The Premier (Mr. Asquith) said the amendment would be regarded by the country as an attempt to kill a vast scheme of social reform. The amendment was negatived on a division by 320 votes to 223. The third reading of the Bill was subsequently passed, and is now being dealt with by the House of Lords.

There are again disquieting enquiries in London for insurance rates to cover the risk of war between Great Britain and Germany. Lloyd's quote seven per cent. for a period of six months, and ten per cent. for a year. Leading German firms have reported that the international situation has not improved since the delivery of the speech by Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons on 27th November last. The feeling in Germany is attributed by London business

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houses to possibly incorrect newspaper translation of English political speeches. Insurance rates upon cargoes to and from Turkey are hardening.

A destructive fire occurred in the Chinese Camp at Bendigo on 2nd December, when buildings to the value of £1350 were consumed. There was no insurance on any of the buildings or contents.

# AGGREGATE BALANCE SHEET

## OF THE

### Bank of New South Wales, 30th September, 1911.

LIABILITIES.				ASSETS.			
£		s. d.		£		s. d.	
Notes in Circulation	442,798	0	0	Coin, Bullion and Cash Balances	8,325,339	0	8
Deposits, Accrued Interest, and Rebate	34,324,402	1	1	Australian Commonwealth Notes	1,342,582	0	0
			34,767,200	Queensland Government Notes	2,068	0	0
Bills Payable and other Liabilities which include Reserves held for Doubtful Debts and Amounts at Credit of Investments Fluctuation Account, Officers' Fidelity Guarantee and Provident Fund and the Buckland Fund			4,805,147	Notes of other Banks	11,849	0	0
Paid-up Capital	3,000,000	0	0	Money at short call in London	1,634,056	5	0
Reserve Fund	1,971,545	0	0	Investments—British and Colonial Government Securities	3,550,256	3	3
Profit and Loss	284,156	0	1	"    Municipal and other Securities	188,264	2	11
			5,255,701	Due by other Banks	124,421	18	8
			£44,828,048	Bills Receivable in London and Remittances in transit	2,960,099	9	2
Contingent Liabilities—			758,912	Bills Discounted, and Loans and Advances to Customers	25,904,112	17	6
Outstanding Credits, as per Contra			14	Bank Premises	765,000	0	0
			£45,586,961	Liabilities of Customers and others on Letters of Credit as per Contra	£44,828,048	17	2
			11		758,912	14	0
			£45,586,961		£45,586,961	11	2

### Dr. PROFIT AND LOSS, 30th SEPTEMBER, 1911. Cr.

£		s. d.		£		s. d.	
Balance proposed to be dealt with as follows—				By Amount from last Account	62,112	19	6
To Dividend at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum	150,000	0	0	.. Balance of Half-year's Profits after deducting Rebate on Current Bills, Interest on Deposits, paying Note and Other Taxes, reducing valuation of Bank Premises, providing for Bad and Doubtful Debts, and Fluctuations in the value of Investment Securities, and including Recoveries from Debts previously written off as bad	222,043	0	7
.. Augmentation of the Reserve Fund	53,455	0	0				
.. Balance carried forward	80,701	0	1				
			£284,156				0
			0				1

### Dr. RESERVE FUND, 30th SEPTEMBER, 1911. Cr.

£		s. d.		£		s. d.	
To Balance	2,025,000	0	0	By Balance	1,950,000	0	0
(Of which £750,000 is invested in British Government Securities, and £500,000 in those of States where we are represented—in all, £1,250,000. The balance is employed in the business of the Bank.)				.. Premiums on New Stock paid up	21,545	0	0
				.. Amount from Profit and Loss	53,455	0	0
			£2,025,000				0
			0	By Balance	£2,025,000	0	0

J. RUSSELL FRENCH, GENERAL MANAGER.  
W. E. SOUTHERDEN, CHIEF ACCOUNTANT.

ALFRED G. MILSON } AUDITORS.  
HARRINGTON PALMER }

Audited, 20th November, 1911.



# TO OUR READERS:



THE EMPIRE CORRESPONDENCE COLLEGE.

# HOW TO GET ON.

"God helps them that help themselves."—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

**T**HE great American statesman and patriot only crystallised into a telling phrase a truth which everyone admits. But the stumbling-block with many is how best to start "helping themselves"—how to make certain that their energies are not largely being wasted in efforts in the wrong direction.

Readers of the "Review of Reviews" are of course thinking folk, men and women who in most cases have already "made good" in the world. But many of them are striving to improve their positions, or are anxious to set their children on the right path to success. Consequently, from every quarter of the globe—for there is no country in the world without "Review" readers—I receive letters asking for advice as to what is the best thing to do to "win" in the battle of life. Usually these requests are from parents who want to know how they can best prepare their boys and girls for various professions, but quite often they come from active workers anxious to improve their own positions.

I have been casting about for some time to see if I could not do something beyond merely giving advice to these readers. At first sight the problem was a difficult one. It was obviously impossible to get people from Canada and New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, China and India, Japan and Egypt, Chili and the Argentine, and from the uttermost parts of the earth, under one roof. Even if it were achieved, the requirements of each would probably be different from that of his fellow.

The solution was clearly the post. All these people, or the majority of them, could be instructed by correspondence. I therefore decided that I would have to start a department which could undertake the tuition by mail of those who were anxious to "help themselves." I speedily found that to run such a department upon the lines I wished was a pretty big proposition, for, above all, I desired to avoid the purely automatic instruction which turns out machine-made pupils who have never been in any really personal touch with their tutors. I wanted to have the best instructors available for each subject, who would coach every pupil separately, explaining his special difficulties and taking extra pains with each one who needed it. In fact, I wanted a human staff of teachers in my department, not a cold instruction machine.

In the course of my inquiries I came in touch with Mr. Clephane, who was for twenty-one years the director of the Civil Service department of the Polytechnic, and who founded in 1909 a special Business College where he has prepared thousands of successful pupils for the Civil Service, for the Army, for scientific and artistic professions, and for business careers generally. He has all the technical knowledge which I lack, and has a record of successes with pupils extending over twenty-two years. I have arranged with him to superintend the special department, which will be known as the "Empire Correspondence College," with headquarters at 143, 145, 147 and 149 Great Portland Street, London. There experts in each subject will take charge of the various courses required to fit the student for different professions, or to enable him to advance in that in which he is already working.

A list of the principal courses is given overleaf, but this by no means exhausts the possible requirements of my readers. I should be glad to hear from any of them who wish to "help themselves," even if the particular line they think of taking up is not mentioned in the list.

It is hardly necessary for me to point out the great advantages that tuition by post presents over oral instruction, especially for those residing abroad. It practically means that your teacher comes to you at regular intervals through the post and imparts knowledge to you at a fraction of the cost which would be involved if you had to arrange for a teacher to actually visit you in the flesh. To attend a class is often quite impossible, as other work keeps you busy almost all the time. You can do the work set by your correspondence tutor during any odd spare time you may have. You can tell him your difficulties, and he will write you personally explaining everything. It is this utilisation of odd spare

time which is perhaps the greatest attraction of Correspondence Tuition. In most subjects it is more effective, too, than class instruction, and in addition it is far less costly.

W. T. STEAD.

## COURSES WHICH MAY BE TAKEN UP AT THE EMPIRE CORRESPONDENCE COLLEGE.

### BUSINESS TRAINING.

This course has been arranged to include all subjects necessary to advancement in any commercial career, and is specially devised to meet the requirements of those seeking to improve their present position.

Commercial Arithmetic.  
English Composition.  
Business Letter-Writing.  
Indexing, Filing and Copying Correspondence.  
Postal Information.

Book-keeping and Accountancy.  
Shorthand.  
Typewriting, Stencil Work.  
Duplicating, Tabulating and Calculating.  
Attachments.

Any one subject can be taken up, fee from £1 1s.

### THE SECRETARIAL COURSE.

For those engaged in Banks, Insurance and Shipping Offices, Company Offices and Municipal Bodies.

Correspondence—Forms of Address.  
Company Law.  
Receipts and Report Writing.  
French. } Commercial.  
German. }  
Spanish. }

Order of Procedure at Public Functions.  
Summary of Market Reports.  
Commercial Law.  
Practical Banking.  
Political Economy.

Any one subject can be taken up. Fee from 1½ guineas.

### CIVIL SERVICE SECTION.

A long experience in coaching and preparation is placed at the disposal of all those seeking the public service.

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| <p>(a) Home appointments—<br/>Inland Revenue, Second Division,<br/>Assistant British Museum,<br/>Exchequer and Audit Department<br/>(Junior Appointments).</p> <p>(b) India and Colonial appointments and Student Interpreterships.</p> <p>(c) Departmental and Technical Appointments.—Inspector of Weights and Measures; Inspector of Works; Examiner in Patent Office and Office of Works, etc.</p> <p>(d) Appointments in the Army.—Interpreterships, etc.</p> <p>(e) Appointments in the Navy.—Assistant Paymaster's Department; Artificer; Dockyard Apprentice.</p> | <p>Estate Duty Offices.<br/>Metropolitan Police Courts.<br/>County Council Appointments.<br/>Bank of England.<br/>Women and Girl Clerks.</p> | <p>Women Typists.<br/>Sub-Engineers in G.P.O.<br/>Post Office Electrical Engineers.</p> |
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The subjects vary with each appointment, and fees for complete tuition are from £3 3s. to £21, according to examination.

### LONDON UNIVERSITY AND SCIENCE EXAMINATIONS.

This department includes tuition necessary for candidates entering for the various examinations of the London University. Thorough coaching for the Matric. examination, £5 5s.

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| <p>(a) Matriculation.<br/>(b) Intermediate Science of Arts—Pass.<br/>(c) Intermediate Science of Arts—Honours.</p> | <p>(d) Final B.A. or B.Sc.—Pass.<br/>(e) Final B.A. or B.Sc.—Honours.<br/>(f) M.A.</p> |
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#### CHEMISTRY.

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| <p>(a) Inorganic.<br/>(b) Organic.</p> | <p>(c) Analytical and Technical.<br/>(d) Preparation for Institute of Chemistry Examinations.</p> |
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#### ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM.

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| <p>(a) Introductory courses for Technical Work.<br/>(b) Theoretical Electricity and Magnetism.</p> | <p>(c) Telegraphy and Telephony.</p> |
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#### PHYSICS.

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| <p>(a) Introductory courses for Technical Work.<br/>(b) Applied Optics.</p> | <p>(c) Theoretical Sound, Light, Heat, and Properties of Matter.</p> |
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#### MATHEMATICS.

A distinct feature of the College is an organised course in Mathematics. Each branch of the subject, from Arithmetic onwards, is treated separately. Any one section or any series may be taken by the student.

#### PROFESSIONS.

Advice given to those about to enter the Medical, Legal and Dental Professions, and specialised courses have been arranged for the Preliminary, Intermediate, and Final Examinations. Prelim. exam., complete course, £5 5s.

Full Prospectus will be sent on application to 143, Great Portland Street, London, W., together with particulars of the payment of fees. The above list gives the principal subjects in which instruction is given, but is by no means complete.

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